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## **POLEMICS & EXCHANGES**

#### On Self-Hatred

I have generally found myself agreeing with Jacob Neusner in his articles for Chronicles. I must, however, question his interpretation ("Haters and Self-Haters," October 1996) of the "Anti-Jewists" excoriated by Edward Alexander in The Jewish Wars: Reflections by One of the Belligerents. The phenomenon of a people "so emotionally and mentally twisted" as to despise their own brethren and hold their defenders to a higher standard of behavior than their enemies is commonplace in the West. The history of conflicts between Westerners and the Third World since 1945 provides many examples of this pathology. If anything, Israel has suffered less than have other Western states. Jewish self-hatred is only a minor variant of the phenomenon of white self-hatred.

Let us merely compare the horror expressed by Western and Israeli liberals over the Lod Airport massacre and the various hijackings with the absence of any response (save joy) over the downing of two Rhodesian Viscount airliners by Nkomo's guerrillas. The threat by Arafat and others to "drive the Jews into the sea" has been rightly denounced even by "self-haters" such as Michael Lerner. However, the 1.3 million European colonists in Algeria, people who actually suffered the fate threatened for the Jews, have received little pity, even from the right, in France or anywhere else. As Ionesco wrote: "They never show us how the Algerians put out the eyes of French children, that's not done"; rather French playwrights invited their countrymen to condemn the sins of the White Man.

The examples are endless: one Somali is killed and the entire Canadian Airborne Regiment is disbanded. Even against white enemics Western armies are held to a ridiculously unwarlike standard. On "Bloody Sunday," 12 Irish Catholics (all adult males) were killed by British paras; the British government was thrown into panic and the army was excoriated by the media. The Israeli establishment was rather more thick-skinned in its response to civilian casualties in the Intifada.

Recently, Mr. David Geffen, the personification of both the Jewish left and

the American media elite, hosted a dinner in honor of General Ariel Sharon. Can one imagine a similar fete for General Westmoreland (let alone Generals Challe or Salan) from such a source? Indeed, to see the comparatively benign view of Israel held by the Western intelligentsia we need only recall the response of the mainstream media to the invasion of Israel in 1973 and their rather less melodramatic treatment of the invasion of South Vietnam in 1975.

It may be in particularly poor taste to compare Jews with the Nazis. However, one might wish that American, British, French, Rhodesian, and South African soldiers who actually fought the Nazis would be spared the comparison as well. Of course, this has not been the case. Professor Neusner is mistaking an epiphenomenon of Western self-hatred for a unique Jewish malady. If Jewish communities suffered from a selfloathing comparable to that of France in the 1960's or white America today, there would be no Jewish state. Both Professor Neusner and Professor Alexander should contemplate this before attacking Pat Buchanan. Mr. Buchanan has American wars to fight before he can concern himself with Jewish ones. However, a good first step for Zionists seeking the sympathy of American paleoconservatives would be to recognize a commonality of interests. A white American living in the Southwest today is as much under siege as a Jewish settler on the West Bank. If American supporters of Israel acknowledged this fact, I'm sure they would find the attitude of Mr. Buchanan and his supporters greatly changed in their favor.

—Steven Schwamenfeld Dundee, NY

# On Gay Teen Suicide

Philip Jenkins writes in his October article ("One in Ten: A Gay Mythology"): "The construction of the 'epidemic' is a damning indictment of the use of social science in political debate, and the uncritical way in which tendentious statistics are accepted as fact. Briefly, gay teen suicide is an outright myth." A few sentences later, Mr. Jenkins speaks of "a

restrained and scholarly piece" in a collection on teen suicide that "noted the scholarly consensus that homosexuals were two or three times more likely to kill themselves than heterosexuals, a wellsubstantiated finding."

No doubt Mr. Jenkins' two sentences can be made vaguely concordant (or at least not so obviously discordant) by some fancy footwork. He could, for example, argue that his acknowledgment that homosexuals have a much higher suicide rate does not justify the description "epidemic" (because the absolute numbers or degree of contagiousness are insufficient to meet the definition). But such arguments are not sufficient to preclude the reader's suspicion that the moral beliefs of Mr. Jenkins (which are, being moral beliefs, inherently tendentious) play a big role in determining which statistics he will welcome and which he will reject as biased or mistaken. Indeed, they seem to me somewhat indefensibly unempathetic. You better believe that, if Jews had a suicide rate two to three times higher than non-Jews, I'd call it an "epidemic" and not give a damn that the term might be slightly hyperbolic.

None of this is to deny the correctness of Mr. Jenkins' argument that proponents of "Gay Studies" have a purely ideological agenda, one that, as Mr. Jenkins demonstrates, is seen clearly in the continuing invocation of the ten percent myth. My point is merely that the only way to defeat the ideological emotionalism that now invests so much "research" is to demonstrate in rigorous logical and empirical ways the incorrectness of the arguments of the ideologues. The tendentiousness of the argument must be assessed on the basis of its logic and evidence, not the appeal of its conclusion. Assessing the correctness of a conclusion on the basis of the appeal of that conclusion is precisely the thing we are fighting against.

—Steven Goldberg Chairman, Department of Sociology City College New York, NY

## On Basque Terrorists

Regarding Michael Washburn's comments about Basque nationalism (Cultural Revolutions, November 1996), let me say that the "nationalism" espoused

by the terrorist ETA organization (and its political counterpart, Herri Batsuna) has little to do with the traditional movement by the Basques (or, for that matter, by the Catalans, Galicians, or other Spanish "nationalities") for autonomy and self-determination and much more to do with Marxist "liberation."

I was resident in Pamplona during the years 1972-75 (at the Catholic University of Navarra), completing doctoral work on Spanish Carlism, in particular on "fueros" (what the late Frederick Wilhelmsen called the "Spanish equivalent to Southern states' rights"—the regional rights, statutes, and privileges which set the Basque provinces off from the rest of Spain). Historically, the Basque provinces (Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava) formed a part either of the Kingdom of Navarra or of Castille. They possessed their own set of "fueros," which Spanish sovereigns (or their representatives) swore to respect. In the 19th century, the Carlist kings and succeeding legitimist claimants made a point of swearing to uphold customary Basque states' rights, "los fueros," and to reverse the centralizing tendencies spawned by the liberal state of Isabella II and Alfonso XII. In turn, the Basques enthusiastically fought at the side of the Carlists in three bloody civil wars.

By the 1930's some Basque political leaders, influenced by liberal political theory, began to move away from historic regionalism toward a more militant "nationalism." The PNV, the Basque Nationalist Party, after some painful hesitation, even supported the Spanish Republic during the "Cruzada" of 1936-39,

despite the Republic's open anticlericalism and their own avowed Catholic confessionalism. Even so, sentiment in the Basque provinces, from 1936-39, was split down the middle in what my traditionalist friends have called "the last Carlist War." Support for a Carlist, regionalist solution continued to be strong in Basque areas.

The ETA organization uses terror, bombings, and assassinations to achieve ends which have little to do with the historic rights and traditions of the Basque people. ETA, like GRAPO and other violent groups, is the logical result of 19th-century liberalism and its parent, the French Revolution. By deifying the powerful, centralized, nationalist state—freed from historic and traditional restraints, and above all, freed from God—liberal political theory made it possible for "minorities" to assert the same principles to argue for their "liberation."

Latter-day Spanish traditionalist writers, in particular Francisco Elias de Tejada and Rafael Gambra Ciudad, have argued convincingly that economic decentralization and the rebirth of historic regionalism are the only means of sparing Spain (and Europe) from a deceptive statist nationalism. They have also highlighted the crucial role the Church must play.

I would hope to see more of this in the pages of *Chronicles*, rather than accounts of assassins.

—Dr. Boyd D. Cathey Wendell, NC

### -CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS-

THE "DEFENSE OF MARRIAGE Act" was making its way through Congress as these lines were being written. Having passed the House, the debate was turned, by the "good" offices of Senator Edward Kennedy, into a joint defense of marriage and homosexual rights bill. Gay activists were exultant that their concerns were getting a hearing in the august body known as the Senate. The Defense of Marriage Act was passed, 84 to 14; the proposal to create new federal civil rights for homosexuals narrowly failed, 50 to 49. The attempt to turn the "defense of marriage"

debate into a vehicle for federalizing gay rights is a further example of the inability of the federal government to do even just one good thing without attaching at least one bad or even worse thing to it.

The old Book of Common Prayer (Episcopal) and the Book of Common Worship (Presbyterian) refer to marriage as "an honorable Estate, established by God, regulated by His commandments." The *Chicago Tribune*, which has gradually degenerated from its self-styled role as "the world's greatest newspaper" to serving as a public relations organ for cultural degeneration, headlined