

depended on Catholic Democratic voters? While Jones speaks patronizingly about "a whole generation of Irish Catholic liberals who thought they had found a solution to the long reign of ethnic and racial struggle that had characterized American history," did not these Catholics contribute decisively to the problems Jones analyzes? And what about the Catholic Democrats who, like those in my native state of Connecticut, built alliances with civil-rights leaders and helped facilitate the mass entry of blacks into the Democratic Party? In Philadelphia, such a process drove Frank Rizzo back into the Republican Party, an organization that had represented, in the City of (not quite) Brotherly Love, the Protestant patricians and Southern Italians allied against the Democratic Irish as well as, by the late 60's, black race-hustlers.

Significantly, the despoliation of their neighborhoods did not provoke Catholic ethnics to flood into the populist right. They and their descendants still vote, for the most part, for the party of FDR and Bill Clinton, which is graced by such Catholic politicians as Joe Biden, Geraldine Ferraro, Ted Kennedy, Chris Dodd, Andrew Cuomo, and John Kerry. Unlike Jones, these figures and their Catholic constituencies have not resisted liberal WASPdom but have embraced wholeheartedly the views that Jones despises. The point is not whether these views conform to traditional Catholic social teaching (they do not), but whether American Catholics see themselves as victims of the liberal social manipulation that Jones argues was directed against them, postwar, in the cities. There is simply no evidence that most of these Catholics share Jones' historical perception or his conservative politics.

Jones, however, correctly understands the overshadowing role of ethnic hatred in political life. And since the fall of Nazism, which combined European right-wing fixations with leftist ones, it is the left that has played the hate card to perfection. The American left, in particular, has given fresh meaning to G.K. Chesterton's aphorism that hate unites people more effectively than love. One reason the left has held on to the Catholic majority is Catholics' continuing propensity to identify the Republican Party with American Protestantism. Among Irish Democrats in Massachusetts, Republicans, though usually bland Italian imitations of the opposing party, continue to be associated with the Calvinist, or lapsed

Calvinist, Brahmins who had discriminated against the Irish and had tried to impose Protestant mores on them. The left knows how to collect ethnic victims by nurturing their fears and dislikes; and, even though the Republicans are always obsequiously reaching out to leftist constituencies, the minorities they do attract seem far less hate-filled than those on the Democratic left. Conversely, Republican voters who support the Republican Party, as Jones reminds us, know they are voting for an overwhelmingly WASP fraternity. And this will remain the case until the Republicans can pull off what may be impossible: an ethnic reconstruction of their party. In the meantime, the Republican Party remains, for ethnic minorities and people with kinky lifestyles, the party of exclusion. Hatred of WASPs and the recollection of slights suffered at their hands—or, in the case of the Jews, associating devout American Protestants with the Ku Klux Klan or the czarist Black Hundred—are essential to the support system upholding the anti-Christian, social-engineering left. Jones demonstrates that anti-Catholic Protestants have also contributed to this manipulative revolution from above, carried out in the name of fighting "prejudice." Their contribution, however, has been only one of many.

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Toxic Insanity

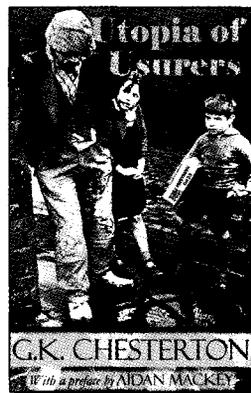
by Sarah J. Weber

The Revolt of the Primitive: An Inquiry Into the Roots of Political Correctness

by Howard S. Schwartz
Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers;
214 pp., \$67.95

A woman files a sexual-harassment suit against a man for wearing spandex shorts. A black college student tacks racist notes on his own door to try to start a campus outcry against racism. Howard Schwartz has tried to explain these and other examples of political correctness in psychological terms in *The Revolt of the Primitive*. For his purposes, Schwartz establishes a hypothetical American family to illustrate the findings he has taken from his source material.

He presents an elaborate model of psychological roles within this imaginary suburban family that, unfortunately, is so exaggerated that it is difficult to imagine that it represents anything in reality. Schwartz's family consists of the "toxic man," the "primordial mother," a son, and a daughter who is a spoiled, power-hungry monster. The mother is the only parent to whom the children seem to relate in any natural way. They use her to gain power over their disconnected fa-



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ther, who is away from home between 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. daily in order to provide for the family. Schwartz predicts that the son will grow up to be a replica of his cold, distant father. The family's only hope lies with the spoiled daughter, and we might assume that she will follow in her mother's footsteps. In fact, Schwartz suggests that the life of the suburban housewife is the girl's worst nightmare—from which the university ultimately rescues her.

Schwartz's depiction of the daughter rings true. Without knowing what feminism really means, many young women, Schwartz suggests, subscribe to the view that men are evil, marriage is a trap, and anyone (nearly always a man) who thwarts their desires is in the wrong. Just as the mother has more presence (and, therefore, more power) in the family than the absent father, the daughter is sure to have a controlling impact on the men she will meet and relate to. So she heads for college, where she is taught that she is a victim of an oppressive, patriarchal society. Also, she learns the main premise of a modern college education: that men—especially white ones—are responsible for all of society's ills. Her white male peers, in their 20 or so years of life, have somehow perpetrated slavery, the holocaust,

and the putative crime of the masculine sex drive.

The military, traditionally a haven for men, suffers from the same disease as the university, Schwartz argues. His chapter on the Armed Forces is a collection of stories and quotations from other people's books and articles pertaining to sexual-harassment charges, plus an extensive treatment of the "cultural problem" of Tailhook and the incidents of abuse that marred its 1991 convention.

Tailhook, a meeting of carrier pilots sanctioned by the U.S. Navy, had a reputation for wildness and debauchery that reached an exultant pinnacle following the Gulf War. Tailhook had been around since 1956; though the convention had been barred from several cities, it had never drawn a charge of sexual assault before Lt. Paula Coughlin alleged one. Coughlin had willingly engaged in sexual activities at Tailhook, which she later chose to define as assault. Schwartz comments:

[W]hat is interesting . . . is the way the acts in which women participated enthusiastically were responded to with the same outrage as the acts of patent abuse, as if the two were equivalent . . .

The illogical conclusion many people drew from the Tailhook incident was that, since overt sexism exists in the military, throwing women into combat is a good thing. Schwartz puts the case well when he writes,

The women who want women to be in combat do not understand what combat means, nor do they value it—they don't want men to have something by which they can define their identity as men.

The politically correct definition of sexism, Schwartz explains, is exclusion. The important thing is not that women are less suited for a certain task than men but merely that someone has drawn attention to the fact.

Schwartz ends his book with a chapter on the irrationality of the left's perception of white males, taking the example of the Columbine massacre for a peg. While the perpetrators were indeed white males, that fact was not quite enough to hang their crimes on; contributing also were violent video games—as well as guns. Schwartz's reverse-psychological interpretation of the events is sufficiently interesting: He assesses the brief moments of pain the gunshot wounds inflicted on Harris's and Klebold's victims, compared to the years of pain and suffering the two gunmen endured at the hands of their classmates.

In summation, Schwartz writes,

[T]he problems that the revolt of the primitive has brought—a generation of confused and helpless male children, of women intoxicated by self-worship and victimized by their own grandiosity, decomposition of the family, destruction of the educational system, castration of the military, and many that we have not even mentioned—are monumental. Yet the worst of these is the undermining of self-criticism.

That is a true and poignant statement identifying the source of postmodernism and the breakdown of our culture. Sophocles, however, has the last word: "Think no longer / That you are in command here, but rather think / How, when you were, you served your own destruction."

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by Samuel Francis

Comrade King?

Twenty years have come and gone since Congress passed, and President Reagan signed into law, a bill creating a federal holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr., and, in those years, the holiday has become little more than yet another session in the perennial ritual of mass production and consumption that American public festivals generally celebrate. Nevertheless, unlike most other holidays, King Day continues to elicit a round of opinion pieces, editorials, and commentary about the “true” meaning of both the day and the man after whom it is named. If even half the ink spilled in the worship of “Dr.” King were spent pondering the meaning of Christmas and Independence Day, we would be, at once, the most pious and the most patriotic people on the planet.

One effect of King Day has been to mute King’s radicalism and to absorb him and his outlandish beliefs into the imagery of the harmless hero of the segregated lunch-counter and voters’ registration marches. As NAACP boss Julian Bond said about King on *Meet the Press* in 1998, “He’s frozen in 1963 at the march on Washington, sort of the gifted preacher who had a dream.” But

the real legacy [of King] goes well beyond that, all the way up to the date of his death, and it’s the legacy of a man who really was a revolutionary figure, who was a critic of American capitalism, who was a critic of American foreign policy, who wanted a fairly radical restructuring of the American social order. We don’t remember that King. We don’t celebrate that legacy. Instead, we celebrate the ’63 march on Washington legacy of this sort of cuddly figure, a warm guy, black and white together, we shall overcome.

Mr. Bond, of course, was entirely correct, and the annual goo-goo jabber from Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett about how King was really a conservative whom Republicans today should emulate is part of the emasculation of King that the holiday has helped perform and to which Mr. Bond was sarcastically pointing. Nevertheless, no matter how much King’s radi-

calism has been obscured by the ornamentations of the holiday, that truth always threatens to pop out at the wrong time and place, to push the nation and the culture even more rapidly down the road toward the “radical restructuring of the American social order” that King sought.

Indeed, much of the “restructuring” has either already taken place or is in the process of taking place, in no small part because of the King holiday. As I argued some years ago, the effect of elevating King to the national pantheon is to legitimize and authorize his doctrines—especially his claim that the country owed to American blacks “a promissory note” for slavery and segregation. Since we have canonized King, how can we deny the truth of that claim? And if we acknowledge its truth, how can we effectively resist the agenda of what is now called “political correctness,” multiculturalism, and “reparations” for slavery?

Recognizing the passion for both racial and social radicalism inherent in King’s “restructuring of the American social order” immediately raises the old problem of the prophet’s relationship to communism, and it was no accident that, during his life, his enemies repeatedly sought to “link” him with the Communist Party and its agents, foreign and domestic. In an October 1983 speech on the Senate floor, the major congressional opponent of the King holiday, Sen. Jesse Helms, concentrated on King’s communist associations. (As a matter of fact, I wrote the speech.) And it is no accident that the professional hagiographers of King have devoted themselves to trying to discredit the links between King and his communist friends rather than seeking to defend or whitewash what actually might be considered more serious flaws, such as his notoriously goatish and hypocritical sex life and his lifelong habit of blatant plagiarism of virtually everything he ever wrote or said, from his doctoral dissertation to his last adventures in oratorical bombast.

The Helms speech remains probably the definitive collection of the documented lore of King’s communist associations, which consisted mainly of his reliance on



several known members of the Communist Party USA for material assistance. Some of these apparatchiks seemed to vanish or gravitate to other activities, un-American or not, as King’s career and national stature rose. The main apparatchik who remained at King’s side throughout his life and career, however, did not vanish. His name was Stanley D. Levison, and no one has ever disputed that much of what King accomplished, wrote, and uttered was, in fact, Levison’s work.

It was because of Levison’s membership in the Communist Party and especially the major role he played in helping to finance the party through funds illegally received from Moscow that J. Edgar Hoover urged that King and Levison be kept under continuous FBI surveillance once Hoover became aware that Levison was working with King in 1962. Both President and Attorney General Kennedy agreed to this, and Hoover did keep King and Levison under scrutiny for several years. A 1979 Justice Department report on FBI surveillance of King acknowledged the importance of Levison’s work for him:

The files [of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference] are replete with instances of his counseling King and his organization on matters pertaining to organization, finances, political strategy and speech writing . . .

The main response of most King hagiographers to the Levison relationship has been silence—or outrage when it is mentioned. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan threw Senator Helms’ speech to the floor of the Senate, stomping on it and denouncing it as “a packet of filth” (the title by which Helms’ staffers soon began to refer to it). Senator Moynihan repeat-