McGlynn

PROGRAM

I. MORNING SESSION (10:00 am to 11:30 am)

1. Sarah Henry (Union College)
"Direct Democracy and the Politics of the Single Tax in the Progressive Era"

2. David Alexander Hyde (Rutgers)
"Henry George on Stage: James A. Herne and the Single Tax"

3. Ronald Yanosky (Harvard)
"Chinese Progress and American Poverty: Henry George's Economy of Race"

II. INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATION (slide lecture)

4. Sam Thomas (Michigan State University)
"Maligning Poverty's Prophet: Henry George in Caricature"

III. LUNCH (12:00 to 1:00 pm)

IV. EARLY AFTERNOON SESSION (1:00 to 2:30)

CHAIR: Nicolaus Tideman (Virginia Tech)

5. Mason Gaffney (University of California at Riverside)
"Henry George, Edward McGlynn, and Leo XIII"

6. Laurence Moss (Babson College)
"Why The Preaching Must Never Stop: The Case for Free Trade from One Generation to the Next"

7. Roger Bolton (Williams College)
"What Power on Earth? Arthur Latham Perry's Reaction to Henry George"

V. LATE AFTERNOON SESSION (2:30 to 4:00 pm)

8. Robert Weir (Bay Path College)
"Contested Constituencies: Henry George's Search for Working-Class Votes"

9. Mark Lause (University of Cincinnati)
"Labor Insurgency for Land Reform: The Antebellum Prelude to Henry George's United Labor Party Movement"

10. Edward T. O'Donnell (Hunter College)
"'The Talisman of Lost Hope': Henry George and the Formation of a Working-Class Political Economy"

VI. HENRY GEORGE WALKING TOUR (4:00 to 5:30 pm)

Led by Ed O'Donnell

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation
41 East 72nd Street
New York, NY 10021

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HENRY GEORGE ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER

The Continuing Significance of Henry George

DATE: Saturday, November 1, 1997

TIME: 10:00 am to 5:00 pm
Registration begins at 9:00 am

COST: $10.00 ($5.00 students and seniors)

LOCATION: Cooper Union, Wollman Auditorium, 51 Astor Place, New York City. Cooper Union is located at Astor Place at the intersection of Eighth Street and Lafayette, 3 blocks east of 5th Avenue, and one block east of Broadway. Cooper Union can be reached by taking the N and R subway to "Eighth Street" or the #6 subway to "Astor Place."

DESCRIPTION: On November 1, 1997, the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation is sponsoring a day-long conference commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of Henry George. One of the most influential social reformers and political economists of the late nineteenth century, George gained renown for his book *Progress and Poverty* (1879) and its call for a "single tax" on land values. In 1886 and again in 1897 he ran as a third party candidate for mayor of New York City. One hundred years after his death, George's critique of modern industrial society and unique reform proposals continue to attract adherents and influence public policy makers.

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Corrigan

Curran, Robert Emmett, 1978. *Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America, 1878-1902*. NY: Arno Press

Notes by Mason Gaffney, 1995.

21, the "Accademia" in NY was a clique of priests were questioning church practices, from celibacy to the inspiration of the scriptures. and medieval practices. Like German "rationalists." Chief agitator was Edward McGlynn. Cardinal McCloskey protected him.

24, Michael's dad, Tom, was wholesale grocer and liquor dealer in Newark, also ran a tavern. Bought r.e., did well in booming Newark of 1830s, became one of richest Catholics. (Parallel to gt. grandfather Michael Gaffney in NYC! Michael and Honora also wanted their son Matt to be a priest. Fortunately for me, Matt was no Michael Corrigan.)

32-33, studied in Rome, coming from Mt. St. Mary's, America. Informally, "Mountaineers." Urban College of Propaganda. J.H. Newman studied there, 1840s, found it arid, stagnant. Pius IX (Pio Nono) was disillusioned with Italian liberals, from 1848 and Garibaldi. Reacted by withdrawing into reaction. Intransigent; "ultramontane." 31, set up American College in Rome. American seminaries were weak, and Pius feared separatism, nationalism.

33, When American College was set up in Rome, Edward McGlynn was in 4th year at Urban College, and virtually ran the American College. 34, Corrigan came there; McGlynn thought him "girlish" and "narrow-minded." Corrigan was physical and outgoing; Corrigan small and effeminate, "suggestively feminine." (So he wooed his way to the top? Recent disclosures about extensive pederasty among priests make such an interpretation plausible.)

42, Tom Corrigan left fortune in r.e. to his sons. Michael got some $100,000. Was embarrassed by dad's liquor business. Corrigan taught at Seton Hall, put in some money to save it, became its head (cf. Ezra Cornell).

44, 1873, at 34, Corrigan becomes youngest Bishop in U.S. He was or became a good financial administrator. Brought all diocesan r.e. under his name. Formed corporations for each parish, to avoid inheritance taxes. Each parish responsible for

its own debts. (Not clear how Bishop could own all the r.e., and not be responsible for debts.)

46-47, priests must relinquish prop. to Bishop, or be suspended. Corrigan strong on central control.

70, 1882, Italian govt. on verge of confiscating the American College, as part of the property of "Propaganda." Corrigan got President Arthur to intercede, on grounds it was virtually U.S. owned.

94, 1883, under Cardinal McCloskey, a provincial council of U.S. (NY area?) bishops denounced "Socialism and Communism, the twin monsters threatening the social order of mankind." Condemned idea that power is from the people and is theirs to recall. Civil power was from God; civil rulers have God's authority. Cited Thomas Aquinas (so that was secret of his charm!).

132, most American parishes had debts, needed to retain goodwill of laity to pay them.

137, American RCC dominated by Irish; Germans complained.

158, Corrigan opposed putting Catholic U in south, viz. D.C.

172, the "Accademia" was so-named by others. Had radical views on both secular and theological topics. Wanted radical reconstruction in South, and Fenianism. Opposed temporal power of pope, infallibility, celibacy, inerrancy of scriptures, legalism, vestments, Latin masses, etc., topics "considered beyond discussion in higher circles ..." The superiors of regular orders had become "prudent and safe men" who left their members "inert."

175, Burtsell, McGlynn and Nilan clashed with Abp McCloskey over their support of Fenians. (By now, Matt Gaffney had long since left the church and broken with his parents.) But McCloskey put high premium on peace, avoided harsh discipline.

179, ca. 1878, Ireland seemed on verge of another famine. Catalyzed movement, the "New Departure." Joined home rule (Parnell), social reform (Davitt), and American Fenians (John Devoy). Formed Land League, 1879. 180, Pat Ford was a "radical."

> "It was in the land grievance that Irish millennialism had sunk its deepest roots, from which all Irish agitation drew sustenance."
> - Patrick O'Farrell, *Ireland's English Question* (London, 1971), 114

Progress and Poverty, coming at the same time, played big role in unravelling the alliance (of Parnell and Davitt). (Where did Devoy and the Fenians stand on this? Fenians were nationalists more than reformers, probably stood with Parnell. Matt Gaffney was right to leave them.)

180-81, Land League worked toward peasant ownership after compensating landowners. Am. bishops endorsed this. To placate radicals, Parnell endorsed boycotts. 1881, England passed coercion bill. Parnell and Davitt, jailed, issued no-rent manifesto. Brits outlaw Land League. Irish hierarchy condemns idea of withholding rent. American bishops likewise. Said withholding rent violated papal teaching. Gilmour called it (non-payment) theft.

182, Kilmainham Treaty, Parnell agrees to oppose terrorism ("Whiteboyism") and rent defiance; Brits abate Coercion Act.

182, Parnell tries to restore old coalition, but Davitt was now converted to land tax, from reading P&P in prison. Parnell wanted Irish nationalism; Davitt wanted social reform, with or without home rule.

Davitt comes to U.S., finds few American Irish who would drop Parnell for Georgism. 183, finds McGlynn, who reinforces him.

183, Cardinal Simeoni had a friend in Ella Edes, a snitch, gossip, etc., who told him tales on McGlynn. **Vatican was courting England, was willing to sacrifice Irish.** 1882, Simeoni tells Corrigan to have McGlynn cool it. 184-89, McGlynn keeps preaching. 189, appears at meeting with H.W. Beecher in Brooklyn. Corrigan complains; McGlynn says it is no worse than Pope's meeting with Bismarck.

190, most Knights of Labor were Catholics. (Cf. Knights of Columbus, Knights of Malta.) Many were Irish. Stressed importance of secrecy to combat power of capital; were thus vulnerable to same ban as Masons.

191, Knights' constn favored "man's inalienable inheritance and right to share for use, of the soil." A Jesuit, Fr. Robert Fulton, was called in to advise, and advised this was "doubtful in theory and dangerous in practice." RCC never acted, however.

184, Gilmour, bishop of Cleveland, was resolute about keeping women in their place. President of the "Ladies' Land League" defied Gilmour; he excommunicates them all.

190, Canadian Abp Taschereau secured condemnation of Knights from Rome. Corrigan agreed, and advised priests, but made no public statement. 192, Powderley wanted to placate RCC, gain "respectability"; cooled strikes, boycotts, etc. 1886, Abps ("metropolitans") gathered in Baltimore, most opposed condemning KoL; Corrigan was not placated, however. (He never was: a consistent hard-liner.) Corrigan was upset about the 1886 campaign.

195, Central Labor Union, a group orig. org. to support the No Rent Manifesto, turned to pol. org. and formed the United Labor Party, U.L.P. Allied with Socialist Labor Party. Chair of ULP was John McMackin, a former Fenian. Supporting and speaking for HG were Powderly, Ford, DeLeon, Rauschenbusch, Newton, McGlynn.

NYC held balance of power (nationally) between the 2 major parties. 196, Irish were majority in NYC. (Hence the national importance of keeping HG from becoming Mayor of NYC!)

196, 1886, Tammany changing leaders, from John Kelly, who died, to Richard Croker.

196, McGlynn was a Republican; ideal for weaning Irish from Tammany and Demos. 1884, supported Cleveland.

196-97, Corrigan's vicar-general, Msgr. Preston, declared publicly that most Cath clergy opposed George. Tammany used this. Catholic Tammany laymen leaned on Corrigan.

198, Corrigan's milieu was lace-curtain Irish; he did not understand labor nor reformers. 199, leaned on McGlynn to stop supporting George. McGlynn got them to meet, but Corrigan hadn't read and didn't listen.

201, Corrigan orders McGlynn to shut up. McGlynn cooled it a bit. McGlynn swayed a lot of votes; bottling him up may have

kept him from swaying more, or it may have moved many to vote for HG in protest vs. such interference.

208, n.85, Corrigan inherited several properties from dad, collected rents.

196-214, Corrigan's long scheming vs. McGlynn.

214, "Georgean economics are a civil disease bordering on madness." - Corrigan, 1886.

231, 1887, McGlynn gives sermon, "The Cross of a New Crusade." Forms Anti-Poverty Society with George, Pentecost, and DeLeon.

241, Corrigan circulates pledge vs. McGlynn. It became a loyalty oath. Non-signers were screened out of promotions.

250, 1887, Pope praises and upholds Corrigan. Excommunicates McGlynn, w/o a trial. A crisis ensued.

294, "The rights of property ... are sacred ... by divine authority. You must not think as you choose; you must think as Catholics." - Msgr. Preston, 1888.

295, McGlynn attacks the pope in politics; draws largest crowd since excomm. Attacked alliance of eccles. machine with Tammany; attacked pope personally, "the poor old bag of bones ..."

296, Msgr. Preston's nephew, Thomas, became permanent chair of Anti-Poverty Society.

n108, McGlynn charges repeatedly that Cardinal McCloskey in 1871 made a secret deal with Tammany. Tammany gave money; RCC swayed votes in pulpit and confessional.

299, Fr. Ducey removed for supporting McGlynn. Trumped up charges of fncl deficits.

300, petition of NY priests accuses Corrigan of keeping "small tainted pettifogging satellites, ... "trammeled by the unmeasured meanness of clerical wiles or cliques."

316, McGlynn, Burtsell, and Hecker, liberals of the 1880s, in the 1890s came to be pawns of liberals within the hierarchy

itself, esp. at Catholic Univ. John Ireland, John Keane, Denis O'Connell, Cardinal Gibbons.

Networking conservatives, an "informal group," lived longer than the liberal group. Conservatives were McQuaid, Corrigan, Elder, Chatard, Wm. McCloskey, Healy, and Gilmour. Abp Ryan joined in 1880s; Germans in 1890s: Katzer in Milwaukee., Messmer in Green Bay. Corrigan was the center of it, the leader. Re labor and HG,

> "The assault will begin with wealth and end with authority."
>
> - Gilmour to Corrigan, 1888

324, Corrigan opposed Rome's direct authority in America (that would leave him as the American Pope). 326, allied with Germans, who had supported him vs. McGlynn.

338, public schools became a related issue. Preston denied that the state is responsible for education. That would "facilitate the same tendency toward socialism that denying private property did."

349, Leo XIII wanted U.S. to favor Catholic schools "to produce law-abiding citizens."

362, Satolli sent to U.S. with 3 missions. #2 was to reconcile McGlynn with pope. #3 was to make Ireland (a liberal) a Cardinal, test the waters in U.S. 363, many in Rome thought Corrigan too quick in disciplining McGlynn, said Satolli.

364, Cardinal Rampolla in Rome, like Satolli, favored McGlynn over Corrigan - or at least disliked Corrigan.

383, 1892, Satolli restores McGlynn w/o consulting Corrigan. This restoration had become part of a big liberal-conservative struggle inside the church, p.387.

383, 1886, Cardinal Gibbons, helped by O'Connell in Rome, had worked vs. having P&P condemned. Pope compromised by condemning it, but refusing to publish this. Preston hoped a bishop would leak, but none did.

384, Gilmour opposed condemning George, not wanting to make a martyr, feared backlash. n.159, "Just this siding with wealth led to the reformation."

385, *Rerum Novarum* comes; conservatives hail it as vindication against George and McGlynn. "... the Pope's aim was to condemn George's theory without condemning his books." - Ella Edes to Corrigan.

386, encyclicals are not *ex cathedra*, hence fallible.

388, 1892 was quiet time, good time to restore McGlynn. Satolli restores him. 392, Corrigan appalled. "Our people are terribly worked up, particularly the better classes."

394, Leo appts Satolli permanent apostolic delegate to U.S.; liberals in control. 401, Corrigan gets letters written vs. Satolli; McGlynnites try to oust Corrigan.

409, Corrigan refused to help McGlynn back into church. 410, McGlynn says Satolli is more American than Corrigan.

453, McGlynn sits in Brooklyn, waiting for Corrigan to receive him back into church. Meantime, campaigns for Populists.

477, 1899, McGlynn in Newburgh continues to preach, but by now is just an annoyance, no threat.

General impression: Corrigan was born a rich landlord, bought his way into power, may have been gay and may have used that to work his way up, sought to expand his power, feared McGlynn's talent and charisma, identified the RCC with wealth, identified property and authority, purged liberals from RCC in New York and elsewhere, opposed public schools as socialistic, suffered reverses but ultimately prevailed and survived.

Pope focused on playing politics, issued enigmatic statements to please all, keep power and wealth.

Powderly took Knights down road to "respectability," weakened and lost respect.

RCC was highly Male Chauvinist.

RCC was in league with Tammany. Hierarchies with authority will join with the worst elements to survive and prosper. I wonder about RCC and the Mafia?

You don't reach a power tripper by reason, persuasion, etc. Corrigan was like Eric Schenker, Floyd Morrow: a "control freak."

Hierarchs use same methods used in University today: trumped charges, never to the real point. Blacklists, loyalty oaths, screening, exile, ostracism, etc.

Power trippers encircle selves with fawners.

Martyrs are used later by others for different goals.

Power trippers fall out with each other, which is when they are vulnerable.

Opposing public schools allied RCC with opponents of proptax. RCC played this game just as pvt. utilities have. It was natural for Corrigan to oppose both proptax and public schools. The issues were allied - until Calif. teachers lost the thread, 1978.

Corrigan and Leo played a Mutt and Jeff routine.

Stephen Bell, 1938. *Rebel, Priest and Prophet*. NY: The Devin-Adair Company.

Notes by Mason Gaffney, 1995

> "The reading of the Bible in the public schools is mainained as a kind of fetich, not so much for any great religious value it can have for anybody under the circumstances, as because it gratifies a certain pharisaical sense of religiosity, or, worse, the wretched ascendancy of one set of religionists over another, or, still worse, of religionists over non-religionists, in schools which by their very name of 'public' or 'common' proclaim the essential injustice of such ascendancy."
>
> -- Fr. Edward McGlynn, ca. 1880 (p.21)

p39, re 1886 election in NYC, "Numbers of Tammanyites have since admitted ... that had the votes been honestly counted, HG would have been declared elected."

p69, HG says priests in politics are no threat if the priests are free, but are a threat if "pulled like puppets in politics ... at the dictate of an irresponsible power ... Cannot the priest be an American citizen and a Catholic too?"

p77, ancient Brehon laws of Ireland preserved common rights to land.

77, Christianity came to Ireland before it did to England. Irish church had never acknowledged allegiance to Rome until conquest by Henry II, 1155. Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, became Pope Adrian IV - the only English Pope ever. He bestowed on Henry II the sovereignty of Ireland.

Henry commissioned others to conquer Ireland, giving them lands there (i.e. whatever they could take).

82, The *Sun*, ed. by Chas. A. Dana, was among the bitterest opponents of George and McGlynn. (And gt. uncle Selah Merrill Clarke worked for Dana! This explains something about the Clarkes.)

124, The *Evening Post*, the *Times*, and the *Herald* all opposed foreign Catholic power in US politics, but turned around and praised the Pope for excommunicating McGlynn, 1887.

126, BRITISH AND IRISH LANDOWNERS WERE PRESSURING ROME TO HELP SUPPRESS IRISH REVOLT. BRITISH PRESS, TOO, APPROVED USE OF EXCOMMUNICATION TO SUPPRESS IRISH LAND LEAGUE. BRIT DIPLOMATS AT ROME HELPED GET POPE TO EXCOMMUNICATE MCGLYNN. **POPE WANTED BRIT HELP IN ITALY, TO RECOVER SOME OF THE TEMPORAL POWER IT HAD LOST THERE.**

127, papal pressure succeeded in Ireland, so Parnell, favoring Home Rule in lieu of land reform, was able to speak for the Irish in Parliament, deleting from his bill everything of practicable benefit to the Irish people. Brit press praises his "moderation." Thus Parnell won English support.

Parnell soon falls from grace due to personal scandal. Home Rule Bill was virtually nullified by amendments in House of Lords. Liberal-Unionist alliance was broken up. Ireland was moved into horrors of the coercion era.

128, ff. excommunication, Corrigan exiles priests who had stood by McGlynn.

167, 1888, HG SUPPORTED CLEVELAND. SAW FREE TRADE AS A FLANK ATTACK ON LAND MONOPOLY - IT MUST LEAD TO LAND QUESTION. **"THIS IS THE WAY THE BULL MUST GO TO UNTWIST HIS ROPE,"** IS HOW HE USED THAT METAPHOR.

168, McGlynn differed sharply, considered tariff "tinkering" a diversion.

168-69, HG replies that there are "two distinct govts and two distinct forms of taxation." Fed level, tariffs and excises; state level, prop taxes. "In national politics our line is to work for the abolition of tariff and excise taxes." Nat. politics blend with state politics. <u>We should not "ignore one line of reform until we have been successful on the other</u>. ... going into the national contest while yet ignoring the tariff question ... is making a national fight on state lines." **If we were to elect a President** (N.B.!) on a no-tariff-issue platform, he would have to address the tariff anyway. - *The Standard*, 1/1888

(Today, many Georgists take a know-nothing attitude towards federal taxation: they are simply agin-it. They seem to follow McGlynn on this issue, at least in part. McGlynn doubtless wanted to make land common property, i.e. tax it at a high rate, and did not see the tragedy-of-commons problem. He was the

ideologue; George the more practical politician and better economic analyst.)

171 McGlynn traced decay of Christianity to Constantine. He enriched church with money and temporal power: the privilege of wearing the purple comes from Constantine, not from Christ.

172, attacks temporal power of Pope. Notes that advocates of temporal power are not Irish, but English and American converts. Best hope of restraining temporal power comes from "rebellious spirit of Irish Catholics."

> 174, "Our quarrel is not with ... dogmas and sacraments, but with the ecclesiastical machine which works by unworthy means for purposes not holy. We must quarrel with that machine ... to maintain our holy religion itself."
>
> 175, "This is the curse of religion - that men charged with the high duty of preaching the gospel are itching for something else. It is to control politics ... education. It is to have authority with men in power ... to magnify their own office."
>
> 177, "... the Church of Christ has largely been ruined by the ... ecclesiastical machine."

176, McGlynn criticizes Knights of Labor for trying to placate and secure the friendship, endorsement or good opinion of Rome.

183, many of ULP members were protectionists. They put "The Land for the People" high above free trade. Supporting Cleveland meant abandoning ULP. The two giants of the movement divided, 1888 - a great weakening. Charges and countercharges flew. 205, McGlynn used hard words vs. HG - turned his great rhetorical guns on him, "exceedingly harsh language" for "desertion."

187, George was the better logician, but McGlynn was the better popular psychologist. ULP members stopped buying *The Standard*, whose circn plunged. HG had to relinquish control. 1892, it died.

185, ULP convened, nominated H.H. Cowdray for President, ignored Cleveland and the tariff. HG and the *Standard* supported Cleveland.

McGlynn was now the sole trump of ULP. Steady opposition of eccl. machine eroded his support among masses who never understood his reasoning, whose support was based on emotion.

197, McGlynn became depressed. Overt cause: many of his flock had left RCC because of his excomm.

222, Satolli travelled, learned that excomm of McGlynn had lost RCC much support throughout U.S., not just in NYC.

240, McGlynn refused to crow over his reinstatement. The machine wing of RCC used this to keep it quiet, consign him to oblivion.

242, **Excomm of McG had seriously reduced Peter's Pence, esp. in U.S. and Ireland but also around the world. Cardinals all had their salaries reduced. Reinstatement of McGlynn revived collections.** (Need we say more?)

Book Calendar

TODAY

CENTURY CITY: **Amy Ephron** signs "A Cup of Tea," Brentano's, 10250 Santa Monica Blvd., 2 p.m. (310) 785-0204.

EAST LOS ANGELES: Poets **D.J. Renegade, Kenny Carroll, Dennis Cruz, Pam Ward, Linda Gamboa** and **Luis Alfaro** read their work, $7, Self Help Graphics, 3802 Cesar Chavez Ave., 2 p.m. (213) 353-5311.

LONG BEACH: **Patricia Kennealy-Morrison** signs "Blackmantle," Barnes & Noble, 6326 E. Pacific Coast Highway, 11 a.m. (562) 431-2253.

LOS ANGELES: **Cecilia Woloch** reads "Sacrifice," Barnes & Noble, 10850 W. Pico Blvd., 2 p.m. (310) 475-4144.

LOS ANGELES: **Laura Schlessinger** ("How Could You Do That?!") discusses "Values That Shape Our Lives," $12, Skirball Cultural Center, 2701 N. Sepulveda Blvd., 10:30 a.m. Reservations: (213) 660-8587.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD: Poetry workshop hosted by **Doug Knott**, Sam's Book City, 5245 Lankershim Blvd., 5 p.m. (818) 985-6911.

THOUSAND OAKS: In-store interview with **Sue Grafton** broadcast on National Public Radio, Borders Books and Music, 125 W. Thousand Oaks Blvd., 11 a.m. (805) 497-8159.

THOUSAND OAKS: **Julie Smith** signs "Crescent City Kill," Mysteries to Die For, 2940 Thousand Oaks Blvd., noon. (805) 374-0084.

VENICE: Open reading and poets **Merilene Murphy, Matthew Niblock** and **Tracy Thielen** read their work, $7, Beyond Baroque, 681 Venice Blvd., 4:30 and 7:30 p.m., respectively. (310) 822-3006.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Katherine Forrest** reads "Apparition Alley," A Different Light, 8853 Santa Monica Blvd., 8 p.m. (310) 854-6601.

WESTWOOD: **Margot Adler** signs "Drawing Down the Moon," Sisterhood Bookstore, 1351 Westwood Blvd., 3 p.m. (310) 477-7300.

MONDAY

BRENTWOOD: **Peter Nichols** reads "Sea Change," Dutton's Books, 11975 San Vicente Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 286-READ.

CENTURY CITY: **Morton Cooper** discusses "Stop Committing Voice Suicide," Brentano's, 10250 Santa Monica Blvd., 7 p.m. (310) 785-0204.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD: Poets **Craig Klapman** and **Milton Knight** read their work, Sam's Book City, 5245 Lankershim Blvd., 8:30 p.m. (818) 985-6911.

SHERMAN OAKS: **Patricia Kennealy-Morrison** signs "Blackmantle," Dangerous Visions, 13563 Ventura Blvd., 6 p.m. (818) 986-6963.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Mary Ann Cantwell** reads "Homosexuality: The Secret a Child Dare Not Tell," A Different Light, 8853 Santa Monica Blvd., 8 p.m. (310) 854-6601.

TUESDAY

BRENTWOOD: Sisters in Crime contributors to "Murder X 13" read, Dutton's Books, 11975 San Vicente Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 286-READ.

COSTA MESA: **Charlie Jones** signs "What Makes Winners Win," Barnes & Noble, Metro Pointe, 901 B South Coast Drive, #150, 7 p.m. (714) 444-0226.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Robert Petro** signs "The Book of Secrets," Bodhi Tree Bookstore, 8585 Melrose Ave., 7:30 p.m. (310) 659-1733.

WEDNESDAY

BRENTWOOD: **J.F. Freedman** reads "Key Witness," Dutton's Books, 11975 San Vicente Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 286-READ.

BURBANK: **Jon Boorstin** discusses "Making Movies Work," Barnes & Noble, 731 N. San Fernando Road, 7:30 p.m. (818) 558-1383

DEL MAR: **Peter Nichols** reads "Sea Change," Esmeralda Books, 1555 Camino del Mar, 7 p.m. (619) 755-2707.

LOS ANGELES: Celebratory poetry reading in honor of the poet H.D.'s birthday features **Laurel Ann Bogen, Eloise Klein Healy, Holly Prado** and others, Borders Books and Music, 330 S. La Cienega Blvd., 7:30 p.m. (310) 659-4045.

LOS ANGELES: **Syd Fields** ("Four Screenplays,") conducts a screenwriting workshop, Borders Books and Music, 330 S. La Cienega Blvd., 7:30 p.m. (310) 659-4045.

NEWPORT BEACH: Poets **Barbara** and **Mark Wagner** read their work, Alta Coffee House & Roasting Co., 506 31st St., 7 p.m. (714) 675-0233.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD: **James Ragan** reads "The Hunger Wall," Sam's Book City, 5245 Lankershim Blvd., 8:30 p.m. (818) 985-6911.

PASADENA: **Aljean Harmetz** signs "Off the Face of the Earth," Vroman's Bookstore, 695 E. Colorado Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 769-BOOK.

SHERMAN OAKS: **Joe R. Lansdale** signs "Bad Chili," Dangerous Visions, 13563 Ventura Blvd., 5 p.m. (818) 986-6963.

THOUSAND OAKS: **Eva** and **Manfred Krutein** discuss "Eva's War and Hitler's Last Gasp," Borders Books and Music, 125 W. Thousand Oaks Blvd., 7 p.m. (805) 497-8159.

WEST COVINA: **Susan Moss** discusses "Keep Your Breast!," Barnes & Noble, 960 The Lakes Drive, 7 p.m. (818) 917-6382.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Greg Smith** discusses "Making Miracles Happen," A Different Light, 8853 Santa Monica Blvd., 8 p.m. (310) 854-6601.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Steven Shafarman** signs "Awareness Heals," Bodhi Tree Bookstore, 8585 Melrose Ave., 7:30 p.m. (310) 659-1733.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Joe R. Lansdale** signs "Bad Chili," Mysterious Bookshop, 8763 Beverly Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 821-9017.

THURSDAY

BRENTWOOD: **Rilla Askew** reads "The Mercy Seat," Dutton's Books, 11975 San Vicente Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 286-READ.

CENTURY CITY: **Raleigh Pinsky** discusses "101 Ways to Promote Yourself," Brentano's, 10250 Santa Monica Blvd., 7 p.m. (310) 785-0204.

COSTA MESA: **Heike Hendler** signs "Stories of True Love," Barnes & Noble, Metro Pointe, 901 B South Coast Drive, #150, 7 p.m. (714) 444-0226.

LONG BEACH: **Michael Shermer** discusses "Why People Believe Weird Things," Barnes & Noble, 6326 E. Pacific Coast Highway, 7 p.m. (562) 431-2253.

LOS ANGELES: **James Ragan, Noel Riley Fitch, S.L. Stebel** and others discuss their writing, on the USC campus in the Town & Gown Building, 6:30 p.m. (213) 740-3252.

LOS ANGELES: **Gary Hardwick** signs "Double Dead," EsoWon Books, 3655 S. La Brea Ave., 7 p.m. (213) 294-0324.

PASADENA: **David Freed** reads "Dear Ernest and Julio," Vroman's Bookstore, 695 E. Colorado Blvd., 7 p.m.. (800) 769-BOOK.

SANTA MONICA: **Elaine Bell Kaplan** signs "Not Our Kind of Girl," Midnight Special Bookstore, 1318 Third Street Promenade, 7:30 p.m. (310) 393-2923.

VENICE: "Nearly Fatal Women" program features reading by **Suzanne Lummis, Laurel Ann Bogen, Linda Albertano** and **Anna Homler**, $7, Beyond Baroque, 681 Venice Blvd., 8:30 p.m. (310) 822-3006.

WESTWOOD: **Jared Diamond** discusses "Why Is Sex Fun?," Borders Books and Music, 1360 Westwood Blvd., 7:30 p.m. (310) 475-3444.

FRIDAY

BRENTWOOD: **Jared Diamond** reads "Why Is Sex Fun?" Dutton's Books, 11975 San Vicente Blvd., 7 p.m. (800) 286-READ.

LOS ANGELES: "The Art of Dr. Seuss" exhibit, Every Picture Tells A Story . . . , 7525 Beverly Blvd., 10 a.m. (213) 932-6070.

LOS ANGELES: **Edward Bunker** signs "Little Boy Blue" and "Dog Eat Dog," Borders Books and Music, 330 S. La Cienega Blvd., 7:30 p.m. (310) 659-4045.

Beginning Sept. 8, The Times will publish a weekly bestseller list ranking the top-selling books in Southern California in the areas of health, fitness, life and style. It will appear every Monday in the new health section of the paper, which makes its debut tomorrow.

LOS ANGELES: **Michael Moore** discusses "Downsize This!," Barnes & Noble, 10850 W. Pico Blvd., 7:30 p.m. (310) 475-4144.

LOS ANGELES: **Dave Alvin** ("Any Rough Times Are Now Behind You"), **Barry Graham** ("Before"), **Steve Abee** ("King Planet") and **Jimmy Jazz** ("The Sub") sign their books, Skylight Books, 1818 N. Vermont Ave., 7:30 p.m. (213) 660-1175.

SANTA MONICA: **Edward Bunker** signs "Dog Eat Dog," Midnight Special Bookstore, 1318 Third Street Promenade, 1 p.m. (310) 393-2923.

SHERMAN OAK: **J.V. Jones** signs "Barbed Coil," Dangerous Visions, 13563 Ventura Blvd., 6 p.m. (1818) 986-6963.

VENICE: Poets **Naomi Quinonez** and **Quincy Troupe** read their work, $7, Beyond Baroque, 681 Venice Blvd., 8:30 p.m. (310) 822-3006.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Judy Laslie** signs "Nine Chances to Feel Good About Yourself," Bodhi Tree Bookstore, 8585 Melrose Ave., 7:30 p.m. (310) 659-1733.

SATURDAY

BREA: **Kevin Fagan** signs "Son of Drabble," Borders Books and Music, 429 S. Associated Road, 7 p.m. (714) 672-0120.

BRENTWOOD: **Barney Saltzberg** reads "Phoebe and the Spelling Bee," Dutton's Books, 11975 San Vicente Blvd., 11 a.m. (800) 286-READ.

LONG BEACH: **Barbara Saltzman** reads **David Saltzman's** "The Jester Has Lost His Jingle," Barnes & Noble, 6326 E. Pacific Coast Highway, 10 a.m. (562) 431-2253.

LOS ANGELES: **Norman Klein** signs "The History of Forgetting," Dawson's Book Shop, 535 N. Larchmont Blvd., 2:30 p.m. Reservations: (213) 469-2186.

LOS ANGELES: **Don Etkes** discusses "Loving With Passion," Barnes & Noble, 10850 W. Pico Blvd., 7:30 p.m. (310) 475-4144.

NEWPORT BEACH: **Sherwood Kiraly** signs "California Rush," Barnes & Noble, 953 Newport Center Drive, 2 p.m. (714) 759-0982.

PASADENA: **Eve Bunting** ("December") and **Tony Johnston** ("Day of the Dead"); and **Martin Limon** ("Slicky Boys") sign their books, Vroman's Bookstore, 695 E. Colorado Blvd., 3 and 5 p.m., respectively. (800) 769-BOOK.

SAN DIEGO: **Wendy Hornsby** signs "A Hard Light," Grounds for Murder, 3858 Fifth Ave., 4:30 p.m. (619) 299-9500.

SANTA MONICA: **Ira Steven Behr** and **Robert Hewitt Wolfe** sign "Star Trek: Legends of the Ferengi," HSF/Flights of Fantasy, 523 Santa Monica Blvd., 2 p.m. (310) 917-9112.

SANTA MONICA: **Martin Limon** reads "Slicky Boys," Midnight Special Bookstore, 1318 Third Street Promenade, 7 p.m. (310) 393-2923.

SOUTH PASADENA: **Carolyn Wheat** signs "Troubled Waters," Book'em Mysteries, 1118 Mission St., 2 p.m. (800) 4-BOOKEM.

THOUSAND OAKS: **C.E. Poverman** signs "On the Edge," Mysteries to Die For, 2940 Thousand Oaks Blvd., 10 a.m. (805) 374-0084.

VENICE: Jazz Poetry workshop with **Quincy Troupe; Philomene Long** and **John Thomas** host publication party for "Bukowski in the Bathtub." $30 workshop fee; $7 party fee, Beyond Baroque, 681 Venice Blvd., 2; 8:30 p.m., respectively. (310) 822-3006.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Rachel Rosenthal** signs "Tatti Wattles," Bodhi Tree Bookstore, 8585 Melrose Ave., 2:30 p.m. (310) 659-1733.

WEST HOLLYWOOD: **Maurice Medland** ("Point of Honor"), **C. E. Poverman** ("On The Edge") and **Julie Smith** ("Crescent City Kill"), **Katherine Forrest** ("Apparition Alley") sign their books, Mysterious Bookshop, 8763 Beverly Blvd., 1 and 3 p.m., respectively. (800) 821-9017.

WESTWOOD: UCLA Extension Journalism Program Open House features guest journalists discussing freelance hobby writing, on the UCLA campus, 2160E Dickson Art Center, 10 a.m. (310) 825-0641.

Send notices to Book Calendar, Book Review, Los Angeles Times, Times Mirror Square, Los Angeles, CA 90053 or fax (213) 237-4712 16 days before issue date. Listings are free; inclusion is not guaranteed.

Bestsellers

Fiction

Southern California ranking		Last Week	Weeks on List
1	**COLD MOUNTAIN** by Charles Frazier (Atlantic Monthly: $24) A Confederate soldier quits the Civil War and heads home.	1	10
2	**THE GOD OF SMALL THINGS** by Arundhati Roy (Random House: $23) The rise and fall of a South Indian family.	2	10
3	**CHASING CEZANNE** by Peter Mayle (Knopf: $23) An art theft on the Côte d'Azur plunges a photographer into the world of the super chic.	6	5
4	**UNNATURAL EXPOSURE** by Patricia Cornwell (Putnam: $25.95) A serial killer returns, leaving clues for Kay Scarpetta in cyberspace.	3	7
5	**SERPENT'S TOOTH** by Faye Kellerman (Morrow: $24) Lt. Peter Decker tracks a killer after a mass murder at a posh L.A. eatery.	4	4
6	**A CUP OF TEA** by Amy Ephron (Morrow: $20) Romance amid the drawing rooms of New York high society right before World War I.	—	1
7	**PLUM ISLAND** by Nelson DeMille (Warner: $25) Convalescing in a fishing town, a New York cop links local lore with two deaths.	7	14
8	**WOMEN WITH MEN** by Richard Ford (Knopf: $23) Moral fables for our times.	—	4
9	**LONDON** by Edward Rutherfurd (Crown: $25.95) From its origins to the present, London's history is told through the lives of six families.	—	12
10	**LARRY'S PARTY** by Carol Shields (Viking: $22.95) A late-20th century guy with a *fin de siècle* 'tude.	—	1

Nonfiction

Southern California ranking		Last Week	Weeks on List
1	**ANGELA'S ASHES** by Frank McCourt (Scribner: $24) A bittersweet Irish childhood.	2	45
2	**THE PERFECT STORM: A True Story of Men Against the Sea** by Sebastian Junger (Norton: $23.95) An account of fishermen trapped in the awesome fury of a hurricane.	3	11
3	**INTO THIN AIR: A Personal Account of the Mt. Everest Disaster** by Jon Krakauer (Villard: $24) Risk and recklessness on a mountaintop.	4	19
4	**BABYHOOD** by Paul Reiser. (Rob Weisbach Books/Morrow: $22) Squishy diaper surprises and other tales from the parenting trenches.	1	2
5	**CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD, BOOK ONE** by Neale Donald Walsch (Putnam: $19.95) Channeling Mr. Big.	6	19
6	**THE MAN WHO LISTENS TO HORSES** by Monty Roberts with Lucy Grealy (Random House: $23) Turning wild horses into pussycats.	5	3
7	**BURNING THE DAYS: Recollection** by James Salter (Random House: $24) A veteran in love and war.	—	1
8	**THE MILLIONAIRE NEXT DOOR** by Thomas J. Stanley and William D. Danko (Longstreet: $22) Lives of the rich and fearless.	8	5
9	**MY NAME ESCAPES ME: The Diary of a Retiring Actor** by Alec Guinness (Viking: $23.95) Prim and proper mischief at his comfy Hampshire home.	—	1
10	**THE NAPOLEON OF CRIME: The Life and Times of Adam Worth, Master Thief** by Ben Macintyre (Farrar, Straus & Giroux: $24) A gentleman among thieves.	—	1

Paperbacks

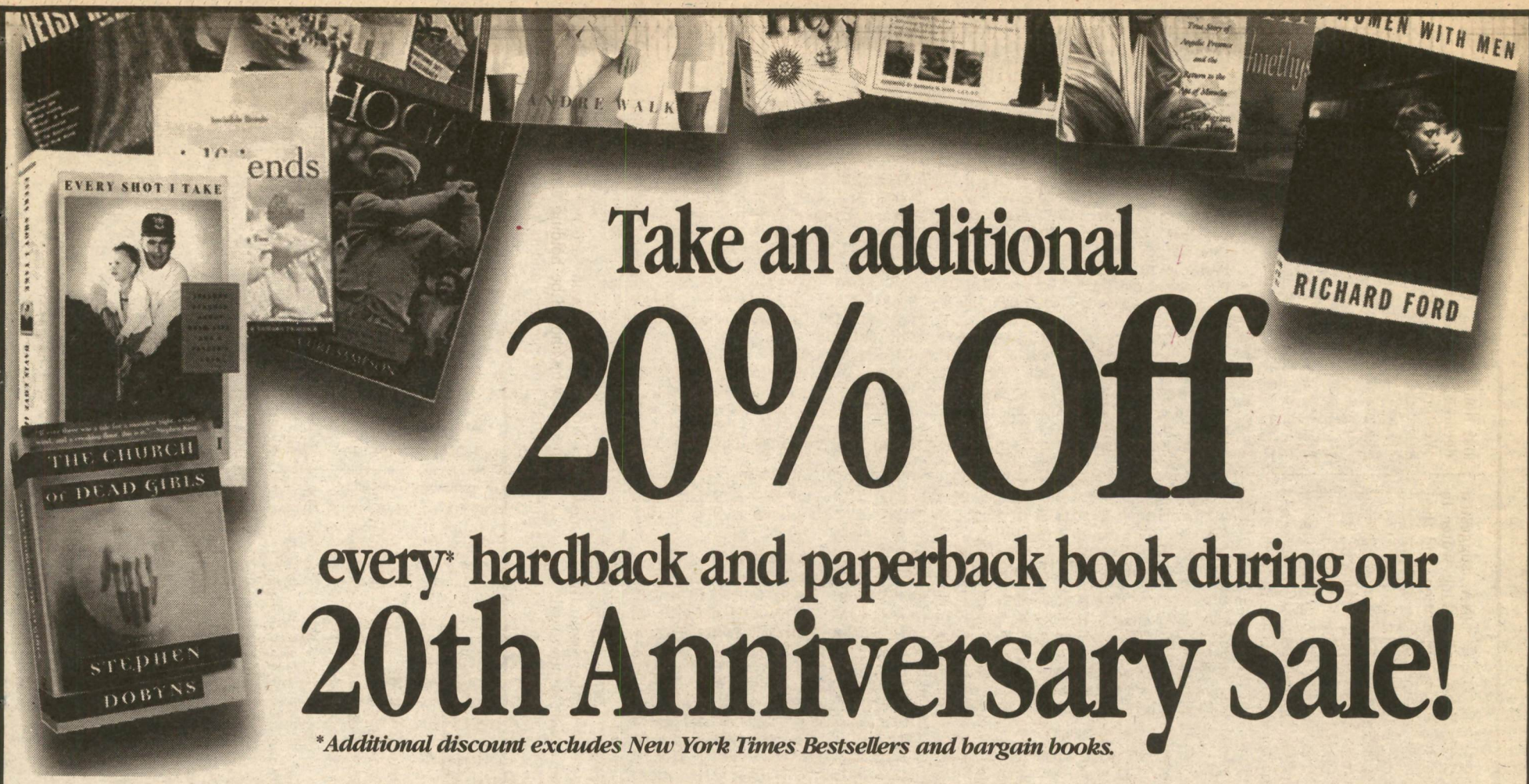
FICTION

1. **THE LAWS OF OUR FATHERS** by Scott Turow (Warner: $7.99)
2. **SHE'S COME UNDONE** by Wally Lamb (Pocket: $14)
3. **CAUSE OF DEATH** by Patricia Cornwell (Berkley: $7.50)
4. **THE THIRD TWIN** by Ken Follett (Fawcett Crest: $7.99)
5. **IDORU** by William Gibson (Berkley: $6.99)

NONFICTION

1. **THE COLOR OF WATER** by James McBride (Riverhead: $12)
2. **L.A. BIZARRO** by Anthony Lovett and Matt Maranian (A Buzz Book/St. Martin's: $16.95)
3. **INTO THE WILD** by Jon Krakauer (Anchor/Doubleday: $12.95)
4. **LEONARD MALTIN'S 1998 MOVIE AND VIDEO GUIDE** by Leonard Maltin (NAL Dutton: $7.99)
5. **EIGER DREAMS: Ventures Among Men and Mountains** by Jon Krakauer (Anchor/Doubleday: $12.95)

Rankings are based upon Times' poll of Southland bookstores.



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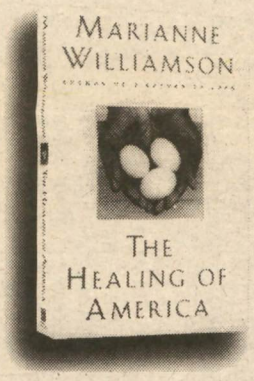

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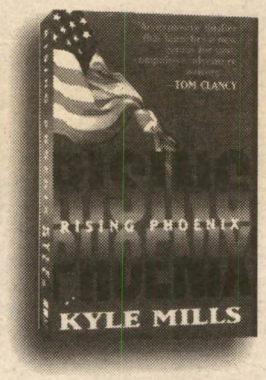

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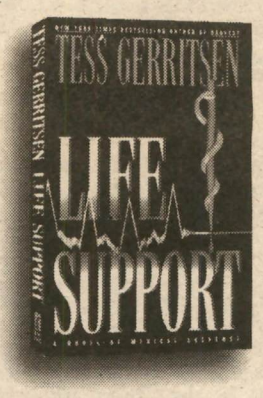

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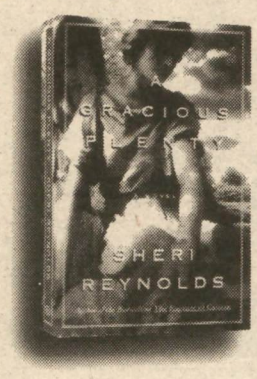

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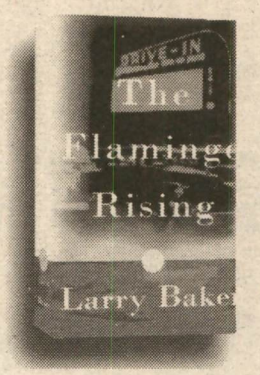

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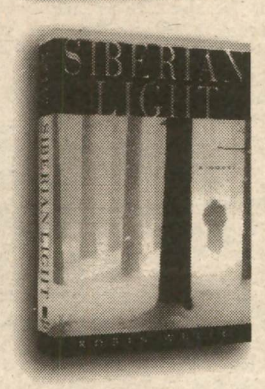

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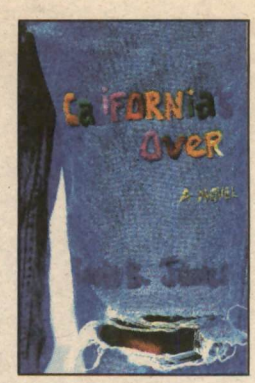
Los Angeles Times

BOOK REVIEW

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1997

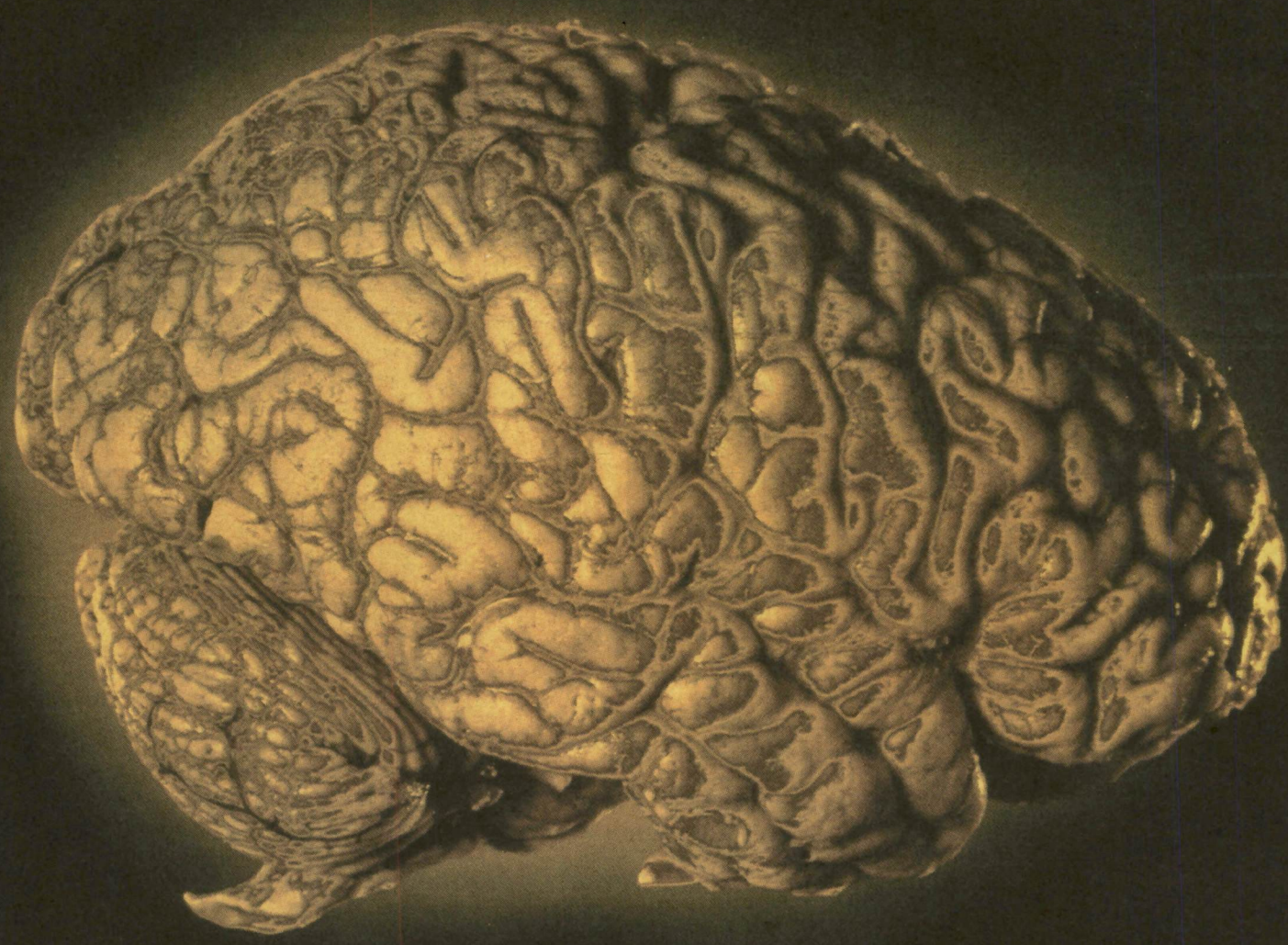


Louis B. Jones' 'California's Over: A Novel' **Richard Eder**

Page 2

Walking the Walk, Talking the Talk

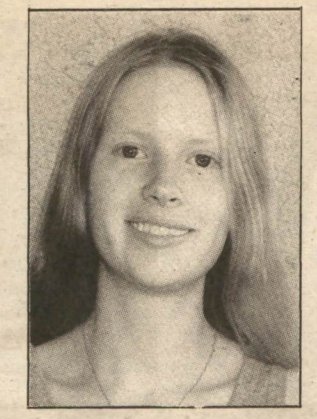
Robert C. Berwick on Language and the Brain



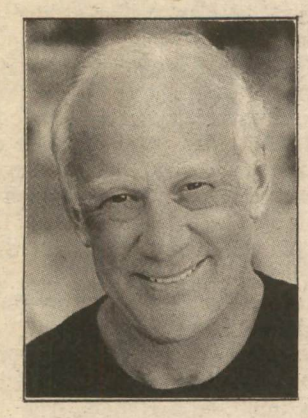
Edward McGlynn Gaffney Jr. on the Hidden Encyclical of Pope Pius XI
Oliver Stone's Autobiographical Novel **Aram Saroyan**
Susie Linfield on an Intimate History of American Girls
Why Sex Is Strange **Robert Lee Hotz**

Reading L.A. Mezzie Montooth **Buzz Aldrin** Martin Chalifour **Kris Neri**

READING L.A.



Mezzie Montooth,
sandwich store manager:
"Still Life with Woodpecker" by Tom Robbins (Bantam).
"Any book that makes redheads divine is OK by me. Did you know that the pyramids were built by redheaded people and that Thomas Jefferson, who put the pyramid on the dollar bill, was a redhead? It's amazing what Robbins knows."



Buzz Aldrin,
astronaut, writer:
"The Whole Shebang" by Timothy Ferris (Simon & Schuster).
"As I prepare to write a book for the 30th anniversary of Apollo 11 in 1999, I'm reading Ferris with interest. He explains so simply such complex issues like the formation of the universe that I'm convinced we need more writers like him if we ever hope to think clearly about star travel."

Martin Chalfour,
principal concertmaster, L.A. Philharmonic:
"The Stand" by Stephen King (NAL Dutton).
"I'm a real science-fiction buff, and this is a perfect escape from reality, just like music. In his book, King presents an interesting scenario of how our world can be turned upside-down."

Kris Neri,
mystery writer:
"A Hard Light" by Wendy Hornsby (Dutton).
"This is the latest Maggie MacGowen mystery, and I always want to know what's happening in the characters' lives. I love the subtlety and the seamless quality of Hornsby's writing."

Los Angeles Times

BOOK REVIEW

Book Editor: *Steve Wasserman*
Deputy Editor: *Thomas Curwen*
Assistant Editors: *Cara Mia DiMassa, Nick Owchar, Susan Salter Reynolds (on leave)*
Book Critic: *Richard Eder*
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Los Angeles Times Book Review
Times Mirror Square / Los Angeles, CA 90053
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Cover illustration: Medical illustration of the human brain; SBHS/Tony Stone Images

Into the Void

RICHARD EDER

CALIFORNIA'S OVER
By Louis B. Jones
Pantheon: 330 pp., $24

There are revolutions that devour their children, but it's a fast-food meal at best. Before long, it is the survivor children who do the devouring.

In Louis B. Jones' thoughtfully comic novel, the offspring of a famous Beat poet end up variously as a Sheetrock tycoon, a swimming-pool salesman and an indomitable mother. They turn their backs, that is, on the counterculture insurgency of the early 1960s. Even more combatively, they reject the ecological and flower-powered insurgency of the 1970s—in the person of a monster of manipulative benevolence: their mother's second husband.

Jones is not necessarily putting down revolutions and idealisms nor even, in particular, those of our recent past. It is their commodifying that he skewers: the passage from a motion of the heart to a motion of the gullet.

"California's Over" is only partly a political and social satire. Author of "Ordinary Money" and "Particles and Luck," Jones is one of our most subtle and least classifiable writers. He is after the elusive pivot point where idealism turns to self-display and power-hunger and where the humane impulse that originally nourished it packs up quietly at midnight and goes elsewhere. He is interested in courage, openness to life and the unpredictable refugee course that awaits anyone afflicted with such a pair of virtues.

In this case, it is the children of the poet, James Farmican, and eventually his widow, Julia. She is the keeper of her poet husband's flame and active partner to his ecological successor, but her enthusiasms carry mold-spots of doubt. By the end of this continually metamorphosing book, she is a woman who reluctantly has become herself.

The story is told retrospectively from the present, when the Farmican children are in their 40s. Most of it, though, recounts four days in 1972, when their revolt began. To sum up briefly:

Julia and Faro, her second husband, preparing to move to Oregon, are cleaning out their ramshackle mansion on the Marin County coast. She and James Farmican had lived there until he shot himself. (Or so it seems—the doubt is never quite dispelled.) Stuffed with junk and treasures, the house was a shrine to the dead poet and the other California Beats.

"Everyone knows California's over," Julia announces to the young man whom she hires to carry stuff out for the appraisers and auctioneers.

Faro, rich by inheritance and trend-spotter by greed, has bought a huge Oregon spread that he plans to turn into an ecologically and socially responsible ranch. There will be windmill power; also, if a few pesky details can be worked out, windup cars.

The winding would be done, via reduction gears, by the descent of a massive weight from a high tower. The weight would be lifted by an oxen team hauling on a windlass. Thus—though only in part—the unstoppable Faro.

Baelthon, the hired helper—a would-be novelist whose only fictional achievement is his own name—becomes part of the story and its narrator. He meets Julia's two disaffected children: Sean, a would-be poet mostly out of family conformity, and 16-year-old Wendy, who keeps a closet full of junk food to counteract the household's macrobiotics. Neither wants to go to Oregon, but neither knows how to resist Faro's manipulative high-mindedness.

Baelthon plays a part in the disruption that follows, not deliberately—he is as confused as everyone else—but by making love to Wendy and rousing her dormant sense of identity. The principal disrupter is Ed, a son whom Julia and James, in their days of Beat sublimity, had foisted off on a working-class family.

Now Ed turns up, as the household is shifting from one sublimity to the next, with a coat and tie, a business plan and a suitcase-full of canned food. (At 6% annual inflation, he figures, it's like earning 6% interest.)

Jones uses food as a wonderfully useful marker. The Farmican children have been starving on high-mindedness and soup (apart from Wendy's Cheez-Whiz cache). Julia prepares a seafood cioppino, and over the following four days of chaos and insurgency, she keeps reheating it, adding an old jar of miso paste to fortify it. She and Faro eat virtuously; the children with sour submissiveness. It gets darker and more loathsome: "Bacony," someone remarks with forced cheer by the third day.

Ed balks. To his steak-and-fries upbringing, seafood is alien. He watches clams and oysters bobbing in the murky liquid, "little yawns of death on an exposed reef." He charts the daily emergence of one particular oyster by its nicked shell. He sticks to bread and butter. Later, when Sean and Wendy join his escape from Faro's plans, they all head straight for Burger King.

The business plan that Ed brings along is based on his discovery that James Farmican had bought a defunct casino in Void, Nev., before his marriage. Falling outside the state's community property law—Ed has researched it painstakingly—it passes directly to his three children. He proposes that the three of them go to Void and revive it. The license alone can make them a fortune, he argues.

It is sheer subversion. Money-grubbing versus idealism; and the overthrow of Faro's autocracy-by-virtue. Everyone hates the idea at first, but the four days ferment like the cioppino.

The three children and Baelthon head out to Nevada in Ed's decrepit Mercedes (all the status symbol the future tycoon can afford). Julia too has turned against Faro. Faro, reverting to the ancestral piracy that gave him his inheritance, embarks on a hopelessly tangled tax scheme that will strip Julia and her children of everything they have.

Nevada is a series of disasters, both comic and grim, that would require a whole other review to describe. It confronts the four young people, previously oppressed but also sheltered, with the savagery of the world's jungle and of the jungle within themselves. None of them emerges with their virtue intact; all of them emerge as free and, finally, endearing adults.

Jones has provided "California's Over" with more plot, vicissitude and elaboration of its characters than it can entirely stand. Yet the characters are invented with a brilliance that gives them high energy, and a restraint that gives them room to exert it.

Faro is a sleaze whose need to prevail is in comical balance with his need to put himself in a good light, to monopolize the good light, in fact. He is all repellent empathy, yet there are glimpses of a tiny pale creature trying incompetently to work the controls of his juggernaut so as to limit the damage. Wendy, the self-doubting adolescent awakening to her own power, is the book's finest achievement. Her sexuality is all experiment, discovery and, eventually, submission to its discovered limits.

Jones designs his people better than his world, which can get out of hand. The people, though, are so human and written with so original a cunning that they are virtually worlds in themselves. ■

Smoking

by Elton Glaser

I like the cool and heft of it, dull metal on the palm,
And the click, the hiss, the spark fuming into flame,
Boldface of fire, the rage and sway of it, raw blue at the base
And a slope of gold, a touch to the packed tobacco, the tip
Turned red as a warning light, blown brighter by the breath,
The pull and the pump of it, and the paper's white
Smoothed now to ash as the smoke draws back, drawn down
To the black crust of lungs, tar and poisons in the pink,
And the blood sorting it out, veins tight and the heart slow,
The push and wheeze of it, a sweep of plumes in the air
Like a shako of horses dragging a hearse
through the late centennium,
London, at the end of December, in the dark and fog.

From "The Best American Poetry 1997" edited by James Tate (Scribner: 268 pp., $30) ©1997 Reprinted by permission.

Walking the Walk, Talking the Talk

Making Sense of the Human Essence

ROBERT C. BERWICK

THE SYMBOLIC SPECIES
The Co-Evolution of Language and the Brain
By Terrence W. Deacon
W.W. Norton: 528 pp., $29.95

I

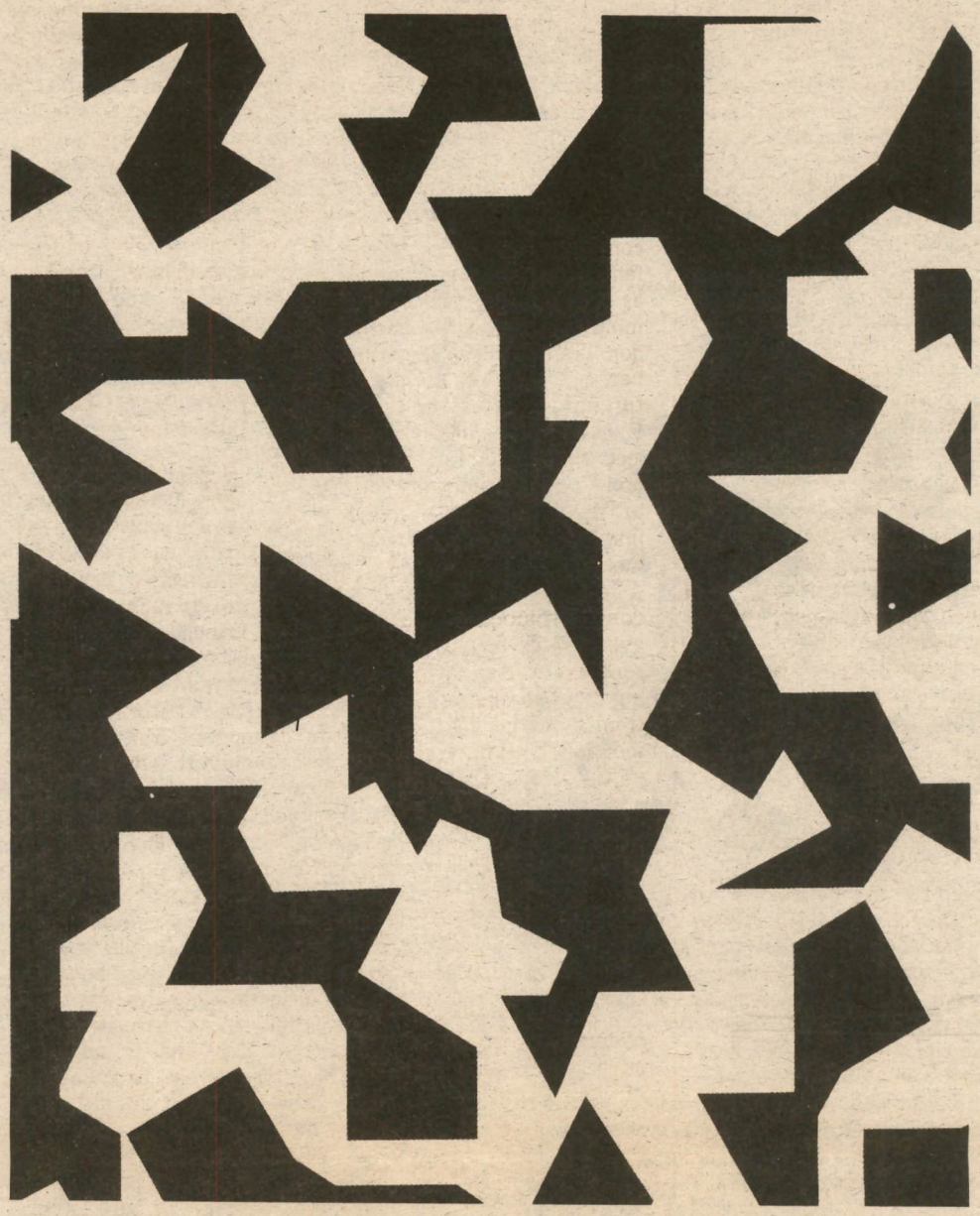
Nearly 160 years ago, Charles Darwin wrote that "He who understands baboon would do more toward metaphysics than Locke." He tried. In his prescient two-volume "The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex" (1871), written 12 years after "Origin of Species," Darwin found that "the large size of the brain in man, in comparison with that of the lower animals, relatively to the size of their bodies, may be attributed in chief part . . . to the early use of some simple form of language, that wonderful engine which affixes signs to all sorts of objects and qualities, and excites trains of thought which would never arise from the mere impression of the senses." Language, then, produces a powerful stimulus for the brain or, as Darwin put it: "[T]he continued use of language will have reacted on the brain, and produced an inherited effect; and this again will have reacted on the improvement of language."

Sound familiar? It should. It's the exact model of a modern major evolutionary "Just So" story. As usual, Darwin's batting average bested those of most of our current players. Not only did Darwin get our "out of Africa" origin (probably) right, but he also spotted most of the currently debated evolutionary ingredients accounting for language: a ballooning brain expanded by an evolutionary "arms race"; and symbols that increased our ancestors' behavioral repertoire, thereby pushing the brain to keep pace and spurring further language development in an upward-spiraling direction—what biologists now dub "co-evolution."

What fueled this escalation? For Darwin, it was sexual selection: the same process of female choice or male competition that leads to ever-gaudier peacock feathers. Smooth-talking potential mates won the day. In a moment of extended Victorian reverie, Darwin speculates in "Descent" that our ancestors' "love songs" were the precursors to human language. Caruso lives!

It is testament to Darwin's triumph that this story of how speech divides us from the rest of creation seems so familiar. Whether you're talking about Desmond Morris and Richard Ardrey's 1960s work on the "naked ape," Edmund O. Wilson's 1970s sociobiological speculations linking language to hunting-plan competence and scratch-my-back-I'll-scratch-yours reciprocal altruism or Harry Jerison's brain expansion calculations, it's all rejuggled Darwin.

Even this decade's revivals—such as William H. Calvin's and Christopher Wills' "runaway brain," Michael Corballis' "lopsided ape" or psychologist Steven Pinker's language-as-Machiavellian offshoot (to win friends and influence people)—are just filigree adorning the same basic tale about brain-culture co-evolution. But it is when potboiler novels such as John Darnton's "Neanderthal" mix talk of telepathy with sophisticated byplay concerning whether or not the hyoid bone in early man's larynx was properly placed to hit Caruso's modern vowel tones, that you realize that the science writers have some catching up to do.



Crystal pattern; from "Marks of Excellence: The History and Taxonomy of Trademarks" by Per Mollerup (Chronicle Books: 240 pp., $75)

Luckily for us, Terrence Deacon's informative book makes a remarkable contribution. Most authors go awry by equating language development with communication. Darwin did. Our brains ballooned, bigger brains meant more smarts and, with more smarts, the wit for language. That much has dominated the quasi-theological discussion of language origins from before Aquinas to Hobbes' dictum *"Homo rationale quid orationale"* (man thinks because he speaks) and beyond. But this equation gets it wrong. As the linguist Derek Bickerton has noted, confusing "language" with "communication" is like confusing a car—the machinery itself—with the act of driving. Not so with Deacon. He dodges this misleading thought, along with many others. Gossip replaced grooming? Since animal communication systems can be so sophisticated, there's no obvious adaptive reason our ancestors ever needed anything more for hunting plans or "gossip." Bigger brains and machinery for speech?

Deacon argues that three, and only three, wildly divergent animal groups do all of the following: babble from birth, imitate the sounds of others and have (mostly) voluntary control of their breathing—humans, songbirds and parrots, and cetaceans (seals, whales, dolphins). Breath control is essential to speech: We speak only while *exhaling* (try saying this sentence while breathing in). Deacon observes that breath intake is yet another way that human speech differs from primate vocal calls which, like their human analogues of sobbing or laughter, are largely involuntary, contagious, and can involve rapid intakes of breath. Yet, being a literal bird-brain suffices for human-like breath control, and even children who are otherwise severely impaired, down 50% on normal IQ, still acquire language in the usual way.

Indeed, our brain size has apparently decreased by 10% or more over the past 35,000 years. What happened? Deacon begins by asking a provocative question: Why are there no simple languages? All human languages, from the ancient Akkadian language to Zulu in South Africa today, are equally complex. To illustrate how such complexity exists for humans alone, Deacon turns to the animal kingdom and the tireless efforts of Sue Savage-Rumbaugh, who trained primates in the use of simple language tools. Savage-Rumbaugh and her colleagues worked with the most "promising" primates—a pair of Pygmy chimps, or bonobos, named Austin and Sherman—to associate arbitrarily crafted lexigrams like "blue triangle" and "blue square" with command sequences like "want banana" and "like banana." The chimps mastered this easily, but this, as Deacon notes, is rote activity. Even trained pigeons pass muster here. It's the next step up the abstract cliff that's the impasse: the relationship *between* "square" and "triangle." That's a tall order—perhaps a tiny bit easier than mastering Microsoft Word commands.

It's so hard, in fact, that it took a few years for Savage-Rumbaugh to figure out that the only way to proceed was by doing what every dog owner knows: Wait until the *incorrect* behavior appears—the dog soils the carpet—and extinguish that behavior until only the correct combinations remain. Literally thousands of incorrect trial combinations proved necessary with one prominent exception: an infant chimp named Kanzi, who clung to its mother as she was being trained, and was never explicitly taught. Yet this is part of Deacon's story. He believes that perhaps the younger, more flexible brains of newborns, like Kanzi, enable them to learn something like language, and humans are known to have a long developmental period for that.

Deacon argues that people have at least one attribute that other animals don't: a perception of abstract concepts beyond the surface of things and upon which human society is based. To juxtapose two of Deacon's most pointed examples, what makes us peculiarly human is our ability to understand the difference, say, between my finger and the wedding band that wraps around it. My finger's nearly (always) right in front of my nose—my perceptual stimulus matches "finger" in the here and now. The wedding band's crucially different. To be sure, there's the glint of gold that can be perceived, but it's mere scrim masking a huge social, contractual and religious machinery that's not right in front of my nose. And this symbolism, Deacon asserts, other animals just simply never grasp. Or, to put it another way, animals may mate or bond but never get married—reciprocal altruism be damned—and, perhaps like some people, other animals don't have the foggiest idea what a marriage *means*.

More broadly, they can't learn the higher-order rules that govern any relationship that's not directly in the here and now. To scale symbolic heights, Deacon claims that a special learning ability is needed: word-to-word and word-to-symbol learning *beyond* Darwin's argument for mere stimulus association, sparked by a prefrontal cortical expansion, new "wiring" and delayed plasticity, all as the tinder for language. Languages became easy to learn because the brain is more resistant to change than language—that is, biological evolutionary change runs a thousand times slower than linguistic change, so it must be that language has been made learnable because of the exacting demands of brain development, not the other way around. It's no accident, then, that the Book of Genesis has Adam naming all the animals. Anyone with a young daughter also could vouch for that predilection: Just consider a child's pointing finger from about age 1 and the incessant question, "What's that?" for object after object. Apes never start.

II

"The Symbolic Species" retells Darwin's story but does so from a new perspective, buttressed by the immensely more sophisticated contributions of modern neuroscience and molecular biology. Anyone who's trekked a thousand miles to eat whale blubber, to get a peek at whether an obscure whale brain's convolutions differ from ours, deserves a certain measure of respect. One must be versed in the tricks of so many trades that Deacon's expertise reads like a university course catalog: physiological mechanics (to understand how something the size of a basketball folds up when stuffed into a space the size of a large grapefruit), embryology and the transplantation of one animal's growing nerve cells

Please see Page 4

Robert C. Berwick is co-director of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for Biological and Computational Learning and MIT professor of computer science. His most recent book, "Cartesian Computation," will be published by MIT Press this fall.

Continued from Page 3

into another's (in order to understand brain development), molecular genetics, neurophysiology, archeology and so on.

Here lies both the strengths and the weaknesses of Deacon's heroic effort "to arrange all the questions in the right order." Deacon divides his efforts into three areas: language (words and symbols); the neurological underpinnings down to brain circuits and how we speak (which is Deacon's own professional stock-in-trade as a neuroscience researcher); and the coordinated "arms race" between culture and language, specifically, the demand-driven symbolic need inherent in ceremonies. On this score, Deacon bats a bit better than 1-for-3; he raps almost every brain science curve ball dead on while upping his average by dodging the language-as-communication pitches and unraveling the real details of bonobo language training. A respectable average: It's enough to judge Deacon the first .400 hitter here since Darwin. Indeed, he pulls together the most impressive collection of neurophysiological, anatomical and brain evolution evidence about language to date.

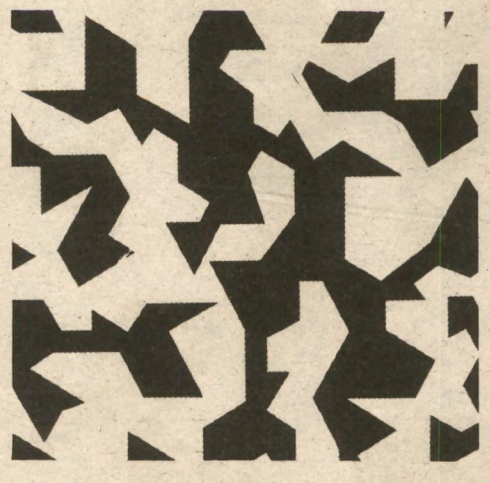
Regrettably, only Deacon's investigation of the brain is satisfactorily treated. Language and the co-evolutionary ramparts are barely occupied. If one could pick out a single snare that catches Deacon, it's the same one that's plagued psychology from the start: Take any cognitive ability such as vision because it usually doesn't bear the same intertwined confusion between thought and language: When I see a glass of ice tea on a table, what enables me to see? What's the balance between the information contributed by the external world and the internal constructions and computations carried out by my brain? Do I see the glass on a table because objects are "out there" in the world or because my brain has computed them? We know part, probably most, of the answer: It's the mind/brain that imposes coherence on the external world, not the other way around. To be sure, the world contributes some of the necessary constraint, or else we'd be in hallucinatory Never-Never Land, but it's a credit allocation problem. The external world contributes the reflected light, the raw data, but the brain throws most of that raw data away and does the hard job of computing, piece by piece, the answer to what I see.

Consider a computer analogy: a personal computer program that balances your checkbook. Like the light streaming into the eye, you type numbers into the program—dates, check numbers, amounts, and ATM debits; balance, payments and interest—but it's just a stream of numbers. It's up to the program to *interpret* it—to decide which numbers are which: what that blasted $ means, what the difference is between the numbers before the decimal point and after, how to subtract the debits and add the payments, and so forth. So there must be a great deal of knowledge in the program, not just about the decimal number system but, deeper still, the laws of arithmetic. Now, that information is in the program, not in the world, and it's pretty clear that although both the data and the program are necessary to arrive at the final answer, it's the computer program that contains the lion's share of the information and deserves most of the credit. The program did not have to extract very much else from the outside world; perhaps when it was installed, one had to set a few switches depending upon what country one was in, in order to know that dates stream in day-month-year in Europe, and month-day-year in Los Angeles, or that $120,583.23 is written as 732 743,42 francs in Paris.

So now we have a litmus test for whether it's the external world or internal computation that gets the credit for a (computational) ability. We look and see how the knowledge is carved up between the two and how much new information besides the raw data the program needs in order to get its work done. (Of course, the *programmer* who puts the knowledge into the program counts too, maybe more—the obvious analogy here being evolution—but as we shall see, here too the points go to what could be called the "internalist perspective.")

In short, wire up a different organism—the computation a fly's eye-brain does, for example—and the edges and objects *we* see dissolve, replaced only by vague approaching and receding blobs. Different software, different end result. Now over evolutionary time, there's no doubt that we have *adapted* to some regularities of the physical world and not to others. We detect light waves with certain vibrations, colors and not others, and those regularities have gotten incorporated into our "wetware."

What about language? Our experience vastly undermines what our brains compute, so the external world does not—cannot—provide the information we need to speak and understand. When I speak, there are no



silent pauses between words, the blanks in printed text; that's partly why it's so hard to build computers that can analyze spoken language. The mind *constructs* these pauses just as surely as it constructs the edges of the drinking glass sitting before me, the separation of glass-on-table into glass and table, and everything else.

To borrow an even more potent example from Noam Chomsky, consider how we fill in the interpretation of missing phrases in sentences, just as we fill in the details of the curves of a glass. When we say "John ate an apple," it's "the apple" that we eat. Now suppose we omit the object: "John ate" means "John ate something or other." We might suppose that the computational rule, picked up by example after example like this one, is to replace the missing phrase with "something or other." Now consider "John is too stubborn to talk to Bill," which means that John is stubborn and will not talk to Bill. Suppose we drop the object of "talk to," just as we did with "apple" giving: "John is too stubborn to talk to." Applying the same computational rule to fill in missing phrases as before, or either by analogy or even, perhaps, via learning from the regularities of the external world, we conclude that the resulting sentence means that John is stubborn and will not talk to someone-or-other. But that's precisely the wrong meaning! Rather, the sentence means that *other people* won't talk to John because he's stubborn. Now it's John that's like the apple, the person being talked to or not, while other people are doing the talking—exactly the *reverse* of what the sentence meant before. So much for learning rules by analogy or by "regularities in the external world."

In short, just like the check-balancing program, and just like recognizing objects, somehow we, even as children, come to this complex and subtle set of computational principles *without* corresponding relevant experience of the "external word" or its regularities, what's called the "poverty of the stimulus." It's true for the way that words are put together to make sentences, syntax, and it's just as true for the "meanings" of words themselves. As Chomsky notes, when we talk about Los Angeles, "we can be talking about a location, people who sometimes live there, the air above (but not too high), buildings, institutions, etc. in various combinations. A single occurrence of the term can serve all these functions simultaneously, as when I say that [Los Angeles] is so unhappy, ugly and polluted that it should be destroyed and rebuilt 100 miles away. No object in the world could have this collection of properties." Deacon understands this much of course, as the finger/wedding band example makes clear. The difference, again, comes down to credit assignment: What we know about words and about syntax, the ways that words can be put together, so far transcends the raw data that it cannot be learning, symbolic or otherwise, that turns the trick. And so, without a firm grip on what knowledge of language comes to, how can one say what exactly evolved?

III

What linguists have discovered over the past few decades is that all human languages get built on a single underlying "chassis"—as if General Motors made a single automobile engine and selected a range of bumper styles, front grills, body panels, fenders and so forth to assemble apparently different-looking cars—Buicks, Pontiacs, Chevrolets. For language, the analogy is nearly exact: part of the difference between English and Japanese is that the "bumper style" for English is "ate an apple," verb and then object, while Japanese selects the only other possible choice, "apple ate" (pronounced *ringo tabeta* in Japanese), object then verb. By "setting" perhaps 20 or so such "parameters" we fill the space of possible human language "body styles," or "syntax," just as we can assemble many, many different chemical compounds by combining a handful of atomic elements. Obviously, a child cannot know in advance whether it will be born in Tokyo or Los Angeles, so as far as we know this choice is made by the child listening to the language of its caretakers. Children set these switches swiftly and surely—according to current research, by 2 or 3, for the most part. So, for language, the answer to our litmus test seems clear. The "external world" need provide only "the raw data" to answer 20 yes/no questions for the child to acquire English, Japanese, German or any other human language, while the rest of the "program" is inside the child—just like our checkbook example, just like vision, just like almost every other comparable, cognitive competence that's not explicitly taught.

To be sure, children must learn from experience that "apple" corresponds to the sound "apple" in English and the sound "ringo" in Japanese. That's arbitrary, and so it must be learned. But beyond this, little seems certain even for words, where, as we have seen, our knowledge vastly transcends any ordinary sense of external world experience, and besides, unlike the basic scaffolding for language, word learning extends over a lifetime (or at least until one has to take SATs).

In this way, language syntax comes into the life of each person, allowing us to make "infinite use of finite means" in the familiar sense that sentences can be arbitrarily long, recursive and totally novel. It is this "engine" that lets us talk about things displaced from the here and now, about our beliefs as opposed to the beliefs of others—"I think that if he hid behind that rock, then tomorrow I'll be able to catch the antelope instead"—a world inaccessible to primates and any other species, as far as we know.

Deacon's stance runs counter to this "internalist" perspective, relying instead on humans' increased and longer-term developmental plasticity and learning abilities to acquire language—that language has "co-evolved" so as to be easy to learn from parents and the external world. As with many other evolution-savvy writers, he appeals to what's known as the "Baldwin effect" as a means to incorporate, over evolutionary time, informational regularities about the environment, while reducing the actual (and presumably limited and expensive) knowledge burden that must be carried by genes. The idea is that natural selection can off-load information into the external environment, so long as an organism can learn it, therefore, the better the learner, the more information that can be moved to that side of the fence, saving scarce gene space for information that can't be predicted. For Deacon, language serves as a perfect example where almost everything has been off-loaded into learning.

But even casual examination shows this conclusion to be false. What should we expect to see if language had been molded by optimal Baldwinian information off-loading? Answer: *Exactly* that information that *cannot* be determined by experience ought to be given to us as a jump-start for language, and *exactly* that information that *can* be provided by external experience would not be. To the extent that we know anything about language acquisition, this seems to be exactly right: children are labile along a narrow set of linguistic dimensions, from possible sound systems to syntax and beyond, exactly for the range of parameters they could not possibly know in advance of experience. All the rest—and it is a great deal compared to the mere 20 yes/no questions for syntax—is fixed and completely confirms the syntactic, "internalist" perspective, indeed seems even "evolutionary optimal" (if such a statement about optimality can be said properly at all).

Deacon, following the lead of much recent popular work, appeals to "neural networks" as a candidate for a general learning system to work the Baldwinian magic. One can admire such optimism, but sadly, such networks can't do the job, not yet, perhaps never. For example, given sentences like "John saw Mary" and "John saw the guy," people easily conclude that one can say "Mary saw the guy"—but networks cannot. Networks need careful spoon-fed regularities from the external world, a self-fulfilling machinery for Deacon's theory. Alas, language acquisition does not work that way.

Even the evidence about language change and co-adaptation runs counter to what Deacon requires. Languages *can* evolve vastly faster than the brain *but* only within a limited range permitted by the underlying chassis: object-verb (as in Old English) can change to verb-object (as in Modern English) but there's no going from English to, say, Vulcan. General Motors can't produce tricycles, only four-wheel variations.

IV

If all this is so, then one can take a giant step beyond Deacon's brilliant starting-gate question: Why are there no simple languages today? And we arrive at a far stronger speculation: because there never were any simple languages. Not ever. Certainly, as far back as we know of writing, languages were just as complex as today, say, 6,000 years or roughly 240 generations, and only eight times more takes us back to Cro-Magnon days.

But there's more. More trenchantly and ironically still, there's a strong sense in which Deacon's enterprise, explaining the origin of human language, *cannot* at present succeed. The problem is the way evolutionary inference works. Yet, the irony is that if there's *any* approach that has a hope of recovering the "lost world" that led to language, then, thanks to one of the more startling evolutionary discoveries of the last 10 years, Deacon's may be the only one to get us there.

The dilemma is this: Evolutionary theories rely on *comparison* to infer effects from historical *causes* and to deduce from what we can observe now, such as the frequency

differences in sickle cell anemia and the gene change associated with it in certain African populations as compared to, say, North American populations, to a possible cause, namely resistance to (one type of) malaria that the anemia ameliorates. So, for evolutionists, true novelties or new traits in a single lineage like language, called autapomorphies, pose the greatest challenge. For instance, we can much more easily explain why we have hair by standard comparative reasoning: one, all primates have hair; two, hair is a shared, derived character from early mammals; three, early mammals had hair, by comparison with functional analogies in other lineages (such as feathers), because it was warm. The key point is that we can bring natural selection into the picture only because it gains explanatory power via comparison; similar circumstances result in similar functional responses. That's why Darwin was so successful in predicting that our line came out of Africa; he simply noted the similarity to primates, and that most primates, especially those most externally like us, were located there. But when a unique trait appears in a single evolutionary line, comparison becomes impossible. If we have only one example, then we lose the ability to sort out what features are historical contingencies, what features are developmental or intrinsic constraints, and what features were truly selected for. That's why Darwin never talked about the origin of species in "Origin of Species." It's the toughest nut of all to crack.

Worse still, trying to account for a *cognitive* difference like language only raises the bar because the effect might be actually invisible, or nearly so, while the chain between cause and effect is likely to be unknown, for practical or historically contingent reasons. The causal chasm between molecules bouncing into one another and synapses firing on one end and words springing from one's lips on the other looms large. We don't even have *one* complete causal chain of how a difference in *physical* properties of the brain leads to a particular cognitive ability, say, to recognize objects like snakes and snails and puppy dog tails in the world—just as plain objects, let alone symbols (we can get as far as edges—just).

To be sure, there are enticing clues: In yet another nugget from his rich and stimulating book, Deacon notes that in order to gain voluntary control of the rib muscles that control breathing, more neurons had to grow there, and so we have an enlargement of the chest part of the spinal cord. If this idea is right, that's solid physical evidence, and what's oft interred within bones becomes grist for the paleontologist: We can actually go and *see* whether earlier fossils of humankind show a similar spinal enlargement. The evidence is hard to come by, but one specimen—a *Homo erectus* boy—has been examined. He does not show a modern, human-like spine.

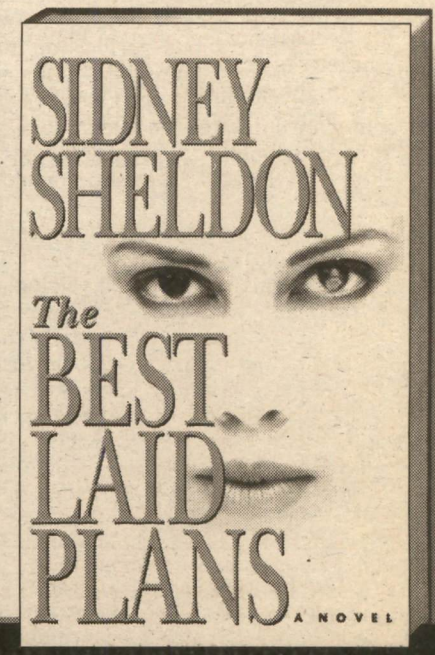
But our dilemma is even worse than this. Due to the luck of the historical draw, people happen to be just about the *worst* possible candidates for comparative evolutionary study. This cannot be emphasized enough: Unlike most animals, even most mammals, *we have no close cousins,* and only two cousins at all, chimps and gorillas, and only three in the superfamily above that (orangutan, gibbon, siamang). As the evolutionary biologist Richard Lewontin says, this "evolutionary space is too sparsely populated to be able to connect the points sensibly." Too bad we're not lemurs, with a dozen related lemur species at hand.

Now we like to believe we have close living relatives: Chimps, gorillas and other primates *seem* to look like us. And it's commonplace to cite the classic Mary-Claire King and Alan Wilson (1975) study that human and chimp DNA is "99 percent identical." On this authority we must be nearly kissing cousins. Taken out of context, this quote quite neglects the punch line that King and Wilson themselves emphasized: that *small* differences in the underlying DNA (the genotype) can and do lead to *huge* differences in external shape (the phenotype, or form that shows). It's not surprising: Just last year, the most careful redating pegged the last common ancestors of *Homo sapiens* and chimps at about double what we previously thought, about 14 million years ago. Since chimps and people both stand 14 million years away from a last common point, that means that nearly 30 million years of evolutionary time separate us from chimps: 14 million years back from chimps to the common ancestor and then another 14 million years back down from that branch point ancestor to us. World enough and time. Just to put all those millenniums in perspective, consider that this is the same evolutionary time separating giraffes and deer, one couldn't ever imagine that some scientist would want to figure out how Rudolph the Reindeer could talk by looking at a giraffe.

So without a comparative crutch, one is logically driven to invent one: In order to resolve the obvious discontinuity between humans and other primates, one must first adduce some similar trait between the two and assert that something that primates do is like, perhaps just like, what humans do; be it language, communication or gossip. The result is a proliferation of stories in every possible order: terrestrialism, bipedalism, encephalization/language, civilization; or bipedalism, terrestrialism, civilization, language; or language, bipedalism, terrestrialism, then civilization, and so forth. None of these often imaginative reconstructions seems more compelling than any other.

Even so, Deacon's research, involving everything from understanding the molecular-biological details of nerve growth to knocking out single genes to pinpointing the intricate regulation machinery building brains, holds out possibly the best hope we have to understand the mystery and miracle of language and how it is that we became creatures able to walk the walk, and talk the talk. ■

HE WANTED POWER.
SHE WANTED REVENGE.



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WILLIAM MORROW

A Main Selection of The Literary Guild

Mysteries of the Organism

ROBERT LEE HOTZ

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The Evolution of Human Sexuality
By Jared Diamond
BasicBooks: 166 pp., $20

SEX ON THE BRAIN
The Biological Differences Between Men and Women
By Deborah Blum
Viking: 330 pp., $24.95

An evolutionary biologist might explain the suburban passion for sport utility vehicles as a mating ploy meant to signal the owner's reproductive fitness. The oversized automobiles are commodious enough for any number of offspring and, like the peacock's tail, show that the owner can divert any amount of energy to ornamental display.

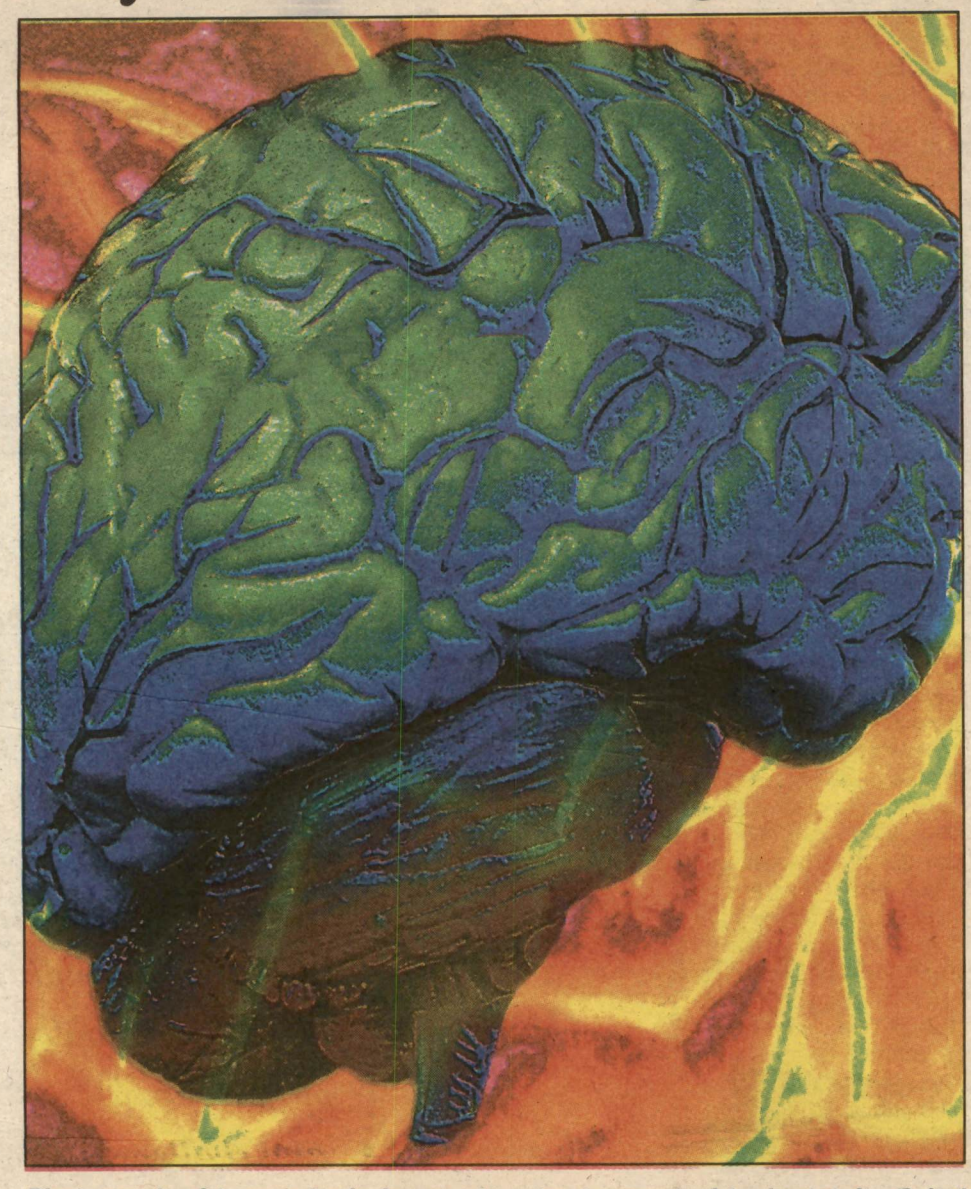
So too, an anthropologist might trace the human tribe's obsession with the sex life of celebrities to the primordial biology of the human species. Certainly, the reproductive behavior of the dominant animal in any mammalian hierarchy is under constant scrutiny by those on its lower rungs. What else could explain the persistent public fascination with rumors about Michael Jackson's offspring, Demi Moore's breast implants or Bill Clinton's alleged extramarital affairs? Surely something atavistic is at work.

From our demand for waterproof cosmetics to our sense of a rightful place in the cosmos, we are shaped by the biology of sex far more than we would like to admit. Indeed, the debate over biologically based gender differences has caused no end of cultural and political conflicts as, spurred by changing economic conditions and the technological innovations of birth control, we seek the social equilibrium of a new sexual norm. Yet when we look at ourselves in the mirror of biology, we see that of all the works of nature, human sexuality is perhaps the strangest.

As a matter of fundamental biology, almost no other species, for instance, feels so strongly about having sex in private. Few are so enamored of recreational sex or so receptive to it. And while most animals widely advertise the moment of ovulation—when the female of the species is most primed for fertilization—the precise timing of ovulation among human beings is hidden biologically, even from the woman experiencing it. The sexual oddity of the species touches the human male: By the standard of other primates or, indeed, of any detectable reproductive need, the human penis is unnecessarily large: five times the size of the bull gorilla's or the orangutan's, even though those animals are twice the size of human beings. And the oddity encompasses the human female too: Why do women—apparently the only creatures to do so—experience menopause?

Two new books attempt to offer scientific insights into human sexuality. The first, by distinguished UCLA physiologist Jared Diamond, examines sex through the lens of evolutionary theory; the second, and by far a more ambitious work by Pulitzer Prize-winning science writer Deborah Blum, draws on new biological and behavioral research to probe the fundamental riddle of gender: How can we be so different when we are so much alike?

Robert Lee Hotz, author of "Designs On Life: Exploring the New Frontiers of Human Fertility," is also a science writer for The Times.



Photograph of human brain imposed on background of brain detail; digital composite by J.W. Burkey/Tony Stone Images

In Diamond's view, the relentless adaptive forces of evolution have shaped us in response to a war for reproductive advantage. He is convinced that the unusual nature of human sexuality was essential to the development of the intelligence and upright stature we consider the hallmarks of our species.

In his newest book, Diamond has crafted an engaging display of evolution's hidden logic to explain how such puzzling sexual characteristics may have been the unlikely result of adaptive selection. Women undergo menopause not because they have outlived their reproductive usefulness, Diamond argues, but because they gain a greater reproductive advantage by caring for their grandchildren than if they continued to conceive from their own aging store of ova. And the human penis may have achieved its size to signal sexual prowess—not to women, Diamond suggests, but to other men, to discourage competition.

In human affairs, however, biological ends are accomplished through social means. The proper social roles of the two genders in courtship, reproduction and parenting—and the biology that may underpin them—are a source of enduring friction; only now has science come to have an inkling of the remarkable subtlety with which biology both knits together and separates the human genders.

Exploring the biological differences between men and women, Deborah Blum, who teaches journalism at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, has centered her inquiry squarely on the confluence of biology and culture to illuminate the natural forces at work within us. The result is superbly crafted science writing, graced by unusual compassion, wit and intelligence, that forms an important addition to the literature of gender studies. She offers considerable scientific expertise and, more important, a humane and unflinching discussion of the biological issues that have set men and women against each other since time out of mind.

Indeed, many researchers who attempt to explore gender differences, she notes, are accused of sexism simply for expressing an interest in the topic. Such suspicion is well-founded. The historical record of sexual science is a sorry one. It is not so long since the standard medical treatment for a woman's moodiness was the removal of her reproductive organs. Certainly, more people in the 20th century have died as a result of misconceived notions of human biology, such as eugenics and erroneous racial theories, than from any thermonuclear device.

As a scientific discipline, Blum demonstrates, the study of the biology of gender is only now coming into its own, emerging from a thicket of prejudices and misconceptions to pose some of the most provocative questions today in neuroscience, biochemistry, genetics, psychology and behavioral studies.

Neuro-imaging studies, for instance, appear to show that men and women really do think differently. Medical PET scans show that they even appear to daydream differently, with different parts of the brain being activated during rest states. Other behavioral studies appear to confirm that men are more aggressive, better able to organize power networks and more prone to violence; women are more nurturing, more resilient and more prone to gossip. Other tests show persistent gender differences in mathematical and spatial abilities.

Yet so malleable is the neural structure of the developing human brain—male or female—that it is impossible to know whether such differences arise from genes and the inborn biochemistry of gender, or are the effect of gender expectations and rigid childhood conditioning. By adulthood, such attitudes would be integrated into the physical structure of the brain. Moreover, without knowing it, we already may have derailed the subtle reproductive mechanisms designed through the trial and error of evolution.

As a case in point, researchers recently attempted to study how women react to the subtle chemical clues about a man's immune system contained in his scent. They discovered that most women found the scent sexiest when the male immune system was most different from their own, a biochemical signal perhaps of some reproductive advantage as a potential mate. Women using birth control pills, however, consistently chose men whose immune systems most resembled their own. In other words, they were drawn to the "wrong" man.

It is understandable to view such findings through the prism of our vulnerabilities. But gender biology, Blum writes, has extraordinary promise if its insights can be given an objective hearing. "It opens possibilities. It doesn't close them. And it doesn't segregate men from women. If anything, it does the opposite, emphasizing how intricately woven together we are in the design of evolution."

If there is a danger here, it lies in experimental half-truths and our greed for self-knowledge. We are too anxious to race ahead of scientific certainty to draw conclusions about the biological roots of human character. The impulse to act on half-knowledge is for many policy-makers almost irresistible. Here, Blum warns that researchers have posed fundamentally open-ended questions about gender and that they have taken only the first step toward answering any of them.

The truth of even simple relationships between gender biology and behavior is elusive. Take the apparent links between violence and maleness. Is the aggression of boys, as some new research hints, merely a matter of a biochemical imbalance between trace levels of copper and zinc? Or is it associated with the extra copy of the male chromosome that sometime occurs as a reproductive error during conception? Or is excessive testosterone, the hormone found in such high levels among men, at fault?

Men's testosterone levels, however, drop dramatically when they are in happy marriages, so much so that some researchers speculate that women instinctively use monogamy to control male behavior. Other new research shows that many women in high-pressure professions show a rise in the level of testosterone. Does this mean they also have become more aggressive? More male? Or just more stressed?

If the 20th century has demonstrated any single scientific principle conclusively, it is that biology is not destiny. Yet we would be wise, Blum argues, to be informed by the biology of our gender. It is integral to our nature, be it male or female; it is designed so by evolution. To deny it would be as mistaken as to continue being confined by it. ■

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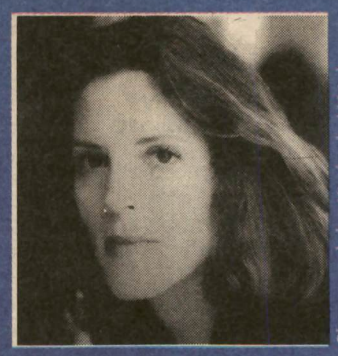
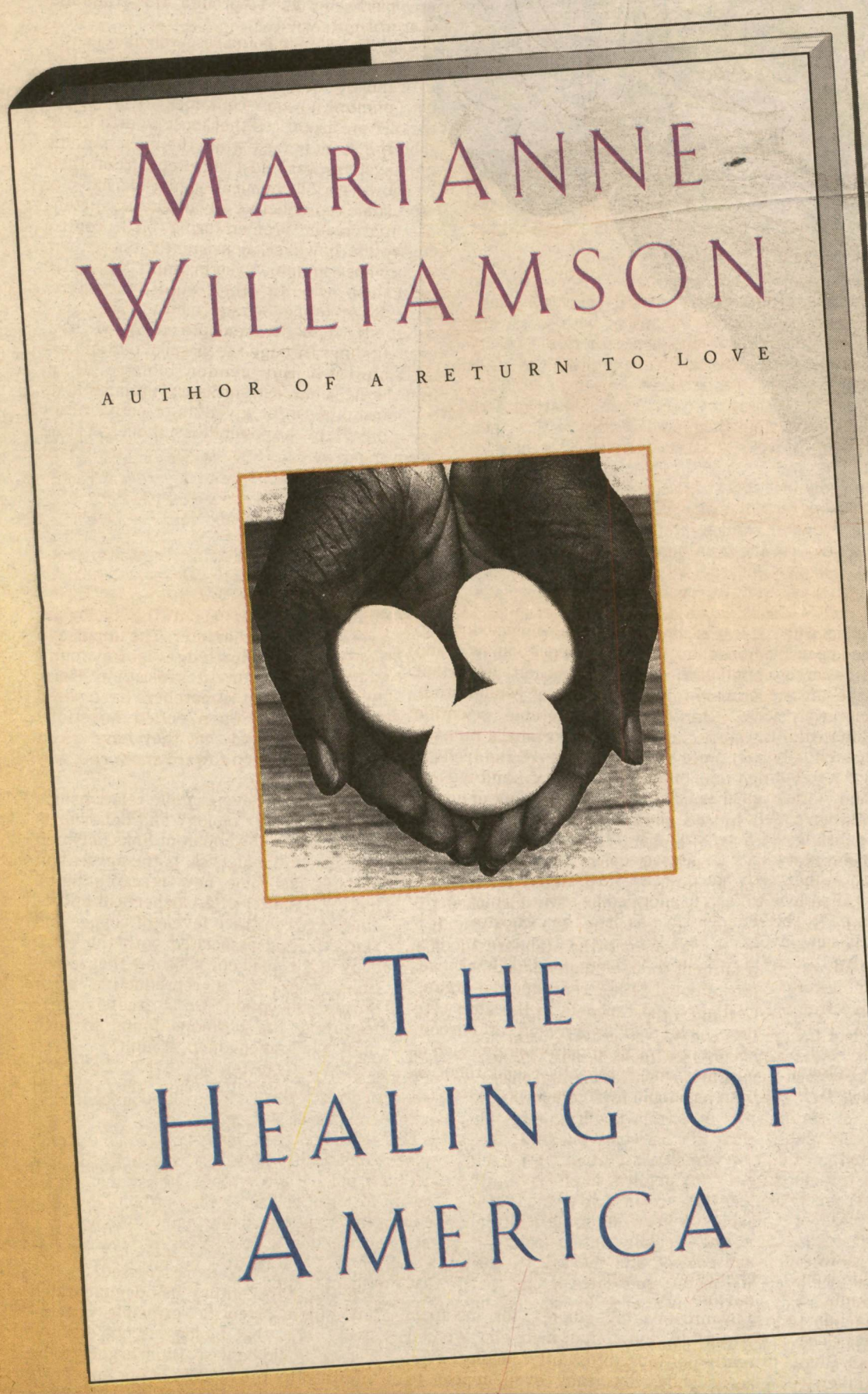


Photograph by Kimberly Wright



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SUSIE LINFIELD

THE BODY PROJECT
An Intimate History of American Girls
By Joan Jacobs Brumberg
Random House: 268 pp., $25

Five years ago, Harvard psychologist Carol Gilligan published "Meeting at the Crossroads," a luminously empathetic study of adolescents at an all-girls private school in Cleveland. The book was profoundly disturbing not because it focused on such well-known "pathologies" as eating disorders or early pregnancies but, rather, because it examined what Gilligan and coauthor Lyn Mikel Brown saw as a widespread process of psychic suicide among *ordinary* teenage girls—because it viewed female adolescence as the graveyard of the authentic self rather than as the birthplace of adulthood. Two years later, a Nebraska psychologist named Mary Pipher wrote "Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls." Pipher's book clearly, and cleverly, zeroed in on a by-now obviously widespread anxiety about adolescent development; as of this writing, "Ophelia" has spent well over two years on the New York Times' national bestseller list.

The latest entry in the girls-in-crisis genre—and one openly indebted to both Gilligan and Pipher—is Joan Jacobs Brumberg's "The Body Project." Unlike her predecessors, Brumberg is a historian (she has taught at Cornell for almost 20 years), and she tackles the current problems of teenage girls through an examination of the development of now-ordinary but once-astonishing products such as bras, tampons, makeup and pimple creams, and of the transformations in attitudes toward female beauty and sexuality that accompanied these inventions. (Surprisingly, though, she largely neglects the history of contraceptives, which have surely changed girls' lives in the last 50 years more than any other "intimate" product.) Why, Brumberg wonders, have adolescent girls become obsessed with achieving perfect skin, perfect hair, perfect bodies at precisely the moment when they have more professional options, more social choices, more freedom than ever before? Why have they replaced restrictive corsets and sexual codes with equally restrictive regimens of obsessive dieting and exercise? What, Brumberg asks, is "the historical process by which women exchanged external controls of the body for internal controls . . . "?

These are fascinating questions, and although Brumberg's answers are ultimately unsatisfactory, the queries themselves take the reader a long way. As long as Brumberg sticks to her history of the ways in which girls' bodies—and the things they put in and on them—have been transformed, "The Body Project" is lucid, highly informative, and entertaining.

If you think, for instance, that a girl's body is simply a manifestation of nature, not culture, Brumberg will set you straight. She notes that as a result of several factors including better nutrition and a decrease in infectious diseases, the average age of menarche (a girl's first period) is now just over 12, whereas in the early 19th century it was 15 or 16. But these days, of course, marriage and motherhood are now often postponed until the 20s, 30s or even 40s, thus creating a decades-long gap between menstruation and childbirth that was virtually unheard of a century ago. In addition, the average age of intercourse has dropped to just under 16, so that a contemporary American girl, Brumberg writes, "is likely to be sexually active before the age at which her great-great-grandmother had even begun to menstruate."

Brumberg discusses the "ovarian determinism" that dominated the 19th century, when "regular" periods were fetishized and yet early menstruation was feared as a manifestation of lust and was associated with nonwhites and the lower classes. Similarly, skin blemishes were linked, in the bourgeois imagination, with immigrants, poverty, workers, dirt, sexual desire and masturbation, and Brumberg charts how, in the late 19th century, everything from the new accessibility of mirrors to the discovery of germs led to the rise of the lucrative skin-care industry. (It should be noted that Brumberg, by her own admission, largely confines herself to studying middle- and upper-middle-class girls; then again, it might well be argued—although Brumberg doesn't—that adolescence is itself a creation of the modern middle class.)

But Brumberg strays into odd territory when she attempts to understand the social meaning of the many changes that she charts. Her analysis rests on several dubious generalizations. She states that, in the 19th century (which she loosely refers to as the Victorian era), "character [for young women] was considered more important than beauty"; that the Victorians did not, in any case, primarily associate beauty with actual physical attributes, but rather with moral and spiritual qualities; that only in our own century did beauty become a matter "more external than internal"; that it is "modern femininity" that has required women to "display" themselves as "a decorative object"; and that modern American girls differ from their predecessors in that their "power" is tied to looks "rather than to character or achievement."

Detail from "Carolyn Murphy 'Mannequin'" by Tiziano Magni; from "What Is Beauty?" by Dorothy Schefer (Universe Publishing: 154 pp., $24.95)

It is undoubtedly true that the rise of mass media—photographs, advertising, movies, magazines, television—radically changed the ways in which we create, perceive and manipulate beauty, as the 20th century diaries Brumberg cites so aptly show. But she offers no parallel, direct, contemporaneous evidence to support her sweeping statements about the Victorians' supposed indifference to appearance. Certainly many readers of 19th century literature, or viewers of its art, would be perplexed by Brumberg's claims. Jane Austen—perhaps the 19th century's most astute observer of the moral economy of mating and marriage (though she died before Victoria's ascension)—would, I believe, be amused, if not stunned, by Brumberg's perspective. Austen habitually introduced her female characters by supplying two pieces of information—their degree of beauty and the size of their inheritance—not because she was "superficial" but precisely because she knew these were the salient facts that would determine a girl's entire life. (As Emma Woodhouse, who was herself quite enamored of female beauty, rather tartly noted, she awaited the day when men would "fall in love with well-informed minds instead of handsome faces.") The 20th century has been the incubator of many truly new inventions, but Brumberg never comes close to proving that the obsession with female beauty is one of them.

Brumberg's analysis of 19th century sexual mores is also skewed. Although she is a self-described liberal and feminist, she clearly yearns for the Victorians' "protective umbrella," which kept girlhood "wholesome and chaste" and made girls feel "special, valued and safe." This was, no doubt, true for certain girls in certain families at certain times. But inexorably tied to that umbrella was the stringently enforced cult of virginity; as Brumberg herself later admits, a Victorian girl's "hymen was in effect 'jointly owned' by her family and her bridegroom" and treated "as if it were a piece of valuable commercial or agricultural property." There is a fine line—actually, often no line at all—between protection and control, and the balance between feeling sheltered and feeling suffocated is one that Brumberg does not explore with any nuance. In addition, she ignores—although 19th century novelists certainly didn't—the sharpness with which the umbrella snapped shut the very moment a "good" girl transgressed accepted sexual boundaries. One false move could lead to social ostracism, family disinheritance, spinsterhood, penury, prostitution. Brumberg is beguiled by the nurturing aspects of Victorian culture but ignores its capacity for cruelty.

A romanticization of the 19th century is almost always accompanied by a strong dislike of the 20th, and so it is with "The Body Project," in which Brumberg rails repeatedly against "consumer culture." This somewhat nebulous term is never defined, but it seems to be a euphemism for advanced capitalism, the system that dare not speak its name. (Sometimes Brumberg's anti-consumerism takes inadvertently comic forms, as in her many cranky critiques of the tampon industry.) Brumberg characterizes consumer culture as "sexually brutal and commercially rapacious," a system of "unrelenting objectification where women's bodies are used to sell everything." But wait: Isn't this system, which so mercilessly targets 14-year-old girls in America as consumers, the very same one that so mercilessly pays 14-year-old girls in Haiti and Vietnam pennies an hour to stitch sneakers and bras and blue jeans? Why the surprise, the shock? What Brumberg seems to want is a market economy that will be nice enough to cordon off children and adolescents from its incessant commodification; that will recognize us all as precious beings with souls instead of as units of consumption; that will abstain from using sexuality for the crass purpose of actually *selling* things. (Oh, and as long as you're out, honey, could you pick up a vial of fairy dust?)

Brumberg veers farthest off-track—in her understanding both of modern life and of adolescence—when she discusses the private-public dichotomy. For Brumberg, the private sphere (read: the family) represents the good: warmth, intimacy, honesty, stability. Naturally, the public sphere (which seems to include pretty much everything else, especially pop culture and teen peer groups) is therefore evil: harsh, uncaring, inauthentic, unruly. In Brumberg's view, contemporary consumer culture has dangerously eroded the "important distinction" between the two, resulting in sexual exhibitionism, sexual exploitation and adolescents who "are likely to become confused about the nature of intimacy."

But the whole trend of modern life, which has been two centuries in the making, is precisely to play with this distinction, to sweep us out of the private domain of the home into the public one of offices and factories, city streets and movie theaters, supermarkets and department stores, nursery schools and universities. As the social historian Marshall Berman has written, Baudelaire understood this when he celebrated the life and the lovers on Paris' grand new boulevards. Bruce Springsteen understood it, too, when he celebrated the freedom and romance of being "Out in the Street":

When I'm out in the street
I walk the way I wanna walk
When I'm out in the street
I talk the way I wanna talk. . . .
When I'm out in the street, girl
Well, I never feel alone
When I'm out in the street, girl
In the crowd I feel at home. . . .
Baby, out in the street I just feel all right
Meet me out in the street, little girl, tonight. . . .

And adolescents, also, understand this, perhaps better than anyone. For adolescence is just the time when the private-public dichotomy is turned on its head; when the home so often becomes a place of falseness and furtiveness, and the outside world—the basketball court, the mall, the park, the parking lot, the rock concert—is where one feels most alive, most real, most oneself. Brumberg wants to return adolescence—an increasingly postmodern experience—to a premodern world that no longer exists.

Brumberg ends her book with a call for the creation of a less brutal, more girl-positive culture. In particular, she cites the plight of poor, often black, single teenage mothers who, she so rightly notes, "are a telling indication of how we have failed as a society to protect the most vulnerable segment of our population." She concludes with a plea for the taking of "collective responsibility" for all adolescent girls, "not just our own middle-class daughters."

This is a lovely sentiment—but again, its isolation from current political realities is startling. Brumberg never mentions, much less confronts, the fact that, far from moving toward forms of collective responsibility, our society seems ferociously intent on privatizing everything from schools to garbage collection to prisons. Even more astonishing is her refusal, in this context, to mention the welfare-ending bill that President Clinton signed last year, a bill that negates the very idea of a shared responsibility for teenage mothers and that, as Barbara Ehrenreich recently wrote in Harper's magazine, "smashed that central moral bond, which linked the destitute to the rest of us, into thousands of fragments."

Divorced from any larger reality, Brumberg's call for a new social contract reads less like the stirring vision of a utopian optimist than like the somewhat wistful musings of an almost willful naif. It's hard to see how such obliviousness could be of help, now or in the future, to America's adolescent girls. ■

Susie Linfield is the acting director of the cultural reporting and criticism program at New York University.

Tough Love

ARAM SAROYAN

A CHILD'S NIGHT DREAM
By Oliver Stone
St. Martin's: 238 pp., $21.95

After reading a screenplay about Lee Harvey Oswald written by the young Robert De Niro, the writer-director Paul Schrader is said to have told the actor that his script was a metaphor for the talent he carried inside him, ready to explode. One has similar feelings about "A Child's Night Dream," Oliver Stone's autobiographical novel, begun when Stone was 19 and finished when he was 20. Everywhere within it one catches fleeting glimpses, and in the instance of the book's longest section, "The Boilers of the Moon," sustained evidence of the sturdily demonic talent behind such films as "Salvador," "Platoon," "JFK" and "Nixon."

The son of an American father who was a success on Wall Street (the narrator remarks ruefully at one point that his father makes approximately 100 times what the average American worker makes), and a seductive French mother, who, it should be said, emerges in these pages as his most memorable female character to date, Stone grew up in Manhattan and France, an only child of privilege who attended prep school and wanted so badly to go to Yale that, he tells us, "I thought if I didn't get in, life would be over and I would be damned."

Yet oddly, and unlike many of his generation, the generation of the 1960s, Stone responded to the war in Vietnam by being clearly magnetized to it, evidently sensing that half way around the world lay the crucible of his destiny. "When I first went out to Vietnam in 1965," he writes in the introduction, "it was as a teacher at a Catholic private school in the Chinese quarter of Saigon. I had taken a year's leave of absence from Yale." Then after returning from this first foray of a year or so, undertaking this novel, dropping out of Yale a second and final time and, with grim ceremony, throwing "several sections of [his] manuscript into the East River one cold night," Stone in 1967 turned down officer's candidate training and insisted on "rifleman status in a front-line combat unit as soon as possible—in case the war might end before I could participate."

Heavily laced with adolescent sexual solipsism and often written in a Joycean stream-of-consciousness of unrelieved earnestness, "A Child's Night Dream" yet tells a fairly straightforward story, and one notes gratefully that even in this fledgling effort, Stone shows an instinct for keeping on a narrative track. We are told of a young man's Vietnam War experience and his return to America as the wiper in the boiler room of a merchant marine vessel. Somewhat gratuitously Stone confides in the introduction that "everything described in the novel was prior to my actual combat experience and is imagined by the author based on his peripheral knowledge of the war in Saigon and his travels to the interior."

In other words, this is a *novel*, albeit one in which the protagonist's name is Oliver Stone. Well, fine, but do we really need this *apologia?* Then again, Stone, the writer, understandably may be wary of the reliable storm of outrage and literal-mindedness that greets each film in the mode he pioneered: the cinematic equivalent of the nonfiction novel. While some find fascination and healing in the vision Stone brings to the screen in "Nixon" and genuine exhilaration in having the mazes of conspiracy theories given human focus in "JFK" (*whatever* the literal facts may be), others grow as huffily proprietary as relatives who are left out of the scrapbook shots of the picnic.

In the early '60s, Truman Capote made the dual discovery that art was henceforth going to have a hard time keeping up with life and that the best way to tell a story was to get into the characters' own shoes. The tumult has yet to subside. Stone has had the savvy and artistry to take both perceptions to heart, and on the evidence of "A Child's Night Dream," he was already rehearsing that direction before he found his true medium. Evidence this scene of near *cinéma vérité:*

"I killed a man the other day. . . .

"I shot him out of a tree at thirty yards. I picked him and fired seven rounds in mad succession, until I was assured that he would utterly cease to breathe, to move, to exist; whereupon, as if in pointed irony, I heard the cracking sound of breaking wood. He was tumbling from his nest like an unseen falling coconut and came to a quiet halt on the firm intersection of two thick branches; a tangle of shrubbery hid all the emotional parts of his body."

In "The Boilers of the Moon," Stone depicts the journey home aboard the merchant ship and proves himself a strong storyteller in the mode of Conrad and the early Melville. Here is the narrator speaking of a fellow seaman who had left him to die after a boiler room explosion:

"By the code of the sea, he had violated his bond with me, and by that same law I would not be respected as a man until I confronted him with what he'd done. And in his cold red-green snake eyes, I felt my own fear. Having been raised a polite considerate boy from Manhattan, I knew I would never confront Red MacGuiness and in that knowledge lay my own corruption, my own sense of worthlessness and shame."

Here is a young man of the Upper East Side, then, on a brave and unlikely journey, as if determined to test himself in the precincts furthest from his father's world. While many of his social contemporaries were bringing letters from their psychiatrists to their draft board physicals, Stone was toughing it out according to the rules of the parent culture. While envisioning more than one Oedipal dalliance with his mother, with whom Stone feels both frustration and tenderness, the young artist is out of touch with the home-front story of his generation, many of whom were watching time—and, one might say, the empire—melt in a retinal psychedelic wonderland that stretched for a time from Manhattan's Lower East Side to the Haight Ashbury.

Later, Stone the filmmaker would take up this story, too, in "The Doors," finding on the evidence of this book a kindred spirit in Jim Morrison, who screamed in the final cut of the band's first album: "Father, I want to kill you! / Mother, I want to . . . Agggghhhhh!" But while his best films brace us with the sense of passing through the bedroom doors of the American power elite, Stone seems off his game when he covers the more elusive corners of his own generation's passage. He misses the communal essence of the stateside '60s, giving, for example, short shrift to Ray Manzarek, the band's keyboardist who, while Morrison provided the lyrics and the rock star charisma, gave the Doors the *sound* that made it a great rock 'n' roll band.

Indeed, one feels in this book the slow ache of a young man determined to take on the hierarchical terms of the powers-that-be—as opposed to his own generation's communal ones—and to triumph within them. "I travel alone," the narrator says in a passage that evokes the stalwart poignancy Stone later found in Nixon, "and I am so blind that I am not able nor willing to differentiate between people, for they are all the same to me, creatures to be met, interrogated, and left behind. . . . [T]here are times it's as if I were literally starving."

In the end, we ask of our artists, even those who utilize public history, not that they provide perfect accuracy, but that they suggest avenues of comprehension, that they give us a vision that enlarges and enlivens our world. By this standard, Stone has long since emerged as one of the great filmmakers of this period. This book shows us the seed and reminded me of what Robert Lowell said of Ezra Pound. Lowell said that Pound—given all the errors of his ways—was still right to immerse himself in the broad political drama of his time because without it he would have been only another poet in an ivory tower. From the beginning, as we see in "A Child's Night Dream," Oliver Stone had an artist's loner penchant. His genius has been his ability to take that sensibility abroad in the larger world. ■

Aram Saroyan is the author, most recently, of "Rancho Mirage: An American Tragedy of Manners, Madness and Murder." His "Day and Night: Bolinas Poems 1972-1981" will be published in 1998 by Black Sparrow Press.

Summoning Souls

by Nguyen Quang Thieu

Under the light of winter clouds,
By tall buildings panting to stand up,
By inns where alcohol pours into bare feelings,
Patches of grass, accidentally saved, support each other.

I carried a torn green dream through my childhood.
I didn't know: did the hunted grass suffer?
The crickets' song is farther away now;
Widowed spring rains cry into summer.

I cross the death of green with more than thirty years
Of spreading my sleeping mat and weeping,
I cross the path of killers who shoot at breath.
I see no prison, but grass disappears each day;
I hear no guns, but the breast of grass is broken night after night.

This afternoon, on a street that runs through the last world of grass,
A white horse walks with bowed head and drooping mane,
A hearse for the death of green, with a feverish nose.
All the blades of grass shake,
And the horse neighs, summoning their souls.

From "The Women Carry River Water" by Nguyen Quang Thieu, edited and translated from the Vietnamese by Martha Collins and Nguyen Quang Thieu (University of Massachusetts Press: 126 pp., $13.95) ©1997 Reprinted by permission.

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One has been endowed with just enough intelligence to be able to see clearly how utterly inadequate that intelligence is when confronted with what exists. If such humility could be conveyed to everybody, the world of human activities would be more appealing.
— Albert Einstein

SEPTEMBER 1997 PROGRAM

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28 — Theosophy for the Masses

Spanish Study Classes, every Sunday,
10:30 AM to 12:00 N and 7:30 to 8:45 PM

WEDNESDAYS AT THEOSOPHY HALL
7:30 to 8:45 PM —
Study Class — in basic theosophic texts

Spanish Study Class, every Wednesday, 7:30 to 8:45 PM

Reference and lending libraries are open before meetings. The original and pure message of Theosophy is recorded in the writings of H.P. Blavatsky and Wm. Q. Judge. Their works, and others consistent with them, are available for sale at moderate prices before and after meetings.

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If Only

EDWARD McGLYNN GAFFNEY JR.

THE HIDDEN ENCYCLICAL OF PIUS XI
By Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky
Translated from the French by Steven Rendall
Introduction by Garry Wills
Harcourt Brace: 320 pp., $25

The publication of a document never issued by the leader who commissioned it is normally not very big news in diplomatic history. But it becomes a major publishing event when the text deals with racism and anti-Semitism, when the time of its commission was the late 1930s (when Jim Crow was the law of this land and when Nazi and Fascist racial purity laws turned toward the elimination of the Jews in the Shoah) and when it was the pope who commissioned the text.

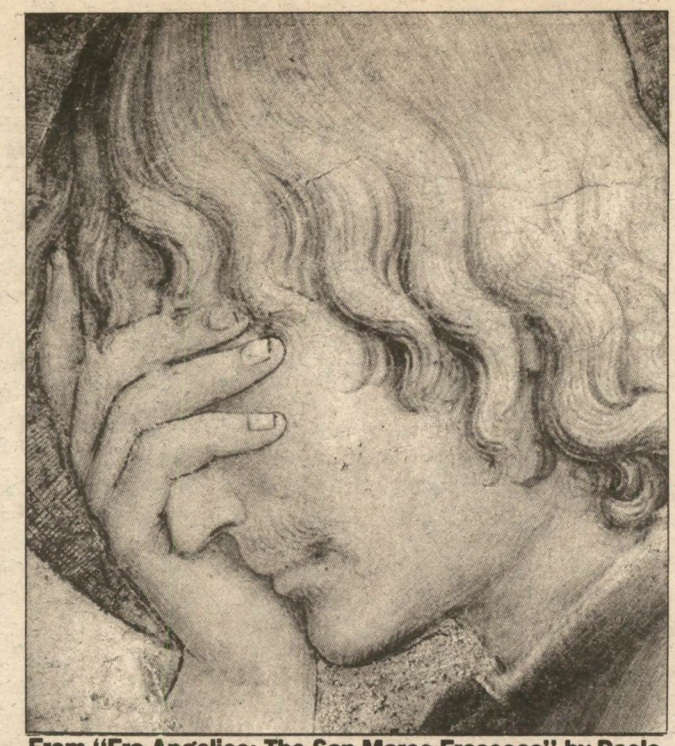
For those reasons we should be grateful to Georges Passelecq, a Benedictine monk, and Bernard Suchecky, a Jewish historian. The story they relate in "The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI" begins in 1937, when an American Jesuit, John LaFarge, wrote "Interracial Justice," a powerful indictment of American-style apartheid. LaFarge deftly analyzed the anthropological structure of American racism and anticipated the arguments used by Thurgood Marshall and his colleagues at the NAACP Education Defense Fund to overturn the "separate but equal" rule in this country.

LaFarge sent Pope Pius XI a copy of his book, not thinking that this gesture of courtesy would involve him in an important project far beyond his volume's scope. For 29 years, Achille Ratti had presided over two great scholarly collections, the Ambrosianum in Milan and the Vatican Library, before he became Pius XI in 1922. A librarian and an avid reader, Pius XI studied LaFarge's important work carefully. LaFarge went to Europe in May 1938 to gain first hand experience of the increasingly tense political situation for the Jesuit-edited journal, America. His travels took him to London and Paris, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as well as Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

While attending a general audience in June at the papal summer villa in Castelgandolfo south of Rome, LaFarge had his plans dramatically altered. Hearing of LaFarge's presence in Rome, Pius XI sent for him and told him in a private audience that his volume on race in America was the "best thing written on the topic" and that he admired LaFarge's "synthesis of Catholic doctrine, the natural law, and pertinent facts, as well as some practical methods for dealing with the question." LaFarge found this high praise indeed but was stunned when the pope then "enjoined upon [him] to write the text of an Encyclical for the universal Church, on the topic which he considered most burning at the present time"—racism and anti-Semitism. Throughout the summer of 1938, LaFarge worked secretly in Paris composing this document with the aid of two fellow Jesuits, Gustav Gundlach and Gustave Desbuquois.

In September, LaFarge personally delivered the original French document and English and German versions to the Father General of the Jesuits, Wladimir Ledochowski. Ledochowski apparently played a crucial role in why the encyclical wasn't published—Passelecq and Suchecky are vague on this and other critical points in their narrative—by delaying its transmission to the pope for several months until Pius XI had become too ill to deal with the issue. It was precisely during this period when Fascist Italy, with the assistance of the Gestapo, began promulgating racial purity laws targeted at Italian Jews. Similar to the infamous Nuremberg Laws, these decrees banned foreign Jews from attending Italian schools at all levels of instruction; exiled Jews from Italian territory; annulled existing "interracial" marriages between Jews and Aryans and forbade them in the future; required Jews to carry an identity card marking them as "belonging to the Jewish race"; excluded Jews from military service and teaching posts; forbade Jewish ownership of real estate and commercial property; and nullified any provision of a will that designated an inheritance to a Jew. As nearly 8,000 Italian Jews were to discover, the road from these decrees led to Auschwitz.

Pius XI made frequent use of encyclicals to clarify the social teaching of the church. His most famous encyclical was the ringing endorsement of the rights of workers in "Quadragesimo Anno" in 1931. In 1937 he issued two encyclicals within five days: "Divini Redemptoris" condemned atheistic communism and "Mit Brennender Sorge" directly rebuked the Nazis for gross violations of the Vatican's concordat with Germany, such as the closure of Catholic schools, wholesale arrests of priests and other officials and the establishment of a national German state-church with a neo-pagan and racist ideology. Passelecq and Suchecky correctly note the absence of any explicit criticism of Nazi anti-Semitism in this document, which was narrowly confined to the self-interest of the institutional church. An encyclical on racism and anti-Semitism thus would have filled a void in the pontiff's teaching. But the pope died on Feb. 10, 1939, without issuing the draft encyclical he had asked LaFarge to prepare. According to Cardinal Eugéne Tisserant, the draft was on the pope's desk at the time of his death. The document then disappeared for three decades.



From "Fra Angelico: The San Marco Frescoes" by Paolo Morachiello (Thames and Hudson: 344 pp., $100)

LaFarge went to his grave in 1963 with the secret of his collaboration on this document, which was found in his archives in the late 1960s. At about the same time, a copy of the document was discovered by another American Jesuit, Robert Graham, working in the Vatican Archives on the crucial period of the Second World War. In December 1972 and January 1973, James Castelli broke the story about this "hidden encyclical" in three articles in the National Catholic Reporter, quoting the most interesting parts of the document relating to race and paraphrasing the paragraphs dealing with anti-Semitism. Passelecq and Suchecky's book contains the full text of this draft encyclical, entitled "Humani Generis Unitas" (The Unity of the Human Race) in English translation.

Neither Castelli's articles in 1972 nor the appearance of Passelecq and Suchecky's book in French in 1995 and in German translation earlier this year raised much of a fuss in the public or with church historians or with those engaged in Jewish-Christian dialogue. The text poses serious questions that will now have to be faced with rigorous honesty. For example, why did Ledochowski delay the transmission of the document to the pope for nearly three months? Or why—after Pius XI's emotional audience with Belgian pilgrims in 1938 during which he wept when he said: "Anti-Semitism is a deplorable movement, a movement in which we, as Christians, must have no part. . . . We are spiritually Semitics"—did the pope not confront Fascist Italy when it began in the fall of that year to follow the pattern of Nazi anti-Semitic racism? Or why did the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, who succeeded Pius XI as Pope Pius XII on Feb. 15, 1939, fail to use the analysis of racism and anti-Semitism in the draft encyclical after the full horror of the Holocaust became clear?

Perhaps this English translation will spark more serious conversation on the many questions that this book raises but does not resolve. It needs restatement, in light of the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the events of 1989, that any attempt to understand the complexity of the 1930s is doomed to failure without some comprehension of the overwhelming fear of communism that gripped virtually all leaders, spiritual and temporal, in the West at the time. This does not condone the complicity of these leaders in the terrible events of World War II, most notably the slaughter of the Jews, but it does help situate their times more carefully than Passelecq and Suchecky have done in their narrative.

The authors illustrate how difficult it is to form ineluctable and unambiguous conclusions even over events so recent. On the one hand, they suggest that no document, "even an encyclical, would have sufficed to overturn the [anti-Semitic] mentalities and attitudes of the faithful, the clergy, or even the hierarchy." But they also conclude that "it is unfortunate that this encyclical project was never carried through to completion" if only because the draft "asserted that Christianity was incompatible with racism and anti-Semitism, and condemned the particular attacks on the natural rights of Jews."

Within the brief compass of his 24-page introduction, historian Garry Wills does more to set in context and assess this document than Passelecq and Suchecky do in 167 pages of text, which is long on useless and irrelevant details (such as LaFarge's travel budget) and short on critical analysis and interpretation. And Wills states more clearly than the authors all the major flaws of the draft encyclical from the perspective of current thinking about Jewish-Christian relations.

As early as a 2nd century sermon by Melito of Sardis, some Christians have fueled a vicious hatred of Jews by holding them responsible for the death of Jesus. Christian participation in anti-Semitism erupted into violence with synagogue burnings in the 5th century and with slaughter of Jews in France, the Rhineland and Jerusalem at the time of the Crusades in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Second Vatican Council formally repudiated the deicide charge in 1965, noting that "what happened in the passion [of Jesus] cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living, without distinction, nor upon the Jews of today." And Pope John Paul II put the point more strongly in 1986 when he wrote: "No valid theological justification could ever be found for acts of discrimination or persecution against Jews. In fact, such acts must be held to be sinful."

Wills explains that in the light of current biblical scholarship, the death of Jesus is not so much the responsibility of the Romans (who had exclusive jurisdiction over the death penalty in Judea at the time), or even of *some* of the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem (who rejected the teaching authority of Jesus). Rather, writes Wills (citing John Milton and Cardinal Newman), "The teaching that Christ died because of all of us is older, broader, stronger and better founded than the folk theology that blames Jews."

Not many Gentiles, Catholic or Protestant, were willing to rescue Jews from the death camps. These brave few (compared to the millions who died) are known as "righteous Gentiles" within Judaism, and are memorialized at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, the Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. According to Primo Levi, a Holocaust survivor who became the principal Italian Jewish writer about the Shoah, "Whoever sheltered or simply assisted a Jew risked terrifying punishment. . . . [A] few thousand Jews survived through the entire Hitlerian period, hidden in Germany and Poland in convents, cellars and attics by citizens who were courageous, compassionate and, above all, sufficiently intelligent to observe for years the strictest discretion."

In 1975, Johannes Nota, a Dutch Jesuit, was so critical of the flawed theology in the LaFarge document (which repeats the charge that "the Jewish people put to death their Savior") that he wrote "God be praised that this draft remained only a draft!" I disagree. However mistaken the theological opinions of the draft encyclical now seem six decades later, the mere fact that this document clearly condemned anti-Semitism in 1938 as incompatible with Christianity would surely have emboldened at least one more German or Polish Catholic to rescue at least one more Jew.

A famous rabbinical text, Talmud Sanhedrin, teaches: "One who destroys a single life, it is as though he has destroyed the world; and one who saves a single life, it is as though he has saved the world." There is an important theological truth about the unity of the human race in this Hebraic hyperbole. But even if Pius XI couldn't have saved the world in 1938, a bold statement addressing the evil of racism would have awakened many American Catholics to the moral duty of overcoming racial discrimination in this country. And a text noting that "the struggle for racial purity ends by being uniquely the struggle against the Jews," and describing the Nazi and Fascist laws targeted at Jews as "systematic cruelty" and a "flagrant denial of human rights" meriting strong "censure by the Holy See" likewise would have elicited greater courage from all people to resist the atrocity of the Final Solution. ■

Edward McGlynn Gaffney Jr. served as the dean of the Valparaiso University School of Law (1990-97) and is currently a visiting scholar at the Pepperdine University School of Law.

Others will respond on this, no doubt, Nic - but I can visualise a blockbuster movie, funded by others:

THE PERIOD: The 1890s price drop following the 1880s boom, through to the opening years of the C20th. [The times palpably paralleling our own.] At an early stage, the movie could encompass the massive public funeral of HG. ["Who was this man, that so many attended his funeral?"]

THE FLAVOUR: Espionage thriller: the 'bad guys' (as usual,

defending the existing hegemony) winning out - having had to fight desperately to keep the lid on the 'single tax' being seen as any sort of a remedy to the depression. Unlike somewhat speculative 'Oliver Stone' movies, virtually every scene could be authenticated!

THE MATERIAL: Henry George - Charles Albro Barker Rebel, Priest and Prophet - Steven Bell Leo XIII's encyclical 'Rerum Novarum': HG's reply "Conditions of Labour" The Corruption of Economics - Harrison/Gaffney

SCREENWRITER/DIRECTOR: ? Perhaps the Aussie Tom Kenneally who wrote "Schindler's Ark" (which became "Schindler's List") Perhaps not. Don't think he screenwrites. Hmmm .... I can imagine Fred Schepisi directing it.

OPENING SCENE(?): Corrigan: "This is getting beyond a joke. How do we kill off this George/McGlynn thing? ... Right now!" (Strongly suggested in anti-Georgist John Moloney's "The Worker Question", 1991.)

Such an astounding movie (truth is stranger than fiction?) could lay bare our case, and what we are up against, in a sympathetically winning fashion. It's got such potential box office appeal in these similarly-troubled economic times, that we probably wouldn't have to spend a cent of our own. (On the other hand, what a potentially magnificent money-raiser if we did have a small interest?)

And ... I've seen some of Mase's electrifying material fleshing out additional background to the Rerum Novarum/George/McGlynn thing. It should not go wasted. The transitional link between the mainstream church plotting and the secular murder of George at the unis (Corruption of Economics) should be able to be handled? Was there any personal link between the two that you came across in your research, Mase? If not, it could be done as as a quite separate, dual pronged attack.

It's fascinating power politics (it split the Catholic Church, mainly in the favour of George/McGlynn by all accounts!) of which people are now completely unaware. So unbelievable is it that, even ignoring my fevered jaundice, it seems like money for jam for a good producer ...??? It's surely the story they've all been looking for? The sex content may be a bit of a worry. Wasn't there some evidence/suggestion that Archbishop Corrigan had homosexual proclivities, Mase? :)

In Foldvary-style alliteration, would it not be a period piece packing a powerful punch? Let's start lobbying. Producer? Director? Screenwriter?

- Kavanagh

Preuss, Arthur (ed.), 1908. The Fundamental Fallacy of Socialism [microform]: an exposition of the question of landownership: comprising an authentic account of the famous McGlynn case. Preuss is Editor of the Catholic Fortnightly Review.

St. Louis, MO, and Freiburg (Baden), Published by B. Herder.

Revision and enlargement of contributions to the Catholic Fortnightly Review

Imprimatur, Joannes J. Glennon, *Archeprocopus St. Ludovici*, 1907.

Copyright 1908 by Joseph Gummersbach.

Becktold Printing and Book Mfg. Co., St. Louis MO

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ATLA = Am. Theological Library Assn

150, the declaration that McGlynn's ideas contained nothing contrary to Catholic teaching was just the opinion of four professors called on to examine McGlynn's statement. They gave private opinions, so their decision carries no authority.

The author at this point (probably not Preuss, because note 1, p.154, is initialed "A.P.," which would be redundant if Preuss wrote the text above it) disagrees, so "therefore" the opinion of the profs. "has no value whatever." Msgr. Satolli, who absolved McGlynn, made no doctrinal decision or judgment from any ecclesiastical authority. He just absolved McGlynn from censure, 1892.

154, this absolution was "a great humiliation for Archbishop Corrigan; ... yet the saintly Archbishop never uttered a word of protest ... after the example of his Divine Master." (Talk about sanctimony!)

Contents (transcribed onto library description)

"Two rival theories -- Common landownership a fiction -- Private landownership a natural right -- ... -- Dr. Edward McGlynn and Henry George -- The truth about Dr. McGlynn's restoration -- Whose is the unearned land value? -- The fundamental fallacy of agrarianism, socialism, and communism."

John Tracy Ellis, date not reproduced. **The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons**, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921. Vol. I. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company.

Notes by Mason Gaffney, 1995

Ellis is Prof. of Am. Church History, Cath Univ. of Am.

570, 1887, Abp Corrigan states publicly that Pope has Excomm. McGlynn.

n47. xx Malone, 1918, published **Dr. Edward McGlynn.** New York. Appreciations of his life and work, and press clippings.

571, n51. E. McGlynn, 1887. "The New Know-Nothingism and the Old." **The North American Review**, August, 192-205.

571, Gibbons, he lay low.

576 ff., GIBBONS COUNSELED AGAINST PUTTING P&P ON THE INDEX, BECAUSE THE PUBLICITY WOULD ONLY HELP IT. RATHER, HE SAID, KEEP QUIET, IGNORE IT.

578, GIBBONS URGED "AN ENCYCLICAL FROM THE HOLY FATHER ON THE SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY INSTEAD OF A CONDEMNATION OF GEORGE." 1888, BEGAN HIS AGITATION FOR THIS. PURPOSE WAS TO "PUT A STOP TO THE CONFLICTING VIEWS ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS THAT WERE THEN DIVIDING AMERICAN CATHOLICS." THIS REFERRED SQUARELY TO MCGLYNN.

580, CORRIGAN, MEANTIME, HAD SENT WORKS OF HG TO THE CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX, URGING THEY BE PROSCRIBED. (CORRIGAN WAS A HARDLINER ALL THE TIME.) (ISN'T IT REMARKABLE, THOUGH, THAT ANYONE COULD THINK P&P THREATENED ANY RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE. IT IS NOT A BOOK ABOUT RELIGION, BUT ABOUT POLITICAL ECONOMY. CLEARLY, CORRIGAN IDENTIFIED THE RCC WITH PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.)

GIBBONS AND HIS REP. IN ROME, DENIS O'CONNELL, SAW THE DANGER OF MAKING MARTYRS, WHICH "MIGHT MAKE GEORGE A HERO OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION, ..." HE URGED SILENCE, "DEMANDED ABSOLUTELY THAT GEORGE BE LEFT IN OBLIVION."

581-82, GIBBONS "ASKED LEO XIII NOT TO CONDEMN GEORGE, AND AT THE SAME TIME TO TREAT THE SUBJECT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN AN ENCYCLICAL." "... IT WOULD BE UNDIGNIFIED FOR ROME TO NOTICE GEORGE WITH A CONDEMNATION, ..."

582, GIBBONS "TOLD THE POPE (BY LETTER) THAT HE DID NOT PRETEND THAT THE FALSE THEORIES OF GEORGE SHOULD BE TOLERATED BY THE

CHURCH, BUT ... IN HIS DIFFERENT ENCYCLICALS, THE POPE HAD ... CONVINCED READERS. ... A SIMILAR INSTRUCTION IN THE SAME FORM, SAID GIBBONS, ON MATTERS TOUCHING THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY, WOULD BEAR THE SAME AUTHORITY."

583, 1889, Corrigan makes it a sin to attend a McGlynn meeting.

584, 1889, Congregation of the Inquisition ruled that "the works of George" (all of them, apparently!) deserved condemnation. However, this was not to be published. It compromised between Gibbons and Corrigan.

585 and **passim**, Gibbons lay low when Corrigan was bullying Gibbons' friends in NY. Told Rome he "knew nothing" of the Burtsell case. ("Thou shalt deny me thrice.")

586, Gibbons (a cardinal? - ~~probably not~~) wanted to avoid trouble with Corrigan (an Archbishop). Who's in charge here? On p.587, Gibbons is also an Archbishop. ~~Which is he?~~

These are all the pages I have. Worth finishing some day.

****

Letter below was secured by Sy Winters, copy sent to me. 1996

From the "Archives Archdiocese Baltimore," copy of letter in French from "J. Card. GIBBONS, Archévêque de Baltimore." "A SON EMINENCE LE CARDINAL SIMEONI, PRÉFET DE LA S. CONGRÉGATION DE LA PROPAGANDE." 28 Fevrier 1887. Written from Rome.

Sujet: La Question des écrits de Henri George

(Transl. by Mason Gaffney)

After arriving in Rome, I heard people discuss putting works of HG on The Index. This would be neither opportune (timely) nor useful.

The ideas came from Mill and Spencer. It would seem strange to the world to attack the work of a humble American artisan instead of attacking his grand masters. It would not be prudent to do that without the counsel of Cardinals Manning and Newman.

We should not only speak the truth, but choose the time and circumstances to tell it, to produce healthy results. This is not the time to publish (*émettre*) a condemnation. This would give the works of George a popular importance they would not otherwise get, and cause the sale of millions of copies. Let them die by themselves.

Potential Conferees, O'Donnell Conference

Suggestions by Mason Gaffney to Nic Tideman, 7/97

Marc Blaug

Elliot Brownlee Ec. History of single tax movement
Dep/Ecs, UCSB, Sta Barbara CA

David Chang, Worked on Sun Yat-sen, with co-author Cheng
Political Science, U. of Wis., Oshkosh, WI 54901

Chuyuan Cheng, Worked on Sun Yat-sen, with co-author Chang
Ball State University

Clifford Cobb
Redefining Progress, One Kearny St., 4th Floor, San Francisco 94108. Also has Sacto. residential address, and a wife.
811 - 28th St., Sacto 95816-4318
>vox/fax: 916-448-6460
>if busy: 916-448-4062
>e-mail: cobb@jps.net

Charles Collier Dissn. on George, followed by a good article in HOPE, cited in my COE book. Now silent?
Hamilton College

David Domke

Terry Dwyer, Strong Georgist, devout Catholic, Harvard Ph.D. with Richard Musgrave, super dissertation on history of thought.
11 Archer St., Dickson, F.C.T. 2602, AUSTRALI

James Echols Good Masters' Thesis on history of Jackson Ralston's initiatives in Calif.
CSU Fresno

Kris Feder

Robert Fitch Writes for Village Voice on r.e. power in NYC. Savvy. Knows Si Winters, Mike Hudson.
211 E. 17th St. #4, NY 10003; 212/677-7394

Bob Gilmour Has Ph.D. in History, might appreciate being consulted.

Otis Graham, Jr., Historian, sympathetic and friendly, but not incisive.
Dept. of History, U of Cal Sta Barbara

John Henry Biographer of J.B. Clark, whom he dislikes intensely. A Marxist. Personable and friendly, a good speaker.

Mike Hudson

Peter Jones, 1991. Author, Henry George and British Socialism. ISBN 0-8240-2546-6.
Address unknown

Dennis King Contact of Si Winters. First-rate scholar, writer.
212/838-9829

Murray Milgate Co-editor, The New Palgrave. Reviewed C.O.E., not too harshly.

Mike Perelman Marxist, an active intellect, has some interest in Georgism and knowledge of irrigation districts.
C.S.U. Chico

Jonathan Rowe Worked with Cliff Cobb on history of income tax. Yale Law graduate, has worked with public interest groups for 25 years.
Redefining Progress, One Kearny St., 4th Floor, San Francisco 94108.

Christopher Ryan Biographer of H.G. Brown. Has worked with Larry Moss.
401 Garden St, Iowa City, IA 52240

Warren Samuels Gray eminence, various fields, pro George
Prof of Ecs, MSU, E. Lansing MI

Roger Sandilands
35 Banaire Rd, Glasgow, SCOTLAND G115AW

Mike Sheehan

Ken Wenzer

Donald Worster Historian, sensitive to land monopoly.
History, U of KS, Lawrence

Ron Yanofsky

Mason Gaffney
P.O. Box 7998
Riverside, CA 92513

909/687-1677
OFF 909/787-5037, x1574
FAX 909/787-5685

26 Sept 95

Yisroel Pensack
688 - 24th St.
San Francisco CA 94121

Dear Yisroel:

You overwhelm me with fascinating readings! Many thanks.

You certainly did the right number on Wanniski. When it comes to exposing cant and hypocrisy you get right to the point. If others did the same, these fellows would be cut down to size - and might even have to clean up their acts.

The Cardinal Gibbons book is especially valuable: it establishes that *Rerum Novarum* was an answer to Henry George - but it was undignified for the Pope to admit he would debate with a mere mortal. Also, Gibbon certainly expresses the "conspiracy of silence" strategy explicitly. Ellis's credulous attitude toward the whole thing - the importance of avoiding "trouble" - makes for marvelous quotability. In a 2nd Edition I will surely add a chapter on the R.C.C., McGlynn, and all that: you have primed me well, with the Gibbons book + other references to Catholic writers on property and poverty, etc.

The diocesan land sales in S.F., plus the probing of reporter Susan Herbert, certainly bares important info. Corporations (including churches) take on lives of their own, so their hierarchies take on interests adverse to those of their loyal, credulous members. Actually, it is quite rational from the overall economic view to close churches of low "productivity" on valuable land. The problem seems to be, rather, that the diocese requires the parish members to support their individual churches, but then takes all the money when they liquidate. And, it seems, routinely lies to them about it.

What is the "Pan Asia Venture Capital Corporation," which copyrights Herbert's work?

You sure gave Thurow a hard time about his "Zero-sum Society." He deserved it. That is Neo-classical Economics at its worst: "no free lunch," etc. He is a loose cannon, really, and perhaps too much the publicity hound, not concerned with his

own consistency. His colleagues at MIT call him "Less-than Thorough."

Thanks for the Russian tidbits, too. Not surprising that they suppressed Tolstoy's writings, but good to have it documented.

It is a great loss to us all - not just to you - that your health problem forced you out of journalism. I hope above hopes that you'll find an equally productive outlet in the future.

Cordially,

A.M. Crofts, 1948, **Property and Poverty**, a treatise on private ownership according to the principlesof St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Saviour's, Dublin, C.16: Irish Rosary Office.

I have title page only. Legenda.

AMERICA - a Jesuit magazine

JAMES GILHOOLEY

Soggarth Aroon, 'The Precious Priest'

The memory of a controversial New York City pastor, Edward McGlynn, and his conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities a century ago remains alive today to engage the imagination and challenge conventional church wisdom

Angrily they rushed into the cobblestone streets that cold night. Thousands of them. The way was lit by torches as hot as their own tongues. Their screeching shout was: "We want Dr. McGlynn as our pastor." A bad situation became even more dangerous when the police lined up with the frenzied mob. Hotheads began to shout: "Let's burn the church down!" For demonstrators and police alike, Dr. Edward McGlynn, in the Irish tongue of many of them, was "Soggarth Aroon" (the Precious Priest).

When they learned that Father McGlynn's successor had rudely expelled him "bag and baggage" from the rectory, they allowed him to flee for his safety "amid a barrage of decayed and thrown fruit." All of this at Sunday's solemn Mass. In case the new pastor was obtuse enough to miss their message, a number of them placed in the collection plates hastily scribbled I.O.U.'s which read: "Good for 10 cents when Dr. McGlynn is reinstated." Then they marched to the corner and deposited their hard earned dimes with the obliging pharmacist. There the boxes of silver coins would wait the return of their former pastor, Soggarth Aroon.

The above may sound like an especially wild Frank O'Connor short story set in Dublin or Cork City. It's nothing of the sort. All of it occurred in New York City at the parish of St. Stephen's on Manhattan's East 29th Street in January 1887. (I am grateful to my fellow New York priest, Msgr. Michael McGuire, for many of these colorful street details.)

When Dr. McGlynn, as he was commonly saluted, died in 1900 in his ecclesial exile at the small riverfront city of Newburgh, N.Y. (a country parish "where he can do less harm"), church establishment figures here and abroad must have murmured a passionate, collective Deo gratias. No doubt they hoped that with his passing would also die the heady embarrassment of his life and the bothersome problems he both raised and symbolized.

However, the memories of a Catholic boyhood say they were wrong. For any number of us studying in the New York diocesan seminary system in the early 1950's, he mysteriously remained the one priest who would not go away. Initially we thought he was nothing more than a provincial New York happening. Years later, and for some of us many years later, we discovered that Edward McGlynn was a major influence in the development of the American church in the 20th century. Furthermore, many of the ecclesial and economic questions he noisily raised a century ago remain unresolved and still disturb both the church and the country as a whole.

Not too surprisingly, we learned nothing substantive about Father McGlynn in our seminary years. Really, sensible church authorities might ask, why do impressionable seminarians being prepared to become parochial hewers of wood and drawers of water need to know about a 19th-century priest who was suspended twice by his bishop, removed from his pastorate and then excommunicated by Rome for six years—all for disobedience? Moreover, was he not only a liberal in his politics and economics but, much worse, in his theology? Did he not, along with several priest contemporaries, question papal infallibility, celibacy (because it retarded "emotional growth, making priests selfish and lonely"), the reading of Mass in Latin, auricular confession, the value of parochial schools and on and on? Was he not calling for the Americanization of the church and "a little more democracy" as well as that touchy point about the rights of one's conscience vis-à-vis ecclesial authority?

That day in 1952 when I happily chanced upon Msgr. John Tracy Ellis's 48-page treatment of Father McGlynn in his splendid biography of Cardinal James Gibbons, I felt like Keats on first looking into Chapman's Homer.

Altogether it was fitting that Dr. McGlynn obligingly

«The Rev. James Gilhooley, *on the staff of Mt. St. Mary College in Newburgh, N.Y., recently contributed "An Abortion Alternative" (11/13/82).*»

OVER

6-2-97

Mase - Knowing your interest in Fr. McGlynn, I'm passing on a copy of an article that was brought to my attention. I recently contacted Fr. Gilhooley, spiritual advisor to students at Mt. St. Mary's & he gave me the reference.

- over

postponed his death to the opening days of the new century if for no other reason than that his embattled life helped push the American church, in James Hennesey's smooth phrase, "more or less peaceably into a half-century's theological hibernation."

Despite the fact that Father McGlynn's relatively brief life contained the silver threads out of which golden legends are woven, his story begins simply enough. Born in 1837 in New York City of immigrant parents, he was one of 11 children. The family prospered and became certified lace-curtain Irish. But, though his parents could afford fresh fruit on the dining-room table even when none of the kids was ill, Edward never forgot his peasant roots.

From its beginnings in 1860, just before the Civil War, his parish priesthood was associated with the poor. The bulk of his parishioners were German and Irish immigrants shoehorned into smelly and uncomfortable tenements and houses. Their homes were hot in the summer and cold in the winter. Many of these people were unemployed. Many were ill. Many were just plain hungry.

His parish of St. Stephen's in New York City in 1866 numbered 30,000 people and was the largest urban parish in the United States. Much of his energy was spent in making the plight of the poor a little bit more tolerable. For 500 children he founded an orphanage. For women down on their luck he built a residence. The money for these exercises came both from parish funds and his own pocket. His legacy in death would be unpaid bills and clothing too worn to be of any value to needy parishioners.

Yet he quickly came to the conclusion that his efforts, however large and admirable in other people's eyes, were about as helpful as placing used band-aids on cancer. "You may go on forever," he said, "with hospitals and orphan asylums and St. Vincent de Paul societies, but with them you can't cure the trouble. In a right state of society, there ought not to be any hospitals or asylums or charitable societies, or else very few of them."

That dangerous mindset created the problems with establishment that would unsettle the balance of his 62 years. He happened on the economist Henry George. In his book *Progress and Poverty,* published in 1879, George argued that ownership of the land by the wealthy and the privileged was primarily responsible for financial injustices and inequities. He urged that the land be given back to the people through a tax on "unearned increment." This was George's Single Tax theory, and Father McGlynn bought it as "the economic expression of the Gospel." When George ran for New York City's mayoral office in 1886 as a candidate for the United Labor Party, which in turn had a tenuous connection with the Socialist Labor Party, Father McGlynn enthusiastically and publicly supported him.

'The excommunicated and "unfrocked" Edward McGlynn had become a chess piece in the ideological dispute'

His archbishop, Michael Corrigan, was not amused. Nor were the bosses of New York City's Irish political machines. These latter would be principally Tammany Hall, which controlled the Democratic Party. They felt the Irish vote particularly belonged to them by divine right. They had no need with a meddling priest who had a charismatic way with those same Celts. He might well interfere with their comfortable livelihood and upset their collaborative modus operandi with the powers that be.

Robert Emmet Curran, S.J., to whose scholarship and insights I am deeply indebted, treats this matter in his literate book with the telltale title *Michael Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America, 1878-1902.* He notes that Archbishop Corrigan who inherited considerable wealth "could appreciate concerns of men of substance about the need to conserve the fabric of society from attacks of socialists and liberals."

For his continued efforts on behalf of Henry George's candidacy, despite Archbishop Corrigan's objections, Father McGlynn was suspended for two weeks from his duties as a priest in October 1886. Then after the appearance of an uncorroborated newspaper interview with Father McGlynn in late November, which Archbishop Corrigan read as a clear assault on the Pope and the church's social teachings, he was suspended again. The Archbishop looked to Rome for instructions concerning his "obstinate and irascible" priest.

Events began to move at a whirlwind pace, faster probably than anyone had anticipated. In early December, the Vatican wired the Archbishop of New York: "Let . . . McGlynn proceed immediately to Rome."

Father McGlynn refused to go. He would later put his case this way: "I deny the right of bishop . . . or Pope to punish me for my actions as a man and a citizen in the late municipal canvass or in other political movements. I deny their right to censure me . . . for my opinions in political economy, unless they can show that these opinions are clearly contrary to the teachings of the Catholic religion. This they have not shown." He proceeded to say the church seemed anxious for an encore performance of the Galileo and Copernicus encounters: "the folly and shame of condemning scientific truth as religious heresy."

Predictably the Holy See didn't see the matter in quite those sweeping and dramatic terms. The undersea wires grew hot as strategy cables moved back and forth between the worried chancery of New York and the quiet marble halls of the Vatican. Their sad climax was the Roman ex-

Prior to contacting Fr Galvin, I visited St, Mary's Ch. which was nearby, but no connection to the college. I went to St. Mary's to see Fr McGlynn's plaque. The Pastor there directed me to Fr Galvin. Fr McGlynn was the Pastor of my Mothers -cont-

communication of Dr. Edward McGlynn in the summer of 1887. He would so remain to the Christmas season of 1892.

Unbeknownst to anyone but the most acute, the American church had become one of the unwilling principals in the engagement. In 1895, when the Corrigan-McGlynn imbroglio was more or less at rest, the American church would be a changed operation. The previously carefully choreographed relationship of filial loyalty to the Holy See on the one hand but jealously guarded freedom as United States bishops on the other would be upset. Rome would emerge as the undisputed winner. The excommunicated and "unfrocked" Edward McGlynn had become a chess piece in the ideological dispute being played among liberal and conservative elements within the American church as a whole, and between the American church and Rome.

As Father Curran puts it: "Michael Corrigan's tendency to maximize the primacy and infallibility of the Pope set the pattern for the ultramontanism that would characterize the church in America in the first half of the 20th century."

The messy situation in the New York church was a good barometer of what was happening both nationally and internationally. Again Father Curran: "The McGlynn case became a litmus test for judging orthodoxy and establishing one's credentials as conservative or liberal. The pledge of loyalty the New York priests were pressured to sign in the spring of 1887 became for years the norm for promotions and appointments."

Almost six winters would pass before the excommunication on Father McGlynn was removed by the papal delegate of Pope Leo XIII in December 1892, but not before Dr. McGlynn's economic theories were judged to contain nothing in opposition to traditional Catholic beliefs. Interestingly, Archbishop Corrigan was not consulted about the reprieve being given to his subject priest. The handwriting was on chancery walls for truly observant churchmen to read.

Father McGlynn's troubles with his bishops, however, were not over. He would remain a pariah in his home diocese for almost two years when, after pressure from the Pope's delegate, he received the pastorate of St. Mary's parish in Newburgh, N.Y. It was situated many miles and many hours away from his former shouting grounds in New York City.

There were not too many years of life left to him. He remained a staunch disciple of Henry George to the end. Though slowed by illness, his charisms remained strong as the hordes of young people who rushed to St. Mary's for his Sunday sermons would testify. Nor was the Soggarth Aroon forgotten by his former parishioners at New York City's St. Stephen's. As late as 1895, new priests arriving at that parish were being quizzed by discriminating penitents in the confessional darkness: "Be you with or agin Dr. McGlynn?"

'Though he had been out of the New York City parish 13 years, his people had long memories'

Father McGlynn himself "believed that the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington . . . had created a 'new order' that would finally enable the church in America to be fully American." How wrong the good doctor was! In January 1899, Pope Leo XIII denounced Americanism in his landmark encyclical, *Testem Benevolentiae.* The American church was slouching toward "theological hibernation."

And while I do understand why the centenary of his birth was not observed, I would hope that the centennial of his death, but 17 years away, will be. It would be an auspicious way for a confident American church to enter the 21st century. Of course it would be absolutely fitting if Father McGlynn's own New York church took the lead in this matter.

I should like to see scholarly symposia organized to discuss him and the storms that raged around him. Without such it will be difficult for 50 million Catholics in the United States to understand the events that have brought their church to its present pass and to determine where it should be heading. Msgr. John Tracy Ellis noted in 1952 that "there is no satisfactory biography of McGlynn." Almost a third of a century later this is still the case.

His troubled life ended in the first days of the new century. The funeral Mass, celebrated but two blocks from where I write these lines this snowy winter morning here in Newburgh, was presided over by Archbishop Corrigan. The entire body of Newburgh's Protestant clergy, 18 in all, and its one rabbi squeezed into the parish church of St. Mary for the service. In the tongue-in-cheek summation of one Protestant worthy, they had come to honor "the noblest Roman of them all." Newburgh was brought to a halt on Jan. 9, 1900. In a headline, next day's Newburgh Daily Press wrote: "Mourning Thousands Follow the Dead Priest to the Train."

The remains were brought to St. Stephen's. Though he had been out of the New York City parish 13 years, his people had long memories. A Jan. 11 newspaper reported that 40,000 came to look on the face of their former pastor, benefactor and advocate. "Portraits of Father McGlynn sold by hawkers for five and ten cents throughout the night quickly disappeared." His body was buried in New York's diocesan cemetery, and a large bronze likeness was erected in a non-Catholic cemetery. Cemetery workers referred to it as "The Great Man." One floral wreath said simply "Soggarth Aroon." ■

Family parish in Manhattan.

Hope to see you this summer in New Jersey

Bill

Mr. William G. Kells
54 S Mountain Rd
Wallkill, NY 12589

The Irish Famine/ Genocide Committee & The Irish-American Club of Hunter College invite you to join us in

BREAKING THE SILENCES

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BREAKING THE SILENCES will examine legacies of the Irish famine from a variety of perspectives. Invited guests include speakers from the nationalist and unionist communities, as well as the Irish diaspora. Historians, artists, and activists will engage the audience in an exploration of the many contemporary political, cultural, and psychological ramifications of *An Gorta Mor, The Great Hunger.*

This is the proposed schedule for the two day seminar to be held at Hunter College, 68th Street and Lexington Avenue, NYC, NY

SYMPOSIUM EVENTS INCLUDE:

Opening Music by Jerry O'Sullivan

Exhibition of Art and Photographs
Historical paintings and original artwork by Sandra Whiteknacht, Kit DeFever, Robert Ballagh, Gary White Deer, and other artists.

Benefit Concert for the Famine Grave Memorial Kilalla, County Mayo featuring —
THE WOLFE TONES, SEANCHAI & Other Artists
8:00 pm, Saturday November 1
Tramps Nightclub, 51 West 21st Street
Tickets are $20.00. Tickets are available at Tramps Box Office (212-727-7788), O'Dwyer & Bernstien, or through this mailing.

Tables featuring:
- Famine Curriculum Information
- Books
- T-shirts
- Tapes and CDs
- Artwork

Visit IF/GC's web site: Http://www.ifgc.org

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1

11:00 - 1:00
Legacies of the Starvation in Ulster
MODERATOR: JOHN WATERS, journalist for the *Irish Times*, writer and cultural commentator

Christine Kinealy, historian from Liverpool, England and author of *This Great Calamity* and *A Death-Dealing Famine,* presenting her research on the famine in Ulster.

Billy Hutchinson, press officer in Belfast of the Progressive Unionist Party, speaking on the effects of the famine on Protestant communities in Ulster, and the famine's legacy of Irish-American militancy.

Mary Nelis, Sinn Féin Councilwoman from Derry, discussing the historical and contemporary implications of the famine in Ulster's Nationalist community.

Dialogue with the audience

1:45 - 5:00
Contemporary Reverberations of *An Gorta Mor*
MODERATOR: JOHN WATERS

California State Senator Tom Hayden, editor of a new collection of writings on the famine entitled, *The Irish Hunger,* speaking on the effects of the famine on the Irish in America.

Dr. Garrett O'Connor, psychiatrist and expert on post-traumatic stress, speaking on the psychological effects of colonialism and the famine on the Irish at home and in the diaspora.

Questions & Answers with all panelists

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2

11:00 - 6:00
Hidden History: Evidence, Echoes, and Laments
PANEL A: MODERATOR, ANN GAUGHAN, of the American Protestants for Truth about Ireland

Dr. Charles Orser, archeologist excavating a famine site in Co. Roscommon, on his findings and exhibiting artifacts from the site.

Gary White Deer, Choctaw activist and founder of CAIT, describing response to current famines by Indian and Irish people working together.

Don Mullan, author of *Eyewittness Bloody Sunday* and co-founder of CAIT.

Johnny Cunningham, Scottish musician on the legacies of the Scottish Highland Clearances.

Kit DeFever, describing the impact of finding and photographing famine grave sites in Ireland and Canada.

PANEL B: MODERATOR: FIONNULA FLANAGAN, actor

Helena Mulkerns, reading from her book *Famine Fever.*

Tara Sheehan, Florida high school student, on her experience with the current Famine Curriculum.

Micheal O'Maille, poet and linguist, speaking about the impact of the famine on Irish language and culture.

Catherine Marshall, Curator, Irish Museum of Modern Art, on problems of representing the famine in Irish art.

Peter Quinn, author of *Banished Children of Eve* .

Schedule is subject to change.

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—Tony Blair, British Prime Minister

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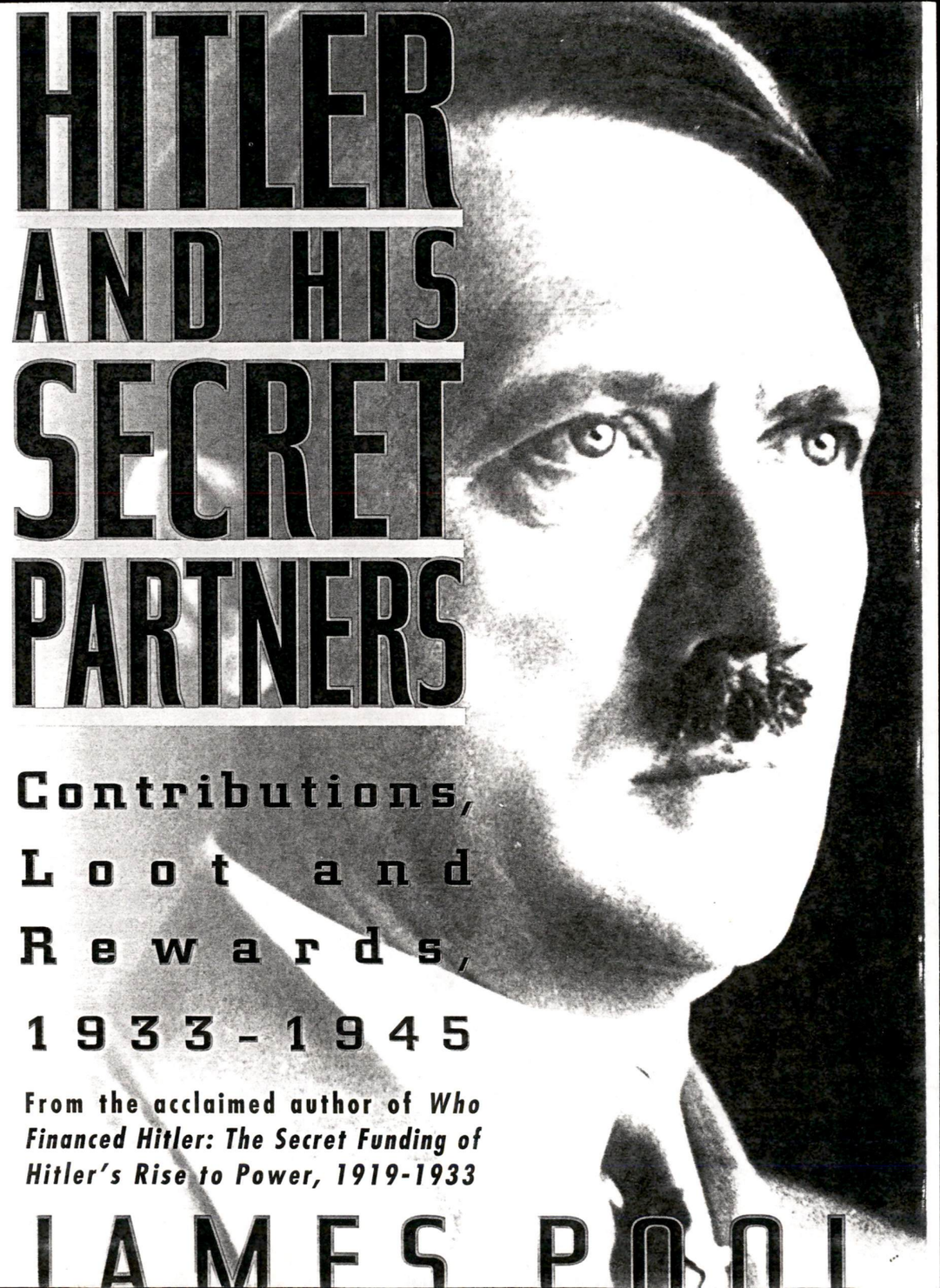
HITLER AND HIS SECRET PARTNERS
Contributions, Loot and Rewards, 1933-1945
JAMES POOL

HITLER AND HIS SECRET PARTNERS



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• Many of Germany's top industrialists and financiers who secretly funded Hitler's regime were rewarded with multibillion-dollar returns on their investments. After each invasion, they met to divvy up the spoils of Hitler's war: seized factories, machinery, and raw materials.
• Sympathetic foreign bankers, journalists, and politicians gave Hitler vital support, even to the point of betraying their own countries. But no two foreign figures were more important than the future King Edward VIII of England, and his companion, Wallis Simpson, who may have been a Nazi collaborator.

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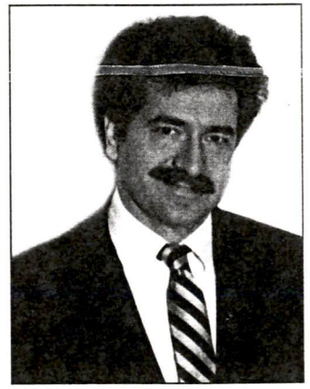
(continued from front flap)

• Joseph Kennedy, American ambassador to England and father of a future president, gave tacit approval to Hitler's "Jewish policy"—a chilling stand aggravated by American anti-Semites, such as Charles Lindbergh.
• Evidence suggests that one of the motives for the Holocaust was profit. Jewish businesses were seized, property confiscated, and valuable art collections plundered. The concentration camps themselves, where millions died, were designed to serve as sources of slave labor for German industry.
• Portrayed by the Nazi propaganda machine as a man of simple tastes, Adolf Hitler actually led a life of luxury, extravagance and corruption, sparing no expense in the indulgence of his every whim—from the architectural to the sexual.

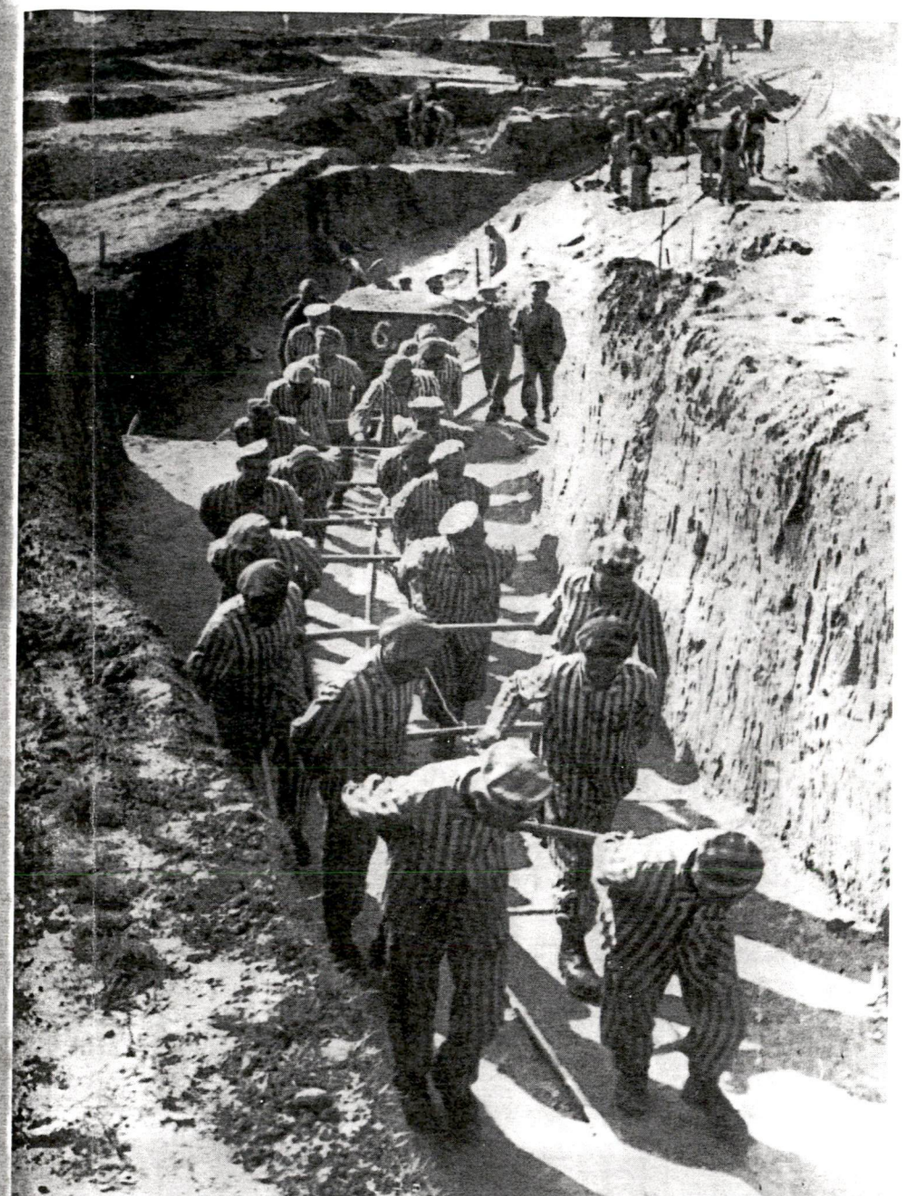
HITLER AND HIS SECRET PARTNERS reveals that the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century was driven in large part by economics—by the desire to hoard wealth as well as power. Those who reaped the rewards—whether peasant, prince or politician—share equally in the criminal consequences of Nazism. Meticulously researched and thoroughly documented, this remarkable and monumental volume is sure to provoke controversy and have a substantial impact for decades to come.



For the past twenty-five years, JAMES POOL has investigated the financial and psychological reasons behind Hitler's crimes. He is the author of *Who Financed Hitler: The Secret Funding of Hitler's Rise to Power, 1919-1933*, now completely revised and updated, and available in trade paperback from Pocket Books.

Cover design by Tom McKeveny
Cover photo courtesy of Corbis/Bettmann

Slave laborers building the Krupp factory at Auschwitz. Several other major German companies also had factories inside the Auschwitz concentration camp to take advantage of the cheap labor. The SS rented prisoners to German businesses for a few cents per day. *Main Commission for the Investinvestigation of Nazi Crimes and National Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau*



Slave laborers working in the quarry at Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Several concentration camps were built near quarries to provide the vast quantities of stone and marble needed to fulfill Hitler's architectural fantasies for monumental government buildings.

Pool Hitler And His Secret Partners

IN GOD'S NAME

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE MURDER OF POPE JOHN PAUL I

"Yallop has assembled and made intelligible a vast amount of first-class evidence on the corrupt financial activities of Sindona, Gelli, Calvi and Marcinkus and the various financial institutions within the Vatican...He is deft and accurate in his description of how the corruption works...Read the book. Weigh the evidence. Make your own judgment."
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SEPTEMBER 28, 1978

On September 28, 1978, while Pope John Paul I sat down to a frugal dinner in the third-floor dining room of the Apostolic Palace within Vatican City, other men in other places were deeply anxious about the activities of the newly elected pope. . . .

In the Vatican Bank, the lights still burned. Word had reached its head, Bishop Paul Marcinkus, that the new pope had quietly begun an investigation into the Vatican Bank and the methods Marcinkus used to run it. Paul Marcinkus was about to be removed. . . .

At his desk, Cardinal Jean Villot, Vatican Secretary of State, studied the list of appointments, resignations, transfers, that the pope had handed him one hour previously. In Villot's mind there could be no doubt that there was to be a dramatic change—one that would constitute a betrayal of Paul VI. . . .

In Buenos Aires, banker Roberto Calvi consulted his protector, Licio Gelli, the formidable head of the secret organization, P2, Calvi had been beset by problems even before the election of John Paul I. Now he faced total ruin. . . .

In New York, Sicilian banker Michele Sindona was fighting extradition to Italy. If John Paul I continued to dig into the web of corruption at the Vatican Bank, the trail would lead back to Michele Sindona. . . .

In Chicago, Cardinal John Cody received a phone call from Rome: the pope had decided that Cardinal Cody was to be replaced. . . .

Sometime during the late evening of September 28, 1978 and the early morning of September 29, 1978, thirty-three days after his election, John Paul I died. Time of death: Unknown. Cause of death: Unknown.

On September 28, 1978 these six men—Marcinkus, Villot, Calvi, Gelli, Sindona, Cody—had a great deal to fear if the papacy of John Paul I continued. One of these six men applied the Italian Solution: The pope must die!

—from the Prologue

"Was John Paul I murdered? He may have been. To the extent the Vatican does not address itself to a responsible discussion of the evidence Mr. Yallop has gathered, the probability of murder goes up. It is time that all Catholics face the unpleasant truth of the present condition of the Vatican, a condition which makes it possible to think a Pope could have been murdered."
–ANDREW GREELEY

IN GOD'S NAME

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE MURDER OF POPE JOHN PAUL I

On September 28, 1978, thirty-three days after his election, Pope John Paul I, "the Smiling Pope," was declared dead. No official death certificate has ever been issued. No autopsy ever performed. His body was hastily embalmed. Cause of death: Unknown. And Vatican business continues.

This extraordinary book, product of more than three years' intensive investigation, unfolds a story so powerful in its revelations, so shocking in its inescapable conclusions, that it has made a stunned world take note. The facts are here in meticulous detail, documenting widespread corruption within the Vatican and presenting a compelling case that six powerful men, to protect their vast financial and political operations, decided on a shocking course of action—*Pope John Paul I must die.*

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DAVID A. YALLOP

WITH 32 PAGES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

PREFACE

This book, the product of nearly three years' intensive research, would not exist without the active help and cooperation of many people and many organizations. Very many of these agreed to help only on the strict understanding that they remained publicly unidentified. As with previous books I have written under similar conditions, I respect my sources' wishes. On this occasion there is an even greater need to protect their identity. As will become clear to the reader, murder is a frequent accompaniment to the events recorded here. A considerable number of the murders committed remain officially unsolved. No one should doubt that the individuals responsible for those deaths have the capacity to murder again. To reveal the names of men and women who provided me with crucial help and who are now at risk would be an act of criminal irresponsibility. To them I owe a particular debt. Their reasons for divulging a wide range of information were many and varied, but again and again I heard the remark, "The truth must be told. If you are prepared to tell it, then so be it." I am deeply grateful to all of them and to the following, who with the greatest respect I classify as the tip of the iceberg:

Professor Amedeo Alexandre, Professor Leonardo Ancona, William Aronwald, Linda Attwell, Josephine Ayres, Alan Bailey, Dr. Shamus Banim, Dr. Derek Bar-

rowcliff, Pia Basso, Father Aldo Belli, Cardinal Giovanni Benelli, Marco Borsa, Vittore Branca, David Buckley, Father Roberto Busa, Dr. Renato Buzzonetti, Roberto Calvi, Emilio Cavaterra, Cardinal Mario Ciappi, Brother Clemente, Joseph Coffey, Annaloa Copps, Rupert Cornwell, Monsignor Ausilio Da Rif, Dr. Antonio Da Ros, Maurizio De Luca, Daniele Doglio, Monsignor Mafeo Ducoli, Father François Evain, Cardinal Pericle Felici, Father Mario Ferrarese, Professor Luigi Fontana, Mario di Francesco, Dr. Carlo Frizziero, Professor Piero Fucci, Father Giovanni Gennari, Monsignor Mario Ghizzo, Father Carlo Gonzalez, Father Andrew Greeley, Diane Hall, Doctor John Henry, Father Thomas Hunt, William Jackson, John J. Kenney, Peter Lemos, Dr. David Levison, Father Diego Lorenzi, Eduardo Luciani, William Lynch, Ann McDiarmid, Father John Magee, Sandro Magister, Alexander Manson, Professor Vincenzo Masini, Father Francis Murphy, Monsignor Giulio Nicolini, Anna Nogara, Father Gerry O'Collins, Father Romeo Panciroli, Father Gianni Pastro, Lena Petri, Nina Petri, Professor Pier Luigi Prati, Professor Giovanni Rama, Roberto Rosone, Professor Fausto Rovelli, Professor Vincenzo Rulli, Ann Ellen Rutherford, Monsignor Tiziano Scalzotto, Monsignor Mario Senigaglia, Arnaldo Signoracci, Ernesto Signoracci, Father Bartolmeo Sorg, Lorana Sullivan, Father Francesco Taffarel, Sister Vincenza, Professor Thomas Whitehead, Phillip Willan. I am also grateful to the following organizations: the Augustinian Residence, Rome, Banco San Marco, the Bank of England, the Bank of International Settlements, Basle, the Bank of Italy, Catholic Central Library, Catholic Truth Society, City of London Police, the Department of Trade, Statistics and Market Intelligence Library, the English College, Rome, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Gregorian University, Rome, New Cross Hospital Poisons Unit, Opus Dei, the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, the Tribunal of the Ward of Luxembourg, U.S. Department of State, U.S. District Court Southern District of New York, Vatican Press Office, and Vatican Radio.

Among those I cannot thank publicly are the people resident within Vatican City who contacted me and initiated my investigation of the events surrounding the death of Pope John Paul I, Albino Luciani. The fact that

men and women living within the heart of the Roman Catholic Church cannot speak openly and be identified is an eloquent comment on the state of affairs within the Vatican.

Doubtless this book will be attacked by some and dismissed by others. It will be seen by some as an assault on the Roman Catholic faith in particular and on Christianity in general. It is neither of these. To a degree it is an indictment of specifically named men who were born Roman Catholics but who have never become Christians.

This book is not an attack on the faith practiced by the Church's devout millions of followers. What they hold sacred is too important to be left in the hands of men who have conspired to drag the message of Christ into the muddy marketplace—a conspiracy that has met with frightening success.

As already indicated, I confront an insurmountable difficulty when it comes to the task of naming specific sources within the text, as many of my sources must remain secret. I can assure the reader that all the information, all the details, all the facts have been checked and double-checked to the extent that multiple sources were available. I take the responsibility for putting the evidence together and for the conclusions reached.

I am sure that the fact that I recount conversations between men dead before my investigation began will be cause for comment. How, for example, could I know what passed between Pope John Paul I and Cardinal Villot on the day they discussed the issue of artificial birth control? Within the Vatican there is no such thing as a private audience that remains completely private. Quite simply, both men subsequently talked to others of what had transpired. These secondary sources, sometimes with deeply differing personal opinions on the issue discussed by the Pope and his secretary of state, provided the words attributed. Therefore, while the dialogue within this book is reconstructed, it is not fabricated.

May 1984

DAVID A. YALLOP

PROLOGUE

The spiritual leader of nearly one-fifth of the world's population wields immense power. Yet any uninformed observer of Albino Luciani at the beginning of his reign as Pope John Paul I would have found it difficult to believe that this man truly embodied such power. The diffidence and humility emanating from this small, quiet, sixty-five-year-old Italian had led many to conclude that his papacy would not be particularly noteworthy. The well informed, however, knew differently: Albino Luciani had embarked on a revolution.

On September 28, 1978, he had been pope for thirty-three days. In little more than a month he had initiated various courses of action that, had they been completed, would have had a direct and dynamic effect on us all. The majority in this world would have applauded his decisions, a minority would have been appalled. The man who had quickly been labeled "the smiling pope" intended to remove the smiles from a number of faces on the following day.

That evening Luciani sat down to dinner in the third-floor dining room of the Apostolic Palace within Vatican City. With him were his two secretaries, Father Diego Lorenzi, who had worked closely with him in Venice for more than two years when, as a cardinal, Luciani had been patriarch there, and Father John Magee,

newly acquired since the papal election. As the nuns who worked in the papal apartments hovered anxiously, Albino Luciani ate a frugal meal of clear soup, veal, fresh beans, and a little salad. He sipped occasionally from a glass of water and considered the events of the day and the decisions he had made. He had not wanted the job. He had not sought or canvassed for the papacy. Now as head of state the awesome responsibilities were his.

While Sisters Vincenza, Assunta, Clorinda, and Gabriella quietly served the three men as they watched on television the events that preoccupied Italy that evening, other men in other places were being caused deep anxiety by the activities of Albino Luciani.

One floor below the papal apartments the lights were still on in the Vatican Bank. Its head, Bishop Paul Marcinkus, had other more pressing problems on his mind than his evening meal. Chicago-born Marcinkus had learned about survival on the streets of Cicero, Illinois. During his meteoric rise to power, he had survived many moments of crisis. Now he was confronted with the most serious challenge he had ever faced. In the past thirty-three days his colleagues in the bank had noticed a remarkable change in the man who controlled the Vatican's millions. The 6-foot, 3-inch, 224-pound extrovert had become moody and introspective. He was visibly losing weight, and his face had acquired a gray pallor. Vatican City in many respects is a village, and secrets are hard to keep in a village. Word had reached Marcinkus that the new pope had quietly begun a personal investigation of the Vatican Bank and specifically of the methods Marcinkus was using to run that bank. Countless times since the arrival of the new pope, Marcinkus had regretted that business in 1972 concerning the Banca Cattolica del Veneto. . . .

The Vatican secretary of state, Cardinal Jean Villot, was another who was still at his desk on that September evening. He studied the list of appointments, resignations to be asked for, and transfers the pope had handed him one hour previously. He had advised, argued,

and remonstrated, but to no avail. Luciani had been adamant.

It was by any standards a dramatic reshuffle. It would set the Church in new directions—directions that Villot, and the others on the list who were about to be replaced, considered highly dangerous. When these changes were announced there would be millions of words written and uttered by the world's media, analyzing, dissecting, prophesying, explaining. The real explanation, however, would not be discussed, would not be given a public airing. There was one common denominator, one fact that linked each of the men about to be replaced. Villot was aware of it. More important, so was the pope. It had been one of the factors that had caused him to act, to strip these men of real power and put them into relatively harmless positions. It was Freemasonry.

The evidence the pope had acquired indicated that within the Vatican City State there were over one hundred Masons, ranging from cardinals to priests. This despite the fact that Canon Law stated that to be a Freemason ensured automatic excommunication. Luciani was further preoccupied with an illegal Masonic lodge that had penetrated far beyond Italy in its search for wealth and power. It called itself P2. The fact that it had penetrated the Vatican walls and formed links with priests, bishops, and even cardinals made P2 anathema to Albino Luciani.

Villot had already become deeply concerned about the new papacy before this latest bombshell. He was one of the very few who was aware of the dialogue taking place between the pope and the State Department in Washington. He knew that on October 23 the Vatican would be receiving a congressional delegation and that on October 24 the delegation would be having a private audience with the pope. The subject: artificial birth control.

Villot had looked carefully at the Vatican dossier on Albino Luciani. He had also read the secret memorandum that Luciani, then bishop of Vittorio Veneto, had sent to Paul VI before the papal announcement of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, an encyclical that prohibited Catholics from using any artificial form of birth control. His own discussions with Luciani had left him

in no doubt where the new pope stood on this issue. Equally, in Villot's mind, there was no doubt what Paul's successor was now planning to do. There was to be a dramatic change of position. In Villot's view such a change would constitute a betrayal of Paul VI. . . .

In Buenos Aires, another banker, Roberto Calvi, had Pope John Paul I on his mind as September 1978 drew to a close. In the preceding weeks he had discussed the problems posed by the new pope with his protectors, Licio Gelli and Umberto Ortolani, two men who could list among their many assets their complete control of Calvi, chairman of Banco Ambrosiano. Calvi had been beset with problems even before the election that placed Albino Luciani upon St. Peter's throne. The Bank of Italy had been secretly investigating Calvi's Milan bank since April. It was an investigation prompted by a mysterious poster campaign against Calvi that had erupted in late 1977. The posters had given details of some of Calvi's criminal activities and hinted at a worldwide range of criminal acts.

Calvi was aware of exactly what progress the Bank of Italy was making with its investigation. His close friendship with Licio Gelli ensured a day-by-day account of it. He was equally aware of the papal investigation into the Vatican Bank. Like Marcinkus, he knew it was only a matter of time before the two independent investigations realized that to probe one of these financial empires was to probe both. He was doing everything within his considerable power to thwart the Bank of Italy and protect his financial empire, from which he was in the process of stealing over $1 billion.

Careful analysis of Roberto Calvi's position in September 1978 makes it abundantly clear that if Pope Paul had been succeeded by an honest man, then Calvi faced total ruin, the collapse of his bank, and certain imprisonment. There is no doubt whatever that Albino Luciani was just such a man. . . .

In New York, Sicilian banker Michele Sindona had also been anxiously monitoring Pope John Paul's activities. For over three years Sindona had been fighting the Italian government's attempts to have him extradited.

The Italian government wanted him brought to Milan to face charges involving fraudulent diversion of $225 million. Earlier that year, in May, it appeared that Sindona had finally lost the long battle. A federal judge had ruled that the extradition request should be granted.

Sindona remained free on a $3 million bail while his lawyers prepared to play one last card. They demanded that the United States government prove that there was well-founded evidence to justify extradition. Sindona asserted that the charges brought against him by the Italian government were the work of Communist and other left-wing politicians. His lawyers also asserted that the Milan prosecutor had concealed evidence that would clear Sindona and that if their client were returned to Italy he would almost certainly be assassinated. The hearing was scheduled for November.

That summer, in New York, others were equally active on behalf of Michele Sindona. One Mafia member, Luigi Ronsisvalle, a professional killer, was threatening the life of witness Nicola Biase, who had earlier given evidence against Sindona in the extradition proceedings. The Mafia also had a contract out on the life of Assistant U.S. Attorney John Kenney, who was chief prosecutor in the extradition proceedings. The fee being offered for the murder of the government attorney was $100,000.

If Pope John Paul I continued to dig into the affairs of the Vatican Bank, then no amount of Mafia contracts would help Sindona in his fight against being returned to Italy. The web of corruption at the Vatican Bank, which included the laundering of Mafia money through that bank, went back beyond Calvi, back to Michele Sindona. . . .

In Chicago another prince of the Catholic Church worried and fretted about events in the Vatican—Cardinal John Cody, head of one of the richest archdioceses in the world. Cody ruled over 2½ million Catholics and nearly 3,000 priests, over 450 parishes with an annual income that he refused to reveal in its entirety to anyone. It was, in fact, in excess of $250 million. Fiscal secrecy was only one of the problems that whirled around Cody. By 1978 he had ruled Chicago for thirteen years, and the demands for his replacement had reached

extraordinary proportions. Priests, nuns, lay workers, and people from many secular professions had petitioned Rome in the thousands for the removal of the man they regarded as a despot.

Pope Paul had agonized for years about removing Cody. The pope had on at least one occasion actually steeled himself and made the decision, only to revoke the order at the last moment. The complex, tortured personality of Paul was only part of the reason for the vacillation. Paul knew that other, secret allegations had been made against Cody, with a substantial amount of evidence that indicated the urgent need to replace the cardinal of Chicago.

During late September, Cody received a phone call from Rome. The Vatican City village had leaked another piece of information—information well paid for over the years by Cardinal Cody. The caller told the cardinal that where Pope Paul had agonized, his successor, John Paul, had acted. The pope had decided that Cardinal John Cody was to be replaced. . . .

Over at least three of these men lurked the shadow of another, Licio Gelli. Men called him "Il Burattinaio"—the puppetmaster. The puppets were many and were placed in numerous countries. He controlled P2, and through it he controlled Italy. In Buenos Aires, the city where he discussed the problem of the new pope with Calvi, the puppetmaster had organized the triumphant return to power of Juan Perón—a fact that Perón subsequently acknowledged by kneeling at Gelli's feet. If Marcinkus, Sindona, or Calvi were threatened by the various courses of action planned by Albino Luciani, it was in Licio Gelli's direct interests that the threat be removed. . . .

It was abundantly clear that on September 28, 1978, these six men—Marcinkus, Villot, Calvi, Cody, Sindona, and Gelli—had a great deal to fear if the papacy of John Paul I continued. It is equally clear that all of them stood to gain in a variety of ways if Pope John Paul I should suddenly die.

He did.

Sometime during the late evening of September 28, 1978, and the early morning of September 29, 1978, thirty-three days after his election, Albino Luciani died.

Time of death: unknown. Cause of death: unknown.

I am convinced that the full facts and the complete circumstances merely outlined in the preceding pages hold the key to the truth of the death of Albino Luciani. I am equally convinced that one of these six men had, by the early evening of September 28, 1978, already initiated a course of action to resolve the problems that Albino Luciani's papacy was posing. One of these men was at the very heart of a conspiracy that applied a uniquely Italian "solution."

Albino Luciani had been elected pope on August 26, 1978. Emerging from the conclave, the English Cardinal Basil Hume said to the press, "The decision was unexpected. But once it had happened, it seemed totally and entirely right. The feeling he was just what we want was so general that he was unmistakably God's candidate."

Thirty-three days later, "God's candidate" died.

What follows is the product of three years' continuous and intensive investigation into that death. I have evolved a number of rules for an investigation of this nature. Rule One: begin at the beginning. Ascertain the nature and personality of the dead subject. What manner of man was Albino Luciani?

With those simple, everyday words followed by the *Angelus* and his blessing, Pope John Paul I announced his arrival to the world. The warm, enthusiastic response of the crowd in Rome was an accurate reflection of the larger, watching world.

Vatican-watchers puzzled over the clues to the new papacy contained in the choice of names. Is he John or is he Paul? One of those who was asked was Cardinal Suenens: "He will be both in his own way. His manner is closer to John's but it is like mixing oxygen and hydrogen—you get water, two different elements producing a third substance."

His chosen *names* seemed to hint at a continuity. But the fact that John Paul had included the designation "the first"—a convention that is never applied until there is a second of the same name—should have told the Vatican-watchers something. What they and the rest of the Church were about to experience related to neither of the new pope's immediate predecessors. It was unique.

He had not spelled out to the listening world on this, his first day, exactly how he intended to make his dream of a poor Church a reality, but within hours he embarked on a course of action that was of vital importance if his vision was to be realized.

On the evening of Sunday, August 27, 1978, he had dinner with Cardinal Jean Villot and asked him to continue, at least for a while, as secretary of state. Villot accepted. The new pope also reconfirmed the various cardinals in charge of the departments of the Roman Curia. Having entered the conclave without any aspirations to become pope, it would have been extraordinary if he had emerged with a prepared list of new cabinet members.

On August 31, Italy's leading and highly respected economic periodical *Il Mondo* addressed a long open letter to Albino Luciani. The letter asked for papal intervention to impose "order and morality" on the Vatican's financial dealings, which included "speculation in unhealthy waters." The letter, entitled "Your Holiness, Is It Right?" made a series of slashing attacks on what it

saw to be the state of affairs inside the Vatican's financial operations. Accompanying the open letter was a long analysis entitled "The Wealth of Peter."

Il Mondo asked Albino Luciani a number of highly relevant questions:

> Is it right for the Vatican to operate in markets like a speculator? Is it right for the Vatican to have a bank whose operations help the illegal transfer of capital from Italy to other countries? Is it right for that bank to assist Italians in evading tax?

Financial editor Paolo Panerai attacked the Vatican links with Michele Sindona. Panerai attacked Luigi Mennini (managing director) and Paul Marcinkus of the Vatican Bank and their relationships with "the most cynical financial dealers in the world, from Sindona to the bosses of the Continental Illinois Bank in Chicago (through which, as Your Holiness's advisers can tell you, all of the Church's investments in the United States are handled)."

Panerai asked:

> Why does the Church tolerate investments in companies, national and multinational, whose only aim is profit; companies which, when necessary, are ready to violate and trample on the human rights of millions of the poor, especially in that Third World which is so close to Your Holiness's heart?

Of Marcinkus the open letter observed:

> He is, however, the only bishop who is on the board of a lay bank, which incidentally has a branch in one of the great tax havens of the capitalistic world. We mean the Cisalpine Overseas Bank at Nassau in the Bahamas.* Using tax havens is permitted by earthly law, and no

*Cisalpine Overseas Bank became Banco Ambrosiano Overseas in a subsequent reorganization.

> lay banker can be hauled into court for taking advantage of that situation (they all do); but perhaps it is not licit under God's law, which should mark every act of the Church. The Church preaches equality but it does not seem to us that the best way to ensure equality is by evading taxes, which constitute the means by which the lay state tries to promote the same equality.

There was no official reaction from the Vatican, but inside Vatican City the responses ranged from quiet satisfaction felt by those who objected to the activities of the Vatican Bank and the Extraordinary Section of the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See (APSA), to anger and resentment from those who considered that the only problem with the Vatican's financial speculations was that they should make even bigger profits.

The Italian newspaper *La Stampa* weighed in with another piece, entitled "The Wealth and Powers of the Vatican." Journalist Lamberto Furno took a largely sympathetic look at Vatican finances and discounted some of the accusations that had been published over the years alleging massive Vatican wealth. But Furno did see a number of pressing problems facing the new pope, including verification that the Church reforms to achieve a state of poverty, which in Furno's mind had been implemented by Pope John and continued by Pope Paul, had become a reality. This could be achieved only by "publishing the Vatican budgets."

Furno concluded:

> The Church does not have riches or resources that exceed its needs. But it is necessary to give proof of this. Bernanos has his country curate observing, "on sacks of money our Lord has written in his own hand, 'Danger of death.' "

The new pope read these articles with interest. They confirmed in his mind the wisdom of a course he had *already* embarked on.

Before his election, Luciani had been aware of the many complaints about Vatican finances that had been aired to Cardinal Villot: complaints about the way that Bishop Marcinkus ran the Vatican Bank; complaints about his involvement with Michele Sindona; complaints about the links between the APSA and Sindona. Luciani had personal experience of the manner in which Marcinkus operated the Vatican Bank—experience dating from 1972, when Marcinkus had sold the controlling interest in Banca Cattolica del Veneto to Roberto Calvi without consulting the patriarch of Venice.

He had known as early as 1972 that there was something terribly wrong with the whole structure and philosophy of Vatican finance, but he had been powerless. Now he had the power. On Sunday, August 27, 1978, as he sat eating dinner with Cardinal Villot, the new pope instructed his newly confirmed secretary of state to initiate an investigation immediately. There was to be a review of the entire financial operation of the Vatican, a detailed analysis of every aspect. "No department, no congregation, no section is to be excluded," Luciani told Villot.

Luciani made it clear that he was particularly concerned with the operation of the Istituto per le Opere di Religione (IOR), the Institute for Religious Works, generally known as the Vatican Bank. The financial review was to be done discreetly, quickly, and thoroughly. The new pope advised his secretary of state that once he had considered the report he would decide on appropriate courses of action.

Clearly Luciani was a firm believer in practicing what he preached. In one of his "letters" to Saint Bernard he had discussed the virtue of prudence:

> I agree that prudence should be dynamic and urge people to action. But there are three stages to consider: deliberation, decision, and execution.
>
> Deliberation means seeking the means that lead to the end. It is made on the basis of reflection, of advice that has been asked for, of careful examination.
>
> Decision means, after examining the various possible methods, make up your mind to choose one of them. . . . Prudence isn't an ever-

lasting seesaw, suspending everything and tearing the mind apart with uncertainty; nor is it waiting in order to decide for the best. It is said that politics is the art of the possible, and in a way that is right.

Execution is the most important of the three: prudence, linked with strength, prevents discouragement in the face of difficulties and impediments. This is the time when a man is shown to be a leader and guide.

Thus Albino Luciani, a man totally committed to the belief that the Roman Catholic Church should be the Church of the poor, set in motion an inquiry into the wealth of the Vatican. He would deliberate, decide, then execute.

VATICAN INCORPORATED

When Albino Luciani became head of the Roman Catholic Church in August 1978 he was in command of a truly unique organization. Over eight hundred million people, nearly one fifth of the world's population, looked to Luciani as their spiritual leader. Nearer at hand, within Vatican City, was the structure that controlled not only the faith but also the fiscal policy of the Church.

"Vatican Incorporated" is a vital part of this structure. It exists in bricks and mortar. It exists within certain philosophies. Paul Marcinkus of the Vatican Bank is credited with the observation that "you can't run the Church on Hail Marys." Obviously the power of prayer has been devalued along with many of the world's currencies in recent years.

Marcinkus should not be condemned for what might appear to be a materialistic observation. The Church plays many roles in many countries. It needs money. How much money is a different question. What it should be doing with that money is another. That it does much good is beyond doubt. That it does much that is highly questionable is also beyond doubt. A large quantity of published works give details of the many charities financed by the Church, of the aid it gives to famine relief, of aid to alleviate suffering of every kind. Education, medicine, food, shelter—these are some of the ben-

efits that derive from the work of the Church. What is lacking is information on how much is acquired and how it is acquired. On these matters the Vatican is and always has been very secretive. That secrecy has inevitably given rise to one of the world's great unsolved mysteries. How much is the Roman Catholic Church worth?

In mid-1970, commenting on a Swiss newspaper article that declared, "the productive capital of the Vatican can be reckoned at between 50 and 55 billion Swiss francs" (a figure approaching $13 billion), the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* said: "It is a simply fantastic figure. In reality, the productive capital of the Holy See, including both deposits and investments, placed both in Italy and outside Italy, is far from reaching one hundredth of this sum." That would place a ceiling figure on Vatican wealth on July 22, 1970, of $111 million.

The first falsehood contained in the Vatican newspaper's statement is the exclusion of the assets of the Vatican Bank. It is comparable to asking IBM or Du Pont for complete disclosure and being told the total in the petty-cash box. Even excluding the annual profits of the Vatican Bank, the figure quoted by the Vatican is outrageous. It was a lie that over the years was to be heard again. In April 1975 Lamberto Furno of *La Stampa* asked Cardinal Vagnozzi: "If I were to put forward the sum of 300 billion lire ($452 million) for the productive patrimony of the five administrations,* would I be close to the mark?"

Furno had deliberately excluded the Vatican Bank in stating his question. He drew from Vagnozzi the assertion, "I tell you, the productive patrimony of the Holy See, in Italy and in the world, is less than a quarter of the sum you mention."

If that were true it would follow that on April 1,

*(1) The Ordinary Section of the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See (APSA) and the Extraordinary Section of the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See, again usually abbreviated to APSA, (2) the Governorship of the Vatican City State, (3) the Prefecture for Economic Affairs, (4) St. Peter's Workshop, and (5) Propaganda Fide.

1975, the productive wealth* of the Holy See, excluding the Vatican Bank, was a figure lower than 75 billion lire, or approximately $113 million. One single administration, the Extraordinary Section of the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See, or the APSA, is treated as a central bank by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Bank for International Settlements at Basel. Every year the staff at Basel publish annual figures that show what the world's central banks have deposited or borrowed from other banks in the Group of Ten. Their figures for 1975 indicate that the Vatican had $120 million on deposit in foreign banks and that, uniquely, the Vatican was debtless, the only bank in the entire world to be in such a position. This was just one administration within the Vatican, and to ascertain the entire actual wealth of just that one section, a great many other tangible assets must be added.

Like Rome itself, Vatican wealth was not built in a day. The problem of a wealthy Church—and all who aspire to follow the teachings of Jesus Christ must regard that wealth as a problem—has its roots as early as the fourth century. When the Roman emperor Constantine converted to Christianity and gave colossal wealth to Pope Silvester I, he created the first rich pope. Dante ends the *Inferno* with these lines:

> *Alas! Constantine, how much misfortune you caused,*
> *Not by becoming Christian, but by the dowry*
> *Which the first rich Father accepted from you.*

The Catholic faith's claim to uniqueness is valid. It is the only religious organization in the world that has as its headquarters an independent state, Vatican City, which is a law unto itself. At 108.7 acres it is smaller than many of the world's golf courses, is the size of St. James's Park in London, and is approximately one eighth the size of Central Park in New York City. A leisurely

*I.e., income-producing assets. The Vatican makes a distinction between productive wealth and nonproductive wealth, an example of the latter being the Vatican art treasures.

stroll around Vatican City takes something over an hour. To count the wealth of the Vatican would take far longer.

The modern wealth of the Vatican is based on the generosity of Benito Mussolini. The Lateran Treaty, which his government concluded with the Vatican in 1929, gave the Roman Catholic Church a variety of guarantees and measures of protection.

The Holy See obtained recognition of itself as a sovereign state. It was exempted from paying taxes both for its properties and its citizens, exempted from paying duty on imported goods; it had diplomatic immunity and accompanying privileges for its own diplomats and those accredited to it by foreign powers. Mussolini guaranteed the introduction of Catholic religious teaching in all public high schools in Italy, and the entire institution of marriage was placed under canon law, which ruled out divorce. The benefits for the Vatican were many, not least the fiscal ones.

> Article one. Italy undertakes to pay the Holy See, on the ratification of the Treaty, the sum of 750 million lire and to hand over at the same time Consolidated 5 percent State Bonds to the bearer for the nominal value of 1 billion lire.

At the 1929 rate of exchange this package represented $81 million. A 1984 equivalent figure is approximately $500 million. Vatican Incorporated was in business. It has never looked back.

To handle the windfall, Pope Pius XI created on June 7, 1929, the Special Administration. Appointed to run it was a layman, Bernardino Nogara. Apart from having many millions of dollars to work with, Nogara had another very important asset. One hundred years earlier, the Roman Catholic Church had completely reversed its position on money-lending. Indeed, the Church can rightfully claim to have changed the meaning of the word "usury."

In the classic sense usury means *all* gains from money-lending. For over eighteen hundred years, the Roman Catholic Church had dogmatically stated that the charging of any interest on a loan was absolutely forbidden as being contrary to divine law. The prohibition was restated in various Church councils: Arles (A.D. 314), Nicea (325), Carthage (345), Aix (789), Lateran (1139)—at this council, usurers were condemned to excommunication. So, although the laws of many states made the practice legal, it was still heresy—that is, until 1830, when the Church reversed its position. Thus, by courtesy of the Roman Catholic Church, usury now means lending money at *exorbitant* rates of interest.

Self-interest produced a total reversal on the Church's teaching with regard to money-lending. Perhaps if celibacy was no longer the rule for priests it might move the Roman Catholic Church's teaching on artificial birth control.

Bernardino Nogara was a member of a devout Roman Catholic family; many of its members made, in a variety of ways, significant contributions to the Church. Three of his brothers became priests, another became director of the Vatican Museum, but Bernardino Nogara's contribution was by any standard the most profound.

Born in Bellano, near Lake Como, in 1870, he achieved early success as a mineralogist working in Turkey. In October 1912 he played a leading role in the peace treaty of Ouchy between Italy and Turkey. In 1919 he was a member of the Italian delegation that negotiated the peace treaty between Italy, France, Britain, and Germany. He subsequently worked on behalf of the Italian government as a delegate to the Banca Commerciale in Istanbul. When Pope Pius XI was seeking a man capable of administering the fruits of the Lateran Treaty, his close friend and confidant Monsignor Nogara suggested his brother Bernardino. With that selection Pius XI struck pure gold.

Nogara was reluctant to accept the job and did so only when Pope Pius XI agreed to certain conditions. Nogara did not wish to be trammeled by any traditional views the Church might still hold about making money. The ground rules Nogara insisted on included the following:

1. His decisions on what investments to make would be totally and completely free of any religious or doctrinal considerations.
2. He would be free to invest Vatican funds anywhere in the world.

The pope agreed and opened the doors to currency speculation and to playing the market in stock exchanges, including the buying of shares in companies whose products were inconsistent with Roman Catholic teaching. Items such as bombs, tanks, guns, and contraceptives might be condemned in the pulpit, but the shares Nogara bought for the Vatican in companies that manufactured these items helped to fill the coffers in St. Peter's.

Nogara played the gold market and the futures market. He bought Italgas, sole supplier of gas in many of Italy's cities, placing on the board, on behalf of the Vatican, Francesco Pacelli. Pacelli's brother became, in time, the next pope (Pius XII), and the nepotism that stemmed from that papacy was manifest throughout Italy. If there was a Pacelli on the board, six-to-four the company belonged to the Vatican.

Among the banks that came under Vatican influence or control through Nogara's purchases were Banco di Roma, Banco di Santo Spirito, and Cassa di Risparmio di Roma. The man clearly not only had a way with money but was also fairly gifted in the art of persuasion. When Banco di Roma was floundering and threatening to take with it a large amount of Vatican money, Nogara persuaded Mussolini to take over the bank's largely worthless securities and transfer them to a government holding company, Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI). Mussolini also agreed that the Vatican should be reimbursed, not at the current market value of the securities, which was virtually nil, but at their original purchase price. IRI paid Banco di Roma over $630 million. The loss was written off by the Italian treasury, which is another way of saying the ordinary people picked up the bill, just as they had been doing for the clerics since the Middle Ages.

Much of the speculation Nogara indulged in on behalf of the Vatican certainly contravened canon law and probably civil law, but as his client was the pope, who was not asking questions, Nogara remained untroubled by such niceties.

Using Vatican capital, Nogara acquired significant and often controlling shares in company after company. Having acquired a company he rarely sat on the board,

preferring to nominate one of the trusted Vatican elite to look after the Church's interests.

The three nephews of Pius XII—Princes Carlo, Marcantonio, and Giulio Pacelli—were three of the inner elite whose names began to appear as directors on an ever-growing list of companies. These were the Church's *uomini di fiducia* (men of trust).

Textiles. Telephone communications. Railways. Cement. Electricity. Water. Bernardino Nogara was everywhere. When Mussolini needed armaments for his invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, a substantial proportion was supplied by a munitions plant Nogara had acquired on behalf of the Vatican.

Realizing, before many, the inevitability of the Second World War, Nogara moved part of the assets then at his disposal into gold. He bought from the United States $26.8 million worth of gold at $35 per ounce. Later, he sold about 20% of it on the open market at a profit so substantial that the original purchases were covered in their entirety. His speculations in gold continued throughout his time at the head of Vatican Incorporated. Between 1945 and 1951 he purchased more than 450,000 ounces; during the following two years he sold more than 70,000 ounces. My research indicates that nearly 500,000 ounces are on deposit at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; this single holding of the Vatican—purchased originally for less than $20 million—is now worth some $200 million.

In 1933 "Vatican Incorporated" again demonstrated its ability to negotiate successfully with Fascist governments. The concordat of 1929 with Mussolini was followed with a concordat between the Holy See and Hitler's Third Reich. Solicitor Francesco Pacelli had been one of the key figures in the Mussolini agreement; his brother Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, the future Pius XII, had a leading negotiating role as the Vatican's secretary of state in concluding a treaty with Nazi Germany.

Hitler saw many potential benefits in the treaty, not least the fact that Pacelli, a man already displaying marked pro-Nazi attitudes, might prove a useful ally in the approaching world war. History was to prove that Hitler's assessment was accurate. Despite a great deal of world pressure, Pope Pius XII declined to excommuni-

cate either Hitler or Mussolini. Perhaps his refusal was based on an awareness of just how politically irrelevant he was. His was a papacy that affected neutrality, which talked to the German episcopate about "just wars" and did precisely the same with the French bishops. This resulted in the French bishops supporting France and the German bishops supporting Germany. His was a papacy that declined to condemn the Nazi invasion of Poland because, he said, "We cannot forget that there are forty million Catholics in the Reich. What would they be exposed to after such an act by the Holy See?"

For the Vatican, one of the major advantages to emerge from the very lucrative deal with Hitler was confirmation of the *Kirchensteuer* (church tax). This is a state tax that is still deducted at source from all wage-earners in Germany. One can opt out by renouncing one's religion. In practice few choose to. This tax represents between 8 and 10 percent on income tax collected by the German government. The money is handed over to the Protestant and Catholic churches. Substantial amounts derived from the *Kirchensteuer* began to flow to the Vatican in the years immediately preceding the Second World War. The flow continued throughout that war ($100 million in 1943, for example). In the Vatican Nogara put the German revenue to work alongside the other currencies that were pouring in.

On June 27, 1942, Pope Pius XII decided to bring another part of the Vatican into the modern world and into the ambit of Bernardino Nogara. He changed the name of the Administration of Religious Works to the Institute for Religious Works. The change did not capture the front pages of the world's newspapers; but by that act the IOR, or the Vatican Bank as it is known by all but the Vatican, was born. Vatican Incorporated had sired a bastard child. The original function of the administration, set up by Pope Leo XIII in 1887, had been to gather and administer funds for religious works; it was in no sense a bank. Under Pius, its function became "the custody and administration of monies (in bonds and cash) and properties transferred or entrusted to the institute itself by fiscal or legal persons for the purposes of religious works, and works of Christian piety." It was and is in every sense a bank.

Nogara took to reading the terms of the Lateran Treaty very closely, particularly Clauses 29, 30, and 31. These dealt with tax exemptions and the formation of new, tax-exempt "ecclesiastical corporations" over which the Italian state would have no control. Interesting discussions began about the meaning of the phrase "ecclesiastical corporations." Doubtless distracted by other events of the time, Mussolini took a liberal view. In 1942, the Finance Ministry of the Italian government issued a circular stating that the Holy See was exempt from paying the tax on stock dividends. It was signed by the director general of the ministry, whose name, quite appropriately, was Buoncristiano (good Christian). The circular specified the various organizations within the Holy See that were exempt from the tax. The list was long and included the Special Administration and the Vatican Bank.

The man whom Nogara selected to control the Vatican Bank was Father (later Cardinal) Alberto di Jorio. Already functioning as Nogara's assistant in the Special Administration, he kept a foot in both sections by retaining that position and assuming the role of first secretary, then president, of the Vatican Bank. Apart from the controlling interests in many banks that Nogara acquired outside the Vatican walls, he now had two in-house banks to work with.

Nogara, applying his mind to the task of increasing the Vatican's funds, went from strength to strength. The tentacles of Vatican Incorporated spread worldwide. Close links were forged with an array of banks. Rothschilds of Paris and London had been doing business with the Vatican since the early nineteenth century. With Nogara at the Vatican's helm the business increased dramatically: Crédit Suisse, Hambros, Morgan Guaranty, Bankers Trust (useful when Nogara wanted to buy and sell stock on Wall Street), Chase Manhattan, and Continental Illinois, among others, became Vatican partners.

Evidently Nogara was not a man with whom to play Monopoly. Apart from banks, he acquired for the Vatican controlling interests in companies in the fields of insurance, steel, financing, flour and spaghetti, mechanical industry, cement, and real estate. With regard to the last-named his purchase of at least 15 percent of

the Italian giant Immobiliare gave the Church a share of an astonishing array of property. Società Generale Immobiliare is Italy's oldest construction company. Through its ownership of the building firm Sogene, Immobiliare—and therefore to a significant degree the Vatican after its 15 percent acquisition—owned the Rome Hilton, Italo Americana Nuovi Alberghi, Alberghi Ambrosiani (Milan), Compagnia Italiana Alberghi Cavalieri, and Società Italiani Alberghi Moderni. These are just the major hotels in Italy. The list of major buildings and industrial companies owned by Immobiliare is twice as long.

In France it built a huge block of offices and shops at 90 Avenue des Champs Elysées, another at 61 Rue de Ponthieu, and another at 6 Rue de Berry.

In Canada it owned one of the world's tallest skyscrapers (the Stock Exchange Tower, situated in Montreal), the Port Royal Tower, a 224-apartment block, a huge residential area in Greensdale, Montreal. . . .

In the United States it had five huge apartment blocks in Washington, D.C., including the Watergate Hotel, and in New York, a residential area of 277 acres at Oyster Bay.

In Mexico it owned an entire satellite city of Mexico City called Lomas Verdes.

This list of properties is by no means exhaustive.

Nogara also bought into General Motors, Shell, Gulf Oil, General Electric, Bethlehem Steel, IBM, and TWA. If the shares moved, and moved upward, men like Nogara created the movement.

Although Nogara retired in 1954, he continued to give the Vatican his unique brand of financial advice until his death in 1958. Scant mention was made of the man's passing by the press, as the majority of his activities on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church had been cloaked in secrecy. This one man who demonstrated that, wherever Christ's kingdom might be, that of the Catholic Church was most assuredly of this world, was given a memorable epitaph by Cardinal Spellman of New York: "Next to Jesus Christ the greatest thing that has happened to the Catholic Church is Bernardino Nogara."

Starting with $80 million, less the $30 million that

Pius XI and his successor, Pius XII, held back (to spend on regional seminaries and parish houses in southern Italy, the building of Santa Maria in Trastevere, and the massive building projects in Rome, including the setting up of the Vatican library and art gallery), Nogara had created Vatican Incorporated. Between 1929 and 1939 he also had access to the annual worldwide collection of Peter's pence. With the "pennies" of the faithful plus the lire from Mussolini and the Deutsche marks from Hitler, Nogara was able to pass on to his successors a complex array of financial interests worth, at a very conservative estimate, $500 million controlled by the Special Administration, $650 million controlled by the Ordinary Section of the APSA, and assets in the Vatican Bank in excess of $940 million, with an annual profit from the bank averaging $40 million going directly to the pope. In capitalistic terms, Nogara's service in the cause of the Roman Catholic Church was an incredible success. Viewed in the light of the message contained in the Gospels, it was an unmitigated disaster. The vicar of Christ had acquired a new unofficial title—chairman of the board.

Four years after Nogara's death in 1958 the Vatican had urgent need of the kind of expertise Nogara had provided. The Italian government had raised the specter of taxing stock dividends again. What followed has a direct bearing on a sequence of disasters for the Vatican including Mafia involvement, financial mayhem, and murder, that would begin in 1968.

In any list of years purporting to be the worst in the Church's history, 1968 should feature very near the top. It was the year of *Humanae Vitae*. It was also the year when "the Gorilla" and "the Shark," as they were known, were let loose on the two Vatican banks. The Gorilla is Paul Marcinkus; the Shark, Michele Sindona, and the events that led to their control of Vatican finances make salutory reading.

Benjamin Franklin memorably observed, "But in this world, nothing can be said to be certain except death and taxes." Not many have chosen to argue with that statement. Among the few who have are the men who control the Vatican's finances. They have made strenuous attempts to eliminate taxes.

Washington, telexed the following message to the Rome police headquarters:

> Recently we have received unverified information that the following individuals are involved in the illicit movement of depressant, stimulant, and hallucinogenic drugs between Italy, the United States, and possibly other European countries.

Leading off the list of four names was Michele Sindona. The Italian police replied that they had no evidence to link Sindona with the drug trade. A copy of the Interpol request and the response were in Sindona's hands the same week. A similar request by Interpol, Washington, to the CIA operating out of the embassy in Rome and the legation in Milan, if answered honestly, would have produced confirmation that the information Interpol had was entirely correct.

The CIA file on Sindona was by this time extensive. It details Sindona's link with the New York Gambino Mafia family, with its 253 members and its 1,147 "associates." It tells how the five New York Mafia families—Colombo, Bonanno, Gambino, Lucchese, and Genovese—were interlocked in a range of crimes that include drug refining, smuggling, and dealing, the drugs in question being heroin, cocaine, and marijuana. Further criminal activities of these Mafia families that are annotated in the CIA files include prostitution, gambling, pornography, usury, protection, racketeering, fraud, and large-scale thefts from banks and pension funds.

The files are full of details of how the Sicilian Mafia families Inzerillo and Spatola moved the refined heroin from Sicily to their colleagues in New York; of their infiltration of the Italian airline Alitalia; and of how $50,000 contracts were awarded by the New York families to "associates" to collect unaccompanied baggage from Palermo—baggage containing heroin that had been refined at one of the five Inzerillo narcotics laboratories in Sicily. By the late 1960s the profits from heroin sales to these two Sicilian families were over $500 million per year.

The files detail the journeys of the nearly thirty

ships per year that until very recently left Lebanese ports with cargoes of both unrefined and refined heroin, destined for a variety of ports in southern Italy.

The most serious question this information raises is why did such incriminating evidence lie dormant and unused throughout the 1960s and the 1970s? The CIA never initiates policy; it merely implements or attempts to implement presidential instructions. Did a succession of presidents take the view that the Mafia's activities were to be tolerated if they helped to ensure that NATO member Italy did not fall to the Communists through the polling booths?

The Mafia families themselves desperately needed men like Michele Sindona. The extraordinary growth of bank deposits and the array of new banks and branches in Sicily, one of the poorest regions in the country, is mute testimony to the size of the Mafia's problem. Enter Michele Sindona. On one occasion Sindona was asked where he obtained the money for his grandiose schemes. He replied, "Ninety-five percent of it is other people's money." It was a response that was 95 percent true.

Michele Sindona was the man chosen by Pope Paul VI to act as a financial adviser to the Vatican; the man chosen, after a long friendship with the pope, to relieve the Church of its high-profile business position in Italy. The plan was to sell Sindona some of the major assets acquired under Nogara. Vatican Incorporated was about to distance itself from the unacceptable face of capitalism. *Theoretically* it was going to embrace the philosophy contained in the message Pope Paul VI gave the world in his 1967 encyclical *Populorum Progressio:*

> God has destined the earth and all it contains for the use of all men and of all peoples, so that the goods of creation must flow in just proportion into the hands of everybody, according to the rule of justice, which is inseparable from charity. All other rights, of whatever kind, including those of private property and of free trade, must be subordinated to it: they must not obstruct, but on the contrary foster its achievement, and it is a grave and urgent social duty to restore them to their original aims.

Pope Paul in the same encyclical quoted Saint Ambrose, "You never give to the poor what is yours; you merely return to them what belongs to them. For what you have appropriated was given for the common use of everybody. The land is given to everybody, and not only to the rich."

When that statement was uttered, the Vatican was the biggest owner of private real estate in the world. *Populorum Progressio* also contained the memorable observation that even when entire populations are suffering massive injustice, revolutionary insurrection is not the answer. "One cannot fight a real evil at the cost of a greater evil."

Confronted with the problem of the evil of a wealthy Roman Catholic Church when he apparently desired a poor Church for the poor, the pope and his advisers decided to liquidate a sizable proportion of the Vatican's Italian assets and reinvest in other countries. Thus they would avoid heavy taxation, and the yield on the investment would be better. When Pope Paul proclaimed the magnificent aspirations of *Populorum Progressio* in 1967, Vatican Incorporated had already for a number of years been a close working partner of Michele Sindona. Through the illegal flight of currency from Sindona's Italian banks via the Vatican Bank to the Swiss bank that they jointly owned, Sindona and the Vatican, if not, perhaps, making the goods of creation flow to the poor, were certainly making them flow out of Italy. By early 1968 another Vatican-controlled bank, the Banca Unione, was in trouble. The Vatican Bank owned approximately 20 percent. It was represented on the board of directors by Massimo Spada and Luigi Mennini. At that point, Sindona came in and bought control. Two years later, with the Vatican still substantial part owners, the bank became, in theory, an astonishing success. Because it was now aiming at the small saver and offering higher interest rates, the bank saw its deposits rise from $35 million to over $150 million. That was the theory.

In practice during the same period, the bank was robbed of over $250 million by Sindona and his associates. Most of this fortune was poured through yet another Sindona bank, the Amincor Bank of Zurich. Much

was lost in wild speculation on the silver market. One of the men who was deeply impressed with Sindona at this time was David Kennedy, chairman of Continental Illinois, soon to be appointed treasury secretary in the Nixon cabinet.

By 1969 it was clear to Vatican Incorporated that it had lost the long battle with the Italian government over taxation of dividends. Realizing that to unload its entire stock on the market would result in the possible collapse of the Italian economy, it occurred to the Vatican that such an action would also be self-defeating. A collapse of that magnitude would result in staggering Vatican losses.

The pope, in conjunction with the now Cardinal Sergio Guerri, head of the Special Administration of the APSA, decided to unload from the Italian portfolio a major asset, the Vatican's share in the giant Società Generale Immobiliare. With assets of over half a billion dollars scattered around the world, that was certainly highly visible wealth. They again sent for the Shark.

The shares of Società Generale Immobiliare were selling at about 350 lire. The Vatican held directly and indirectly some 25 percent of the 143 million shares. Would Sindona like to buy? The question was put by Cardinal Guerri. Sindona's response was immediate and positive. He would take the lot—at 700 lire each . . . double the market price. Guerri and Pope Paul were delighted. The agreement between Sindona and Guerri was signed at a secret midnight meeting in the Vatican, in the spring of 1969.

For the Vatican this was a particularly good meeting. It also wished to unload its majority share of Condotte d'Acqua, Rome's water company, and its controlling share of Ceramica Pozzi, a chemical and porcelain company that was losing money. The Shark smiled, agreed on a price, and snapped up both holdings.

Precisely who had conceived this entire transaction? Who was the man who collected a handsome commission from Sindona and high praise from Pope Paul VI and Cardinal Guerri? The answer is powerful evidence of not only how far P2 had penetrated the Vatican but also how the interests of P2, the Mafia, and the Vatican

Need p. 144

Zurich, Milan, Montreal, and Tokyo that are heard endlessly in the Vatican?

What would the man who said "Blessed are the poor" have said about the annual profit from the sale of Vatican stamps—profit in excess of $1 million? What would have been his opinion of the annual collection of Peter's pence that went directly to the pope? (This annual collection, considered by many to be an accurate barometer of the popularity of the pope, had under the charismatic John XXIII produced between $15 million and $20 million a year. Under Paul VI this figure had dropped after *Humanae Vitae* to an annual average of $4 million.)

What would the founder of the faith have felt about these examples of how far his teaching had been perverted? The question is, of course, rhetorical. If Jesus Christ had returned to earth in September 1978, or if he came now and attempted to enter the Vatican, the result would be the same. He would not get as far as the doors of the Vatican Bank. He would be arrested at the St. Anne Gate and handed over to the Italian authorities. He would never have the opportunity to learn firsthand about Vatican Incorporated, the multinational conglomerate that is fed from so many directions. He would not hear, for example, how it derives vast sums from the United States and also from West Germany, where in 1978, through the state tax of *Kirchensteuer*, the Roman Catholic Church of West Germany received $1.9 billion, a significant portion of which it then passed on to the Vatican.

If Albino Luciani was to succeed with his dream of a poor Church for the poor, it was going to be a Herculean task. The modern monster created by Bernardino Nogara had by 1978 become self-perpetuating. When the cardinals elected Albino Luciani to the papacy on that hot August day in 1978, they set an honest, holy, totally incorruptible pope on a collision course with Vatican Incorporated. The powerful market forces of the Vatican Bank, APSA, and the other moneymaking elements were about to be met by the unyielding integrity of Albino Luciani.

THE THIRTY-THREE DAYS

When Albino Luciani threw open the windows of the papal apartments within twenty-four hours of his election, that gesture epitomized his entire papacy. Fresh air and sunlight rushed into a Roman Catholic Church that had grown increasingly dark and somber during the last years of Paul VI.

Luciani, who during his Venice days had described himself as "just a poor man accustomed to small things and silence," now found himself obliged to confront the Vatican grandeur and the curial babble. The son of a bricklayer was now supreme head of a religion whose founder was the son of a carpenter.

Many of the Vatican experts, having failed even to consider the possibility of Luciani's election, now titled him "the unknown pope." He had been well enough known by ninety-nine cardinals, however, to be entrusted with the Church's future, this man without any diplomatic training or curial experience. The many curial cardinals had been rejected. In essence, the entire Curia had been rejected in favor of a quiet, humble man who promptly announced that he wished to be called pastor rather than pontiff. Luciani's aspirations quickly became clear: total revolution. He was intent on taking the Church back to its origins, back to the simplicity, honesty, ideals, and aspirations of Jesus Christ. Others

capacity to take vigorous, effective action, he had but to confer with de Strobel, who had been a lawyer near Venice and who was fully conversant with the affair of the embezzling priests in Vittorio Veneto.

Bernardino Nogara may well have had a purely capitalistic mentality, but compared with what came after him in Vatican Incorporated, the man was a saint. The company had come a long way since Mussolini gave it its modern impetus in 1929.

Now, in September 1978, Albino Luciani, the man who was dedicated to a poor Church for the poor, had a task that was as supreme as his position. If his dream to be the last "rich father" was to become a reality, then Vatican Incorporated—that massive multinational corporation—would have to be dismantled. The Papal States might have been lost forever, but in their place was an extraordinary moneymaking machine.

There was the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See (APSA), with its president, Cardinal Villot; its secretary Monsignor Antonetti; and its Ordinary and Extraordinary Sections. The Ordinary Section administered all the wealth of the various congregations, tribunals, and offices. It specifically administered a great deal of the real estate of the papacy. In Rome alone this amounted to over five thousand rented apartments. In 1979, its gross assets were over $1 billion.

The Extraordinary Section, the Vatican's other bank, was as active in its daily stock speculations as the IOR, controlled by Marcinkus. It specialized in the currency market and worked closely with Crédit Suisse and the Société de Banque Suisse. Its gross assets in September 1978 were over $1.2 billion.

The Vatican Bank, which Marcinkus was running, had gross assets of over $1 billion. Its annual profits by 1978 were over $120 million; 85 percent of this went directly to the pope to use as he saw fit. Its current accounts numbered over 11,000. Under the terms by which the bank was created by Pius XII during the Second World War, these accounts should have belonged primarily to religious orders and religious institutes. When Albino Luciani became pope only 1,047 accounts belonged to religious orders and institutes, 312 to parishes, and 290 to dioceses. The remaining 9,351 were

the property of diplomats, prelates, and "privileged citizens"; a significant number of this last category were not even Italian citizens. Those who were included: Sindona, Calvi, Gelli, and Ortolani. Other accounts were held by leading politicians of every stripe, and major businessmen. Many of the accountholders used the facility as a conduit through which to export currency out of Italy illegally. Deposits were not subjected to any taxation.

The two departments of APSA and the Vatican Bank were Albino Luciani's major problems that had to be overcome before the Church could revert to its early Christian origins. There were many others, not least the wealth that had been acquired over centuries. This took many forms, including a multitude of art treasures.

The Vatican's patronage is there for all to see: the Caravaggios, the Raphael tapestries, the Farnese gold altar cross and candlesticks by Gentile de Fabriano, the Belvedere Apollo, the Belvedere Torso, the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci, Bernini's sculptures. Would the words of Jesus Christ be heard less clearly in someplace more modest than the Sistine Chapel with its majestic "Last Judgment" by Michelangelo? The Vatican classifies all of these as nonproductive assets. What the founder of Christianity would classify them as can be gauged from his own comments about wealth and property.

What would Jesus Christ have felt if he had returned to earth in September 1978 and been allowed into the State of Vatican City?

What would the man who declared "My kingdom is not of this earth" have felt if he had wandered through the departments of APSA with its teams of clerical and lay stock analysts, each an expert in his own field, following the day-by-day and often minute-by-minute fluctuations of the shares, securities, and investments that APSA owns throughout the world? What would the carpenter's son have made of the IBM equipment that functioned both in APSA and the Vatican Bank? What would the man who compared the difficulty of a rich man entering the kingdom of Heaven with a camel passing through the eye of a needle have said about the latest stock market quotations from London, Wall Street,

EPILOGUE

If the good that Albino Luciani represented was interred with his bones, the evil perpetrated by Roberto Calvi has most certainly lived after him.

Within hours of his body being identified in London, the alarm had been sounded throughout Italy. On the first day the banks were opened after the Knight had been found hanging not far from where monks had offered sanctuary to embezzlers, swindlers, and thieves in the Middle Ages, the Banco Ambrosiano began to experience a heavy run of withdrawals. What is not public knowledge until now is that the Vatican Bank suffered the same fate. Many millions of dollars were withdrawn by those members of the Italian establishment who, privy to the facts, were aware that a $1.3 billion hole in the Ambrosiano group would soon be public knowledge and that the hole was not unconnected with Calvi's long-standing business and personal relationship with Paul Marcinkus and the IOR.

By September 1982, Marcinkus, who had never left the pope's side during his visit to Britain in May and June, had become a virtual prisoner within the Vatican. He was replaced as organizer and advance guard of international papal trips—to have ventured out of Vatican City would have been to invite immediate arrest by the Italian authorities.

Marcinkus continued to function as head of the Vatican Bank and he declared that the Vatican did not and would not accept any responsibility for the $1.3 billion that had disappeared.

The Roman Curia refused to accept judicial papers that the Italian government attempted to serve on Marcinkus and others at the Vatican Bank. Protocol must be observed at all times, the Curia insisted, even when the theft of over $1 billion is involved. The papers would have to be handed to the Italian ambassador to the Vatican.

Vatican City did establish a commission of inquiry after a great deal of prodding from the Italian government. Simultaneously, the Vatican Bank's own lawyers busied themselves with an inquiry. The Italian government had also created a commission of inquiry. By now there were jobs for nearly everyone. The lawyers working for Marcinkus came up with their conclusions first:

> 1. The Institute for the Works of Religion has not received either from the Ambrosiano group or from Roberto Calvi any monies, and, therefore, does not have to refund anything.
> 2. The foreign companies indebted to the Ambrosiano group have never been run by the IOR, which has no knowledge of the operations carried out by the same.
> 3. It is established that all the payments made by the Ambrosiano group to the aforementioned companies were made prior to the so-called letters of comfort.
> 4. These latter, by their date of issue, have not exercised any influence on the same payments.
> 5. In any future checking of the facts, all the above will be proved to be true.

I have already established that these Vatican "facts" are very far from the truth.

The commission of inquiry set up by the Vatican has yet to report. Its conclusions were due at the end of March 1983, then the end of April 1983, then August 1983, then October, then November.

The commission comprises "four wise men." Two of them, by their presence on a commission of inquiry that Cardinal Casaroli has predictably called "objective," completely invalidate any findings that may eventually be reached. One is Philippe de Weck, the former chairman of UBS (Union des Banques Suisses) Zurich. De Weck still maintains very close links with the UBS. This is the bank that holds on behalf of Licio Gelli $55 million of the stolen money. It is the bank that holds on behalf of the late Roberto Calvi and Flavio Carboni over $30 million of the stolen money. It is the bank that holds on behalf of Carboni's Austrian mistress, Manuela Kleinszig, $2 million of the stolen money.

Philippe de Weck is also the man at the center of what the French call "the sniffer planes affair." This involved a wonderful invention, the brainchild of an Italian technician, Aldo Bonassoli, and Count Alain de Villegas, an elderly Belgian. The invention came in two parts, one housed in a plane that beamed back information to the second part on earth. Cross sections of the geological strata many thousands of feet below the earth's surface were then seen as technical data on a computer screen.

The potential was limitless. Along with instant mineral and oil prospecting at a fraction of the traditional cost, there were also military implications—any eye that could locate oil thousands of feet below the earth's surface could also pinpoint a submerged nuclear submarine. Encouraged by President Giscard d'Estaing, the French oil giant Elf poured about $120 million into the count's Panamanian company Fisalma. Villegas was the sole shareholder, and the company was administered by Philippe de Weck. By the time the French realized that "le Sting" had been played on them, $60 million had vanished. De Weck told the French that the money had gone to research and "charitable works." One of the men acting for UBS Zurich who had been keeping an eye on this pioneering work in the art of international theft was Ernst Keller, who at the same time was also a shareholder of Ultrafin AG, a Calvi-owned company linked to Ambrosiano Holding Luxembourg. Ultrafin was the conduit by which the count's Panamanian company received its initial payments.

Another member of the Vatican commission is Herman Abs, who was head of the Deutsche Bank from 1940 to 1945. The Deutsche Bank was the Nazis' bank throughout the Second World War. Abs was in effect Hitler's paymaster. During this period Abs was also on the board of I. G. Farben, the chemical and industrial conglomerate that gave such wholehearted assistance to Hitler's war efforts. Abs participated in board meetings of I. G. Farben at which members discussed the use of slave labor at a Farben rubber plant located in the Auschwitz concentration camp.

No matter how many ex-bank chairmen or Nazi paymasters the Vatican employs, the truth will not go away. At least $1 billion of the monies owed to the various banks is the Vatican's responsibility. Perhaps the greatest irony of all is that no matter how much or how little the Vatican benefited from the phantom companies littered in Panama and elsewhere, it owned the companies when the debts were incurred. In fact it has benefited vastly, but if the banks that are owed money are really determined to get it back, then they have only one logical course of action: sue the Vatican. More specifically, sue the Vatican Bank and Pope John Paul II, for 85 percent of the profits from the bank go directly to the pope.

At the time of Calvi's death he was, according to subsequent sworn statements made by members of his family, negotiating with Opus Dei, which had agreed to buy the 16 percent of Banco Ambrosiano that the Vatican owned. If this deal had been completed, the $1.3 billion hole would have been filled, Calvi's empire would have remained intact, and Archbishop Paul Marcinkus would have been removed from office. Many, including Marcinkus, objected to that eleventh-hour deliverance from such a quarter.

Now, with Calvi dead, the Vatican has been wrangling with the Italian government and a consortium representing international banking for nearly two years. Eventually in February 1984 news that agreement had finally been reached began to filter out of the Geneva conference rooms. By mid-May 1984 the details were clear. The international banks will get back approximately two thirds of the $600 million they had loaned

Calvi's Luxembourg holding company. *Of that, some $250 million will be paid by the Vatican Bank.* The Vatican is due to hand over this sum on June 30, 1984. This payment is being made by the Vatican "on the basis of non-culpability" but "in recognition of a moral involvement." The reader may care to reexamine the Vatican denials of any involvement, recorded on page 367, in light of this impending repayment. This amount represents a loan made to the Vatican by Calvi's Peruvian bank, where there can be no possible dispute of the debt.

The faithful should ignore the appeals that will undoubtedly be made in Roman Catholic churches throughout the world. All the Vatican Bank is doing is repaying a part of the vast amount of money it acquired through the activities of Calvi and Marcinkus. And still, the Vatican Bank has walked away from the entire affair with millions upon millions of dollars that represent a substantial amount of the still missing monies.

At the time of this writing, Archbishop Paul Marcinkus still clings to office. He has been written off many times, yet he still survives. He still hides in the Vatican, afraid of being arrested by the Italian authorities in the event that he emerges. Word has reached me that Marcinkus recently appealed to the Italian courts asking for immunity from prosecution. I hope that before the Italian judiciary considers Marcinkus' plea they obtain access to a still-secret report of negotiations between Italy and the Vatican City State on the Ambrosiano bank failure. Possibly the most extraordinary information the report contains is the revelation that the secret, and criminal, agreement between Marcinkus and Calvi made in August 1981 was not, as the Vatican would have the world believe, a singular abberation by a kindly archbishop toward a devout Catholic banker. Rather, the report will show that other similar agreements were made by the two men, dating back as far as November 1976. The criminal conspiracy, therefore, began during the reign of Pope Paul VI. These facts serve to underline powerfully what would have occurred if Albino Luciani had lived. Also hiding within the Vatican are the archbishop's colleagues and partners in so many crimes, Luigi Mennini and Pellegrino de Strobel. In such a manner does Pope John Paul II preside over his Vatican Bank in May 1984.

While all three men remain fugitives from Italian justice, the authorities have sequestered all Italian property belonging to Mennini and de Strobel. All three are wanted by a wide range of Italian authorities in a number of cities. Yet another colleague who would also have been promptly removed by Luciani if he had lived, Monsignor Donato de Bonis, the secretary of the IOR, is hiding within the Vatican walls from Turin magistrates who are investigating a $1 billion tax-evasion scandal. De Bonis, who has had his passport withdrawn by the magistrates, continues, like his three colleagues, to work at the Vatican Bank. In such a manner does Pope John Paul II, to whom these men are answerable, preside over his Vatican Bank in May 1984.

Cardinal Ugo Poletti, the cardinal vicar of Rome, is another man that Luciani had decided to remove. In his case, too, there is ample evidence to illustrate the wisdom of Luciani's decision. Poletti was responsible for recommending to Andreotti, then prime minister, that General Raffaele Giudice should be placed in command of the finance police. In this capacity P2 member Giudice organized the $1 billion tax-evasion scandal, diverting massive amounts of money to Licio Gelli. In 1983 Cardinal Poletti indignantly denied using any influence to get Giudice his job. The Turin magistrates then showed the cardinal vicar of Rome a copy of his letter to Andreotti. Poletti remains cardinal vicar of Rome. In such a manner does Pope John Paul II preside over the Roman Catholic Church in May 1984.

The new concordat recently signed between the Vatican and the Italian government makes a fitting epitaph for the current pope's reign. Italy, for nearly two thousand years regarded by Catholics as the home of their faith, no longer has Roman Catholicism as "the religion of the state." The Church's privileged position in Italy is ending.

Another change must be bringing a warm smile to the face of Licio Gelli. The new canon law that took effect on November 27, 1983, has dropped the ruling that Freemasons are subject to automatic excommunication. The survivors on the list of Vatican Masons that

Albino Luciani considered are now safe. The purge he had planned will not be reactivated by his successor.

As has been shown here, none of Luciani's proposed changes have been implemented. Vatican Incorporated is still functioning. In all markets.

INDEX

A
Abbo, Msgr. Angelo, 240, 243
Abbruciati, Danilo, 339
Abs, Herman, 369
Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See (APSA), 85, 100, 101, 104n, 176–78, 301, 342–43
  wealth of, 104–5, 113, 116, 120
  See also Special Administration, Vatican
Administration of Religious Works, Vatican, 110
  See also Vatican Bank
Adrian VI, 76
Aérospatiale (company), 360
Agca, Mehmet Ali, 294, 296, 297, 331
Alberghi Ambrosiani (Milan), 112
Alessandrini, Emilio, 201
  murder of, 305–7, 312, 320, 331, 357
Alexandre, Amedeo, 280
Alfrink, Cardinal Bernard, 87, 136
Alibrandi, Mario, 311
Alitalia (airline), 140
Alvarez, Gregorio, 362
Ambrose, Saint, 142, 161
Ambrosiano Group, *see* Banco Ambrosiano Group
Ambrosiano Group Banco Commercial (Managua), 319–20, 326, 334–35
Ambrosio, Franco, 160
Ambrosio, Gerardo d', 331
Ambrosoli, Giorgio, 321, 322
  investigation of Sindona by, 312–15, 316–18, 319, 352
  killing of, 316–19, 352–53, 357, 359
Amin, Idi, 210
Amincor Bank (Zurich), 142, 155, 162, 317
Andreatta, Beniamino, 329–30
Andreotti, Giulio, 149, 151, 153, 308, 309, 313, 356, 359, 371
ANSA news agency, 273–75, 290
Ansbacher & Company (Dublin bank), 360
Anselmi, Tina, 362
Antico, Franco, 271
Antonetti, Msgr., 176, 241, 243
Apostolic Constitution (1975), 248, 261–62
  See also Paul VI—rules for succession issued by
  APSA, *see* Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 18
Argan, Carlo, 224, 228, 284
Aran Investment of Panama, 128
Argentieri, Benedetto, 156
Arico, Charles, 316
Arico, William, 316–18, 353, 353n
Arns, Cardinal Paulo, 85
Aronwald, William, 47, 50–53, 56, 57
Arceo, Bishop Sergio, 270
Arrupe, Pedro, 245
Association of Chicago Priests (ACP), 215, 218
Assunta, Sister, 2, 205, 244
Astolfine (company), 327, 334

ANTONY C. SUTTON

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WALL STREET AND THE
RISE OF HITLER

"Craven Jew-hater Henry Ford, inventor of the automobile company if not the automobile, was such a doting patriot of Hitler's that the fuhrer once offered to import some shock troops to the U,S, to help "Heinrich" run for president."

Conspiracies Cover-ups and Crimes
Political Manipulation and Mind Control in America
by Jonathan Vankin

CHAPTER SIX

Henry Ford and the Nazis

I would like to outline the importance attached by high [Nazi] officials to respect the desire and maintain the good will of "Ford," and by "Ford" I mean your father, yourself, and the Ford Motor Company, Dearborn. (Josiah E. Dubois, Jr., *Generals in Grey Suits*, London: The Bodley Head, 1953, p. 250.)

Henry Ford is often seen to be something of an enigma among the Wall Street elite. For many years in the 20s and 30s Ford was popularly known as an enemy of the financial establishment. Ford accused Morgan and others of using war and revolution as a road to profit and their influence in social systems as a means of personal advancement. By 1938 Henry Ford, in his public statements, had divided financiers into two classes: those who profited from war and used their influence to bring about war for profit, and the "constructive" financiers. Among the latter group he now included the House of Morgan. During a 1938 *New York Times* interview[1] Ford averred that:

Somebody once said that sixty families have directed the destinies of the nation. It might well be said that if somebody would focus the spotlight on twenty-five persons who handle the nation's finances, the world's real warmakers would be brought into bold relief.

The *Times* reporter asked Ford how he equated this assessment with his long-standing criticism of the House of Morgan, to which Ford replied:

There is a constructive and a destructive Wall Street. The House of Morgan represents the constructive. I have known Mr. Morgan for many years. He backed and supported Thomas Edison, who was also my good friend . . . .

After expounding on the evils of limited agricultural production — allegedly brought about by Wall Street — Ford continued,

> *. . . if these financiers had their way we'd be in a war now. They want war because they make money out of such conflict — out of the human misery that wars bring.*

On the other hand, when we probe behind these public statements we find that Henry Ford and son Edsel Ford have been in the forefront of American businessmen who try to walk both sides of every ideological fence in search of profit. Using Ford's own criteria, the Fords are among the "destructive" elements.

It was Henry Ford who in the 1930s built the Soviet Union's first modern automobile plant (located at Gorki) and which in the 50s and 60s produced the trucks used by the North Vietnamese to carry weapons and munitions for use against Americans.[2] At about the same time, Henry Ford was also the most famous of Hitler's foreign backers, and he was rewarded in the 1930s for this long-lasting support with the highest Nazi decoration for foreigners.

This Nazi favor aroused a storm of controversy in the United States and ultimately degenerated into an exchange of diplomatic notes between the German Government and the State Department. While Ford publically protested that he did not like totalitarian governments, we find in practice that Ford knowingly profited from both sides of World War II — from French and German plants producing vehicles at a profit for the Wehrmacht, and from U.S. plants building vehicles at a profit for the U.S. Army.

Henry Ford's protestations of innocence suggest, as we shall see in this chapter, that he did not approve of Jewish financiers profiting from war (as some have), but if anti-Semitic Morgan[3] and Ford profited from war that was acceptable, moral and "constructive."

Henry Ford: Hitler's First Foreign Backer

On December 20, 1922 the *New York Times* reported[4] that automobile manufacturer Henry Ford was financing Adolph Hitler's nationalist and anti-Semitic movements in Munich. Simultaneously, the Berlin newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* appealed to the American Ambassador in Berlin to investigate and halt Henry Ford's intervention into German domestic affairs. It was reported that Hitler's foreign backers had

New York Times, August 1, 1938

HITLER ACCLAIMED BY 200,000 IN FETE

Wild Scenes of Enthusiasm Mark Parade of Athletes at the Breslau Festival

SUDETENS BREAK RANKS

40,000 Swarm Around Stand of Chancellor and Girls Give Flowers in Homage

HENRY FORD GETTING HIGH HONOR FROM GERMAN GOVERNMENT

New York Times, December 20, 1922

BERLIN HEARS FORD IS BACKING HITLER

Bavarian Anti-Semitic Chief Has American's Portrait and Book in His Office,

SPENDS MONEY LAVISHLY

One German Paper Appeals to the United States Ambassador to Make Investigation.

ANTI-SEMITIC RIOTS SPREAD IN RUMANIA

Parade of Jews Broken Up by Students at Jassy and Many Are Beaten.

SUNDAY FOR WORLD PEACE.

Federal Council Asks 100,000 Churches to Observe Day.

furnished a "spacious headquarters" with a "host of highly paid lieutenants and officials." Henry Ford's portrait was prominently displayed on the walls of Hitler's personal office:

> *The wall behind his desk in Hitler's private office is decorated with a large picture of Henry Ford. In the antechamber there is a large table covered with books, nearly all of which are a translation of a book written and published by Henry Ford.*[5]

The same *New York Times* report commented that the previous Sunday Hitler had reviewed,

> *The so-called Storming Battalion . . . 1,000 young men in brand new uniforms and armed with revolvers and blackjacks, while Hitler and his henchmen drove around in two powerful brand-new autos.*

The *Times* made a clear distinction between the German monarchist parties and Hitler's anti-Semitic fascist party. Henry Ford, it was noted, ignored the Hohenzollern monarchists and put his money into the Hitlerite revolutionary movement.

These Ford funds were used by Hitler to foment the Bavarian rebellion. The rebellion failed, and Hitler was captured and subsequently brought to trial. In February 1923 at the trial, vice president Auer of the Bavarian Diet testified:

> *The Bavarian Diet has long had the information that the Hitler movement was partly financed by an American anti-Semitic chief, who is Henry Ford. Mr. Ford's interest in the Bavarian anti-Semitic movement began a year ago when one of Mr. Ford's agents, seeking to sell tractors, came in contact with Diedrich Eichart, the notorious Pan-German. Shortly after, Herr Eichart asked Mr. Ford's agent for financial aid. The agent returned to America and immediately Mr. Ford's money began coming to Munich.*
>
> *Herr Hitler openly boasts of Mr. Ford's support and praises Mr. Ford as a great individualist and a great anti-Semite. A photograph of Mr. Ford hangs in Herr Hitler's quarters, which is the center of monarchist movement.*[6]

Hitler received a mild and comfortable prison sentence for his Bavarian revolutionary activities. The rest from more active pursuits enabled

him to write *Mein Kampf*. Henry Ford's book, *The International Jew*, earlier circulated by the Nazis, was translated by them into a dozen languages, and Hitler utilized sections of the book verbatim in writing *Mein Kampf*.[1]

We shall see later that Hitler's backing in the late 20s and early 30s came from the chemical, steel, and electrical industry cartels, rather than directly from individual industrialists. In 1928 Henry Ford merged his German assets with those of the I.G. Farben chemical cartel. A substantial holding, 40 percent of Ford Motor A.G. of Germany, was transferred to I.G. Farben; Carl Bosch of I.G. Farben became head of Ford A.G. Motor in Germany. Simultaneously, in the United States Edsel Ford joined the board of American I.G. Farben. (See Chapter Two.)

Henry Ford Receives a Nazi Medal

A decade later, in August 1938 — after Hitler had achieved power with the aid of the cartels — Henry Ford received the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, a Nazi decoration for distinguished foreigners. The *New York Times* reported it was the first time the Grand Cross had been awarded in the United States and was to celebrate Henry Ford's 75th birthday.[8]

The decoration raised a storm of criticism within Zionist circles in the U.S. Ford backed off to the extent of publicly meeting with Rabbi Leo Franklin of Detroit to express his sympathy for the plight of German Jews:

> *My acceptance of a medal from the German people [said Ford] does not, as some people seem to think, involve any sympathy on my part with naziism. Those who have known me for many years realize that anything that breeds hate is repulsive to me.*[9]

The Nazi medal issue was picked up in a Cleveland speech by Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes. Ickes criticized both Henry Ford and Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh for accepting Nazi medals. The curious part of the Ickes speech, made at a Cleveland Zionist Society banquet, was his criticism of "wealthy Jews" and *their* acquisition and use of wealth:

> *A mistake made by a non-Jewish millionaire reflects upon him alone, but a false step made by a Jewish man of wealth reflects upon his whole race. This is harsh and unjust, but it is a fact that must be faced.*[10]

Perhaps Ickes was tangentially referring to the roles of the Warburgs in the I.G. Farben cartel: Warburgs were on the board of I.G. Farben in the U.S. and Germany. In 1938 the Warburgs were being ejected by the Nazis from Germany. Other German Jews, such as the Oppenheim bankers, made their peace with the Nazis and were granted "honorary Aryan status."

Ford Motor Company Assists the German War Effort

A post-war Congressional subcommittee investigating American support for the Nazi military effort described the manner in which the Nazis succeeded in obtaining U.S. technical and financial assistance as "quite fantastic."[11] Among other evidence the Committee was shown a memorandum prepared in the offices of Ford-Werke A.G. on November 25, 1941, written by Dr. H. F. Albert to R. H. Schmidt, then president of the board of Ford-Werke A.G. The memo cited the advantages of having a majority of the German firm held by Ford Motor Company in Detroit. German Ford had been able to exchange Ford parts for rubber and critical war materials needed in 1938 and 1939 "and they would not have been able to do that if Ford had not been owned by the United States." Further, with a majority American interest German Ford would "more easily be able to step in and dominate the Ford holdings throughout Europe." It was even reported to the Committee that two top German Ford officials had been in a bitter personal feud about who was to control Ford of England, such "that one of them finally got up and left the room in disgust."

According to evidence presented to the Committee, Ford-Werke A.G. was technically transformed in the late 1930s into a German company. All vehicles and their parts were produced in Germany, by German workers using German materials under German direction and exported to European and overseas territories of the United States and Great Britain. Any needed foreign raw materials, rubber and nonferrous metals, were obtained through the American Ford Company. American influence had been more or less converted into a supporting position (*Hilfsstellung*) for the German Ford plants.

At the outbreak of the war Ford-Werke placed itself at the disposal of the Wehrmacht for armament production. It was assumed by the Nazis that as long as Ford-Werke A.G. had an American majority, it would be possible to bring the remaining European Ford companies under German influence — *i.e.*, that of Ford-Werke A.G. — and so execute Nazi

"Greater European" policies in the Ford plants in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Paris, Budapest, Bucharest, and Copenhagen:

> *A majority, even if only a small one, of Americans is essential for the transmittal of the newest American models, as well as American production and sales methods. With the abolition of the American majority, this advantage, as well as the intervention of the Ford Motor Company to obtain raw materials and exports, would be lost, and the German plant would practically only be worth its machine capacity.*[12]

And, of course, this kind of strict neutrality, taking an international rather than a national viewpoint, had earlier paid off for Ford Motor Company in the Soviet Union, where Ford was held in high regard as the ultimate of technical and economic efficiency to be achieved by the Stakhanovites.

In July 1942 word filtered back to Washington from Ford of France about Ford's activities on behalf of the German war effort in Europe. The incriminating information was promptly buried and even today only part of the known documentation can be traced in Washington.

We do know, however, that the U.S. Consul General in Algeria had possession of a letter from Maurice Dollfuss of French Ford — who claimed to be the first Frenchman to go to Berlin after the fall of France — to Edsel Ford about a plan by which Ford Motor could contribute to the Nazi war effort. French Ford was able to produce 20 trucks a day for the Wehrmacht, which [wrote Dollfuss] is better than,

> *. . . our less fortunate French competitors are doing. The reason is that our trucks are in very large demand by the German authorities and I believe that as long as the war goes on and at least for some period of time, all that we shall produce will be taken by the German authorities . . . . I will satisfy myself by telling you that . . . the attitude you have taken, together with your father, of strict neutrality, has been an invaluable asset for the production of your companies in Europe.*[13]

Dollfuss disclosed that profits from this German business were already 1.6 million francs, and net profits for 1941 were no less than 58,000,000 francs — because the Germans paid promptly for Ford's output. On receipt of this news Edsel Ford cabled:

Delighted to hear you are making progress. Your letters most interesting. Fully realize great handicap you are working under. Hope you and family well. Regards.

s/Edsel Ford[14]

Although there is evidence that European plants owned by Wall Street interests were not bombed by the U.S. Air Force in World War II, this restriction apparently did not reach the British Bombing Command. In March 1942 the Royal Air Force bombed the Ford plant at Poissy, France. A subsequent letter from Edsel Ford to Ford General Manager Sorenson about this RAF raid commented, "Photographs of the plant on fire were published in American newspapers but fortunately no reference was made to the Ford Motor Company."[15] In any event, the Vichy government paid Ford Motor Company 38 million francs as compensation for damage done to the Poissy plant. This was not reported in the U.S. press and would hardly be appreciated by those Americans at war with Naziism. Dubois asserts that these *private* messages from Ford in Europe were passed to Edsel Ford by Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long. This was the same Secretary Long who one year later suppressed *private* messages through the State Department concerning the extermination of Jews in Europe.[16] Disclosure of those messages conceivably could have been used to assist those desperate people.

A U.S. Air Force bombing intelligence report written in 1943 noted that,

Principal wartime activities [of the Ford plant] are probably manufacture of light trucks and of spare parts for all the Ford trucks and cars in service in Axis Europe (including captured Russian Molotovs).[16]

The Russian Molotovs were of course manufactured by the Ford-built works at Gorki, Russia. In France during the war, passenger automobile production was entirely replaced by military vehicles and for this purpose three large additional buildings were added to the Poissy factory. The main building contained about 500 machine tools, "all imported from the United States and including a fair sprinkling of the more complex types, such as Gleason gear cutters, Bullard automatics and Ingersoll borers."[17]

Ford also extended its wartime activities into North Africa. In December 1941 a new Ford Company, Ford-Afrique, was registered in France and granted all the rights of the former Ford Motor Company, Ltd.

of England in Algeria, Tunisia, French Morocco, French Equatorial, and French West Africa. North Africa was not accessible to British Ford so this new Ford Company — registered in German-occupied France — was organized to fill the gap. The directors were pro-Nazi and included Maurice Dollfuss (Edsel Ford's correspondent) and Roger Messis (described by the U.S. Algiers Consul General as "known to this office by repute as unscrupulous, is stated to be a 100 percent pro-German").[18]

The U.S. Consul General also reported that propaganda was common in Algiers about

. . . the collaboration of French-German-American capital and the questionable sincerity of the American war effort, [there] is already pointing an accusing finger at a transaction which has been for long a subject of discussion in commercial circles.[19]

In brief, there is documentary evidence that Ford Motor Company worked on both sides of World War II. If the Nazi industrialists brought to trial at Nuremburg were guilty of crimes against mankind, then so must be their fellow collaborators in the Ford family, Henry and Edsel Ford. However, the Ford story was concealed by Washington — apparently like almost everything else that could touch upon the name and sustenance of the Wall Street financial elite.

Hellenic ruler, for the Greeks rarely attempted to destroy a religion or philosophy. Only when it was deemed a serious challenge to the legitimacy of the Greek gods, and capable of undermining the state, was a religion suppressed or a philosopher put to death. The most famous challenger was Socrates who was charged with bringing new gods into Athens and corrupting the youth.[6] But Judaism was far more dangerous than any other ideology to the Hellenic leaders. *Jews constituted the one instance when not one or two philosophers, but an entire nation, held values in opposition to Hellenic society.*

Hellenic antisemitism increased accordingly. Even the accusation of ritual murder, associated almost exclusively with Christian antisemitism, was first made by a Greek. Apion, the noted Homeric scholar, charged the Jews with slaughtering and eating non-Jews in religious rituals. In his *History of Egypt,* Apion wrote that when Antiochus invaded the Jewish Temple he found a Greek prisoner inside who recounted to Antiochus "the unutterable law of the Jews. . . . They would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh, and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks."[7]

Rome

By the time the Romans assumed control over Judea in 63 B.C.E., antisemitism was already deeply rooted in the classical world. Though the Roman rulers recognized Judaism as a licit religion, they soon found reason to water those anti-Jewish roots. The Jews' insistence on denying Roman gods, living by different values and rules, and leading their own national life was regarded by the Romans, particularly the intellectuals, as proof of the Jews' hatred for others. In the words of the greatest Roman historian, Tacitus, writing in the first century, the Jews "reveal a stubborn attachment to one another . . . which contrasts with their implacable hatred for the rest of mankind."[8]

Tacitus regarded the Jews' attachment to their own God, laws, and peoplehood as a challenge to Rome's highest values: "The Jews regard as profane all that which we hold sacred: on the other hand, they permit all that we abhor." Another of Tacitus' attacks on the Jews demonstrates how central the conflict of moral values was to Roman antisemitism: "The Jews," he wrote, "regard it as a crime to kill any newborn infant." The Romans, as the Greeks before them, killed mentally and physically handicapped infants. To the Roman and Greek mind keeping such children alive was pointless and unaesthetic.

That the Jews refusal to acknowledge the divinity of the Roman gods and emperors caused Roman antisemitism is well illustrated by the meeting in 39 C.E. between a Jewish delegation and the emperor Caligula (see p. 29). The emperor was furious over the Jews' refusal to place his statue in their Temple. Only his sudden death saved the Jews of Palestine from a massacre.[9]

While the attitude toward Judaism was almost uniformly negative among Rome's politicians and intellectuals, many other Romans, disenchanted with Roman paganism's immorality and vacuity, and repulsed by such horrors as the gladiator fights, were attracted to the ethical monotheism and spirituality of the Jews. By the middle of the first century, between 7 and 10 percent of the people living in the Roman Empire, as many as seven million out of seventy million, were Jews, many of them converts.[10] To the leadership of Rome this was distressing, for as Seneca, the first-century Stoic philosopher and adviser to Emperor Nero, put it, "the conquered have given their laws to the conquerors."[11]

Throughout the first century the Jews found themselves under continuous attack from Romans of all ranks. For example, Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian, reported that Roman soldiers in Jerusalem publicly demonstrated their contempt for Judaism, one going so far as to expose his backside in the Temple court during Passover, while another destroyed a Torah scroll before the eyes of the Jews.[12]

As a result of Roman provocations, the Jews of Palestine rebelled twice, each time failing to overthrow Roman rule.

With the second failure in 135 C.E., the Jews lost for over eighteen hundred years whatever sovereignty they had managed to maintain in their homeland.

Conclusion

There was one basic reason for pagan antisemitism and one recurring theme to it. The reason was hostility to Judaism, which the pagan world found threatening to many of its most cherished values. Pagan antisemitism was therefore directed only against Jews who upheld Judaism. Jews who were willing to disavow Judaism were accepted into pagan society. For example, one of the Roman appointed procurators in Judea, Tiberius Alexander, was a convert from Judaism. Only those Jews who insisted on observing Judaism with its monotheistic rejection of pagan gods and its general opposition to the pagan way of life were subjected to literary and physical attacks.

Consequently, the recurring theme of pagan antisemitism was that the Jews are haters of mankind. To pagans, the Jews' hostility, or at least indifference, to the values and life-style of the non-Jews could only be attributed to a Jewish sense of superiority and contempt for humanity (exacerbated by the Jewish belief in chosenness—see pp. 40–45). As Tacitus wrote: ". . . toward every other people they feel only hate and enmity, they sit apart at meals and they sleep apart, and although as a race they are prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women."[13]

That the Jews regarded their values as so important that they were willing to die for them only reinforced the conviction that they must hate their neighbors, for they preferred to die than to live like them.

Though antisemitism reached a new and far more intense phase when Rome became Christian, hatred of the Jews obviously preceded Christianity. Salo Baron, the great Jewish historian, has noted that "almost every note in the cacophony of medieval and modern antisemitism was sounded by the chorus of ancient writers."[14] And this antipathy, as Catholic

theologian and historian Rosemary Ruether has shown,[15] was "a reaction caused by the special social consequences of Jewish religious law. . . . This reaction was not racial, since it would disappear as soon as a Jew gave up . . . Jewish law."[16]

Nearly all the causes and themes of subsequent antisemitism were present in the pagan world. But the rise of Judaism's first daughter religion, Christianity, gave birth to new and ever more frightening expressions of Jew-hatred.

EIGHT

Christian Antisemitism

IN THE FOURTH CENTURY, the Roman Empire substituted a monotheistic faith for paganism. That faith should logically have been Judaism. It was Judaism that introduced God to the Roman world, it was Judaism alone that had opposed paganism for over a thousand years, and it was Judaism that by the first century of the Common Era counted one out of every ten citizens of the Roman Empire as an adherent.

Yet it was not Judaism but Christianity, the creation of a handful of Jews, that became the religion of the Roman Empire. Christianity, and not Judaism, the religion from which Christianity took its God, its Bible, its Messiah, its apostles, and its founders, became the religion of the empire. Why?

Some reasons for the amazingly rapid spread of Judaism's daughter religion, rather than of Judaism itself, are clear. Christianity was in many ways considerably more accessible to the pagan. Christianity offered the pagan not only the universal God of the Jews, but also a son of God, a god in human form who died and was resurrected as many pagan gods had been. In addition, it announced the good news that the Messiah had come, whereas the Jews were still waiting for him.

Christianity also dropped Jewish law, which had been another factor standing in the way of many prospective converts. The Church adopted Paul's position, as articulated in *Romans* 3:28, that now that Christ had come all God demanded was the proper faith, and this faith ensured eternal salvation. Judaism, on the other hand, continued to demand adherence to its laws, and it focused much more on this world than on eternity.

Christianity was also easier to convert to. Whereas conversion to Judaism meant not only adoption of the Jewish religion but also membership in the Jewish nation, conversion to Christianity implied no breaking of, or adding to, previous national ties. Moreover, Christianity made the process of conversion painless by dropping the requirement of male circumcision.

The Jews rejected the Christians' changes in the nature of God, the messianic and divine claims made for Jesus and their elimination of law and peoplehood. But Church leaders could not ignore the Jews' denial of the validity of Christianity. The Jews were not merely another group of non-Christian pagans. If it were not for the Jews, there would be no Christianity. Jesus was an observant Jew.[1] All his apostles were Jews. The Jewish Bible was the entire basis for the messianic claims made for Jesus. The Jews were God's chosen people, and the people to whom Jesus addressed his words "I am sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (*Matthew* 15:24).

Yet it was the Jews who rejected Jesus' claims. The people to whom Jesus belonged and addressed his message, and therefore the one people able to validate his message, rejected all the Christian claims made for Jesus.

The founders of Christianity were confronted with the terrible fact that the Jews, *merely by continuing to be Jews,* threatened the very legitimacy of the Church. If Judaism remained valid, then Christianity was invalid. Therein lie the origins of Christian hatred of the Jews, the most enduring Jew-hatred in history.

The Church Fathers had to deal with this Jewish challenge, and they did so in a most logical manner. Since the existence

of the Jews and Judaism challenged the legitimacy of the Church, the Church had to deny the legitimacy of the Jews and Judaism. The Church was now Israel; the other Israel had to be discredited.

To that end the founders of Christianity promulgated a number of doctrines to theologically invalidate the Jews' continuing existence. These doctrines were given the greatest possible significance, divine authentication, by being placed in the Christian Bible and by often being attributed to Jesus himself. In this way the New Testament canonized antisemitism.

Thus, the editors of the New Testament did not content themselves with a simple historical narration of the Crucifixion or of the Jews' opposition to Jesus. It would not suffice to depict the Crucifixion as the Roman execution it was, or merely to discredit the Jews' theological arguments against the divine claims made for Jesus. The Jews, not their arguments, had to be permanently discredited. Thus, for example, the New Testament depicted the Jews not as merely having rejected Jesus' claims, but as having him murdered. Moreover, the New Testament added, it was not one group of Jews that was guilty of murdering God, but *all* Jews then and forever: the New Testament put into the mouths of Jews present at the Crucifixion, "let his blood be on our heads and the heads of our children" (*Matthew* 27:25).

Thus, the New Testament created the most often repeated Christian accusation against the Jews, and the greatest source of Christian Jew-hatred: the Jew, every Jew, in every age is a "Christ-killer." It has been this New Testament assertion that ultimately legitimized the torture and murder of Jews in Christendom for nearly two thousand years. For this charge that the Jews committed deicide, destructive enough in itself, gave birth to other equally destructive anti-Jewish libels in the New Testament.

For example, only one explanation could account for the Jews' rejection of God's son, and for their murder of him. The Jews were obviously incarnations of the Devil, for who else could murder God?

This identification of the Jews with the Devil originates in the Gospel of John, written about 100 C.E. A particularly anti-Jewish work, John explained the Jews' rejection and killing of Jesus by formulating the "Jews as Devils" theory, and he endows it with divine credibility by having Jesus mouth it (the three other Gospels, each written in closer proximity to Jesus' life, attribute no such statement to him). In chapter 8:43–44, 47, John reports that Jesus said to the Jews,[2] "Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot bear to hear my word? You are of your father, the Devil, and your will is to do your father's desire. . . . The reason why you do not hear [the words of God revealed in Jesus] is because you are not of God."*

With these charges of deicide and collusion with the Devil, the early Church put the Jew, rather than itself, on the theological, not to mention moral and ultimately physical, defensive. It established the logic of the oft-repeated Christian doctrine that merely by being Jews, Jews in effect murder Jesus anew in every generation.

The Church Fathers

The antisemitic themes of the New Testament were expanded and spread throughout the Roman Empire by the early Church leaders. Among these were John Chrysostom and Bishop Ambrose, both made saints by the Roman Catholic Church. Living during the formative century when the Roman Empire became Christian, they were able to permanently influence Christian attitudes and policies toward the Jews.

* Many Christian apologetics attempt to defend this passage by noting that only the Jews who refused to accept Jesus were called children of the Devil. This is sophistry, however. A Jew who accepts Jesus as the Messiah and as divine is no longer a Jew, but a Christian. The New Testament passage, therefore, refers to all Jews as children of the Devil.

St. John Chrysostom of Antioch, Archbishop of Constantinople

Among the most admired and beloved figures in Church history is St. John Chrysostom, whose Greek name translates as St. John the Golden Mouthed. The nineteenth-century Protestant cleric R. S. Storrs called him "one of the most eloquent preachers who ever since apostolic times have brought to men the divine tidings of truth and love." Storrs's contemporary, the great Catholic theologian, John Henry Cardinal Newman, described Chrysostom as a "bright, cheerful, gentle soul, a sensitive heart . . . all this elevated, refined, transformed by the touch of heaven—such was St. John Chrysostom."[3]

St. John Chrysostom's warmth did not extend to the Jews: "They know only one thing," wrote St. John Chrysostom, "to satisfy their stomachs, to get drunk, to kill."[4]

"The synagogue," he wrote, "is worse than a brothel. . . . It is the den of scoundrels and the repair of wild beasts . . . the temple of demons devoted to idolatrous cults . . . the cavern of devils . . . a criminal assembly of Jews . . . a place of meetings for the assassins of Christ . . . the refuge of devils." When some Christians responded that synagogues were entitled to a degree of respect if only because they contain the writings of Moses and the Prophets, St. John Chrysostom objected. The fact that synagogues contain holy books, he noted, is simply one more reason to despise the Jews; they recognize the holy books, but obstinately refuse to accept or understand their true Christian meaning. Clearly, then, they are of the Devil as the Gospel of John declares.

When St. John Chrysostom learned that some Christians in Antioch were continuing to maintain cordial relations with Jews, he denounced them: "The Jews have assassinated the Son of God! How dare you . . . associate with this nation of assassins and hangmen!"

Perhaps St. John Chrysostom's most significant contribution to antisemitism was his theological justification of Christian violence against Jews. He argued that when Christians

beat and murder Jews, it is the Jews who are to blame, not the Christians: "It was men, say the Jews, who brought these misfortunes upon us, not God. On the contrary, it was in fact God who brought them about. If you attribute them to men, reflect again that, even supposing men had dared, they would not have had the power to accomplish them, unless it had been God's will." Concerning such justifications of Jewish suffering at the hands of Christian antisemites, the Catholic historian Malcolm Hay noted: "Such logic would justify the German race murderers. St. John Chrysostom could have preached a powerful sermon beside the mass grave at Dubno [Poland]. He could have explained that a revengeful God had chastised the little Jewish boy who had tried to keep back his tears so that the Germans would not see that he was afraid; and the little baby, and the Jewish family who all went down into the pit. . . . [Chrysostom's thinking] would have been useful to the defense at Nuremberg."[5]

St. Ambrose of Milan

At about the time St. John Chrysostom was reviling the Jews of Antioch, St. Ambrose, to this day revered as among the most noble of the Church Fathers, was bishop of Milan. During his term as bishop, in 388, a bishop in Mesopotamia encouraged the burning of a synagogue. The Roman emperor, Theodosius the Great, who reigned 379–395, ordered the bishop to pay for the rebuilding of the synagogue. Upon learning of this, St. Ambrose wrote a letter of protest to Theodosius, but the emperor ignored the protest.

A short time later, the emperor attended a church service officiated by Ambrose. The bishop refused to administer the Mass unless the emperor assured him that the order to rebuild the synagogue would be rescinded. "There is no adequate cause for such a commotion," Ambrose told the emperor, "that the people should be so severely punished for the burning of a building; and much less since it is the burning of a synagogue, a home of unbelief, a house of impiety, a receptacle of folly, which God Himself has condemned."[6] This time, Ambrose's protest was successful, and a precedent sought by this fourth-century Church Father was established: if Chris-

tians destroy a synagogue, the Jews are to pay for it to be rebuilt.

The Crusades

By the eleventh century, the Church had converted virtually all the inhabitants of Europe, except the Jews. Until then, the situation of the Jews was tenuous but tolerable. With the First Crusade, in 1096, however, the status and security of European Jewry declined precipitously.

In 1095, at the Council of Clermont-Ferrand, Pope Urban II called for a Crusade to regain Palestine from the Muslims. Tens of thousands of Christians then embarked for the Holy Land. But the Muslims were not the Crusaders' only enemies. As historian Leon Poliakov noted, the Crusaders "were God's avengers, appointed to punish all infidels, whoever they might be . . . What could be more natural than to take revenge along the way upon the various infidels living in Christian territories?"[7]

A contemporary chronicler, Guibert de Nogent, quoted the Crusaders of Rouen: "We desire to go and fight God's enemies in the East; but we have before our eyes certain Jews, a race more inimical to God than any other."

Wherever Crusaders found Jews they offered them the choice of Christianity or death. The experience of the Jews of Worms, Germany, is typical of what happened to French and German Jews during this period. In May 1096, upon learning of the Crusaders' murder of the Jews of Speyer, the Jews of Worms sought assistance. Some Jews sought refuge in the palace of Bishop Adalbert, while others, having been promised help by the local burghers, remained in their homes. Those Jews who remained in their homes were immediately murdered, while those in the palace, after refusing Bishop Adalbert's offer to save them from the Christian mobs if they converted, were murdered under the bishop's orders. Eight hundred Jews were murdered in two days. A Christian chronicler, Albert of Aix, wrote: "Only a small number of Jews escaped this cruel massacre, and a few accepted baptism, much more out of the fear of death than from love of the Christian faith."[8]

In many places bishops and counts tried to protect the Jews from the Christian masses and offered the Jews the choice of baptism or death only when pressured by the Christian mobs. But the Jews had little reason to trust in the goodwill of the Church hierarchy. When the few Jews who chose baptism over death wished to return to Judaism after the Crusaders passed their city, it was prohibited. This prohibition was formalized in a bull issued by Pope Innocent III in September 1201: ". . . he who is led to Christianity by violence, by fear and by torture, and who received the sacrament of baptism to avoid harm (even as he who comes falsely to baptism) receives indeed the stamp of Christianity. . . . They [the forced converts] themselves having been anointed with the holy oil and having participated in the body of the Lord, must be duly constrained to abide by the faith they had accepted by force." The only option, according to the pope, was for a person to "object expressly" to baptism, and to refuse to undergo the ceremony. As Poliakov notes, "Since those who 'objected expressly' to a forced baptism were generally executed on the spot, all cases of baptism became valid in practical terms."[9]

The Second Crusade, begun in 1147, accelerated the decline of the Jews' status among Christians. Christian clerics stirred Christian masses to anti-Jewish frenzy. In France, the Abbé Pierre of Cluny challenged his parishioners: "What is the good of going to the end of the world, at great loss of men and money, to fight the Saracens, when we permit among us other infidels a thousand times more guilty towards Christ than the Mohammedans."[10]

During the decades following the Crusades new anti-Jewish libels helped lead to the murders of hundreds of thousands of more Jews.

Three Medieval Libels

Throughout the Middle Ages, Christians repeated the accusation in the Gospel of John that the Jews are the Devil's

children. Millions of Christians came to believe that the Jews were not actually human beings, but creatures of the Devil, allies of Satan, and personifications of the Antichrist. This diabolical dehumanization of the Jews rendered plausible every accusation against them.

Such was the case regarding the three anti-Jewish libels that were most widely circulated by the medieval clergy and believed by nearly every Christian: Jews murder Christians and drink their blood for ritual purposes; Jews poison Christians; and Jews kidnap the wafer that is transubstantiated into the body of Jesus and torture it by sticking needles into it, thus torturing Jesus.

Each of these three charges was made and believed despite the nonexistence of *any* supporting evidence except for confessions extracted under torture.[11] But the absence of any evidence fooled few Christians—agents of the Devil are notoriously tricky.[12]

Ritual Murder

The first accusation of ritual murder was made in 1144 in England. According to a contemporary Christian document: "The Jews of Norwich brought a child before Easter, and tortured him with all the tortures wherewith our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rod in hatred of our Lord, and afterwards buried him." A Christian convert from Judaism, Theobold of Cambridge, testified that Jews were required to sacrifice a Christian child annually, the choice of place being made at an annual conference of rabbis.[13] This first accusation of ritual murder had no immediate consequences. As no evidence was ever produced that a murder had been committed, let alone a Jewish ritual murder, no Jew was tried for the alleged crime.

But the long-term effects of this accusation were to be devastating. Between the twelfth and the twentieth centuries, Jews and often entire Jewish communities were put on trial on over 150 occasions for engaging in ritual murder. In almost every instance Jews were tortured and put to death.

The case of Hugh of Lincoln provides a typical example. In

1255, many Jews visited Lincoln, England, to attend the wedding of a prominent Jew's daughter. The day after the wedding, the body of a Christian boy, Hugh of Lincoln, missing for over three weeks, was found in a cesspool into which he had accidentally fallen. Matthew Paris, a contemporary Christian chronicler, wrote what he and other Christians believed to have really occurred: "The child was first fattened for ten days with white bread and milk, and then . . . almost all the Jews of England were invited to the crucifixion."[14] Subsequently, a Jew named Copin was arrested, and under torture confessed "that the Jews had crucified the boy in the manner that the Jews had once crucified Jesus." One hundred Jews were arrested, and nineteen, including Copin, were hanged without trial.

The case of Hugh of Lincoln had a profound impact on the popular image of Jews in England and throughout the Western world. A century later Geoffrey Chaucer wrote of the Jews' murder of Hugh in "The Prioress's Tale" in his classic *The Canterbury Tales.* In the nineteenth century, one of the leading essayists in England, Charles Lamb, wrote: "I confess that I have not the nerve to enter their synagogues. Old prejudices cling about me. I cannot shake off the story of Hugh of Lincoln."[15] Dozens of ballads were inspired by Hugh's death. The two authors, on a visit to the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas, purchased a book of Ozark Mountain folk songs, printed in 1973, which included a ballad inspired by the "Jewish ritual murder" of Hugh of Lincoln.[16] In it, a Jewish woman is described as inviting a young Christian boy into her house, whereupon:

She pinned a napkin o'er his face
And pinned it with gold pin
Then called for a vessel of gold
To catch his heart blood in,
In, in,
To catch his heart blood in.

The Jews' allegiance to their understanding of God, with its denial of the Christian trinity, was always at the heart of

the ritual murder charge. A sixteenth-century document explains that the murder of Christian children and the distribution of their blood among Jews is "a token of their eternal enmity towards Christendom," for "if they had Christ today they would crucify Him as their fathers did, but since they do not have Christ, they martyr in His stead an innocent Christian child."

By the fourteenth century the ritual murder charge had become associated with the Jewish holiday of Passover, attesting to the antisemitism which the Jews' adherence to their laws, as well as to their understanding of God, aroused among Christians. Christians accused Jews of using Christian blood in their unleavened bread (matzoh) and in their wine. In Savoy, in 1329, Christians claimed that the Jews "compound out of the entrails of murdered Christian children a salve of food called aharance [haroseth], which they eat every Passover in place of a sacrifice; they prepare this food at least every sixth year because they believe they are saved thereby."[17]

The accusations of ritual murder followed the Jews throughout Europe. Historian Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson wrote that "Generation after generation of Jews in Europe was tortured and Jewish communities were massacred or dispersed and broken up because of this libel."[18] The blood libel has, in fact, persisted into the twentieth century. The Protestant historian James Parkes reported that "In Central Eastern Europe, among both Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Christians . . . there are almost more examples of the accusation in the years between 1880 and 1945 than in the whole of the Middle Ages."[19]

In the 1930s the Nazis renewed the libel. The entire May 1, 1934, issue of the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer* was devoted to Jewish ritual murder, and the regular weekly edition of the paper routinely carried illustrations of rabbis sucking the blood of German children.

In the 1960s and the 1970s the blood libel was spread by the leading financial figure in the Arab world, the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. On a number of occasions Faisal informed newspaper interviewers that the Jews annually celebrated Passover by murdering a non-Jew and consuming his blood.[20]

As a postscript to this discussion of the ritual murder charge, two ironic points are worthy of note. First, the blood libel was directed against the first nation in history to outlaw human sacrifice (*Genesis* 22, *Deuteronomy* 18:10) and the only nation in the ancient Near East to prohibit the consumption of *any* blood (*Leviticus* 3:17; 7:26; 17:10–14; *Deuteronomy* 12:15–16; 12:23–25).[21]

That so many medieval Christians believed and spread this lie about the Jews led to a second irony. The early Zionist thinker Ahad Ha-Am contended that the blood libel was actually of some psychological benefit to the Jews in that it enabled them to resist internalizing the world's negative portrayal of them. "This accusation is the solitary case in which the general acceptance of an idea about ourselves does not make us doubt whether all the world can be wrong, and we right, because it is based on an absolute lie. Every Jew who has been brought up among Jews knows as an indisputable fact that throughout the length and breadth of Jewry there is not a single individual who drinks human blood for religious purposes. . . . 'But,' you ask, 'is it possible that everybody can be wrong, and the Jews right?' Yes, it is possible: the blood accusation proves it possible."[22]

Plots to Poison Christians

"If a king had a Jewish physician," notes James Parkes, "and did not actually perish on the battlefield, cloven in two by the battle-axe of the enemy, there is nothing surprising in his unfortunate doctor being accused of poisoning him."[23] Parkes cites several instances of Jewish royal physicians being executed after a king's death.

In actuality almost every medieval Jewish doctor was endangered. In 1161, in Bohemia, eighty-six Jews were burned as punishment for an alleged plot of Jewish physicians to poison the populace."[24] Such accusations were endorsed by leading intellectual circles in European society. In 1610, the

medical faculty of the University of Vienna declared that Jewish physicians were bound by Jewish law to kill every tenth Christian through the use of drugs.[25]

Martin Luther said that "if they [the Jews] could kill us all, they would gladly do so, aye, and often do it, especially those who profess to be physicians. They know all that is known about medicine in Germany; they can give poison to a man of which he will die in an hour, or in ten or twenty years; they thoroughly understand this art."[26]

The libels that the Jews were plotting to poison the Christian world had particularly tragic results during the Black Death of 1348–49. This plague, which killed about one-third of Europe's population, was blamed on the Jews despite the fact that the plague also killed Jews. A Christian physician, Konrad of Regensburg, in his *Buch der Natur,* was one of the few Christians to recognize the irrationality of blaming the Jew: "But I know that there were more Jews in Vienna than in any other German city familiar to me, and so many of them died of the plague that they were obliged to enlarge their cemetery. To have brought this on themselves would have been folly on their part." But the doctor's reasoning had no impact.

Jews were first tortured to confess to spreading the Black Death in September 1348 in Switzerland. According to the "confession," a rabbi had instructed the Jews: "See, I give you a little package, which contains a preparation of poison and venom. . . . This you are to distribute among the wells, the cisterns and the springs . . . to poison the people who use the water." In October 1348, the verdict was announced: ". . . all Jews from the age of seven, cannot excuse themselves from this crime, since all of them in their totality were cognizant and are guilty of the above actions. Jewish children under the age of seven were then baptized and reared as Christians after their families were murdered."[27]

Antisemitic libels die hard. In 1953, Joseph Stalin accused a group of doctors, most of them Jews, of a plot to poison the Communist leadership of the Soviet Union. Stalin died three days before their trial was to begin, but we now know that Stalin intended to use the "doctors' plot" to arouse the Russian public against the Jews, and in the ensuing crisis, exile Russia's Jews to Siberia.

Desecration of the Host

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council accepted the doctrine of transubstantiation as official Church dogma. This dogma asserted that the wafer used at the Mass was miraculously transformed into the body of Jesus. The wafer was to be regarded not as a symbolic representation of Jesus, but as his actual body. Just how literally Christians accepted this teaching is exemplified in writings of a leading preacher of the thirteenth century, Berthold of Regensburg. He explained that Christ, though present in the wafer, does not allow himself to be seen in it for "who would like to bite off the little head, or the little hands, or the little feet of a little child?"[28]

Christian belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation led to the torture and murder of thousands of Jews. Since Jesus is brought to life through the wafer, would not the Jews who had once crucified him wish to torture and kill him again? In 1243, only twenty-eight years after the Fourth Lateran Council, the first accusation of "host desecration" occurred in Berlitz, near Berlin. The city's entire Jewish community was burned alive for allegedly torturing a wafer. Charges of "host desecration" spread throughout Europe. In Prague, in 1389, the Jewish community was collectively accused of attacking a monk carrying a wafer. Large mobs of Christians surrounded the Jewish neighborhood and offered the Jews the choice of baptism or death. Refusing to be baptized, three thousand Jews were murdered. In Berlin, in 1510, twenty-six Jews were burned and two beheaded for reportedly "desecrating the host." A charge of host desecration was reported as late as 1836 in Romania.

The "host desecration" libel is among the clearest examples of the Christian perception of the Jews as devils. Clearly, no one, not even a Jew, tortures cookies. If a person does torture one, it could mean only one thing: he, too, recognizes that it is the body of Jesus, and wishes to make him suffer. Who but the people of the Devil recognize the divinity of Jesus but wish to destroy him?

Christian Roots of the Holocaust

Sixteen hundred years of such hatred of Jews culminated in the Holocaust. Christianity did not create the Holocaust; indeed Nazism was anti-Christian, but it made it possible. Without Christian antisemitism, the Holocaust would have been inconceivable.

Nazi antisemitism differed from Christian antisemitism, however, in at least two important ways. It did not allow the Jews the choice of conversion or death, as medieval Christian antisemites had, but only death. And it called for the murder of all Jews, rather than, as the medieval Christian world had called for, the suffering of all Jews and the random murders of many. In virtually every other way, Nazism depended upon Christian antisemitic ideas, libels, policies, and legislation.

Hitler and the Nazis found in medieval Catholic anti-Jewish legislation a model for their own, and they read and reprinted Martin Luther's virulently antisemitic writings. It is instructive that the Holocaust was unleashed by the only major country in Europe having approximately equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants. Both traditions were saturated with Jew-hatred.

Catholicism

When the Church was Europe's most powerful force, from the fourth until the eighteenth century, its laws, many of which were directed against Jews, were Europe's laws. Concerning Church anti-Jewish legislation the Holocaust historian, Raul Hilberg, has noted: ". . . in reviewing the documentary record of the destruction of the Jews, one is almost immediately impressed with the fact that the German administration knew what it was doing. . . . The German bureaucracy could draw upon . . . precedents and follow . . . a guide, for the German bureaucrats could dip into a vast reservoir of

administrative experience, a reservoir which church and state had filled in fifteen hundred years of destructive activity."[29] In *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Hilberg constructed a chart substantiating his thesis.[30]

Church Law	Nazi Law
Jews and Christians not permitted to eat together, Synod of Elvira, 306.	Jews barred from dining cars (Transport Minister to Interior Minister), Dec. 30, 1939.
Jews not allowed to hold public office, Synod of Clermont, 535.	Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933.
Jews not allowed to show themselves in the street during Passion Week, Third Synod of Orleans, 538.	Decree authorizing local authorities to bar Jews from the street on certain Nazi holidays, Dec. 3, 1938.
Burning of the Talmud and other Jewish books, 12th Synod of Toledo, 681.	Book burnings in Nazi Germany.
Christians not permitted to patronize Jewish doctors, Trulanic Synod, 692.	Decree of July 25, 1938.
Jews obliged to pay taxes for the support of the Church to the same extent as Christians, Synod of Gerona, 1078.	The "Sozialaugleichsabgabe" which provided that Jews pay a special income tax in lieu of donation for party purposes imposed on Nazis, Dec. 24, 1940.
The marking of Jewish clothes with a badge, Fourth Lateran Council, Canon 68 (copied from Islamic legislation which had decreed that Christians wear blue belts and Jews, yellow belts).	Decree of Sept. 1, 1941, authorizing that Jews are required to wear yellow star.
Christians not permitted to attend Jewish ceremonies, Synod of Vienna, 1267.	Friendly relations with Jews prohibited, Oct. 24, 1941.
Jews not permitted to dispute with simple Christian people about the tenets of the Catholic religion, Synod of Vienna, 1267.	

Compulsory ghettos, Synod of Breslau, 1267.	Order by Heydrich for ghettoization of Jews, Sept. 21, 1939.
Christians not permitted to sell or rent real estate to Jews, Synod of Ofen, 1279.	Decree providing for compulsory sale of Jewish real estate, Dec. 3, 1938.
Jews not permitted to obtain academic degrees, Council of Basel, Sessio XIX.	Law against Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities, April 25, 1933.

Even more obvious than the Nazi copying of old Christian antisemitic legislation was the Nazi use of centuries-old Christian antisemitic libels. All the negative images created by Catholics in the early and late Middle Ages were echoed by the Nazis. Though anti-Christian (in large part because of Christianity's Jewish roots and values), the Nazis filled their speeches and journals with stories of Jews murdering non-Jews to drink their blood, and of Jews poisoning Germany's water systems. Julius Streicher, the chief Nazi antisemitic ideologist, hanged at Nuremberg for his war crimes, often appealed to the Christian instincts of his fellow Germans by describing the Jews as the "people of whom Christ said its father was the devil."[31]

Protestantism

The centuries-old Catholic antisemitism in Germany was more than matched by the virulence of the newer Protestant antisemitism.

Martin Luther (1483–1546), who was one of history's most vehement Jew-haters, was both the founder of Protestantism and the father of German nationalism. Accordingly, his antisemitic statements profoundly influenced the attitudes of nearly all Germans, not only Protestants.

In his early days, Luther was critical of Church anti-Jewish policies because he believed that such policies prevented the Jews from converting to Christianity. When Luther later realized that his approach did not prompt Jews to cease being Jews, he turned furiously against them. His later writings

against the Jews were so venomous that the Nazis often cited them. Indeed, Julius Streicher argued in his defense at the Nuremberg trials that he had never said anything about the Jews that Martin Luther had not said four hundred years earlier.[32]

Streicher was largely correct. There was a genuine similarity of themes between Luther and the Nazis, and Hitler was quite familiar with and admired the writings of Luther. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler called Luther one of the three great figures of Germany along with Frederick the Great and Richard Wagner;[33] and in conversations as early as 1918, he said: "Luther was a great man, a giant. With one blow he heralded the new dawn. . . . He saw the Jew as we are only beginning to see him today." When, on November 9, 1938, the Nazis carried out their first large-scale pogrom in which they destroyed almost all of Germany's synagogues and murdered thirty-five Jews, they announced that the pogrom was in honor of the anniversary of Martin Luther's birthday.[34]

Just as Catholic legislation anticipated virtually every Nazi anti-Jewish decree with the exception of genocide, so, too, Martin Luther had anticipated most Nazi actions against the Jews. In a pamphlet published toward the end of his life, *Concerning the Jews and Their Lies,* Luther outlined eight actions to be taken against the Jews:

Burn all synagogues.
Destroy Jewish dwellings.
Confiscate the Jews' holy books.
Forbid rabbis to teach.
Forbid Jews to travel.
Forbid Jews to charge interest on loans to non-Jews and confiscate Jewish property.
Force Jews to do physical labor.
Expel the Jews from provinces where Christians live.[35]

It is fair to say that insofar as Luther's anti-Jewish writings are concerned, the Nazis saw themselves as followers of Martin Luther. The Nazi depiction of the Jews as vermin to be exterminated echoed Luther's depiction of the Jews as "a plague, pestilence, pure misfortune in our country."[36] Owing

to the towering role he played in German national and religious thought, Luther constituted an important ally for the Nazis in the carrying out of the "Final Solution."

Conclusion

For nearly two thousand years Christian antisemitism was a reaction to Judaism. Indeed the mere act of remaining a Jew constituted, in the eyes of millions of Christians, living refutation of Christianity. Consequently, the Christian world relentlessly dehumanized the Jew, enabling the Holocaust, the ultimate consequence of this dehumanization, to take place. While it is true that many Nazis were anti-Christian (and that Nazism itself was anti-Christian), they were all, as the Jewish philosopher Eliezer Berkovits has pointed out, the children of Christians.[37] The Holocaust took place in Christian Europe. Christians must confront these facts if Christianity is to remain credible after Auschwitz, and if the Christian world is to establish a positive relationship with the Jewish people.

At the same time, however, Jews' assessments of the Christian world must adapt to the contemporary reality. While never forgetting the past, Jews must recognize that major changes have taken place, both within Protestantism and Catholicism. While there are still Jew-haters in both branches of Christianity, particularly among the extreme Right and extreme Left in Europe and South America, there are now also many Jew-lovers. Jews must recognize that in the contemporary world Christianity is often an ally rather than an oppressor of Jews. In this century, Nazism, and today Islam and the Left, have replaced Christianity as the world's foremost purveyors of antisemitism. Moreover, the ideals of both religions demand that Jews and Christians forge an alliance to "perfect the world under the rule of God." Of course, such an alliance will not develop easily. Many Jews, knowledgeable of Christianity's past, will be reluctant to believe that Christians have really changed. And many Christians will suspect that the Jews are a theological anomaly awaiting conversion to the "New Israel." But the time has come for Jews to recognize

that there have been major changes in contemporary Christianity, that there are forces, particularly in the United States and Western Europe, that are very open to the Jews. Christians, for their part, must acknowledge the horrors of Christian antisemitism and the latent antisemitic as well as blatant antisemitic elements that still live on in Christendom. They must also understand that the Jews retain their place in God's scheme despite their rejection of Christian claims for Jesus. One Christian who did was Pope John XXIII. Shortly before his death he composed this prayer: "We realize now that many, many centuries of blindness have dimmed our eyes, so that we no longer see the beauty of Thy Chosen People and no longer recognize in their faces the features of our firstborn brother. We realize that our brows are branded with the mark of Cain. Centuries long has Abel lain in blood and tears, because we had forgotten Thy love. Forgive us the curse which we unjustly laid on the name of the Jews. Forgive us that, with our curse, we crucified Thee a second time."[38]

civil rights?" asked Fichte in a book published in 1793. "I see no other way of doing this except to cut off all their heads one night and substitute other heads without a single Jewish thought in them. How shall we defend ourselves against them? I see no alternative but to conquer their promised land for them and to dispatch them all there. If they were granted civil rights they would trample on other citizens."[17] Reading Fichte's fears of the Jews' danger to Germany, it is easy to forget that the Jews numbered about 1 percent of Germany's population.

But, most important, is to understand the link between Fichte's thinking and Hitler's racial antisemitism. Fichte here paves the intellectual way to Hitler by theorizing that Jews are unchangeable, unassimilable, and unconvertible. The only way to solve the "Jewish Problem" is to "cut off all their heads" since they hold all those Jewish thoughts. Thus, for Fichte and, as we shall see, for Hitler, it is Jewish thoughts, not Jewish genes, that make the Jews Jewish.

Even Immanuel Kant, the major German thinker of the eighteenth century, though never calling for the persecution of Jews, did call for the end of Judaism and its laws: "The euthanasia of Judaism can only be achieved by means of a pure, moral religion, and the abandonment of all [its] old legal regulations."[18]

England

The one major, though partial, exception to the antisemitism of the Enlightenment took place in England. There, as early as 1689, John Locke had written the first of his four *Letters on Toleration*, stating that "Neither pagan nor Mohametan [*sic*] nor Jew ought to be excluded from the civil rights in the commonwealth because of his religion."[19] Well before the French Enlightenment, this English thinker had formulated a theory of religious tolerance, though no state yet practiced it. Among those who shared Locke's tolerant views was the deist John Toland, who in 1714 published a pamphlet, *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland.*

On the other hand it would be an error to characterize the men of the English Enlightenment as particularly sympathetic to the Jews or Judaism. The dominant philosophy of the English Enlightenment, deism, held that knowledge of God's existence and belief in an immortal soul were sufficient to prompt moral behavior. Deists rejected religions based on revelation, and vigorously attacked Judaism for, among other things, introducing this idea to the West.

They downplayed the significance of the Bible and particularly the special role of the Jews. The early seventeenth-century deists Herbert of Cherbury and John Spencer contended that Jewish ideas were copied from the Egyptians. The eighteenth-century writer Anthony Collins argued that Greek wisdom was superior to Jewish wisdom, the Jews being "an illiterate, barbarous and ridiculous people." Matthew Tindal, in a similar vein, contrasted natural religion with Jewish "barbarism." The attacks of English deists on the Bible were important sources for Voltaire's attacks on the Bible.[20]

Since most Jews continued to believe in the Bible and to follow its tenets, they were consequently perceived by many men of the English Enlightenment as acting "barbarously." Thus, in England, as on the Continent, for a Jew to be accepted in enlightened society, he had "to disassociate himself explicitly from the Jews, disavow his despised Jewish past and even condemn it."[21]

Conclusion

No violence accompanied Enlightenment antisemitism. As befits Enlightened men and women, no violence against the Jew could be tolerated, let alone called for. But Enlightenment opposition to Judaism and its particularism (that is, Jewish peoplehood) helped to lay the philosophic basis for antisemitism in the modern secular world. The Jew as Jew continued to have few friends. Antisemitism now became even

more broadly based, rooted now in Christianity, secular humanism, and nationalism, the new European faith which developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries alongside or instead of Christianity. The manifestation of any of Judaism's components now had religious, secular, and nationalistic opponents. By the twentieth century virtually every popular ideology in Europe wanted the Jews to disappear.

ELEVEN

Leftist Antisemitism

MARXISM AND SOCIALISM, like Christianity, Islam, nationalism, and the Enlightenment, were born with Jew-hatred. Their two main ideological sources, Marx and the early French socialists, developed antisemitic ideas which have characterized much of the Left to this day.

KARL MARX

The father of Marxist ideologies, Karl Marx, was born in the German city of Trier in 1818. Though descended on both parents' sides from a long line of distinguished rabbis,[1] Marx was baptized a Lutheran when he was six years old. His father, who had converted to Christianity before Karl's birth in order to continue practicing law (forbidden to Jews by new Prussian laws), baptized his children so that they would not suffer from antisemitism. It was into this self-denying world that Karl Marx was born.

Given this background, it is not surprising that one of Marx's first major essays was *On the Jewish Question.* Marx ostensibly wrote the piece as a response to philosopher Bruno

Bauer's article, "The Jewish Question," in which Bauer virulently attacked the Jews and Judaism, and argued against emancipation for the Jews until they abandon their "exclusive religion, morality and customs."[2]

Marx, in his response, though critical of some of Bauer's conclusions, did not criticize Bauer's antisemitism. Indeed, he far outdid Bauer in antisemitic vituperation. He criticized Bauer for primarily attacking religious Jews, when all who identify as Jews should be attacked: "Not only in the Pentateuch [Torah] and in the Talmud, but also in present-day society we find the essence of the modern Jew."[3] As historian Robert Wistrich notes, "Marx's hatred was therefore focused not [only] against Bruno Bauer's 'Sabbath-Jew' but rather against contemporary Jewry."[4]

On the Jewish Question is filled with a hatred of Jews and Judaism so extreme that at times it sinks to Nazi-like Jew-hatred: "What is the secular cult of the Jew? *Haggling.* What is his secular god? *Money.* Well then! Emancipation from *haggling* and *money,* from practical, real Judaism would be the self-emancipation of our time. . . ."[5] "Money is the jealous God of Israel, beside which no other God may stand."[6]

In the closing passages of *On the Jewish Question,* Marx goes so far as to identify the emancipation of humanity with the abolition of Judaism.[7]

The blatant antisemitism of *On the Jewish Question* has always proved an embarrassment to Jewish socialists who have retained a Jewish identity. For over a hundred years after its writing, Jewish socialists, who translated almost all of Marx's writings into Yiddish and Hebrew, refrained from translating Marx's only essay devoted exclusively to the Jewish question.

Others, however, have been only too pleased to translate and learn from Marx's Jew-hating essay. In 1963, for example, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published *Judaism Without Embellishment* by Trofim K. Kichko, who liberally quoted from *On the Jewish Question.* The book was so antisemitic that international protests forced the Soviet government to withdraw it from circulation. Adolf Hitler, too, claimed to have learned from Marx's essay: "It is quite enough that the scientific knowledge of the danger of Judaism is gradually

deepened and that every individual on the basis of this knowledge begins to eliminate the Jew within himself, and I am very much afraid that this beautiful thought originates from none other than a Jew."[8]

Nor was the Jew-hatred in *On the Jewish Question* an exception to Marx's views on the Jews. Marx's subsequent writings about Jews, even working-class Jews, remained uniformly contemptuous. For example, Marx described the impoverished Jewish refugees from Poland in Germany as "this filthiest of all races, [who] only perhaps by its passion for greedy gain could be related to [the Jewish capitalists of] Frankfort." The April 29, 1849 issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* which Marx then edited, accused Polish Jews of robbing churches, burning villages, and beating defenseless Poles to death—charges which were "outrageous slanders against a people who lived in daily dread of the very crimes they were accused of. . . ."[9]

A contemporary reader of Marx would conclude that wealthy capitalist Jews destroy society and that poorer Jews are too uncivilized to enter society.

Marx even dredged up the ancient libel of Manetho, who had described the Jews' exodus from Egypt as "the expulsion of a 'people of lepers' headed by an Egyptian priest named Moses."[10] And in the 1850s, Marx ridiculed those who fought for the right of Baron Rothschild to take the seat that he had won in the British House of Commons: "It is doubtful whether the British people will be very much pleased by extending electoral rights to a Jewish usurer."[11]

In keeping with his policy of equal antagonism toward rich and poor Jews, Marx ignored the plight of Jewish workers, though they lived near him in London. Likewise, he never commented on the pogroms which swept through Russia in 1881, though he often wrote on behalf of victims of oppression. Throughout his life, Marx identified Jews and Judaism with all that he hated in capitalism.[12]

Historian Edmund Silberner has noted two negative influences of Marx's anti-Jewish writings. They provoked and strengthened anti-Jewish prejudices among Christian Marxists, and they alienated Jewish Marxists from the Jewish peo-

ple.[13] The latter was evidenced most dramatically in 1891, when Abraham Cahan, a delegate to the Second Socialist International in Brussels, urged the International to condemn Europe's increasing antisemitism. To Cahan's shock, *both the Jewish and non-Jewish delegates opposed a resolution condemning antisemitism.* According to the socialists, echoing Christian, Muslim, and history's other antisemites (with the exception of the Nazis), the one answer to antisemitism was for all Jews to cease being Jews and adopt the antisemites' (in this case, socialist) identity. The final resolution of the Second International condemned "anti-Semitic and philo-Semitic [i.e., Jewish] outbursts as one of the means by which the capitalist class and reactionary governments seek to divert the socialist movement and divide the workers."[14] The socialists thereby nullified opposition to antisemitism by equating it with Judaism and labeling both as enemies of socialism.

The French Socialists

Had Socialist antisemitism been promulgated on the Left only by Karl Marx and his followers, it would have caused serious problems for Jews. But the other founders of socialism, the French socialists, were even more anti-Jewish than Marx.

George Lichtheim, one of the foremost historians of socialism, has emphasized the relevance of French socialism to subsequent leftist antisemitism, since France "was the cradle of the socialist movement" where socialism developed a full generation before it developed in Germany."[15] Lichtheim documents how from its beginning in the early 1800s, French socialism was hostile to Jews.

Charles Fourier, one of the two founders of French socialism, regarded the Jews as "parasites, merchants, usurers," whose emancipation he termed "the most shameful of all recent vices of society."[16]

Henri de Saint-Simon, the other founder of French socialism, was sympathetic to Jews, acknowledging that the socialist mission was a form of messianism derived from the Jews.

Unfortunately, as Lichtheim documents, in the French socialist community, the antisemitism of Fourier triumphed over the philosemitism of Saint-Simon.

In the decades after Fourier and Saint-Simon, strong anti-Jewish views were expressed by three leading French socialists: Alphonse Toussenel, Pierre Leroux, and Pierre Joseph Proudhon.

In 1845, Toussenel published *Les Juifs, rois de l'époque* (*The Jews: Kings of the Epoch*) which was favorably reviewed by much of the Socialist press. In this essay he developed the theme of "the cosmopolitan Jew. . . . Europe is entailed to the domination of Israel. This universal domination, of which so many conquerors have dreamed, the Jews have in their hands."[17] Similar ideas were later expressed by Proudhon.

It thus appears that the belief in Jewish world domination, a belief spread during the twentieth century through *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and used by the Nazis as a justification for genocide, was first introduced into the West's consciousness not by racists, Fascists, or Nazis, but by the Left, by socialists in nineteenth-century France.

Pierre Leroux, creator of the term socialism, identified the Jews with the despised capitalism, regarded them as the incarnation of *mammon*, and said that they lived by exploiting others. Leroux, a religious Christian, saw but one solution to the "Jewish Problem"—the conversion of all Jews to Christianity.[18]

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, one of the most important theorists of early socialism, expressed his antisemitism in his public writings in a "moderate" manner and in a more extreme form in his journals, which were published posthumously. In the journals of this great socialist, we find Nazi-like sentiments regarding the Jews. In December 1847, he outlined a program for the disappearance of Jewry: "This race poisons everything by meddling everywhere without ever joining itself to another people. Demand their expulsion from France, with the exception of individuals married to Frenchwomen. Abolish the synagogues: don't admit them to any kind of employment, pursue finally the abolition of this

cult. . . . The Jew is the enemy of the human race. One must send this race back to Asia or exterminate it. . . . By fire or fusion or by expulsion, the Jew must disappear. . . . What the peoples of the middle ages hated by instinct I hate upon reflection, and irrevocably."[19]

It is no wonder that Proudhon's disciples justified the Russian pogroms. As Lichtheim notes: "Four years after [Proudhon's] death, in 1869, his pupil George Duchene . . . [declared]: 'Citizens, when you hear it said that in a notoriously barbarous country [Russia] the population treats the Jews roughly, do not believe one treacherous word. What you have is simply a case of honest people chasing rascals, usurers, and exploiters of labor.'"[20]

Against this backdrop, the indifference of socialists to the fate of Alfred Dreyfus, the Jewish army officer falsely accused by the French government of having spied for Germany, becomes explicable. One might have expected that French socialists, hostile toward the government, Church, and military, each of which led the attack on Dreyfus, would have risen to his defense. But Dreyfus was a Jew; and for this reason alone, on January 28, 1898, the French socialist press published a manifesto calling for "non-participation in the Dreyfus Affair on the grounds that while the reaction wishes to exploit the conviction of one Jew to disqualify all Jews, Jewish capitalists would use the rehabilitation of a single Jew to wash out 'all the sins of Israel.'" Among the manifesto's signatories were the leading Socialists of the age, including Alexandre Millerand, Marcel Sembat, Jules Guesde, and Jean Jaurès.[21] When the socialists did subsequently take a stand on the Dreyfus case, they made a point of declaring that the Jewish aspect of the antisemitic affair was irrelevant.

Thus, the French socialists, with the exception of Saint-Simon and a very few others, propounded antisemitism from their very beginnings. Historian Zosa Szajkowski, in 1947, concluded his painstakingly researched article, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Anti-Semitism in France," by noting that try as he could, he could not find a single word on behalf of Jews in the whole of French socialist literature from 1820 to 1920.[22]

Communism and the Jews in the Contemporary World

In the hundred years since Marx and the French socialists there have been different socialist responses to the Jews. Social Democrats, for example, have been among the strongest supporters of Jewish rights in the world. Between 1948 and 1977 the Jewish state itself, Israel, was governed by the Labor Party, which was founded on socialist principles.

But the further Left one goes, the greater the antisemitism. Wherever Marxists have come to power they have initiated government-supported antisemitism. In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe the antisemitism has been expressed against native Jews and through support for those seeking to destroy Israel. And Third World Marxist countries in which no Jews live (such as China and Vietnam) support groups seeking to destroy Israel[23] and deny Jewish national rights (for example, voting for the United Nations resolution denouncing Zionism as racism). Marxists and Leftists in democratic societies likewise oppose Israel, Zionism, and Jewish nationalism.

Since the Communist revolution in 1917 the Soviet Union has been implacably hostile toward Jewish religious and national expressions (in 1919 Zionism was designated a counter-revolutionary movement and prohibited).[24]

Indeed, the Soviet Union's campaign to destroy the Jewish religion in the country has been largely successful. Between 1956 and 1965 the number of synagogues in Russia declined from an already very low 450 to 60. Today there may be fewer than five rabbis for the more than two million Soviet Jews, and there are no known rabbinic students. In many parts of the Soviet Union it is illegal for a male to pray in a synagogue until he has completed military service, and Soviet Jews are forbidden classes in Judaism or even the Hebrew language. The only permitted books on Judaism are printed by the party-controlled publishers and they depict Judaism as a vulgar and immoral anachronism. Characteristic of the only material about Judaism legally available in the Soviet Union

is this insight into the Jews in Trofim Kichko's *Judaism and Zionism* (Kiev, 1968): "The chauvinistic idea of the god-chosenness of the Jewish people . . . the idea of ruling over the peoples of the world. . . . Such ideas of Judaism were inculcated into the Jews first by priests and later by the Rabbis . . . and are inculcated today by Zionists, educating the Jews in the spirit of contempt and hatred towards other people. . . . The ideologists of Judaism, through the 'Holy Scriptures' teach the observant Jew to hate people of another faith and even to destroy them."[25]

While the government prints such material against Judaism and the Jews, the Jewish community is forbidden to operate a single Jewish school, let alone publish pro-Jewish books. This governmental attempt to annihilate Judaism is almost without precedent in Jewish history. Christian and Muslim antisemites, and for that matter even the Nazis during the 1930s, permitted Jewish schools. As a result of the Soviet Communists' prohibition of Jewish education, the Jews of the USSR are probably the Judaically most ignorant Jews in history.

Having succeeded in stifling the God and law components of Judaism, Soviet antisemitism now primarily attacks Jewish nationalism. The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* of 1952, *defines* Zionism as "a reactionary movement . . . which denies the class struggle and strives to isolate the Jewish working masses from the general struggle of the proletariat."

The Soviets attempt to destroy the Jewish national identity in a variety of ways. For example, well before neo-Nazi "historical revisionists" arose to deny the Holocaust, Soviet books and films on World War II have ignored, virtually to the point of denying, the Jews' Holocaust. To cite a typical instance, in a forty-minute Russian-language film shown to Soviet visitors at Auschwitz, Poland, where over three million Jews were murdered, the Jews are not mentioned.[26]

In order to obliterate Jewish nationalism, Soviet propaganda goes one step further and charges that Zionists, that is all identifying Jews, worked with the Nazis. In 1979, an art exhibit in Russia "featured a grotesque painting of Russian corpses being gloated over by a grinning Nazi soldier and a grinning

Jewish prisoner wearing a Star of David. The message: Nazis and Jews were collaborators."[27] Thus, the Soviets not only deny (by omission) the Holocaust, but actually use Nazi atrocities to increase antisemitism in the Soviet Union by identifying Nazism with Zionism.

Since the Six-Day War in 1967, all Soviet media constantly refer to the Jewish state as a Hitlerian state. The tone for this campaign was set by the late Soviet president and first secretary of the Communist party Leonid Brezhnev on July 5, 1967: "In their atrocities against the Arabs it seems they [the Israelis] want to copy the crimes of the Hitler invaders."[28] Two years later, Yury Ivanov published *Beware Zionism*, which was hailed by *Komsomolskaya Pravda* as "the first scientific and fundamental work on this subject." In this book, Ivanov describes Zionism as an ideological offshoot of Nazism.

Both of us have visited the Soviet Union (Dennis Prager, 1969, 1981; Joseph Telushkin, 1973) and have personally witnessed its antisemitism. When Dennis Prager was asked to smuggle out material by Russian Jews detailing governmental antisemitism, he asked one of the writers, Tina Brodetskaya, "If these letters are published in the West, won't you be sent to prison?" "Where do you think I am now?" she responded. In 1973, Joseph Telushkin danced with Russian Jews in front of the major synagogue on Simhat Torah, a joyous Jewish holiday. The dancing was violently stopped by the KGB, the Soviet secret police, and a Russian Jew, Dmitri Ramm, who had accompanied Telushkin to the synagogue was beaten and had his leg fractured. Both of us met Soviet Jews who had served long prison terms *solely* for seeking to learn about Judaism and/or for desiring to emigrate to Israel. In a recent case, Joseph Begun, a Jewish mathematician who taught an underground Hebrew class, was fired from his job, then convicted for not working and exiled to Siberia.

Government-inspired antisemitism, coupled with renewed Jewish pride after the Six-Day War, has led to a large migration of Soviet Jews, many of whom risked their lives to emigrate. Others did not succeed. In Novosibirsk, Siberia, in 1973, Telushkin met with a local Jew, Dr. Isaac Poltinnikov,

who had been without work and, along with his wife, Irma, and daughter, Victoria, had been terribly harassed for the three years since he and his family had applied for a visa to Israel. Finally, in 1979, after nine years of refusals, the Poltinnikovs were given permission to emigrate, but Mrs. Poltinnikov and Victoria, believing it was just a KGB trick, refused to go (on previous occasions the KGB had arrested them, subjected them to long interrogations, and killed their dog). Dr. Poltinnikov did go, and flew to Israel. The Soviets then refused Mrs. Poltinnikov and Victoria permission to join him. Irma soon thereafter died of malnutrition, and Victoria then committed suicide.

In Eastern Europe, Communist antisemitism persists even though few Jews have remained there since the Holocaust. For example, in the early 1950s, thirteen leaders of the Czech Communist party, ten of them Jews, were accused of being "Zionist agents" and hanged. These trials were ordered as one of a series of antisemitic show trials culminating in 1953 in the Soviet Union's "Doctors' Plot" in which Stalin charged a group of doctors, mostly Jews, with plotting to poison the Soviet leadership. Stalin died before the trial, but it was subsequently revealed that he was preparing to use the "Doctors' Plot" as a pretext to expel over two million Jews to Siberia. In 1968, Poland's media were dominated by "the unmasking of Zionists in Poland," though fewer than one out of every fifteen hundred Poles was Jewish.

Because there are so few Jews in Eastern Europe and because Eastern European Communism has been less totalitarian than that of the Soviet Union, Jews there have encountered less government-inspired antisemitism. Communist antisemitism in Eastern Europe, with the exception of Romania, is primarily expressed through support for terrorists and governments seeking to destroy Zionism and the Jewish homeland.

Aside from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, few Jews live in Communist-ruled societies. Nonetheless, Leftist anti-Jewish hostility remains a worldwide phenomenon. The most serious antisemitic act of the 1970s, the United Nations General Assembly resolution declaring Zionism to be racism, was the product of an Arab, Muslim, and Leftist alliance. Whereas almost the only countries opposing the resolution were democracies, every Leftist government in the world (with the exception of Romania which absented itself from the vote) declared the Jews' national movement racist and therefore illegitimate. The idea for the resolution was originally the Soviets', and among the resolution's sponsors was Cuba.[29]

Western Leftists

The Left in the West is also almost uniformly hostile to Jews and Judaism, and the further Left one is on the political spectrum the more intense is the antisemitism. Not surprisingly, Western Leftists who officially identify as Communists are the most antagonistic. In the United States, for example, the Socialist Workers party has specified that "the major task confronting American revolutionaries [as regards the Middle East] remains that of educating the radicalizing youth . . . for destruction of the state of Israel."[30] In 1972, the party's paper, *The Militant*, criticized the Palestinian terrorists' murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics only on the grounds that it made "the criminal look like the victim."[31] The Communist party U.S.A. differs from the Socialist Workers party in that it concedes Israel's right to exist, but typical of its view of Zionism is this statement in the party's journal by Hyman Lumer, the Communist Party U.S.A. theoretician on the Middle East: "Zionism is . . . in its very essence a racist ideology. It sets the Jewish people apart as a special people, a 'chosen' people—if you will, a superior people. In Israel, the Zionist rulers have created a racist state."[32]

Similar denunciations of Jewish nationalism are made today by other Communist parties in the West. Individuals on the revolutionary Left are even more aggressive. Vanessa Redgrave, for example, the Academy Award–winning actress and a member of the Central Committee of the British

Worker's Revolutionary party (a Trotskyite Communist organization) made a propaganda film for the PLO in the late 1970s. In it, Redgrave performs a sensuous dance with a PLO machine gun. Under the guise of only attacking Zionists and Zionism (the film uses the Arabic word for Jew, *Yahud*, but the English subtitles speak of "Zionists"), the movie utilizes some classic Jew-hating images. In one scene Redgrave asks a young Arab girl, "What would you do if he [a Jewish soldier] tried to kill you?" Marie Syrkin, in a critique of the film, wrote: "At this point my mind wandered to the prioress of *The Canterbury Tales* who devoutly recounts a medieval tale of a Christian child murdered by the Jews. The killing of children: the hoariest of antisemitic libels."[33]

The non-Communist far Left is similarly single-minded in its attacks on Israel and all Jews who identify with it. Let us cite a number of characteristic examples from the United States. During the 1970s the left-wing National Lawyers Guild sent a delegation to only one country in the world to examine human rights—Israel. The delegation met with PLO representatives, heard their story, and returned with a report denouncing Israel. A Jewish lawyer in the group, Dickstein, wrote a dissenting report, but the National Lawyers Guild suppressed it.[34] At the Harvard Law School in 1979 leftist Third World students sponsored a conference on "Human Rights in the Third World." As Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz reported: "At that time there were massacres in the Central African Republic, the blood of people killed by Idi Amin was still fresh in people's minds, and the atrocious record of Libya on human rights could well have been discussed. But only one item concerning human rights was placed on the agenda: 'The So-Called Nation of Israel's Terrorism and Genocide.' "[35]

The title of the Harvard Leftists' "conference" exemplifies two characteristics of contemporary left-wing antisemitism: the denial of Jewish nationhood, hence the appellation "the so-called nation of Israel," and the constant accusation of genocide against the Jewish state. The charges are related in an Orwellian manner. The denial of Jewish nationhood legitimates all efforts at annihilating the Jewish state and Zionists,

what may be truly called genocide. But this genocidal attempt against Israel is then inverted and projected from the enemies of Israel onto Israel.

Thus it is not coincidental that on one issue, the annihilation of Israel, the far Left and Nazism agree. On April 14, 1970, *The New York Times* reported that the radical Black power leader Stokely Carmichael declared: "I have never admired a White man, but the greatest of them, to my mind, was Hitler." In Chicago in October 1970, a speech by Israel's foreign minister, Abba Eban, was picketed by the far Left Youth Against War and Fascism and by the American Nazi party.

Leftist antisemitism has also deeply infected left-wing Christians. Among Protestant groups, the World Council of Churches and affiliates such as the (American) National Council of Churches have been among the major advocates of recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, though its *raison d'être* has been to destroy Israel, and though it has been the world's leading supporter of terrorism against Western democracies. Similar support has been offered by the American Friends Services Committee which represents American Quakers.

In 1976 the pro-Third World *Christian Science Monitor* was the only one of the fifty major newspapers in the United States to condemn Israel's raid on Entebbe, Uganda's airport, where PLO terrorists were about to start murdering Jewish passengers of a hijacked plane.

The same situation holds for the Catholic Church wherein Leftist theologians, clergy, and lay leaders with Third World orientations combine traditional Church resentment of the "old Israel" with the Left's resentment of the new Israel. One man who combines both motifs in his antisemitism is Archbishop Hilarian Capucci, formerly of Jerusalem. On August 18, 1974, Israeli police caught Capucci smuggling weapons and explosives for terrorists to kill Israeli civilians. Though sentenced to twelve years in prison, Israel released him after less than three years at the specific request of Pope Paul VI. Upon his release Capucci declared: "Jesus Christ was the first *fedayeen* [Arab freedom fighter]. I am just following his ex-

ample." A short time thereafter he celebrated a Mass "in protest against the genocide perpetrated against the Arab people." A Catholic journal, *Resumen*, responded to Capucci's activities with a denunciation of his "propaganda pamphlets which revive the myths which make Capucci a Jesus and the Israelis deicidal mercenaries." In January 1979 Archbishop Capucci attended meetings in Damascus of the Palestine National Council, the supreme authority of the PLO, which had earlier made him an honorary member.[36]

Whereas in the past Christian attitudes toward Jews were almost uniformly hostile, today such hostility emanates almost exclusively from Christianity's far Right and Left. On the other hand, moderate and conservative Christians in the United States are among the most aggressive supporters of Jewry and Israel's right to live.

Conclusion

The Left has opposed Jews both for their religion and nationality. The unique Jewish fusion of religion and nationality is anathema to the secularism and universalism of the Left. This partially explains why the Left, though so hospitable and supportive of the national liberation movements of almost all other peoples, is so antagonistic to the nationalism of the Jews. It was regarding this Leftist hatred of the Jews that Social Democrat Irving Howe wrote, "In the warmest of hearts there is a cold spot for the Jews."

From Marx and the French Socialists to the Soviets, the Third World, and Western Leftists today, an intense Jew-hatred has prevailed. As United States Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has said, "Antisemitism has become a unifying global ideology of the totalitarian Left."[37] And many on the non-totalitarian Left have been compromised by their "no enemies on the Left" attitude. Thus a movement founded, established, and supported in large part by Jews has come to constitute, along with the Arab/Muslim world, the Jews' greatest enemy at this time.

TWELVE

Nazi Antisemitism

Perhaps no understanding of an antisemitic ideology is so widely held and unchallenged as that which ascribes Nazi antisemitism to racism. The Nazis, so the belief goes, were racists and therefore hated Jews and all other "non-Aryans."

History and reason, however, point to a very different understanding of Nazi antisemitism. The Nazis were indeed racists when they claimed the inferiority of "non-Aryan races" (though who was "non-Aryan" had little to do with race, and much to do with politics—they did not, for example, racially denigrate the Japanese or Arabs, both allies of the Nazis). But Nazi antisemitism was not an outgrowth of racist ideology. Racism was fundamentally irrelevant to Nazi antisemitism. Attempts to subsume Nazi antisemitism under the heading of racism is another mistaken endeavor to dejudaize Jew-hatred.

The commonly accepted view of Nazi antisemitism as an expression of racism must be questioned on two scores. First, and most basic, why did the Nazis label the Jews a race? There are Jews of every race; and since anyone of any race can become a Jew, Jews can hardly constitute a race. The entire racial claim needs explanation. Why did the Nazis need

it? After all, thousands of years of pre-Nazi antisemites needed no racial basis to hate the Jews. For some reason the Nazis found in racism an explanation of antisemitism which no other ideology could supply.

Second, if racism was the basis of the Nazis' world view, why did Nazi hatred focus on the Jews to the virtual exclusion of all other "races"—including the Gypsies, who though murdered en masse were, quite unlike the Jews, incidental to the Nazi world view and not the objects of genocide?[1] And if race was the issue, why did the Nazis show such fondness for that other Semitic "race," the Arabs?

In holding the simplistic view that the Nazis hated Jews because of racism, we once again commit the fundamental error (wishful thinking?) of other modern explanations of antisemitism: we dejudaize it. In this instance it seems logically irresistible to do so: the Nazis hated "non-Aryans"; the Jews were "non-Aryans"; therefore, the Nazis hated the Jews. Yet, the Jews were the only "non-Aryans" whom the Nazis attempted to annihilate, and antisemitism, not anti-non-Aryanism, was the essence of Nazism.

It was not because of racism that Nazis hated Jews but because of their hatred of Jews that the Nazis utilized racist arguments. The Jew-hatred came first. Racial Jew-hatred was needed in order to explain the one new belief of Nazi antisemitism. Whereas former antisemites believed that a Jew could change and become like them, Hitler and the Nazis denied this possibility. Once a Jew, always a Jew. As Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "In his new language [the Jew] will express the old ideas; his inner nature has not changed . . . the Jew . . . can speak a thousand languages and nevertheless remains a Jew. His traits of character have remained the same. . . . It is always the same Jew."[2] The Jews seek to dominate the non-Jewish world through various instruments: Christianity, Marxism, socialism, capitalism, democracy. All are products of Jews and their values no matter what their non-Jewish guises.

Hitler viewed himself as insightful and courageous enough to conclude what previous antisemites had either not realized

or shirked from concluding. A Jew cannot become a non-Jew any more than a Black man can become white; the Jews' permanent "traits of character" render them a "race." Therefore any campaign directed against Jews must be directed against all of them no matter what non-Jewish religious or national identity they may hold. Their non-Jewish identity is irrelevant; they remain Jews because they have fixed characteristics that only members of a race possess. These fixed characteristics are alien Jewish ideas.

Nazi antisemitism was before all else hatred of the Jewish character, not hatred of the Jews' "non-Aryan" blood. It was, like all other forms of antisemitism, hatred of the challenges posed by Jews and Jewish values. This Jewish challenge formed the basis of the Nazi beliefs that mankind's ultimate conflict is between the Jews and the Aryans and that only one of them could survive.

By Hitler's own account in his autobiography *Mein Kampf*, he was first an antisemite, not a racist. His innovation was to amalgamate the two and develop a new program to solve "the Jewish Question" once and for all. Only racial antisemitism could correctly understand and deal with the "Jewish Problem." All other forms of antisemitism were in error. Prior to racial antisemitism, antisemites had assumed that Jews who abandoned Judaism and adopted the antisemites' values and identity could fully assimilate and become non-Jews. Antisemitic Christians believed that Jews could really become Christians; the secular nationalists expected the Jews to abandon their national identity and identify only with the nation in which they lived; and the Left demanded that Jews give up their particularism and become universalists.

To Hitler, however, all attempts to solve the "Jewish Problem" through conversion/assimilation were futile. No matter what new identity a Jew may assume, he carries subversive Jewish values with him and merely uses his new guise as a Christian, or Marxist, or German to spread his values. As Hitler put it, "the Jews speak German, but they think Jewish."

Apparently no Nazi ever stopped to question how a race

could be defined by something so unbiological as ideas and "traits of character."* Yet this notion typified Nazi thinking about the Jews. On August 23, 1936, SS-Oberscharführer Schröder, Eichmann's superior at the time, issued a statement typical of innumerable Nazi statements: "Wherever [the Jew] tries to transmit his work, his influence and his world outlook to the non-Jewish world, he discharges it in hostile ideologies, as we find in Liberalism . . . in Marxism, and not least in Christianity. These ideologies then accord with a broader concept of Jewish mentality."[3]

To cite but one other example, *Schwarze Korps*, the official publication of the SS, said in its May 15, 1935, issue: "The assimilationist minded Jews deny their race and insist on their loyalty to Germany or claim to be Christians, because they have been baptized, in order to subvert National-Socialist principles."[4]

Hitler and the Nazis had to account for the extraordinary fact that Jews have fixed "traits of character." Only race could explain this phenomenon. Once this was understood, the age-old solution to the Jewish challenge, converting the Jews to the majority identity, became utterly untenable. If you want to rid the world of the Jews' "hostile ideologies," then you must physically rid the world of the Jews. The Nazi conclusion was as rationally thought out as the means they ultimately adopted for implementing it. Every other solution had been tried and had failed; the Nazis would implement the "Final Solution."

Racism is one of two commonly held explanations for Nazi antisemitism which deny its explicitly anti-Jewish character. The second is the scapegoat thesis. According to this explanation, in order to attain power, Hitler and the Nazis needed a

* Hitler himself is reported as having told his intimate associate, Hermann Rauschning: "I know perfectly well that in the scientific sense there is no such thing as a race. As a politician I need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed on a historic basis to be abolished and an entirely new order enforced and given an intellectual basis. And for this purpose the conception of race serves me well." Hermann Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks* (London: T. Butterworth, 1939), p. 229.

scapegoat upon whom to blame the ills of Germany, and the Jews served this purpose most conveniently. The Nazis attacked the Jews not because attacking Jews was central to the Nazi world view, but because attacking the Jews was the politically wise thing to do.

The historical record unambiguously affirms the *opposite* of the scapegoat thesis. The Nazis did not attack the Jews in order to achieve power; rather they wanted power in large measure to attack the Jews.

This point is hardly a revelation. It has been most recently documented by the Holocaust historian Lucy Dawidowicz in *The War Against the Jews, 1933–1945:* "Serious people, responsible people, thought that Hitler's notions about the Jews were, at best, merely political bait for disgruntled masses, no more than ideological window dressing to cloak a naked drive for power. Yet precisely the reverse was true. Racial imperialism and the fanatic plan to destroy the Jews were the dominant passions behind the drive for power."[5]

To Hitler, the "Final Solution" to the "Jewish Problem" was more important than winning World War II. Late in the war, when the Nazis were losing, German troops were taken from the Allied fronts and deployed to murder Jews. In July 1944, when the Germans needed every train to begin their evacuation of Greece, not a single train was diverted from those taking Jews to death camps. When the Germans declared a ban on all nonmilitary rail traffic in order to free trains for a summer offensive in southern Russia, the only trains exempted were those transporting Jews to death camps.[6]

A second fact which negates the scapegoat thesis was the Nazi policy of murdering Jews. Considering the Nazis' severe manpower shortages, they should have used the Jews as slave laborers, not murdered them—that is, if the Jews were scapegoats, or even hated political enemies. Instead, the Nazis murdered the overwhelming majority of Jews who fell into their hands. Even those few Jews who were used as slave labor were usually so mistreated that they died in a matter of weeks or months. When a Nazi general, Kurt Freiherr von Grienanth, gingerly noted in September 1942 that "the prin-

ciple should be to eliminate the Jews as promptly as possible without impairing essential war work," he was demoted by Heinrich Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo, who denounced the general's proposal as a subtle effort to support the Jews.[7] To most German military leaders Germany's primary war was against the Allies, but for the Nazis, it was the war against the Jews.

A third fact undermining the scapegoat thesis is that in the early years of the Third Reich the Nazis did not want the Jews to remain in Germany where they could have been used as scapegoats; indeed, the Nazis encouraged Jews to leave Germany. In what now reads as incredible, in January 1935, Reinhard Heydrich, head of the SA, issued a directive to the Bavarian political police to cooperate with German Zionists. "The activity of the Zionist oriented youth organizations [in encouraging Jews to emigrate to Palestine] . . . lies in the interest of the National Socialists States' leadership."[8] Two months later the Nazis forbade Jewish organizations from encouraging Jews to stay in Germany. All of this was rather strange behavior toward "scapegoats."

A fourth error in the scapegoat thesis is the premise upon which it rests: that antisemitism was so politically effective in Germany that the Nazis needed to use it to achieve power. On the contrary, the major appeal of the Nazis to the German electorate was not the party's antisemitism, but its promise of economic improvement, its appeals to patriotism, and its promises to avenge Germany's humiliation from the Versailles Conference which concluded World War I. While it is true that the people who voted for the Nazis were at best indifferent to the fate of Jews, most of them did not vote for the Nazis because of the Nazis' antisemitism.[9] The most important factor in Nazi success at the polls was the economic situation in Germany.

The final refutation of the scapegoat thesis was delivered by Adolf Hitler himself in his final message to the German people. In this message, delivered just prior to committing suicide, Hitler spoke of that which was most important to him. The subject which gripped Hitler's attention to the last moments of his life was the Jews. On April 29, 1945, Adolf

Hitler addressed his final words to the German people: "*Above all* I charge the leaders of the nation and those under them to scrupulous observance of the laws of race and to the merciless opposition to the universal poisoner of all peoples, international Jewry" (emphasis ours).[10] Scapegoats to the end?

Ideological Roots of Nazi Antisemitism

Nearly every popular ideology in German history helped provide ideological soil for Nazi antisemitism: Christianity, the Enlightenment, Marxism, nationalism, and racism. The antisemitism of the first three has been discussed in separate chapters. Let us now discuss the antisemitic elements in German nationalism and racism and see how our general thesis applies to them.

German nationalist antisemites argued that German Jews had failed to fulfill their part of the bargain implicit in emancipation—that in return for citizenship, they cease being a distinct people. As German nationalism intensified, any manifestation of the Jews' national identity increased antisemitism.* In 1879, the leading historian of modern Germany, Heinrich von Treitschke, a man with both a wide scholarly and political following, published *A Word About Our Jewry*, an essay in which he set forth the conditions under which German Jews could be accepted in Germany. "What we have to demand from our Jewish fellow citizens is simple: That they become Germans, regard themselves simply and justly as Germans. . . ." They could continue practicing Judaism, Treitschke wrote, but restrict it to the private domain, and

* So strong was this German hostility to Jewish peoplehood that many German Jews decided to drop the national component of Judaism and to identify themselves as "Germans of the Mosaic persuasion," Jews whose one and only national identity was German. Many German Jews so feared accusations of "dual loyalties" that the most important nineteenth-century leader of Reform Judaism in Germany, Abraham Geiger, opposed the intervention of world Jewry on behalf of Jews in Damascus, Syria, who were victims of a "blood libel."

not try and influence Germany with Jewish values: "We do not want an era of German-Jewish mixed culture to follow after thousands of years of German civilization."[11]

In addition, Treitschke accused the Jews of having contempt for Germans. As an example, he accused the leading Jewish historian of the time, Heinrich Graetz, of preaching in his *History of the Jews*, "Deadly hatred . . . of the purest and most powerful exponents of German character, from Luther to Goethe, and Fichte. . . . And this stubborn contempt for the German *goyim* is not at all the attitude of a single fanatic." Treitschke then cites another "fanatic" Jew who, not having an exclusive German national identity, was a hostile "outsider": "Borne [an early nineteenth-century Jewish writer] was the first to introduce into our journals the peculiar shameless way of talking about the Fatherland offhand, and without any reverence, like an outsider, as if mocking of Germany did not cut deeply into the heart of every German."

It was in response to these perceived threats to German values that Treitschke wrote what later became the slogan of the Nazis: "Even in the best educated circles . . . we hear today the cry, as from one mouth 'the Jews are our misfortune.' "

Within a year of *A Word to Our Jewry*'s publication, a German students association distributed an "Anti-Semites' Petition." The petition demanded that Bismarck achieve the "emancipation of the German People from a form of Alien domination which it cannot endure for any length of time." The petition demanded an end to, or at least great restrictions on, Jewish immigration, the exclusion of Jews from government and teaching positions, and the resumption of a Jewish census. The petition was circulated mainly in Prussia where it received 225,000 signatures. A counterpetition circulated by liberal students did poorly. At the University of Göttingen, for example, the petition demanding an end to equal rights for Jews received more than twice as many signatures as the petition requesting that Jews merely be allowed to retain their equal rights.

Alongside this rising nationalist sentiment in Germany was

the racist movement which promulgated a philosophy of German/Aryan superiority counterpoised against Jewish decadence. Its most influential exponent was the English expatriate, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who in 1899 published *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, one of the most important racist and antisemitic works in modern history, and one well received by many intellectuals of the day. *The London Times Literary Supplement* (December 1919) called it "unquestionably one of the rare books that really matter."

According to *Foundations*, the future of humanity will be determined by the outcome of the epochal struggle between two "races": the Teutonic ("Aryan") and the Jewish ("Semitic"). The racial thesis of *Foundations* notwithstanding, Chamberlain's real opposition was to the Jews' values and theology, not to their race and biology.

This fact is repeatedly made clear throughout his two-volume work. One would expect a racial antisemite to hate all Jews, but Chamberlain painstakingly disassociates himself from such "crude" antisemitism: he repeatedly denied any "personal animus against individuals belonging to the Jewish nation."[12] In fact, Chamberlain dedicated *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* to a Jew, Julius Wiesner, once his professor at the University of Vienna.

It was not hatred of the Jews as a race that animated the foremost evangelist of racial antisemitism. He hated what the Jews stood for and their success in overturning others' values: "I cannot help shuddering . . . at the portentous, irremediable mistake the world made in accepting the traditions of this wretched little nation . . . as the basis of its belief."[13] He hated the Jews for their monotheism and moral values which prevented the natural human being from possessing unrestricted freedom: "The Jew came into our gay world and spoiled everything with his ominous concept of sin, his law, and his cross."[14]

The success of Chamberlain's Aryan versus Jew interpretation of history was remarkable. Within a few years of publication the book went through eight editions and "became the Bible of hundreds of thousands of Germans." Kaiser William II read it aloud to his children and sent it to all the army offi-

cers and libraries in Germany. In a letter to Chamberlain the Kaiser wrote, "You explain what was obscure, you show the way of salvation to Germany and all the rest of mankind."[15]

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries antisemitic ideologies proliferated in Germany. In addition to traditional Christian sources of antisemitism, anti-Jewish attacks now emanated from virtually all sources, including anti-Christian ones. The latter focused their animus against Judaism for, among other things, bringing forth Christianity. The very creator of the term "anti-Semitism" and founder of the Anti-Semites League, Wilhelm Marr, denounced Christianity as a "disease of the human consciousness" which was but one more manifestation of Judaism.[16] Eugen Dühring, the prominent racist of the late 1800s, argued that "Christianity is itself semitic" and that all monotheistic religions preach hatred of life.[17] Richard Wagner called for a new German religion with no Jewish or Christian influence: "Emancipation from the yoke of Judaism appears to us the foremost necessity."[18]

Hatred of Judaism for subverting pagan values and unleashing Christianity was later expressed in a song of the Hitler Youth: "Pope and Rabbi shall be no more. We want to be pagans once again. No more creeping to Churches. We are the joyous Hitler Youth. We do not need any Christian virtues. Our leader, Adolf Hitler, is our Savior."[19]

Despite such anti-Christian attitudes, however, there was always a crucial distinction between the racists' anti-Judaism and their anti-Christianity. They held all Jews accountable for alien Jewish values, including Jews who were nonreligious and assimilated. Racists held that Jewish values were embedded in Jewish blood. Christians, however, could cease being Christians and become good German Aryans by adopting an Aryan Christianity with an Aryan Jesus (Chamberlain, for example, claimed that Jesus was an Aryan completely devoid of Jewish blood), Aryan disciples, and the removal of all Jewish concepts in Christianity, such as monotheism and its universal moral code.

To most contemporary readers one of the most shocking aspects of the racist campaign against the Jews is the success it achieved in academic and educated circles. Yet the fact is that advocacy of nationalist and racist antisemitism was as widespread among intellectuals as among other Germans. A Jewish writer, B. Segel, described this in the early 1920s: "In Berlin I attended meetings which were entirely devoted to the *Protocols* [*of the Elders of Zion*]. The speaker was usually a professor, a teacher, an editor, a lawyer, or someone of that kind. The audience consisted of members of the educated class, civil servants, tradesmen, former officers, ladies, above all students. . . . Passions were whipped up to the boiling point. There in front of one, in the flesh, was the cause of all those ills [the Jews], those who made the war and brought about the defeat and engineered the revolution. . . . I observed the students. A few hours earlier they had perhaps been exerting all their mental energy in a seminar under the guidance of a world famous scholar, in an effort to solve some legal or philosophical or mathematical problem. Now young blood was boiling, eyes flashed, fists clenched, hoarse voices roared applause or vengeance. . . . Whoever dared to express a slight doubt was shouted down, often insulted and threatened. . . . German scholarship allowed belief in the genuineness of the *Protocols* and in the existence of a Jewish world conspiracy to penetrate ever more deeply into all the educated sections of the German population, so that now [1924] it is simply ineradicable. . . . None of the great German scholars (save for the late lamented Strack) rose to unmask the forgery."[20]

Nine years after this typical meeting in Berlin, Adolf Hitler was chancellor of Germany, and soon the Holocaust, the consequence of all these various German and European ideologies, was under way. When the antisemitism of these ideologies, whether Christian, nationalist, universalist Enlightenment, or racist, is understood, the Nazi destruction of European Jewry can no longer be regarded as some psychological aberration, Machiavellian need for scapegoats, or racist eruption, but as a logical consequence of Jew-hatred.

The Universality and Depth of European Antisemitism

The German brew of antisemitic ideologies was a unique one and it culminated in Germany's unleashing of the "Final Solution" of the "Jewish Problem." But thanks to the virtual universality of antisemitism, the Germans found fertile fields to sow the Holocaust throughout nearly all of Europe. The six million Jews murdered by the Nazis came from twenty-one European countries. Hitler's goal was to render at least Europe *judenrein* (free of Jews), and by 1945, he had murdered almost seven out of every ten Jews on the European Continent. In some countries, the Nazis murdered nearly every Jew. To cite the two most extreme examples, in Poland, the Nazis murdered 3 million Jews out of a prewar Jewish population of 3.3 million, and in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, 228,000 out of 253,000.

The major reason for the Nazis' success in murdering Europe's Jews was the cooperation they received from citizens of Nazi-occupied countries. This is proven by the fact that, except in Holland, wherever the local populations refused to cooperate the percentage of Jews murdered was considerably smaller than elsewhere, and in two instances almost all the Jews were saved.

One example was Denmark whose prewar Jewish population of eight thousand was mainly composed of Jews well integrated into Danish society. After the Nazi takeover in April 1940, Himmler and other top German officials repeatedly pressured Denmark to take actions against its Jewish citizens. Lucy Dawidowicz describes the events: "After Denmark came under martial law, Best [the German minister in charge of Denmark] tried to deport the Danish Jews. His plans . . . were reported on September 28 [1943] to Danish Social Democratic leaders. The Germans had scheduled the roundup of the Jews for October 1, 1943, but in an extraordinary operation involving the whole Danish people and the agreement of the Swedish government, nearly all Danish Jews were hidden

and then ferried across to Sweden, where they remained in safety until the end of the war. The Germans managed to round up some four hundred Jews, whom they sent to Theresienstadt [a concentration camp in Czechoslovakia]. The internment of the Danish Jews in Theresienstadt agitated the Danish government which repeatedly requested permission to inspect the camp. In June, 1944, such permission was granted, and the visit was made by delegates of the Danish Red Cross. As a consequence of persistent Danish interest in the deported Jews, none was sent to Auschwitz. At the end of the war, fifty-one had died in Theresienstadt of natural causes."[21]

Finland provides a second example of a Nazi-occupied nation being able to save its Jews. When Himmler visited Helsinki in July 1942, he pressured the Finns to deport their Jews to German concentration camps. The Finnish foreign minister, Rolf Witting, simply refused to consider the matter, and no Finnish Jews were murdered.

A third example of a country (in this instance an ally of Germany) where the Nazis encountered stiff resistance to the Final Solution from the populace and leadership is Bulgaria. After Bulgaria's political leaders halted the deportation of Bulgarian Jews, though not of refugee Jews living in Bulgaria, "the Germans continued to exert pressure to deport the Jews, but the counterpressure of Bulgarian opinion, especially the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, restrained the government from compliance. King Boris III, too, was opposed to deporting any but 'Communist elements.' "[22] As a result, 50,000 of the 64,000 Jews in Bulgaria survived the war.

In most of the countries the Nazis occupied, however, they received enormous local support in locating, arresting, and in Eastern Europe, even murdering the Jews. It was this support, offered enthusiastically in countries with large Jewish populations, that enabled the Final Solution to achieve its demonic success.

In Poland, with its long history of antisemitism and its large Jewish population (one-tenth of Poland's population), the Nazis were constantly aided in their program to murder all Polish Jews. When Poland became independent in 1919 it

marked the event with a series of pogroms.* During the years between the wars, severe quotas were placed on Jews in universities, and discriminatory economic regulations impoverished many Jews.[23]

The record of Polish support for Nazi actions against the Jews is recorded in many sources, nowhere more vividly than in *The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan.*[24] Kaplan, a German-born Jew living in Poland, meticulously recorded Jewish life in Poland under Nazi rule. His published diary runs from September 1, 1939, the day of the German invasion, until Kaplan's own deportation on or about August 4, 1942. Throughout the journal Kaplan writes of Poles' support for the Nazis' anti-Jewish policies. When, for example, the Nazis ordered the confiscation of almost all the Jews' property and money, Jews pleaded with longtime Christian friends to accept sums for safekeeping, but, writes Kaplan, "the Christian 'friends' refused, because their merchants association had forbidden its members to give assistance to Jews in any form whatsoever" (October 16, 1939).

The depth of Polish Jew-hatred is particularly evident in Kaplan's description of the expulsion of the Jewish community of Pultusk. The entire community, including "old men with canes and sick people on the point of death" were exiled to Poplawy. "The rabbi went with the exiles. . . . That night the Polish inhabitants of the village attacked the rabbi, beat him up, and stole his last pennies. They stole the money from the rest of the exiles as they were leaving the village. The crowd cheered them all and emptied their pockets" (October

* A popular Jewish joke of the interwar period bears witness to the depth of Polish antisemitism. "Ignace J. Paderewski, post-war premier of Poland, was discussing his country's affairs with the late President Wilson. 'If all our demands are not granted at the peace conference,' said Mr. Paderewski, 'I can foresee serious trouble in my country. Why, my people will be so irritated that many of them will go out and massacre the Jews.' 'And what will happen if your demands are granted?' asked Mr. Wilson. Replied Paderewski, 'Why, my people will be so happy that many of them will get drunk and go out and massacre the Jews.' " (S. Felix Mendelsohn, *The Jew Laughs*, p. 46.)

26, 1939). To cite one other example, Kaplan notes that in the early days of the occupation before the Nazis had ghettoized the Jews, when Jews and Poles waited on bread lines for food, the Poles, "Even though . . . they do not know German . . . have nevertheless learned to say 'Ein Jude' in order to get [a Jew] thrown out of line" (October 5, 1939).

But what may most reveal the depth of Polish antisemitism is that most of the Poles in the anti-Nazi underground refused to help Polish Jews even during the latter's revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto. And a few months after the revolt's failure, on September 15, 1943, General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski of the Armia Krajowa, the main Polish underground force, ordered that Jewish anti-Nazi fighters be liquidated.[25] Though moving individual instances of Poles risking their lives to save Jews are recorded, such as the seven Poles who smuggled arms into the Warsaw Ghetto, Poles overwhelmingly reacted to the Nazi genocide of the Jews with, at best, indifference, and very often, support. Only with Polish cooperation could the Nazis have murdered over 90 percent of the three million Jews of Poland. And it is not coincidental that every major Nazi death camp was located in Poland.

Hitler's actions against the Jews were also abetted by his ally from 1939 to 1941, Joseph Stalin. When Nazi foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop met with Stalin to discuss the Russian-German partition of Poland, they also discussed Germany's treatment of the Jews. Von Ribbentrop reported Stalin's response: "The Polish national problem might be dealt with as Germany saw fit," a statement which the Germans understood as supportive of their anti-Jewish actions.[26] Though Stalin knew about Nazi persecution of Polish Jews from 1939 on, he kept this information secret. As a consequence, when the Germans broke their alliance with the Communists and invaded Russia in 1941, Russian Jews had no idea that the Nazis intended to murder them. The effects of this ignorance were catastrophic. Oblivious to the Nazi designs, the Jews in occupied Soviet territories at first made no attempt to resist the Nazis or even flee. When the Nazis ordered local Jewish leaders to gather all the Jews for resettlement to a "Jewish region," the Jews obeyed. When the Jews

did gather, *Einsatzgruppen*, Nazi mobile killing units, together with "local Ukrainian, White Russian, or Latvian militia would transport the Jews outside the town and murder them all—men, women, and children—by machine-gun fire within abandoned dugouts and ravines."[27]

The Nazis were able to rely on local support of this kind throughout Eastern Europe. As soon as the Nazis captured Kovno, Lithuania, gangs of Lithuanians murdered 3800 Jews on June 25 and 26, 1941. Upon capturing Lvov, in the Ukraine, the Nazis immediately organized a Ukrainian militia which murdered 7000 Jews on July 2 and 3. Historian Shmuel Ettinger has noted that the actions of the Ukrainians were so immediate and precipitate that "the murders were halted by order of the Germans" who wished to bring greater order to the genocide campaign. That fall, at the end of September, on Yom Kippur, 1941, Germans and Ukrainians murdered at least 34,000 Jews in Babi Yar, near Kiev.

The Romanians also participated in the murder of the Jews. On June 28, 1941, bloody pogroms were carried out there, and 7000 Jews were murdered. Later, the Romanians established concentration camps for the Jews. By the war's end 300,000 Romanian Jews had been murdered through the joint efforts of the Nazis and Romanians.

In March 1942, the leader of the Slovak People's party, Father Joseph Tiso, a Catholic priest, agreed to expel the Jews of Slovakia. After his Fascist Hlinka Guard conducted massive manhunts for Jews, 35,000 were sent eastward to be murdered in the death camps. A Slovakian rabbi went to Archbishop Kametko and asked him to influence his former private secretary Tiso to stop the expulsions. The archbishop responded: "This is no mere expulsion. There you will not die of hunger and pestilence; there they will slaughter you all, old and young, women and children, in one day. This is your punishment for the death of our Redeemer. There is only one hope for you—to convert all to our religion. Then I shall effect the annulling of this decree."[28]

In the fall of 1944, Rabbi M. D. Weissmandel escaped while en route to a concentration camp, and met with the papal nuncio, describing for him the horrors of the Jews in

temporary camps awaiting deportation to Auschwitz. He begged the papal nuncio to intervene with Tiso. The papal nuncio answered: "This, being a Sunday, is a holy day for us. Neither I nor Father Tiso occupy ourselves with profane matters on this day." Weissmandel persisted, arguing that the lives of innocent human beings, including infants and children, were not a profane matter. The papal nuncio responded: "There is no innocent blood of Jewish children in the world. All Jewish blood is guilty. You have to die. This is the punishment that has been awaiting you because of that sin" [the death of Jesus].

Shmuel Ettinger has summarized the support given by the people of Eastern Europe in the Nazi war against the Jews: "The most active accomplices of the Germans in these acts of extermination were the Ukrainians and Lithuanians, but they had many helpers among the Croatians, Rumanians, Hungarians and Slovaks. . . . Their police personnel were willing to search tirelessly for days and even weeks in order to hunt down one concealed Jewish child. Though Poland was notorious for her antisemitism, it is a fact that the number of Jews hidden and saved there by the local population was many times higher than in Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia. . . . [But] it is not by chance that Poland was chosen as the country of extermination. The Polish people . . . [did not] lift a finger to help the Jews, even in the worst days of mass murder, or during the Warsaw ghetto uprising. There were many Poles who handed escaping Jews over to the Nazis. Nevertheless, there were some Poles, mainly in the monasteries, who were shocked at the brutal murders, and particularly the slaughter of young children, and attempted to save them. Through them several thousand Jewish children were saved in Poland."[29]

There is no question that in Western Europe the Nazis took greater care in carrying out the Final Solution, knowing that anti-Jewish feelings were less intense there. As a result, except for Holland, the percentage of Jews murdered in Western Europe was considerably less than in Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, the Nazis were also extended extensive cooperation in Western Europe as well. In France, for example, the

Nazis required French cooperation to carry out the Jewish deportations, since the Germans lacked the manpower to do it alone. On June 11, 1941, the Nazis formulated plans to round up all Jews between the ages of sixteen and forty. Pierre Laval, vice-prime minister in Vichy, unoccupied France, informed the Germans that he would not use French police to round up Jews who were French citizens. But he did order the French police to turn over to the Nazis the 64,070 Jewish refugees in Paris, including children under sixteen years of age. By mid-July French police had delivered 4051 Jewish children under the age of sixteen into the hands of the Nazis, Jews whom the Nazis themselves had not ordered rounded up. These children were subsequently sent to Auschwitz.[30]

Virtually every ideology and nationality in Europe had been saturated with Jew-hatred by the time the Nazis developed the Final Solution. Over the preceding decades and centuries essential elements of Christianity, Marxism and socialism, nationalism, and Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thought had ruled the existence of the Jews to be intolerable. In the final analysis they all would have opposed what Hitler had done, but without them Hitler could not have done it.

THIRTEEN

Anti-Zionist Antisemitism

UNTIL THE HOLOCAUST, enemies of the Jews, whether pagans, Christians, Muslims, men of the Enlightenment, Leftists, or Nazis, proudly and publicly espoused their opposition to the Jews.[1] Since the revelations of the Nazi crimes, however, it has become taboo to call oneself an opponent of the Jews, and today, for the first time in history, antisemites deny that they are antisemites. In fact, contemporary antisemites often go one step further and insist that they actually like Jews. The Soviet Union, one of the most antisemitic governments and societies in the world, not only denies being antisemitic, but boasts of being the only society to have actually eliminated antisemitism, and the only one to have outlawed it in its constitution, an act initiated by the well-known patron of the Jews, Joseph Stalin. Similarly, Arabs whose proclaimed policy it is to destroy the Jewish homeland often claim to be friends and admirers of Jews. If one is to take such people by their words, there are no more antisemites on the face of the earth. Since the revelations of the Holocaust the most hated people in history no longer have a single enemy.

It is clear that what has taken place among antisemites is only a change in rhetoric. Hitler and Eichmann have ren-

NCS -
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29 July 94

Yisrael Pensack
688-24th Ave.
San Francisco CA 94121

Dear Yisrael:

A while back you called with a reference I was to look up. I was totally absorbed meeting a deadline at the time. Now, my notes are so hasty, I need written help. Here is what I have:

"Fundamental Fallacy of Socialism," 1908, Minifiche CAB, ATLA Monograph Presn. Prog, Fiche 1986-1010

The Presn. Prog is pretty garbled. Please remind me what it means.

Your help would be appreciated.

Faithfully,

M.

See attached pages

I believe I already sent you excerpts from "The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921" by John Tracy Ellis which includes the Latin text of the letter from Cardinal Simeoni re the secret condemnation of P&P by the Inquisition.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY OF SOCIALISM

AN EXPOSITION OF THE QUESTION OF LANDOWNERSHIP

COMPRISING AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE FAMOUS McGLYNN CASE

EDITED BY

ARTHUR PREUSS

EDITOR OF THE CATHOLIC FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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the question. . . ." Undoubtedly they ought to close it, and we venture to maintain that they do close it. For they make it evident beyond even the possibility of a doubt, that the judgment which declared the land theory advocated by Dr. McGlynn to contain nothing contrary to Catholic teaching, was not a "declaration from ecclesiastical authority," but the opinion of the four professors who had been called upon to examine Dr. McGlynn's statement. These learned professors acted merely as private theologians. Their decision, therefore, carries no more authority than that which utterances of scholars generally carry. But after all, did their learning keep the four professors from making a *wrong* decision? Alas! it did not. Their decision is so manifestly erroneous that it has always been and is still a mystery how they could arrive at it.

We have demonstrated, by a minute and accurate examination of the tenets of Henry George and Dr. McGlynn, that their doctrine is substantially the same. We have demonstrated that their whole economic teaching is essentially embodied in the statement: there is no private, but only common ownership in land. We have, finally, demonstrated that this doctrine openly conflicts with natural reason, with the explicit teaching of Leo XIII., and with Holy Scripture. The opinion, therefore, of the professors who pronounced the Henry George-McGlynn Land Theory to contain nothing contrary to the teaching of the Church, has no value whatever. And in the reinstatement of Dr. McGlynn, as well as in the events connected with it, there is nothing that could in truth be construed as a doctrinal decision or judgment from any ecclesiastical authority. The action of the Apostolic Delegate in the McGlynn case was of merely disciplinary character.

Those who followed the events occurring soon after the arrival of Msgr. Satolli in this country, will remember what a surprise to the public was the news of Dr. McGlynn's restoration, on December 23rd, 1892. Catholic writers and lecturers had stigmatized Henry George's theory of landownership as contrary to the teachings of the Church and of Holy Writ. Dr. McGlynn, who had made the Georgian tenets his own, had chiefly on that account come in conflict with his ecclesiastical superiors. Nevertheless he was absolved from censure by Msgr. Satolli with-

ditions and without any recantation of his former teaching.—

The *New International Encyclopædia* gives the following summary of Dr. McGlynn's career: "He was born in New York, September 27th, 1837, of Irish parents. He was educated at the Propaganda in Rome, was ordained there, and in 1866 became pastor of Saint Stephen's Church in New York, but in 1886 was removed by the Archbishop, on account of his opposition to parochial schools, and especially because of his persistent advocacy of Henry George's Single Tax theories, which were declared at variance with Roman Catholic teachings. He was soon after summoned to Rome to give an account of himself, but he refused to go. On the contrary, he boldly advocated in public the doctrine 'no politics from Rome.' In July, 1887, he was excommunicated. In December, 1892, after a hearing before the Apostolic Delegate, Msgr. Satolli, he made his submission and was restored to his priestly functions. He was in charge of a parish in Newburgh, N. Y., until his death, Jan. 7th, 1900. He aided in founding the Anti-Poverty Society, and became its president (1887)."

Dr. McGlynn's absolution from ecclesiastical censures at the hands of the Apostolic Delegate was, under the circumstances, a great humiliation for Archbishop Corrigan; for it made the steps which had been taken against the Doctor by his immediate ecclesiastical superior appear before the whole world as arbitrary and unjust. Yet the saintly Archbishop never uttered a word of protest, but preferred to be silent, after the example of his Divine Master.[1]

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THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY OF SOCIALISM

AN EXPOSITION OF THE QUESTION OF LANDOWNERSHIP

COMPRISING AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE FAMOUS McGLYNN CASE

EDITED BY

ARTHUR PREUSS

EDITOR OF THE CATHOLIC FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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the question. . . ." Undoubtedly they ought to close it, and we venture to maintain that they do close it. For they make it evident beyond even the possibility of a doubt, that the judgment which declared the land theory advocated by Dr. McGlynn to contain nothing contrary to Catholic teaching, was not a "declaration from ecclesiastical authority," but the opinion of the four professors who had been called upon to examine Dr. McGlynn's statement. These learned professors acted merely as private theologians. Their decision, therefore, carries no more authority than that which utterances of scholars generally carry. But after all, did their learning keep the four professors from making a *wrong* decision? Alas! it did not. Their decision is so manifestly erroneous that it has always been and is still a mystery how they could arrive at it.

We have demonstrated, by a minute and accurate examination of the tenets of Henry George and Dr. McGlynn, that their doctrine is substantially the same. We have demonstrated that their whole economic teaching is essentially embodied in the statement: there is no private, but only common ownership in land. We have, finally, demonstrated that this doctrine openly conflicts with natural reason, with the explicit teaching of Leo XIII., and with Holy Scripture. The opinion, therefore, of the professors who pronounced the Henry George-McGlynn Land Theory to contain nothing contrary to the teaching of the Church, has no value whatever. And in the reinstatement of Dr. McGlynn, as well as in the events connected with it, there is nothing that could in truth be construed as a doctrinal decision or judgment from any ecclesiastical authority. The action of the Apostolic Delegate in the McGlynn case was of merely disciplinary character.

Those who followed the events occurring soon after the arrival of Msgr. Satolli in this country, will remember what a surprise to the public was the news of Dr. McGlynn's restoration, on December 23rd, 1892. Catholic writers and lecturers had stigmatized Henry George's theory of landownership as contrary to the teachings of the Church and of Holy Writ. Dr. McGlynn, who had made the Georgian tenets his own, had chiefly on that account come in conflict with his ecclesiastical superiors. Nevertheless he was absolved from censure by Msgr. Satolli with-

ditions and without any recantation of his former teaching.—

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