

# Words [Rev. 20180816]

By J — Latest revision: <http://allis.foundation/Words.pdf>



ABOVE: PHOTOGRAPH BY STINA SIEG FOR KJZZ, "WHEN DANIEL HARROTT'S (BACK CENTER) CHILDREN—JOSHUA (FRONT) AND MASON (RIGHT)—CAME OUT AS TRANS, HE REALIZED HE COULD, TOO. SOON, HE MET SHIRLEY, A TRANS WOMAN." \*1

## The School-To-Mass-Murder Pipeline

Nikolas Cruz's psychosis ended in a bloody massacre not only because of the stunning incompetence of the Broward County Sheriff's Department. It was also the result of liberal insanity working exactly as it was intended to.

School and law enforcement officials knew Cruz was a ticking time bomb. They did nothing because of a deliberate, willful, bragged-about policy to end the "school-to-prison pipeline." This is the feature part of the story, not the bug part.

If Cruz had taken out full-page ads in the local newspapers, he could not have demonstrated more clearly that he was a dangerous psychotic. He assaulted students, cursed out teachers, kicked in classroom doors, started fist fights, threw chairs, threatened to kill other students, mutilated small animals, pulled a rifle on his mother, drank gasoline and cut himself, among other "red flags."

Over and over again, students at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School reported Cruz's terrifying behavior to school administrators, including Kelvin Greenleaf, "security specialist," and Peter Mahmood, head of JROTC.

At least three students showed school administrators Cruz's near-constant messages threatening to kill them—e.g., "I am going to enjoy seeing you down on the grass," "Im going to watch ypu bleed," "iam going to shoot you dead"—including one that came with a photo of Cruz's guns. They warned school authorities that he was bringing weapons to school. They filed written reports.

Threatening to kill someone is a felony. In addition to locking Cruz away for a while, having a felony record would have prevented him from purchasing a gun.

All the school had to do was risk Cruz not going to college, and depriving Yale University of a Latino class member, by reporting a few of his felonies—and there would have been no mass shooting.

But Cruz was never arrested. He wasn't referred to law enforcement. He wasn't even expelled.

Instead, Cruz was just moved around from school to school—six transfers in three years. But he was always sent back to Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, in order to mainstream him, so that he could get a good job someday!

The moronic idea behind the "school-to-prison pipeline" is that the only reason so many "black and brown bodies" are in prison is because they were disciplined in high school, diminishing their opportunities. End the discipline and ... problem solved!

It's like "The Wizard of Oz" in reverse. The Wizard told the Scarecrow: You don't need an education, you just need a diploma! The school-to-prison pipeline idiocy tells students: You don't need to behave in high school, you just need to leave with no criminal record!

Of course, killjoys will say that removing the consequences of bad behavior only encourages more bad behavior. But that's not the view of Learned Professionals, who took summer courses at Michigan State Ed School.

In a stroke of genius, they realized that the only problem criminals have is that people keep lists of their criminal activities. It's the list that prevents them from getting into M.I.T. and designing space stations on Mars. Where they will cure cancer.

This primitive, stone-age thinking was made official Broward County policy in a Nov. 5, 2013, agreement titled "Collaborative Agreement on School Discipline."

The first "whereas" clause of the agreement states that "the use of arrests and referrals to the criminal justice system may decrease a student's chance of graduation, entering higher education, joining the military and getting a job."

Get it? It's the arrest—not the behavior that led to the arrest—that reduces a student's chance at a successful life. (For example, just look at how much the district's refusal to arrest Nikolas Cruz helped him!)

The agreement's third "whereas" clause specifically cites "students of color" as victims of the old, racist policy of treating criminal behavior criminally.

Say, in the middle of a drive to cut back on the arrest or expulsion of "students of color," how do you suppose the school dealt with a kid named "Nikolas Cruz"? Might there be some connection between his Hispanic last name and the school's abject refusal to do anything about Cruz's repeated criminal behavior?

Just a few months ago, the superintendent of Broward County Public Schools, Robert W. Runcie, was actually bragging about how student arrests had plummeted under his bold leadership.

When he took over in 2011, the district had "the highest number of school-related arrests in the state." But today, he boasted, Broward has "one of the lowest rates of arrest in the state." By the simple expedient of ignoring criminal behavior, student arrests had declined by a whopping 78 percent.

FOOTBALL COACH: "When I took over this team a year ago, we were last in the league in pass defense. Today, we no longer keep that statistic!"

When it comes to spectacular crimes, it's usually hard to say how it could have been prevented. But in this case, we have a paper trail. In the pursuit of a demented ideology, specific people agreed not to report, arrest or prosecute dangerous students like Nikolas Cruz.

These were the parties to the ... agreement that ensured Cruz would be out on the street with full access to firearms:

Robert W. Runcie, Superintendent of Schools

Peter M. Weinstein, Chief Judge of the 17th Judicial Circuit

Michael J. Satz, State Attorney

Howard Finkelstein, Public Defender

Scott Israel, Broward County Sheriff

Franklin Adderley, Chief of the Fort Lauderdale Police Department

Wansley Walters, Secretary of the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice

Marsha Ellison, President of the Fort Lauderdale Branch of the NAACP/Chair of the Juvenile Justice Advisory Board

Nikolas Cruz may be crazy, but the parties to that agreement are crazy, too. They decided to make high school students their guinea pigs for an experiment based on a noxious ideology. The blood of 17 people is on their hands. "2

"The point of the demoralization process was to get people to where they cannot come to sensible conclusions about what is right and what is wrong, about what is true and what is false. Exposure to true information does not matter anymore. A person who is demoralized is unable to assess true information. The facts tell nothing to him. Even if I shower him with information, with authentic proof, with documents and pictures, even if I take him by force and show him the actual, material physical proof, he will refuse to believe it, until he receives a kick on his fat bottom. So, America is basically stuck with demoralization. Even if you start right now, this minute, educating a new generation of Americans, it will still take you fifteen to twenty years to turn the tide of ideological perception of reality back to normalcy." — *Yuri Bezmenov, KGB Defector*

"When a self-aware evildoer is led to stop evil-doing, he is being drawn inexorably by God out of the jurisdiction of the rulers of evil. This is "coming out of Babylon," and it's not easy. It's as hard on the body as stopping smoking, drugs, or toxic diets. How to leave the addiction of Babylon is not taught in any religious institution that I know of, Christian or otherwise. One learns only from humbly reading the Bible, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit and others who have come out." — *Tupper Saussy*

# New View Calls Environmental Policy Misguided

A generation after the United States responded to poisoned streams and filthy air with the world's first comprehensive strategy to protect the environment, many scientists, economists and Government officials have reached the dismaying conclusion that much of America's environmental program has gone seriously awry.

These experts say that in the last 15 years environmental policy has too often evolved largely in reaction to popular panics, not in response to sound scientific analyses of which environmental hazards present the greatest risks.

As a result, many scientists and public health specialists say, billions of dollars are wasted each year in battling problems that are no longer considered especially dangerous, leaving little money for others that cause far more harm.

## At First, Clear Benefits

In the first wave of the modern environmental movement, starting about 30 years ago, the focus was on broad efforts to eliminate the most visible pollution pouring from smokestacks and sewer pipes—programs with clear goals that had obvious benefits.

But a second wave began in the late 1970's, with a new strategy intended to limit visible pollution further—and to begin attacking invisible threats from toxic substances.

To that end, states and the Federal Government began writing sweeping environmental laws, some of which included strict regulations to insure that certain toxic compounds were not present in air, water or the ground at levels that did not exceed a few parts per billion, concentrations that could be measured with only the most sophisticated equipment.

The result was a tangle of regulations that the Environmental Protection Agency estimates cost more than \$140 billion a year, roughly \$100 billion spent by industry and \$40 billion by Government.

But what is now becoming apparent, some scientists and public health specialists say, is that some of these laws—written in reaction to popular concerns about toxic waste dumps or asbestos in the schools, as examples—were based on little if any sound research about the true nature of the threat. Since 1980, for instance, thousands of regulations were written to restrict compounds that had caused cancer in rats or mice, even though these animal studies often fail to predict how the compounds might affect humans.

And with rare exceptions, Congress approved new laws without subjecting them to even rudimentary cost-benefit analyses. One reason was that during the 1980's, when the economy seemed healthier, there was far less pressure on Congress to consider the cost of environmental policy.

## Overpriced and Misguided?

Now a new Administration intent on strengthening environmental policy is settling into office when competition for scarce financial resources is keen. At the same time, a wealth of new research shows that some of the nation's environmental protection efforts are excessively costly—though no one knows how much of this money is misspent—and devoted to the wrong problems.

This view is the vanguard of a new, third wave of environmentalism that is sweeping across America. It began in the late 1980's among farmers, homeowners and others who were upset largely by the growing cost of regulations that didn't appear to bring any measurable benefits. Corporate executives had long been making similar arguments but had gone unheeded, even during 12 years of Republican rule, because often they were seen as interested only in saving money.

Richard J. Mahoney, chairman and chief executive of Monsanto, the chemical company, said the nation may start listening to industry now.

"People want to know, even with the environment, what we are getting for our money," he said. "The most positive thing since the election is that we are beginning to recognize that we do have finite resources, and one must make choices."

But leaders of the nation's conservation organizations believe the new view is misguided.

"We don't need a new paradigm," said David D. Doniger, a senior lawyer with the Natural Resources Defense Council. "For 35 years, the policy of the Government has been that when there is uncertainty about a threat it is better to be safe than sorry. When you are operating at the limits of what science knows, the big mistake would be to underestimate the real danger and leave people unprotected."

Still, in the last few years the wave has moved into universities, city halls, state capitols and even to the highest levels of the E.P.A., whose Science Advisory Board in 1990 concluded that environmental laws "are more reflective of public perceptions of risk than of scientific understanding of risk."

### **Law Follows Panic**

William K. Reilly, the E.P.A. Administrator at the time, agreed. And in a recent interview, he argued: "People have a right to expect that public officials are making the right choices for the right reasons. We need to develop a new system for taking action on the environment that isn't based on responding to the nightly news.

"We're misallocating large amounts of money," added Mr. Reilly, who is now a senior fellow at of the World Wildlife Fund. "What we have had in the United States is environmental agenda-setting by episodic panic. We've had Love Canal, Valley of the Drums, the Exxon Valdez and with virtually every case of a new environmental crisis, there is a new legislative priority and a new budget allocation. That has created a mix of programs that don't respect the biggest risks to health and ecology."

Richard D. Morgenstern, the acting administrator for policy planning and evaluation at the E.P.A., explains the problem this way: "Our society is very reactive, and when concerns are raised people want action. The problem in a democracy is you can't easily sit idly back and tell people it would be better to learn more."

The result, he added, is that "we're now in the position of saying in quite a few of our programs, 'Oops, we made a mistake.'"

President Clinton is clearly aware of this view. As Governor of Arkansas, he continually complained as a Federal toxic waste cleanup project in Jacksonville devoured \$25 million in state, Federal and private money. State officials

said nearly a decade of work has produced little more than piles of technical documents, exorbitant legal bills and public discord.

### **Greater Consequences**

To be sure, some of the \$140 billion the nation is spending this year pays for environmental programs that are indisputably useful. As an example, few experts question the value of spending roughly \$3 billion each year on new sewage treatment plants. Many experts, however, question the wisdom of spending billions of dollars to protect people from traces of toxic compounds.

The new school of thought has blossomed as policy makers confront planetary threats like global warming, ozone depletion and deforestation in which the consequences of wrong action are much greater. Unless the nation rethinks its approach to environmental protection, some experts say, the United States could repeat its mistakes.

"The President is aware of this dilemma, and there is leadership in this Administration for trying to change the way we do business in every aspect of governing, including environmental protection," said Carol M. Browner, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. "We have to allow for change to occur as new information becomes available. This is not an area where a solution will fit forever."

### **Policy Now Costly Solutions Seeking Problems**

Almost everyone involved, including community and local environmental groups, agrees that the toxic waste program stands as the most wasteful effort of all. It began 15 years ago when the nation rose in revulsion over the discovery of seeping chemicals at Love Canal in New York. Hundreds of people were evacuated from their homes.

In response, Congress passed two laws: the Superfund law of 1980 and amendments to the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act in 1984. A decade later, those laws have driven the Government to spend almost \$2 billion a year for the Superfund, which cleans up toxic waste sites, and more than \$8 billion more a year on similar programs in other agencies, even though many of the sites pose little if any danger.

The Superfund law, which is a foundation for the Government's toxic cleanup policy, established a formula for ranking the potential hazards of toxic sites, and then devised a rigid recipe for cleaning them up.

### **'Throwing Money at a Problem'**

"Does it make sense to spend millions of dollars cleaning up a site that only has a tenth of an ounce of contamination?" asked Dr. Richard Goodwin, a private environmental engineer in Upper Saddle River, N.J., who has overseen more than 20 toxic waste cleanups. "I say no. All we're doing in most cases is throwing money at a problem without improving public health or the environment."

Hugh B. Kaufman, a hazardous waste specialist at the E.P.A. who helped uncover the problem at Love Canal, said that in the few cases in which a site is near populated areas, "the best thing we can do is evacuate people if they want, then put up a fence and a flag that says 'Stay Away.'"

Mr. Kaufman said he knows that his idea represents a marked change in the traditional view of how the nation should care for its land. But he and other experts says it does not make sense to clean up these wastes at costs that frequently exceed \$10 million an acre.

Even a principal author of the Superfund law, Gov. Jim Florio of New Jersey, who was chairman of a House environmental subcommittee in the 1970's, now argues that inflexible rules mean that Superfund resources are too often devoted to making sites pristine.

"It doesn't make any sense to clean up a rail yard in downtown Newark so it can be a drinking water reservoir," he said, speaking rhetorically.

Toxic waste cleanups are one example of a program gone awry. Here are others:

- Early in the 1980's, Government scientists argued that exposure to asbestos could cause thousands of cancer deaths. Since asbestos was used as insulation in schools and public buildings, parents reacted with alarm. So in 1985 Congress approved a sweeping law that led cities and states to spend between \$15 billion and \$20 billion to remove asbestos from public buildings. But three years ago, the E.P.A. completed research that prompted officials to admit that ripping out the asbestos had been an expensive mistake; the removal often sent tiny asbestos fibers into the air. Now, except in cases when the asbestos is damaged or crumbling, the Government's official advice is: Don't touch it.
- In 1982, high concentrations of dioxin were discovered in the dirt roads of Times Beach, Mo., near St. Louis. Residents were alarmed; the Government had designated dioxin as one of the most toxic substances known. The furor came in the middle of a scandal at the E.P.A.; the agency's chief, Anne Gorsuch Burford, was accused of not enforcing environmental law and being too close to industry. And as that scandal dominated the news, the Reagan Administration decided to evacuate all 2,240 residents of Times Beach, a project that cost the Government \$37 million. But new research indicates that dioxin may not be so dangerous after all. None of the former residents of Times Beach have been found to have been harmed by dioxin, and two years ago, Dr. Vernon N. Houk, the Federal official who urged the evacuation, declared that he had made a mistake.

Yet even as enormous sums of money were being spent on these problems, Washington was doing little about others. Here are two:

- Mercury, a highly toxic metal, has contaminated thousands of lakes across the nation, poisoning wildlife and threatening human health, state environmental officials say. Twenty states, including New York, have warned consumers not to eat lake fish because they are tainted by mercury, which can cause nervous system disorders. During debate on the Clean Air Act, in 1990, Congress considered limiting mercury emissions from coal-burning electric plants, but lawmakers decided not to act because they believed utilities had already been asked to spend enough to control acid rain, Senate and House leaders said.
- In the last two years, several Federal agencies have called exposure to lead the largest environmental threat to the nation's children. Although some scientists dispute that, several studies have shown that lead poisoning in children leads to reduced intelligence, learning disabilities and hyperactivity. The problem is that most houses built before the 1970's could have some lead-based paint, and the fear is that children are eating paint chips or inhaling lead-laden dust. Some experts have said removing the lead paint will cost at least \$200 billion. This year, the Government will spend \$234 million on the problem, far less than it spends on cleaning up toxic wastes.

## **The Path to Policy When Politics Mixes With Fear**

Even the advocates of change acknowledge that as science evolves, experts may change their views again on the dangers posed by these and other substances. But at the least, "sound science should be our compass," as Mr. Reilly put it two years ago.

After all, it was politics, misinterpreted or inaccurate scientific findings and a newly influential national environmental movement that combined to set America down its present path.

During the 1970's, the United States had successfully dealt with many obvious environmental problems. When the Cuyahoga River in Cleveland caught fire in 1969, as an example, Congress passed the Clean Water Act. About the same time came the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act and other landmark environmental statutes—laws that are now widely acclaimed.

## **Partisan Battles**

By the late 1970's, many Democrats in Congress believed the public wanted even stricter environmental law. But when Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980, he promised to reduce regulation. While the White House and Congress battled over this, the national environmental movement, with help from the news media, took on the job of warning the public about new threats and enlisting popular support for new regulations. They were spectacularly effective at this, and Congress passed two dozen bills that laid down mandates.

In the 1970's, environmental statutes rarely ran more than 50 pages. In the 1980's, these bills seldom numbered fewer than 500 pages. The reason was that Congress wanted to mandate safety limits so specific that the Administration could not ignore or evade them. Mr. Reilly, the former E.P.A. chief, said he was largely unable to change the Government's thinking, despite his strong opinion that environmental policy was on the wrong course, because "this represented a pretty significant change of direction."

## **Legitimizing Pollution?**

At the leading environmental groups, staff members dispute the developing view that environmental policy is off track.

"It's an effort to legitimize pollution," said Daniel F. Becker, director of the Global Warming and Energy Program at the Sierra Club. "There are powerful forces who have an economic stake in de-emphasizing environmental damage."

But others who analyze environmental issues said these groups are in danger of becoming the green equivalent of the military lobby, more interested in sowing fear and protecting wasteful programs than in devising a new course.

"We are in danger of losing credibility and thus losing public support if we don't modify the whole way we go about protecting public health and the environment," said Dr. Devra Lee Davis, a senior research fellow at the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences.

## **A Case Study Making Dirt Safe Enough to Eat**



Perhaps no environmental program has come under more criticism than the Superfund and its progeny. The Federal programs to clear toxic or radioactive wastes will consume more than one-quarter of the roughly \$38 billion that the Federal Government spends for environmental protection this year. Experts in and out of the Government assert, though, that the justification for these expenditures is often questionable.

Consider the case of Columbia, Miss. The E.P.A. is overseeing the last phases of a \$20 million Superfund cleanup project there. Like many others around the country, this one was guided by the Government's assumption that children will eat dirt. Lots of it. And from that dirt, the Government theorized that they could develop cancer.

Some evidence suggested that this was an exaggerated concern. In 1981, a study for the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, which has been endorsed by the National Cancer Institute, found that only 1 to 3 percent of all cancers in people are caused by exposure to toxic chemicals in the environment. This finding, however, has had little influence on Federal policy.

The problem in Columbia was an 81-acre site that over its long life had been home to a lumber mill, a naval turpentine and pine tar plant and a chemical manufacturer.

Soil tests taken in 1986 showed traces of compounds the Government defines as hazardous. The concentrations rarely exceeded 50 parts per million, or about two ounces of chemicals mixed in a ton of soil. But that level exceeded the Federal limit, and the E.P.A. placed the land on its list of dangerous toxic waste sites.

Some experts told the E.P.A. that such tiny amounts of contamination were harmless. They said the safest and most economical way to solve the problem would be to spread a layer of cleaner soil and call it a day. The cost: about \$1 million.

### **Most Expensive Solution**

But two years ago, the E.P.A. settled on the most expensive possible solution. The Government ordered Reichhold Chemical, the plant's former owner, to dig up more than 12,500 tons of soil and haul most of it to a commercial dump in Louisiana—450 dump truck loads, each one costing \$7,500.

E.P.A. officials said they wanted to make the site safe enough to be used for any purpose, including houses—though no one was proposing to build anything there. With that as the goal, the agency wanted to make sure children could play in the dirt, even eat it, without risk. And since a chemical in the dirt had been shown to cause cancer in rats, the agency set a limit low enough that a child could eat half a teaspoon of dirt every month for 70 years and not get cancer.

Last month, the E.P.A. officials acknowledged that at least half of the \$14 billion the nation has spent on Superfund cleanups was used to comply with similar "dirt-eating rules," as they call them.

"I don't think any way you look at this it could be seen as a practical solution," said W. Scott Phillips, an engineer with Malcolm Pirnie, an environmental planning company that manages the cleanup. "It's a lot of money to spend moving dirt." \*3

"Everyone has a choice: Big God, or Big Government. And you can't have both: Big God is Christ, Big Guv is AntiChrist. Good luck getting a single current beneficiary to renounce their Big Guv Honeypot." —*Jane Dough*

# Why Trump Is a President Like No Other

... Black, a prolific and insightful historian, adopts the annalistic method in carefully tracing Trump's earliest years in business through his various commercial misadventures, financial recoveries, and sometimes wild antics. Black's aim is to illustrate how much of what Trump has done since announcing his presidential candidacy in summer 2015 is hardly mysterious. Instead, Trump's methods are fully explicable by what he has always done in the past—in the sometimes troubling, but more often reassuring, sense.

Black is neither a hagiographer nor an ankle-biter. He seeks to understand Trump within the three prominent landscapes in which Americans had come to know their new president: politics, the celebrity world, and the cannibalistic arena of high-stakes Manhattan real estate and finance. Of the three, Black is most jaded about the anti-Trump hysteria within the first two, not because the real estate business is inherently a nobler profession, but because it more often lacks the moral preening and hypocrisies of both the beltway and tabloids. The result is an argument that the first president to have neither prior political nor military service nevertheless has his own demonstrable skill sets that are making his presidency far more dynamic than either his critics or supporters quite imagined. Black's unspoken assumption is that it is more difficult to build a skyscraper in Manhattan than to be a career politician or an evening news reader.

In Trump's rise and fall and rise as a billionaire, Black never whitewashes his ruthlessness, his fast and loose relationship with the truth (e.g., "He is not so much a cynic as a methodological agnostic, not a liar as much as a disbeliever in absolute secular truths"), and his occasionally tawdry P. T. Barnum hawking.

As he guides the reader through Trump's various land deals, casino crashes, name merchandising, risky hotel gambits, and golf course developments, Black offers unusual insight into how Trump, or for that matter anyone else, could survive such a rollercoaster of catastrophe and great fortune. While most of Trump's rivals share his same carnivorous ethos, very few succeeded as did Trump.

What made Trump different from his competitors? Likely, his cunning, his almost Thucydidean reading of human nature, and his sixth sense about timing and salesmanship. In Plutarchian fashion, Black focuses on Trump's physicality, especially his boundless energy and his impatience with nuance and self-doubt ("desperate cunning, unflagging determination, unshakeable self-confidence, ruthless Darwinian instincts of survival, and a sublime assurance that celebrity will heal all wounds"). Of course, the media and politicians were not ready for the naked applicability of these traits to the White House. But, as Black notes, the American people after decades of misgovernance *were*—as if to let loose Trump on their country as both avenger and deliverer.

How many times did critics recoil in shock at Trump's coarse epithets such as "little Marco," "low-energy Jeb," "lying Ted Cruz," and "crooked Hillary"—only to note that such appellations kept reverberating in their critics' heads, both appropriate and humorous if often cruelly so? Whose careerist agendas fared better after provoking the counter-punching Trump? For Black, Trump became president because he outworked and outhustled his competitors, because he saw that most seasoned politicians were split-the-difference 51 percent hedgers—and that the country by 2016 desperately wanted some sort of Samson to tear down the pillars of a complacent if not corrupt establishment, even if they and their deliverer might sometimes be injured in the rubble.

Black instinctively captures the essence of the Trump paradox: How did someone supposedly so crude, so mercantile, and so insensitive display a sensitivity to the forgotten people that was lost both on his Republican competitors and Hillary Clinton? Certainly, no one on stage at any of the debates worried much about 40 percent of

the country written off as John McCain's "crazies," Hillary Clinton's "deplorables" and "irredeemables," and Barack Obama's "clingers," who were judged wanting for not capitalizing on the bicoastal dividends of American-led globalism...

Most experts discounted Trump's "make American great again" visions as anachronistic in the age of Silicon Valley cool, "peak oil," the "knowledge-based" economy, and the "information age." Trump doubled down and became even louder about free but fair trade, legal, diverse, and meritocratic immigration, "drill, baby, drill" oil policy, lower taxes and smaller government, an end to identity politics and political correctness, and a Jacksonian deterrent foreign policy that avoided both optional nation-building and the "blame America first" apologetics of Barack Obama's "lead-from-behind" internationalism. Only half the country was ready for the Trump message (and perhaps less than that for the messenger)—but it was the more electorally important half in the key swing states of Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Trump assumed that even in the age of high techies and billionaire financiers, one can still not build a tower without the muscular labor of welders, cement layers, and glass installers.

Black's final third of the book is magisterial, as he recites nascent Trump achievements—tax reform, deregulation, the end of the Affordable Care Act individual mandate, superb judicial appointments, curbs on illegal immigration, expanded oil and gas production, a restoration of deterrence aboard—against a backdrop of nonstop venom and vituperation from the so-called "Resistance." He is certainly unsparing of the Left's desperate resort to discard the Electoral College, sue under the emoluments clause, invoke the 25th Amendment, introduce articles of impeachment, and embrace a sick assassination chic of threats to Trump's person and family...

Trump's friends and critics assure us that his incessant twittering and carnival rally-barking are suicidal. Black is too insightful to settle for such a one-dimensional critique (while often lamenting that Trump's bluster and rhetorical excess are hurting full appreciation of his otherwise solid accomplishments). Instead, Black sees much of Trump's targeting as comeuppance and long overdue—given a sanctimonious, corrupt media, and a gatekeeping political class that weakened the country over the last two decades of fiscal, social, cultural, and military irresponsibility.

Three final themes make Black's book different. One, he writes at times from firsthand experience as one who has known—and liked—Trump as an acquaintance rather than as a partner or adversary. His citation of Trump's past displays of loyalty to friends and genuine concern for the middle- and working classes may be illustrated in Trump's most un-Republican use of the first-person plural possessive—as in "our" miners, "our" farmers, "our" vets, and "our" workers.

Second, Black knows what it is like to be targeted by an overzealous prosecutor, and how the criminal justice system can be warped well before the advent of a formal trial. For Black, the yearlong and heretofore mostly empty pursuit of Trump the supposed colluder, then Trump the purported obstructor, is in some sad sense the logical trajectory of the American criminal justice system that gives federal prosecutors unchecked power, especially when driven by political agendas amplified by the tabloid press...

Finally, Black is a singular prose stylist of what in the ancient world would be called the Asiatic, or florid and decorative, style—multisyllabic and sometime near archaic vocabulary, ornate imagery, melodic prose rhythms, diverse syntax, and classical tropes of deliberate understatement, juxtapositions of Latinate and Anglo-Saxon words, and plentiful metaphors and similes. In the modern world, few in English write (or can write) any more...

Most readers, like myself, have never met either Conrad Black nor Donald J. Trump. But after reading this engaging biography, those of any political persuasion would wish to do both. \*4

# When Christianity Trumped the Constitution

Guess who spoke these words:

*I believe no one can read the history of our country without realizing that the Good Book and the spirit of the Saviour have from the beginning been our guiding geniuses. ... Whether we look to the first Charter of Virginia ... or to the Charter of New England ... or to the Charter of Massachusetts Bay ... or to the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut ... the same objective is present: a Christian land governed by Christian principles. ...*

*I believe the entire Bill of Rights came into being because of the knowledge our forefathers had of the Bible and their belief in it: freedom of belief, of expression, of assembly, of petition, the dignity of the individual, the sanctity of the home, equal justice under law, and the reservation of powers to the people. ...*

*I like to believe we are living today in the spirit of the Christian religion. I like also to believe that as long as we do so, no great harm can come to our country.*

No, it wasn't Billy Graham. It wasn't Ronald Reagan, either. It wasn't Billy Sunday, Father Coughlin, or Fulton Sheen. It wasn't Jerry Falwell or anybody associated with the dreaded Religious Right.

It was Earl Warren, chief justice of the United States. His pious sentiments were expressed in 1954 at the annual prayer breakfast of the International Council for Christian Leadership in Washington, D.C. Those in attendance included President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vice President Richard Nixon, several members of Congress, and many other high officials and civic leaders. One after another, they read from scripture, decried "the frightening evil of Communism," and vowed a renewed commitment to God.

Just three months later, Warren announced the Supreme Court's unanimous decision, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, that "separate but equal" in public education was no longer the law of the land. And it may well be that Warren's speech in Washington, not his reasoning in *Brown*, holds the key to why he decided the case as he did—and, even more so, how he succeeded in getting all his colleagues and the country at large to go along with such an openly proclaimed piece of judicial activism.

Activism occurs when a judge "decides cases on the basis of his own policy preferences rather than a faithful interpretation of the law, thus abandoning the impartial judicial role and 'legislating from the bench.'" And no set of justices before Warren was ever so frank in its disregard for a constitutional provision's original, true, ratified meaning as the Supreme Court was in *Brown*. Even Chief Justice Roger Taney, in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), paid lip service to originalism, while presenting a novel interpretation of the Fifth Amendment's "due process" clause that set the intention of its framers on its head.

*Dred Scott* was the court's first great exercise of judicial activism, and it was a complete disaster. The issue was slavery, and the danger was that a nation dedicated to freedom might not be able to deal with slavery without collapsing into fratricidal violence. When the country's elected leadership began fumbling this question, the Supreme Court stepped in to "settle" it, once and for all.

Taney posed the question: Can a Negro slave, former slave, or descendant of slaves be an American?

*We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them.*

*It is not the province of the court to decide upon the justice or injustice, the policy or impolicy, of these laws. The decision of that question belonged to the political or lawmaking power, to those who formed the sovereignty and framed the Constitution. The duty of the court is to interpret the instrument they have framed with the best lights we can obtain on the subject, and to administer it as we find it, according to its true intent and meaning when it was adopted.*

Then our meek, unassuming, deferential jurist got down to business.

The Missouri Compromise was void, Taney wrote, for in making a territory free it worked to deprive slaveowners of their property without "due process of law."

Due process, the justices had discovered, did not mean what Madison, Hamilton, and the rest thought it meant—that is, that public action against an individual must follow the established procedures of the law. Due process was actually *due substance*, or as we are now pleased to call it, "substantive due process." The law in question in *Dred Scott* struck Taney as so unreasonable that even the most scrupulous enforcement of it "could hardly be dignified with the name of due process of law." Thus spake the court.

*Dred Scott* was intended to safeguard "the peace and harmony of the country," by removing its deadliest political problem from political contention. Its effect was to accelerate the trend toward violence over slavery. When John Brown returned from "bleeding Kansas" with a plan for slave insurrection, stymied abolitionists bankrolled him; and when he was hanged, they beatified him. That drove the South to frenzy. A straight line can be drawn from *Dred Scott* through Harper's Ferry to Fort Sumter. No other avoidable event bears such responsibility for the onset of civil war.

*Brown v. Board of Education* doesn't have the same bad odor that emanated from *Dred Scott* or even from *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 decision setting forth the concept of "separate but equal" which *Brown* overturned. Yet *Brown* was bolder in its activism than either of them. In *Brown*, Warren didn't bother going through an elaborate pretense of consulting the Constitution's original meaning, as Taney had done. He didn't try, as *Plessy* had done, to reconcile the 14th Amendment's promise of "equal protection of the laws" with the grossly discriminatory practices of those who brought that amendment into being. He simply dismissed the amendment's original meaning from the outset.

Warren passed quickly over the historical record on whether the 14th Amendment's framers and ratifiers intended that it require schools be racially integrated. The record, he asserted, was "inconclusive." As for the question of equality, he acknowledged that "the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other 'tangible' factors." But he saw that as beside the point. "We must look instead," he wrote, "to the effect of segregation itself on public education."

*In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868, when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896, when Plessy v. Ferguson was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full*

*development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.*

The trouble is that the ambiguity Warren professed to find in the historical record doesn't exist at all.

In *Government by Judiciary: The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment*, Raoul Berger maintains that the *Brown* decision was "simple justice," as historian Richard Kluger called it. But Berger demonstrates beyond dispute that such justice is not what the framers and ratifiers of the 14th Amendment had in mind. At the time the amendment was adopted, eight northern states provided for segregated schools either statewide or as a local option, and five northern states excluded colored children from their public schools altogether. School segregation was the rule in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had direct authority. The legislative history of the 14th Amendment and of the related Civil Rights Act of 1866 shows clearly that Congress had no intention of disturbing such arrangements...

Why was northern segregation left undisturbed? Because when northerners said, "No slavery," what they really meant was, "No blacks." As President Lincoln himself put it in a wartime meeting with a group of free black leaders, "There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain with us." As Ohio's anti-slavery U.S. Senator John Sherman (brother of General William Tecumseh Sherman) put it to his colleagues in 1867, "We do not like Negroes. We do not conceal our dislike." As the Radical Republican Congressman George W. Julian of Indiana told the House in 1866, "We hate the Negro." Berger notes that such statements reflected "widespread opinion."

Warren had to choose, therefore, between the racist sentiments that prevailed at the time of the 14th Amendment's adoption and ratification, and "the spirit of the Christian religion" that he liked to believe had come to prevail among his countrymen in 1954. He chose the latter.

In a jurist, that choice was revolutionary and extremely problematic. But in a politician, it is exemplary, and not at all out of line with the times. Only four years before, President Harry Truman (who as commander-in-chief of the armed forces had ordered the integration of the U.S. military) based both his foreign policy (anti-Communism) and his domestic policy (civil rights) on the religious spirit Warren spoke of. In a 1950 speech at Gonzaga University, Truman spelled it out:

*Men can build a good society, if they follow the will of the Lord. Our great Nation was founded on this faith. Our Constitution, and all our finest traditions, rest on a moral basis. We believe in the dignity and the rights of each individual. We believe that no person—and no group of people—has an inherent right to rule over any other person or any other group. ... We are continuing to move forward every day toward greater freedom and equal opportunity for all citizens. This is a purpose each of us must strive to achieve, in his daily life, and in his own community. It is a purpose which, in some cases, requires collective action, through our elected representatives in local, State, and Federal governments. . . .*

*Nations can live together peacefully, working for their common welfare, just as we do in this country. If they believe in the brotherhood of man, under God, millions and millions of people, all over the world, know in their hearts we can live together. . . . The greatest obstacle to peace is a modern tyranny led by a small group who have abandoned their faith in God. These tyrants have forsaken ethical and moral beliefs. They believe that only force makes right. They are aggressively seeking to expand the area of their domination. Our effort to resist and overcome this tyranny is essentially a moral effort.*

*Those of us who believe in God, and who are fortunate enough to live under conditions where we can practice our faith, cannot be content to live for ourselves alone, in selfish isolation. We must work constantly to wipe out injustice and inequality, and to create a world order consistent with the faith that governs us.*

A decade later, Lyndon Johnson would preach the same gospel. Let the British observer Henry Fairlie tell it:

*One of the last examples of [great] oratory in America occurred before I had even come to this country. But I have heard many accounts of it from journalists who were there. During the election campaign of 1960, John Kennedy sent Lyndon Johnson into the South. Johnson was to meet the South's angry criticisms of the Democratic Party's platform on civil rights. . . . From small town to small town across the South, he went, on a whistle-stop tour on a train called "The Yellow Rose of Texas," facing the sullen crowds of rednecks—"mah people," as he later put it to me. And head-on he spoke to them, as Stewart Alsop once characterized it, "with the tongues of angels." How would you feel, he demanded of them, if your child was sick, and you could not take him to the hospital in this town, but had to go twenty miles away? How would you feel if you were shopping and your child was thirsty, and you could not give him a cold soda at the counter in the drugstore? And again and again, he won the sullen audiences.*

The Golden Rule, you see, predates the Constitution, and outranks it. From Southern rednecks to Boston Brahmins, Americans understood that. And that is why Warren was never impeached for usurpation, and why originalism was reduced by *Brown v. Board of Education* from a bedrock principle of the American Founders to a minority view, even a disreputable one among most constitutional scholars today.

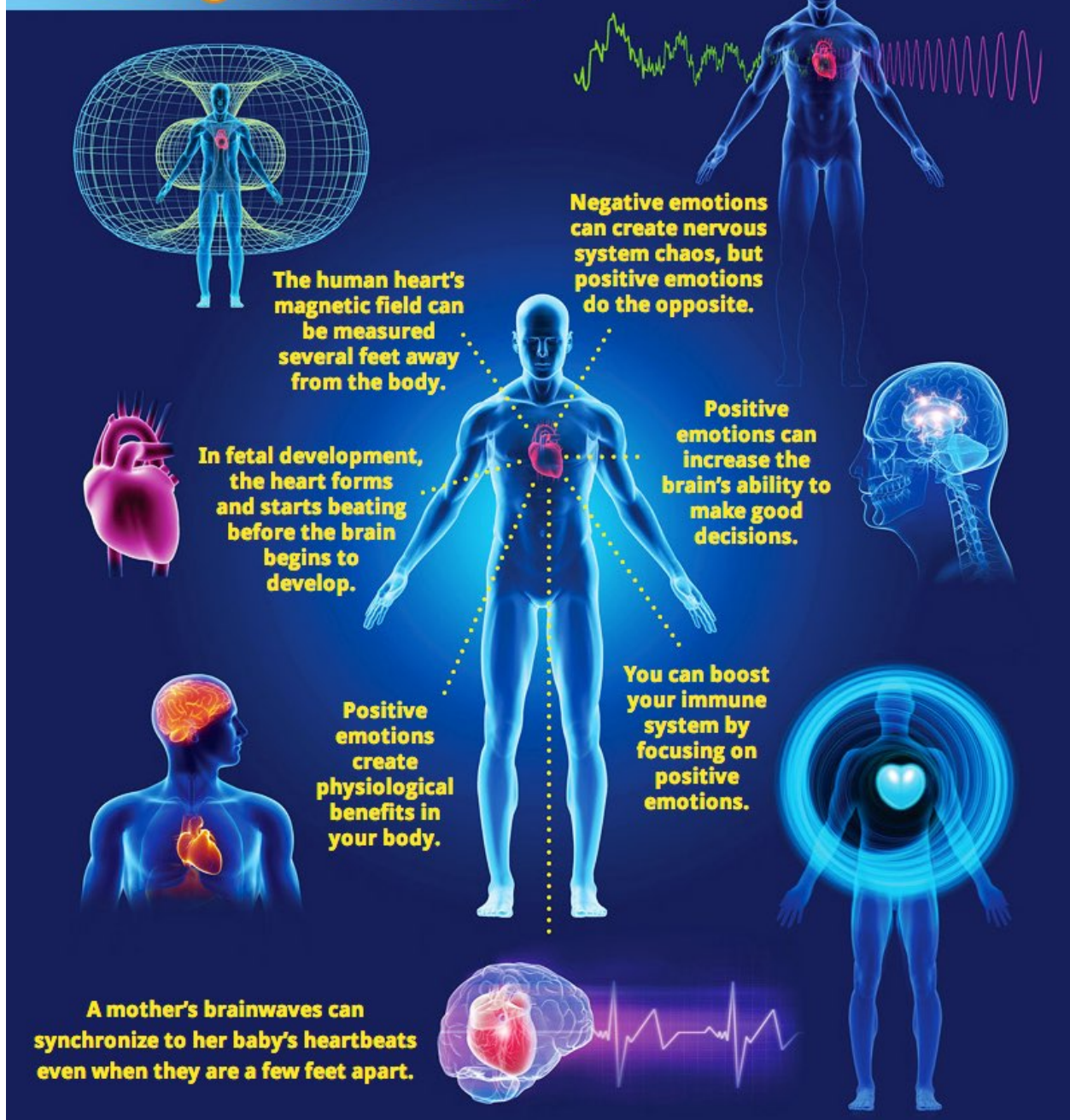
That mustn't be the last word, however. When he donned judicial robes, Earl Warren ceased being a politician and, in theory, accepted a much more limited role. His action in *Brown* is impossible to square with the understanding of the limits on judicial power expressed by Madison, Marshall, Washington, and others in America's pantheon. And the Supreme Court's course of action after *Brown* gives grim confirmation of Washington's warning:

*Let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.* <sup>\*5</sup>

"Desire has become a longer than four letter word in religious and spiritual movements. The Gnostic texts that have been recovered tell us human nature is a combination of wisdom and desire. What happens to a species that has one half of their nature removed? A species that has one half of their nature removed is only half alive. (And thus, I might add, expresses it through a morbid, mass obsession with zombies.) We are a traumatized species overcoming the trauma reaction of not allowing ourselves to want anything because when we want something, we open ourselves up to the potential for pain. To avoid pain, we avoid wanting. It's classic trauma syndrome. But in the process, we stop living. It's time to bring back desire." —*Laura Walker*

"Because today we live in a society in which spurious realities are manufactured by the media, by governments, by big corporations, by religious groups, political groups... So I ask, in my writing, What is real? Because unceasingly we are bombarded with pseudo-realities manufactured by very sophisticated people using very sophisticated electronic mechanisms. I do not distrust their motives; I distrust their power. They have a lot of it. And it is an astonishing power: that of creating whole universes, universes of the mind. I ought to know. I do the same thing." —*Philip K Dick*

# Did you know?



ABOVE: "SOME OF THE INCREDIBLE PROPERTIES OF THE HUMAN HEART" — 'EVIL IS A NEGATIVE PRESSURE ACTING UPON THE HEART' \*6

"It is not recognized in the full amplitude of the word that all freedom is essentially self-liberation..." —*Max Stirner*

"One of the saddest lessons of history is if we've been bamboozled long enough, we tend to reject any evidence of the bamboozle." —*Carl Sagan*



# Holy War: Franklin Graham Shreds 'Vile' Media

Franklin Graham, chief of Samaritan's Purse as well as the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, is pulling no punches in his criticism of the New York Times...

"The New York Times published a slanderous, vile op-ed piece about Vice President Mike Pence. They were specifically attacking his faith, which really is an attack on all of us who believe in God and His Son, Jesus Christ," he said.

"I am disappointed that the New York Times would stoop so low. I've never seen such hatred poured out against such a good man. Vice President Pence is a dedicated public servant who is doing an exemplary job for our nation. Attacks like this against him and the Lord that He serves should remind us all to keep him in our prayers because he not only represents our country, but all who hold a deep and sincere faith in God.

"Pray for Vice President Pence, his wife Karen, and their entire family, that God would put a hedge of protection around them." ...

"Think about that a moment though. For all the venom and apocalyptic hysteria being spewed at everything Trump has ever said, done or probably even thought—and there is plenty there of concern—there is someone even 'worse' than this president. Bruni makes Chicken Little seem measured," Stanton wrote.

He explained Bruni's perspective: "Pence's original and most damning sin is that he's a Christian who actually believes what Christians actually believe. Imagine that."

He wrote, "Pence is really no different than your run-of-the-mill evangelical, like millions of Americans. He believes that God governs the affairs of men, that prayer is effectual and worth doing, that marriage and family are best when built upon a married mother and father, that life is sacred and abortion destroys life, and that God appoints our government's leaders, even those who are hostile to Him."

Bruni had slammed the vice president for his "regressive, repressive version of Christianity."

His statement that to trade Trump for Pence would be to go "from kleptocracy to theocracy" drew Stanton's disbelief.

"How does one even respond to such meteoric hyperbole masquerading as thoughtfulness? Every person in government who's possessed any measure of traditional Christian conviction and has the temerity to live by it has been accused of wanting to start a theocracy. The charge has grown quite thin and it has never even come close to happening. Chicken Little again."

And he warned that Bruni fails to see that "it is precisely this kind of elitist bigotry that fueled Trump's ascendancy. But they keep topping off that tank with tanker-truck after tanker-truck of high-test vitriol."

"It's interesting that when Joy Behar said on 'The View' that Pence was mentally ill because he says he sometimes hears from God when he prays, she was answering the panel's question as to whether Pence would be a worse president than Trump. (She later apologized.) She was willing to call Pence psychotic, but she would not go as far as to say he is worse than Trump, because she explained 'No one could be worse than Trump.' Saying Bruni is rhetorically more extreme than Behar is certainly saying something." \*7

# Get It Through Your Head That Progressives Hate You

Some of you need to cease the denial and accept the harsh reality that the left hates you. It's a fact, as much as the liberal gaslight gang and the conserva-sissy weakhearts deny it. You can tell that leftists hate you by the way that leftists tell you that they hate you...

Progressives think that it's okay to hate someone solely because of the color of his skin. They aren't *against* racism—they are actively in *favor* of racism. Sure, they dress up their shameful prejudices with the kind of convoluted nonsense their associate professors of oppression studies taught them as sophomores, but it all comes down to the fact that they hate white people. Of course, they also hate black, Asian, and Latin people too, when such patriots dare embrace conservative values. So, in that way, liberals are equal opportunity racists.

Try this test: Ask a liberal, "Is it wrong to hate someone because of his race?"

Because we are not scumbag losers, we will answer, "Yes." Liberals will give you a dissertation which eventually boils down to, "No."

They hate us. They want us dead—just ask Sarah [Jeong/*NYT*], who wants to "cancel white people," which sure sounds murderous coming from an ideological heir to Mao, Stalin, and Castro. And apparently, we're even more terrible because we actually listen to what they say and then dare to draw obvious conclusions. To libs, that's racist. We're supposed to ignore what they say to our faces and instead imagine that these are nice people who wish only the best for us as they tell us to die.

The left can't hide its contempt anymore. Some of them, like that pink-mopped Harvard bigot, don't even try...

Normal people—that is, those of us of all shades of skin hue who refuse to buy into the liberal elite's sickening racist dogma—tend to take elitists telling them they hate them pretty seriously.

You want to know why we got Trump? Sarah Jeong and her dopey ilk are why we got Trump, and I am thrilled that Jeong got this gig and I am delighted that her idiot pals think the best hill to die on right before the midterms is Mt. It's-Cool-To-Hate-White-People.

Not the Fredocons though. Those saps. This is a golden opportunity to steal the ball and run up the score, but as usual, these useless goofs seem intent on fumbling. Count on them to fuss and whimper their way into submission when they should be taking the fight to the left. We're supposed to not "join the mob" and generally give the left a free pass on this latest atrocity, just like we're supposed to give them a free pass on every other atrocity we've endured. Well, hard pass on the free passes.

Leftists don't get to pull this garbage and just get away with it. Cut the nonsense about "outrage mobs." Regardless of the principles of True Conservatism, it's perfectly okay under actual conservative principles to protest the liberal elite's public embrace of outright race-based hatred. Hell, it's *mandatory*. And this imbroglio is a perfect weapon for us, because it perfectly encapsulates our enemy's hateful view of us in a way every midterm voter between the coasts is going to understand. We need to wield it like a sledgehammer in anticipation of the upcoming election.

You soft boys can pivot back to your “We’re better than that” pose and go AWOL, again, like you always do. But I say the Sarah Jeong/*NYT* love affair is a suppository, and I say we start curing the hemorrhoid that is liberalism by giving the left a double dose good and hard right up the progressive tract.

We need to accept the harsh reality that a substantial number of our fellow citizens hate our guts. All the simpering blabber about civility, all the clichés about unity, are all just comforting lies. A bunch of them hate us. They *hate* us. *Hate*. And we need to stop pretending the truth right in front of us is not right in front of us.

What do we do? We fight. This is not going to be a single skirmish. This is a campaign, a long and difficult one with the objective of destroying the ideological cancer metastasizing through America’s body politic. Step One: We must ruthlessly attack any manifestation of their hate using all the political and cultural tools at our disposal. We need to make liberal racism painful, so they are incentivized to abandon it. We’re not here to win moral victories. We’re here to win victory victories.

The stakes could not be higher...

Step Two: We must win elections, and yeah, you cruise-shilling Never Trump sissies, that means being all unseemly and gauche by going to the electorate and pointing out liberals’ disgusting acts of contempt against them, like the elevation of this Jeong twerp, and telling the American people the truth—that the elite hates them and that they must get militant and retaliate at the ballot box. Let’s make liberal elite’s racism against the majority of America an election issue. The Democrats are the party of hating white people (and non-white people who refuse to toe the liberal line). Let’s say so, because it is so. Yeah, I know it’ll give the bow-tie boyz the vapors, but it ain’t demagoguery if it’s true.

Step Three: Get your head right and keep your powder dry. We all want America to return to *E Pluribus Unum* and a consensus in favor of individual freedom, but we need to grow the hell up and accept that this might not happen without a struggle. Our enemies don’t want it to. You have seen the left adopt explicit racism as a core value. You have seen the attacks on our right to speak freely. You have seen the attacks on our right to worship freely. You have seen the attacks on our right to keep and bear arms. Do you imagine that once we give up our right to speak, to worship, and to protect ourselves and our liberty, that the racist Sarah Jeongs of the world, should they take power, will somehow suddenly stop hating us and be cool?

Chet the Unicorn might think so, but do you? Understand your enemy. Know that he, she, or xe means you harm. Be ready to defend your life and your freedom by exercising your right to do so—luckily, it probably won’t come to that since the prog hipster militia can’t find skinny battle rigs or vinyl plates, and their chests would be too concave to lift AR-15s if they actually owned any.

You, however, should own several just in case the left tries to act on the hate they’ve demonstrated. Accept the awful truth that leftists hate you and act accordingly. Get woke. All you have to do is listen to the likes of Sarah Jeong and her pals at the New York Times—they will be happy to tell you what they really think. <sup>\*8</sup>

“Nothing is more wrong than to deny to an individual, on account of race or origin, his right to be judged on his personal merits and conduct.” —*Winston Churchill*

“Once the enemy of all mankind rejects the moral and cosmic order of the universe, he will inevitable wage war upon those who uphold order.” —*Jonas E Alexis*

# When Lenin Returned

Lenin would have said there was no turning point in his life; he would have said that he followed a straight line, undeviatingly, from the dawn of his political consciousness to the moment of his death. And this was true. There was no turning point because in the moment of supreme crisis Lenin, under overwhelming pressures, continued his straight line and yet was not broken.

The Russian people had wanted revolution. It had to come. What they meant by revolution was the overthrow of an inept and suffocating tyranny and its substitution by some more liberal system. The Provisional Government, if it had immediately sued for peace with Germany and shown more activity about the redistribution of land, could have remained in power, leading Russia into some kind of democratic system. But because it held to the war, as an obligation; because it knew it would depend in future on the favors of the Entente; and because it was patriotic, it could not begin to alleviate the misery of the people, greatly aggravated by the war. It was this misery which Lenin deliberately set himself out to exploit.

He was not, he never pretended to be, an original thinker. From the moment of his discovery of Marx at Kazan University his way was clear. Russia had to have revolution. In this he was at one with the whole of the Russian intelligentsia. The only proper way to bring about revolution was the Marxist way. Revolution in Russia would have to be made by the urban proletariat and the rural proletariat of the poorest peasants, led by professional revolutionaries who understood what was going on. All this was common ground with all the Marxist parties. And, indeed, it is no use looking for the secret of Leninism in any particular theory.

His whole contribution was to practice. Marx for him was a blueprint, a guide to action. The fundamental point was the dictatorship of the proletariat. The enemy was liberal reformism. The proletariat had to be educated and raised up politically to the level of a handful of professional revolutionaries, who could not possibly alone produce a revolution. Anything that in any way debilitated the strength of the professional hard core was anathema. And what debilitated was not wrong theory but mistaken strategy and tactics. The word for mistake was compromise. Thus the criticism which dwells on Lenin's theoretical inconsistencies misses the point. He was inconsistent. He appealed to Marx as the fundamentalist appeals to the Bible. He had a single burning idea: to bring the Marxist revolution to the world and to Russia. His approach to this problem was the approach not of the revolutionary theorist, like Trotsky, like the Mensheviks, like most of his Bolshevik colleagues, but of the self-made, practical statesman. His political sense found the proper tactics and strategy. His knowledge of Marx then found the text to support his action. His will and personality carried him through. His quarrels with his closest colleagues of the Social Democratic Party were invariably quarrels about tactics and strategy, not about theory: how best to further the Marxist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the shortest possible time. He found the way. But others, like Trotsky, like Martov, were the more correct Marxists.

Behind him, Lenin swung into line a vast and primitive country of 150 million souls. Those who held out against the swing were broken. It was a one-man performance unique in the history of the world. The crisis, when, according to all possible calculations, Lenin had to give way or be broken, began late at night on April 16, 1917. He took it at a trot, apparently quite unaware that he was doing anything out of the ordinary.

He took it at a trot quite literally. For eight days, cooped up with an assortment of exiled comrades, he had been traveling across Europe in the famous sealed train from Zurich. For anybody but Lenin those days would have been solemn with soul-searching; the professional revolutionary, trained and self-disciplined and dedicated for years to the moment of action, cast off and toiling ceaselessly in the squalor of foreign exile to keep his comrades up to the

mark, was going home to put his ideas into practice. The long, fantastic train journey, arranged by the German government, which saw in this obscure fanatic one more bacillus to let loose in tottering and exhausted Russia to spread infection, was an opportunity for stocktaking of the most elaborate kind. But to Lenin it was merely a slow and tedious way of getting on with the job.

He had been at the job for years. He had been under pressure for years. For years his task had been not to preach revolution but to keep the preachers of revolution up to the mark, so that when the day came they would know what to do. For years he had worked in exile because the police would not let him work in Russia. Now that it was possible to go back to Russia, there was the difficulty of crossing enemy territory. He had thought of every conceivable means and had to abandon plan after plan, until a Swedish Social Democrat had persuaded the German government to put him on a train.

He felt no gratitude. Since the first news of the revolution had reached him in his dismal lodgings in Zurich he had lived for this day, which had now, miraculously, come. Another man would have been betrayed into expressing emotion in the first relief of tension. But not Lenin. Nobody knows what he felt in his heart, but he gave nothing away. He accepted the German offer as his right: they were not doing it for love of him but out of sheer self-interest—as well they might, seeing that he was going back to Russia to end the war! And, while they were about it, there were certain conditions he required them to observe, if he was going to honor them by traveling in their train. He laid down the conditions, like a conqueror; and they were accepted.

So he embarked, with thirty-five fellow revolutionaries, as the most natural thing in the world. The train journey was simply a hiatus in his work. He was fairly certain that he would be arrested the moment he set foot in Russia; and he spent some time preparing a speech in his defense, which he discussed with his comrades.

About Lenin's personal emotions we know nothing. Indeed, the deeper we go into the existing accounts of his life the more glaring becomes the almost total absence of any information which throws light on his state of mind at any given time.

It is tempting to conclude that he had no emotional life; but it would not be true. Nadezhda Konstantinova Krupskaya, his wife, the companion of his lifetime, his fellow revolutionary, tells us what little we know; and it is enough to show that he was no automaton. From time to time in her memoirs we learn that Ilych was withdrawn, moody, cast down, or in high spirits. From time to time the two of them, usually for Krupskaya's health, would go off into the mountains to be alone with nature, which Ilych loved. He liked hunting in Siberia, and once let a fox, which he should have shot, go off unhurt "because it was so beautiful." He would listen to music, and above all he loved the *Appassionata* Sonata of Beethoven.

He read other things besides revolutionary philosophy and blue books. Particularly in the last days of Swiss exile, with the world at war all around him, he gave more time to the novels he loved; Krupskaya says he had "mellowed" at this time. Nobody knew anything about this. Krupskaya tells how when she was first introduced to Lenin she was told he had never read a novel or a poem in his life. It was much later that she discovered, with surprise (the surprise is characteristic), that in fact he was as well read in the classics as she herself. He read them all again in Siberia. But the world did not know.

The world knew practically nothing. As a child he had respected and admired his brother Alexander, who was hanged for his part in the attempted assassination of the Tsar. That respect and admiration was reciprocated, but, said Alexander, "we do not understand each other." His schoolmasters did not understand him either. The

headmaster of his school, none other than the father of Kerensky, whom Lenin was one day to overthrow, did his best for the boy, but complained of his excessive reserve and unsociability. He had "a distant manner even with people he knows and even with the most superior of his schoolmates."

Later on he was to develop an extreme sociability. But it was the sociability of the great headmaster, in Edmund Wilson's phrase. There is no record of any conversation at all with Lenin that was not about the coming revolution, how to make it come, and how best to equip the party to be fit and well and mentally trim for the fight. So he went on being reserved. Perhaps his friendship with Maxim Gorki was his only safety valve. Only with Gorki did Lenin ever allow political differences to be overridden by personal warmth. There is also one note to Kamenev, written when Lenin had to go into hiding after the "July Days," when the Provisional Government put its ban on him. "*Entre nous*," he wrote, "if they bump me off I ask you to publish my little notebook *Marxism on the State* (stranded in Stockholm). Bound in a blue cover . . . There is a whole series of notes and comments. Formulate it. I think you could publish it with a week's work. I think it is important, for it is not only Plekhanov and Kautsky who have got off the track. My conditions: all this to be absolutely *entre nous*."

In that little note, forced out of him by an extreme emergency—for the agitation against Lenin as an alleged German agent was then formidable and dangerous—we see perfectly expressed the familiar character, while for once we are permitted a glimpse of the human feelings beneath the normally unflawed reserve.

"All the writing of Lenin is functional; it is all aimed at accomplishing an immediate purpose," said Wilson. This was true of his whole way of living. For the sake of an immediate purpose he ruthlessly cut across old friendships without the least apparent hesitation or regret; and in his public attacks on men who had been his devoted comrades the day before, he employed for the first time that crudely savage invective, the "robber-cannibal" style which has since become the dreary idiom of the Communist Party everywhere. But Krupskaya tells enough to show that he often felt regret. His recurrent joy when Martov, the Menshevik leader whom he loved, returned to the straight and narrow path of Leninism (only to stray again) is proof of this. There is more in Lenin's welcome than the delight of "I told you so!" He knew feelings of tenderness; what he lacked was a sense of doubt. He loved people, thus, with a perfect detachment, as one loves a dog or a pet rabbit. There was no sharing in his love.

Never, at any time, did it occur to him that he might be wrong and others right. Various contemporaries commented on the extreme sensitiveness with which he entered into others' feelings. But it is to be doubted whether he was capable of this. He was considerate to a degree when consideration was politically permissible. There was a deep fund of kindness, which he would switch off when it was politically desirable to do so; but it was kindness from outside. It was the kindness of the man who does not like hurting animals but will kill them, as painlessly as possible, if they happen to get in his way. This has nothing to do with the kindness of understanding.

He was also a romantic of sorts, and naïve. His attraction to the Appassionata Sonata is a clue to this; so is the way in which he glorified his own Machiavellianism and the squalor of the poor émigré's existence. He romanticized his own ascetism. Krupskaya tells how "Ilych was delighted" because one of their Zurich landladies, in a house frequented by thieves and prostitutes, gave them their coffee in cups with broken handles. But it is clear that, whatever Krupskaya may have thought, Ilych did not like cups with broken handles. These for him symbolized, the renunciation of a sensitive and fastidious soul. When Kollontai extolled the merits of free love she said that sexual satisfaction was of no more account than drinking a cup of cold water. When this was reported to Lenin he flashed out: "That may be. But who wants to drink out of a cup that has been used by many others?"

By the time of his recall to Russia, Lenin was disciplined absolutely to impersonality, so that it had become his real nature. Because of this I say that he hardly knew what he was doing, or that he was facing the supreme crisis of his life. The journey in the sealed train was a hiatus. His response to the challenge of the revolution had been immediate and direct, like a reflex action. While others rushed round with loud shouts of joy, Lenin sat down then and there and composed a telegram of admonition to the Petrograd Bolsheviks. While others were seeking solidarity with all revolutionary elements, Lenin yelled across Europe the slogan of absolute exclusiveness. "*Never again* along the lines of the Second International! *Never again* with Kautsky!" he wrote to Kollontai in Stockholm. And in his telegram: "Our tactic; absolute lack of confidence; no support to the new government; suspect Kerensky especially; arming of the proletariat the sole guarantee; immediate elections to the Petrograd Duma; no *rapprochement* with other parties." And then again, when he heard that the Provisional Government, supported by some Social Democrats, was for continuing the war, "the imperialist war," and calling it a "war of defense": "Our party would disgrace itself for ever, kill itself politically, if it took part in such deceit. . . . I would choose an immediate split with no matter whom in our party, rather than surrender to social patriotism."

In Petrograd these words seemed to Lenin's foes the shrill cries of a madman; to his friends the ravings of a man who had been out of touch for too long. What did Lenin know of the revolution? How could he possibly understand the power and glory of the tremendous upsurge, which he was now asking the Bolsheviks to cold-shoulder? When he arrived he would begin to understand and see things differently. The first task was to defend the revolution against all attacks from outside. Then they could think again.

But Lenin was arriving to go on saying what he had been saying for years, what he had already said in those first letters and telegrams. Already, in these and in articles for *Pravda*, he had laid down what Trotsky was to call "a finished analysis of the Revolutionary situation." But to those on the spot this analysis seemed irrelevant and absurd. Of the Petrograd Bolsheviks, curiously, only the young Molotov, then in his twenties and quite obscure, had grasped what Lenin was really after. When the revolution hit Russia he was editing *Pravda* and keeping it on Leninist lines. Then Kamenev and Stalin came back from exile in Siberia and took over from Molotov. When, in Stockholm, Lenin got hold of some copies of *Pravda* and read the editorials, he was horrified; it was indeed high time to go back. And when at the Russian frontier Kamenev and Stalin were there to meet him, ready for an affecting welcome, Lenin's first words were: "What's this you've been writing in *Pravda*? We've just seen some numbers, and we gave you what for!" Krupskaya was so moved by his returning home that she could not speak to the crowd that gathered round. But Lenin found no difficulty in speaking—or in cutting short his speech when the train pulled out. "Are they going to arrest us when they get to Petrograd?" he asked. The welcoming delegation smiled. That question showed, if nothing else did, how much Comrade Vladimir Ilych was out of touch. Within three months Lenin was in hiding for his life. That showed how much the comrades had been out of touch.

Then came the great arrival. At the Finland Station the revolutionaries had taken over the Tsars' waiting room. There they waited with a bouquet and speeches for Lenin. We have this scene from Sukhanov, a non-party Menshevik sympathizer, whom Lenin would not have allowed within speaking distance of his Bolsheviks, but whom his Bolsheviks had taken up as a friend. It was to have been an affecting scene of welcome and reconciliation—and it was to put Lenin in his place, as the respected émigré leader out of touch with the realities of Russian life, who would have to learn to walk all over again before he could run. The head of the welcoming committee was Chkheidze, one of the leading Mensheviks, and it was to Chkheidze that Lenin came at a trot.

"Lenin walked, or rather ran, into the 'Czar's Room' in a bowler hat, his face chilled, and a sumptuous bouquet in his arms. Hurrying in to the middle of the room, he stopped short in front of Chkheidze as though he had run into a completely unexpected obstacle. And then Chkheidze, not abandoning his melancholy attitude, pronounced the

following 'speech of welcome,' carefully preserving not only the spirit and the letter, but also the tone of a moral preceptor: 'Comrade Lenin, in the name of the Petrograd Soviet and the whole revolution, we welcome you to Russia . . . *but* we consider that the chief task of the revolutionary democracy at present is to defend our revolution against every kind of attack both from within and without. . . . We hope that you will join us in striving towards this goal.' Chkhaidze ceased. I was dismayed by the unexpectedness of it. But Lenin, it seemed, knew how to deal with all that. He stood there looking as though what was happening did not concern him in the least, glanced from one side to the other, looked over the surrounding public, and even examined the ceiling of the 'Czar's Room' while rearranging the bouquet (which harmonized rather badly with his whole figure), and, finally, having turned completely away from the delegates of the Executive Committee, he 'answered' thus: 'Dear Comrades, soldiers, sailors and workers, I am happy to greet you in the name of the victorious Russian Revolution, to greet you as the advance guard of the international proletarian army. . . . The hour is not far off when, at the summons of our Comrade Karl Liebknecht, the people [of Germany] will turn their weapons against their capitalist exploiters. . . . The Russian Revolution achieved by you has opened a new epoch. Long live the worldwide socialist revolution!'

That was the beginning. "Thus," to quote Trotsky, "the February revolution, garrulous and flabby and still rather stupid, greeted the man who had arrived with a resolute determination to set it straight both in thought and in will. Those first impressions, multiplying tenfold the alarm which he had brought with him, produced a feeling of protest in Lenin which it was difficult to restrain. How much more satisfactory to roll up his sleeves! Appealing from Chkhaidze to the sailors and workers, from the defence of the Fatherland to the international revolution, from the Provisional Government to Liebknecht, Lenin merely gave a short rehearsal there at the station of his whole future policy."

What was that policy?

The policy came next day, after further rehearsals. That same night he made a little speech to the revolutionary guard of honor on the platform, spotlighted by searchlights, the sailors standing at attention: "Comrade sailors, I greet you without knowing yet whether or not you have been believing in all the promises of the Provisional Government. But I am convinced that when they talk to you sweetly, when they promise you a lot, they are deceiving you and the whole Russian people. The people need peace; the people need bread; the people need land. And they give you war, hunger, no bread—leave the landlords still on the land. . . . We must fight for the social revolution, fight to the end, till the complete victory of the proletariat. Long live the world-wide social revolution!"

They put him in an armored car and drove him in triumph through cheering crowds to the Kshesinskaya Palace, the gorgeous mansion of the prima ballerina who had been the Tsar's mistress. Krupskaya was overcome by the tumultuous scene. "Those who have not lived through the revolution cannot imagine its grand and solemn beauty." Everybody was overcome, caught up in the tremendous release of primitive power, eager to see brotherhood and concord as the future state of all those who had helped pull down the Tsar. Only Lenin was not overcome. With his speech to the sailors under the searchlights on the Finland Station he had called for a new revolution: a revolution against the Provisional Government. And he went on calling. He spoke from Kshesinskaya Palace. To the mob he gave no rest. They were pleased with themselves for what they had done. Lenin told them it was not enough. To his fellow revolutionary leaders he brought a shock of reality and a sense of dismay.

And next day he made a formal speech to a meeting inside the Palace which lasted two hours.

"On the journey here with my comrades I was expecting they would take us directly from the station to Peter and Paul. We are far from that, it seems. But let us not give up the hope that it will happen, that we shall not escape it."



From savage irony, directed at those who thought they could come to a compromise with the liberals and the capitalists in the Provisional Government, he went on to the downright expression of views which seemed to his audience to have no connection at all with what was really happening. They were as pleased with their revolution as a dog with two tails. They thought they had done wonderfully well. And here was Lenin, who had watched all from the safety of Switzerland, throwing it in their teeth—not a word of congratulation or praise, just scathing contempt, like a lash. And in its place? Here again, Sukhanov:—

"He swept aside agrarian reforms, along with all the other policies of the Soviet. He demanded that the peasants should themselves organize and seize the land without any governmental interference. We don't need any parliamentary republic. We don't need any bourgeois democracy. We don't need any government except the Soviet of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies."

The audience felt they had been hit over the head. Next day came the celebrated April Theses. In Trotsky's summary: "The republic which has issued from the February revolution is not our republic, and the war which it is waging is not our war. The task of the Bolsheviks is to overthrow the imperialist government. But this government rests upon the support of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who in turn are supported by the trustfulness of the masses of the people. We are in the minority. In these circumstances there can be no talk of violence on our side. We must teach the masses not to trust the compromisers and defensists. 'We must patiently explain!' The success of this policy, dictated by the whole existing situation, is assured, and it will bring us to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so beyond the boundaries of the bourgeois regime. We will break absolutely with capital, publish its secret treaties, and summon the workers of the whole world to cast loose from the bourgeoisie and put an end to the war. We are beginning the international revolution. Only its success will confirm, our success, and guarantee a transition to the socialist regime."

Lenin was alone. The April Theses were offered in his name. They infuriated the Mensheviks and drove many Bolsheviks into the Menshevik camp. He did not mind. "Do not be afraid to remain in a minority." And he proposed a formal break with the Mensheviks. He would no longer share with them the name of Social Democrat. "Personally, and speaking for myself alone, I propose that we change the name of our party, that we call it the Communist Party." Not one of the members of the conference agreed to that final break with the Second International, which had betrayed itself when its members voted war credits to their own government in 1914. "You are afraid to go back on your old memories?" he jeered. "Don't hang on to an old word which is rotten through and through. Have the will to build a new party . . . and all the oppressed will come to you."

"Have the will to build a new party," this extraordinary man demanded in the moment of the party's triumph. Six months later the deed was done, but not before Lenin himself had been driven into hiding to escape from Peter and Paul.

How was it done? What was it all about?

The October revolution was produced by the impact of two distinct forces. One was immense, undisciplined, unsettled as to purpose, and a mass of contradictions; the other compact, maneuverable, and single-minded. One was the people of Russia in revolt, who in March had overthrown the Tsar; the other was the extreme left wing of a single revolutionary party among many, the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. At the moment of crisis this party was reduced for all practical purposes to a single individual, Vladimir Ilych Lenin, born Ulyanov, who had made Bolshevism, sustained it, preserved its inviolability against bitter odds, identified it absolutely with himself, and yet, on the eve of its triumph, was on the verge of resigning from it. The Bolshevik Party

in crisis was nothing but Lenin's will and the men who were prepared to submit to it absolutely. If Lenin had resigned after his return to Russia in 1917 it would have lost its identity, swallowed up by the Mensheviks and the "Compromisers." Lenin would have formed another party, but too late to win for himself the government of Russia; there would have been no Soviet Union. On the other hand, had Lenin given in to the popular demand and allowed his most trusted colleagues to persuade him into compromise, he would have lost his own identity and Bolshevism would have lost its meaning; there would have been no Soviet Union. Lenin made his unbelievable stand when he trotted into the Finland Station in his bowler hat and found himself face to face with Chkheidze.

It was Lenin's personality and tactical skill alone which enabled him, in the name of Marx, to make skilled Marxists follow him against the teachings of Marx. He did this, in the end, by the means he outlined in the April Theses. In the suffering and confusion of revolutionary Russia he held aloof from those who were trying to make the revolution work. He harassed them and embarrassed them with absolute ruthlessness. He appealed to the people, the workers, the soldiers, the peasants, for whom generations of revolutionary intelligentsia had sacrificed themselves, over the heads of the men who had at last helped the people, the workers, the soldiers, and the peasants, to carry out the revolution. He appealed to their most selfish instincts: the desire for bread, for land, for peace. And, in the end, he got them on his side sufficiently to overthrow the government of Petrograd. For this he substituted the dictatorship of the proletariat, which meant, in effect, the dictatorship of Lenin's will.

He was a man selfless and without ambition. He was absolutely lacking in imagination. He loved the people as animals, not as people. He pitied them, but he did not respect them. He was, in the last degree, a sentimentalist. He wanted to save the people from the dreadful tyranny of the Tsars—but in his way and no other. His way held the seeds of another tyranny. He did not see this. If he had been able to see this, he would not have had the superhuman single-mindedness which carried him through all the isolation of the years in the wilderness, denouncing like a minor prophet all those, however beloved, who saw differently from him, on to the Finland Station, at a trot, to declare war, and sustain it to victory, against a revolution which promised to give the people of Russia all that they had ever asked. His sustaining faith, his scientific base, as he would have called it, was that the world revolution, which alone could sustain the Russian revolution, was at hand. He was wrong.<sup>\*9</sup>

## **100 Years of Communism—and 100 Million Dead**

**The Bolshevik plague that began in Russia was the greatest catastrophe in human history.**

Armed Bolsheviks seized the Winter Palace in Petrograd—now St. Petersburg —100 years ago this week and arrested ministers of Russia's provisional government. They set in motion a chain of events that would kill millions and inflict a near-fatal wound on Western civilization.

The revolutionaries' capture of train stations, post offices and telegraphs took place as the city slept and resembled a changing of the guard. But when residents of the Russian capital awoke, they found they were living in a different universe.

Although the Bolsheviks called for the abolition of private property, their real goal was spiritual: to translate Marxist-Leninist ideology into reality. For the first time, a state was created that was based explicitly on atheism and claimed infallibility. This was totally incompatible with Western civilization, which presumes the existence of a higher power over and above society and the state.

The Bolshevik coup had two consequences. In countries where communism came to hold sway, it hollowed out society's moral core, degrading the individual and turning him into a cog in the machinery of the state. Communists committed murder on such a scale as to all but eliminate the value of life and to destroy the individual conscience in survivors.

But the Bolsheviks' influence was not limited to these countries. In the West, communism inverted society's understanding of the source of its values, creating political confusion that persists to this day.

In a 1920 speech to the Komsomol, Lenin said that communists subordinate morality to the class struggle. Good was anything that destroyed "the old exploiting society" and helped to build a "new communist society."

This approach separated guilt from responsibility. Martyn Latsis, an official of the Cheka, Lenin's secret police, in a 1918 instruction to interrogators, wrote: "We are not waging war against individuals. We are exterminating the bourgeoisie as a class. . . . Do not look for evidence that the accused acted in word or deed against Soviet power. The first question should be to what class does he belong. . . . It is this that should determine his fate."

Such convictions set the stage for decades of murder on an industrial scale. In total, no fewer than 20 million Soviet citizens were put to death by the regime or died as a direct result of its repressive policies. This does not include the millions who died in the wars, epidemics and famines that were predictable consequences of Bolshevik policies, if not directly caused by them.

The victims include 200,000 killed during the Red Terror (1918-22); 11 million dead from famine and dekulakization; 700,000 executed during the Great Terror (1937-38); 400,000 more executed between 1929 and 1953; 1.6 million dead during forced population transfers; and a minimum 2.7 million dead in the Gulag, labor colonies and special settlements.

To this list should be added nearly a million Gulag prisoners released during World War II into Red Army penal battalions, where they faced almost certain death; the partisans and civilians killed in the postwar revolts against Soviet rule in Ukraine and the Baltics; and dying Gulag inmates freed so that their deaths would not count in official statistics.

If we add to this list the deaths caused by communist regimes that the Soviet Union created and supported—including those in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia—the total number of victims is closer to 100 million. That makes communism the greatest catastrophe in human history.

The effect of murder on this scale was to create a "new man" supposedly influenced by nothing but the good of the Soviet cause. The meaning of this was demonstrated during the battle of Stalingrad, when Red Army blocking units shot thousands of their fellow soldiers who tried to flee. Soviet forces also shot civilians who sought shelter on the German side, children who filled German water bottles in the Volga, and civilians forced at gunpoint to recover the bodies of German soldiers. Gen. Vasily Chuikov, the army commander in Stalingrad, justified these tactics in his memoirs by saying "a Soviet citizen cannot conceive of his life apart from his Soviet country."

That these sentiments were neither accidental nor ephemeral was made clear in 2008, when the Russian Parliament, the Duma, for the first time adopted a resolution regarding the 1932-33 famine that had killed millions. The famine was caused by draconian grain requisition undertaken to finance Soviet industrialization. Although the Duma

acknowledged the tragedy, it added that “the industrial giants of the Soviet Union,” the Magnitogorsk steel mill and the Dnieper dam, would be “eternal monuments” to the victims.

While the Soviet Union redefined human nature, it also spread intellectual chaos. The term “political correctness” has its origin in the assumption that socialism, a system of collective ownership, was virtuous in itself, without need to evaluate its operations in light of transcendent moral criteria.

When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, Western intellectuals, influenced by the same lack of an ethical point of reference that led to Bolshevism in the first place, closed their eyes to the atrocities. When the killing became too obvious to deny, sympathizers excused what was happening because of the Soviets’ supposed noble intentions.

Many in the West were deeply indifferent. They used Russia to settle their own quarrels. Their reasoning, as the historian Robert Conquest wrote, was simple: Capitalism was unjust; socialism would end this injustice; so socialism had to be supported unconditionally, notwithstanding any amount of its own injustice.

Today the Soviet Union and the international communist system that once ruled a third of the world’s territory are things of the past. But the need to keep higher moral values pre-eminent is as important now as it was in the early 19th century when they first began to be seriously challenged.

In 1909, the Russian religious philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev wrote that “our educated youth cannot admit the independent significance of scholarship, philosophy, enlightenment and universities. To this day, they subordinate them to the interests of politics, parties, movements and circles.”

If there is one lesson the communist century should have taught, it is that the independent authority of universal moral principles cannot be an afterthought, since it is the conviction on which all of civilization depends. \*10

			
<b>Communism</b>	<b>Socialism</b>	<b>Communism</b>	<b>Islam</b>
			
			
<b>62 Million Dead</b>	<b>21 Million Dead</b>	<b>49 Million Dead</b>	<b>300+ Million Dead</b>

ABOVE: ‘LEGACY OF GOD-LESS POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES THAT SEEK TO CONTROL THE WORLD, INCLUDING ISLAM (LED BY MOHAMMED)’ \*11



ANN ALWAYS  
WANTED TO WRESTLE  
WITH THE GIRLS...



SO SHE TRAINED  
HARD AND MADE  
THE GIRLS  
WRESTLING  
TEAM...



SHE WON  
EVERY  
MATCH...



AND WENT TO  
THE STATE  
TOURNAMENT...



WHERE SHE LOST  
TO A BOY WHO  
IDENTIFIED AS  
A GIRL.



ANN JUST  
WANTED TO  
WRESTLE WITH  
THE GIRLS.

WIKILESTER  
WashingtonPostWritersGrip  
4-1-17

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May 1961, President John F. Kennedy  
"We will put Men on the Moon"  
May 2016, President Barack Obama  
"We will put Men in Womens Restrooms"



ABOVE: 'AFTER A CENTURY OF PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL DECEIT, EVIL TRIES TO FORCE MAN TO DESECRATE HIMSELF DENYING GOD' \*12

## Betraying Brexit: The Revolt of the Elites Against the People

Why is everyone so chilled out about the threats to Brexit? Why isn't there more public fury over the plotting of lords and academics and experts to stymie Brexit and thwart the will of 17.4m people? In all the years I've been writing about politics, I cannot remember a time when democracy has been treated with as much disgust, with as much naked, Victorian-era elitism, as it is being today. And yet we're all bizarrely mellow. We're going about our business as if everything is normal, as if the elites aren't right now, this very minute, in revolt against the people. We need to wake up.

Every day brings fresh news of the revolt of the elite, of the march of the neo-reactionaries against the mandate of the masses. At the weekend it was revealed that Brexit might not happen until 2019, because David Davis and Liam Fox can't get their departments in order, the amateurs. The lovers of the EU and loathers of the blob could barely contain their glee. March for Europe, a celeb-backed, media-cheered chattering-class outfit agitated by the throng and the dumb decision it made on 23 June, spied an opportunity to do over Brexit entirely. '[W]e can help delay Brexit further and ultimately defeat it altogether,' it said yesterday. 'We can win this.'

'We can win this.' The 'we' they're talking about is a minority view, backed by the likes of Bob Geldof, Owen Jones and Jarvis Cocker, yes, but by only 10,000 people on Facebook. And the thing they think they can win is the overthrow of the largest democratic mandate in British history. Can we ditch the euphemisms, please? Can we stop referring to these pro-EU groups and sad-eyed marchers for Brussels as progressives simply trying to keep Britain open and cosmo? Because in reality this is a nasty, elitist political strain, driven by an urge to silence the ignorant people.

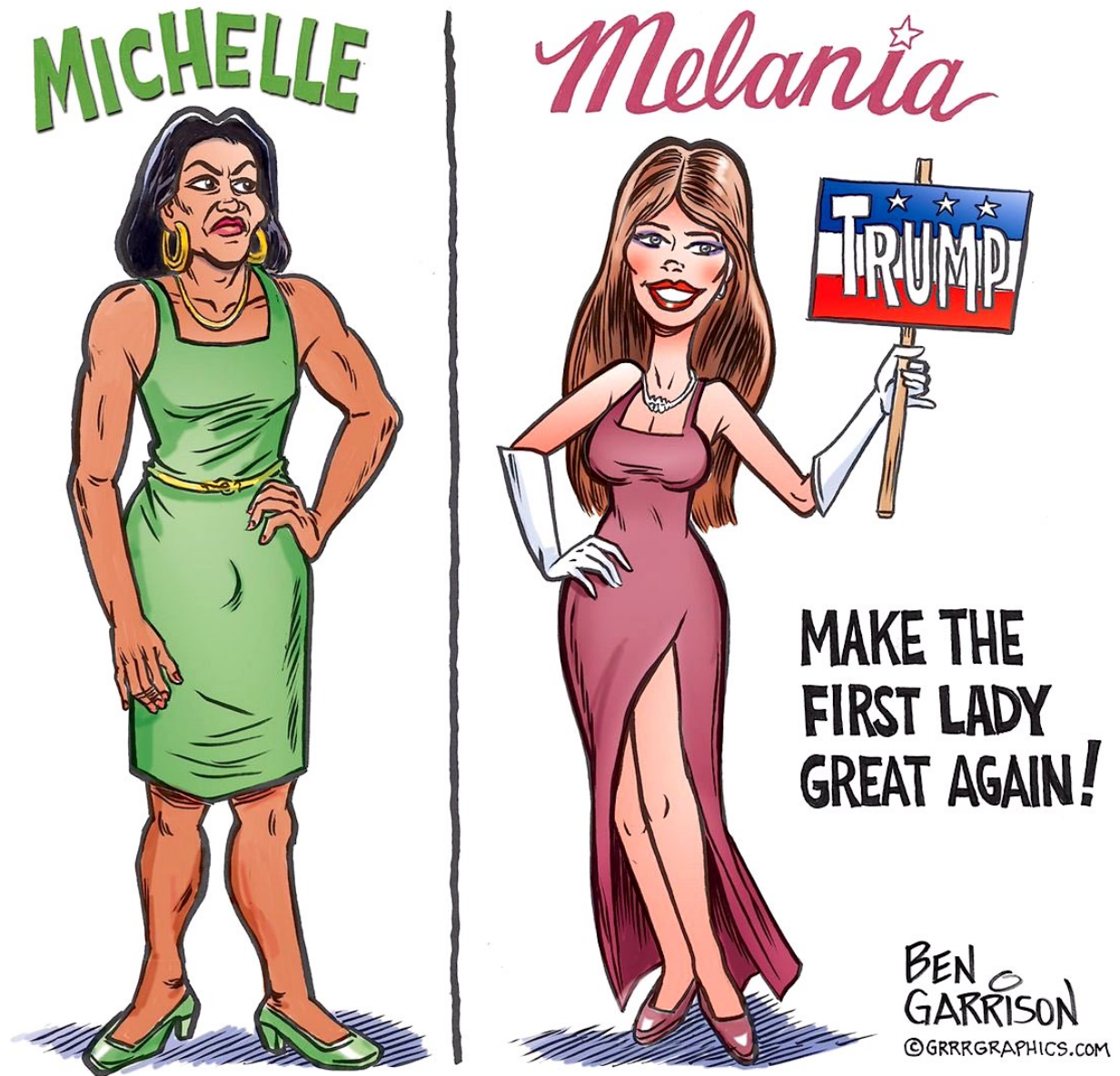
At the same time, a gang of peers is plotting to hold up Brexit. Led by Patience Wheatcroft (if you do titles, which I don't, she is Baroness Wheatcroft of Blackheath, though of course not one soul in Blackheath ever voted for her), these 'several dozen' peers want to delay the enactment of Brexit, or what some of us call the people's will, in the hope of bringing about a second referendum. A chance for us ignorant plebs to redeem ourselves and give the right answer. One of these peers, former Labour MP Oona King, now Baroness King of Bow ('What?', asks everyone in Bow), says she wants to 'scrutinise' the decision made by 'the British people' and 'bring more facts to their attention.' Turns out the neo-aristocrats are a lot like the old aristocrats, fancying themselves as better placed than the little people to decide the fate of the nation.

Professors are joining the revolt of the elite, too. AC Grayling, the bouffanted atheist, has called on MPs not to support triggering Article 50 because Brexit was a 'decision by crowd acclamation' and 'rule by crowd acclamation is a very poor method of government.' Dumb crowds. Other academics are threatening to quit Britain if something isn't done about Brexit / the people. As one report puts it, 'A rising tide of xenophobia [where?] and anti-intellectualism [ie. we're stupid] following the Brexit vote is making academics think of leaving the country and discouraging others from applying for jobs here.' What a temper tantrum. The people voted for something we don't like, so we're off! And they accuse the electorate of behaving like children.

Then there's the business class. Sections of it are pumping money into the revolt of the elite. Richard Branson wants a second referendum. The law firm Mishcon de Reya is representing various 'business interests'—ie. very rich people—who want to prevent the triggering of Article 50. One of those business interests—Gina Miller, an investment manager—says the people 'have been fooled' and now we need 'better-informed debate' and another vote. Normally the left would be up in arms at the sight of wealthy folks using their clout to slow down democratic sentiment. Not this time, though, because most of what now passes for the left—from the Guardian to the supposedly liberal expert set—is totally on board with the revolt of the elite, with this polite putsch, with this open war on what the people want.

Among the political class, both Tim Farron and Owen Smith—leader and aspiring leader of oppositional parties—say they will prevent Brexit or call a second referendum. Seeking electoral support by promising to stifle the electorate's loud, democratic cry of just two months ago? It's an interesting approach, I'll give them that. It's also deeply, irritatingly anti-democratic.

It has to stop. We're witnessing an explicit use of power and influence to overthrow, or at least water down, the say of the people. It is an outrage. And it's being made worse by the uselessness of Theresa May's cabinet, whose constant pushing back of triggering Article 50 gives the impression that it's a scary, difficult thing to do (which it isn't) and in the process inflames the anti-democratic ambitions of the new elites. We need to get real, and fast. Not only is Brexit at stake—so is democracy itself. Earlier generations took to the streets to roar against less ugly elitist campaigns than the one we're currently living through. So why aren't we on the streets protesting? I'm serious. They might have money and titles and newspaper columns, but we have the masses on our side. Let's remind them of that. \*13



## RIP: No One Will Ever Call Michelle Obama a 'Tranny' Again

With the death of Joan Rivers at 81 Thursday, we lost one more icon in a dwindling breed: the comedian who does not seek the good opinion of the powerful media and entertainment elite.

Just two months before her death, Rivers mocked President Obama as “gay” and First Lady Michelle Obama as a “tranny,” and caught hell for it from the likes of the Huffington Post. Those servants to power chided: “Rivers took her ‘jokes’ too far yet again this week, when she hurled a trans slur at the first lady.”

Think about that: a supposed LIBERAL publication said that a comedian “took her jokes too far.”



Barack Obama's terrorist friend Bill Ayers standing on the American flag isn't as offensive and un-American as someone saying a comedian "took her jokes too far."

Now Rivers is gone and outside of a handful of comedic insurgents like Don Rickles, Dennis Miller, and Adam Carolla, we're stuck with Politically Correct Palace Guards like Jon Stewart, Sarah Silverman, Stephen Colbert, Tina Fey, Will Ferrell, Lena Dunham, Ricky Gervais, the cast of "Saturday Night Live," and pretty much everyone associated with Funny or Die—all big government-loving cowards desperate to fit into a comedic class that believes political correctness is a virtue and those who buck it should be held up to ridicule.

Today's comedic class isn't about pushing the boundaries of free speech towards sacred cows, they are Speech Enforcers using their talents and the power of ridicule to marginalize and silence those who do not conform to the left's standards of accepted speech.

Gays, blacks, women, immigrants, Muslims... off limits.

Fat white southern heterosexual male Christians... katy bar the door.

Joan Rivers attacked everyone—from Michelle Obama to Sarah Palin. Whether you enjoyed her style or not, it was nice knowing that someone—someone!—was out there with the courage to invite the kind of outrage that causes a Huffington Post to accuse you of going too far. Pissing off Christians is a career-enhancer. Pissing off the Left and GLAAD is a career killer.

Before his untimely death, 80's comedy legend Sam Kinison almost lost his career for the sin of believing no subject (starvation in Africa) or group (women, gays) should be inoculated from satire. Andrew Dice Clay was the biggest comedian in the country until even cast members of "Saturday Night Live"(!) organized to effectively destroy his career over crude jokes about women.

What makes this even more horrific is the double standard. Bill Maher calls Sarah Palin a "c\*nt," Louis CK says things about Palin that are too grotesque to repeat, David Letterman jokes about Palin's underage daughter getting knocked up... that's fine in America. These three men remain well-paid, critically-adored living legends because they are men of the left who chose the right target.

Rush Limbaugh, however, who is both an entertainer and commentator, uses the word "slut" and for weeks becomes public enemy number one in the media. Reality television star Phil Robertson is massacred on cable news and almost fired from "Duck Dynasty" for crudely expressing his Christian beliefs. GLAAD's totalitarian re-education rampages against anyone who doesn't treat a homosexual like a snowflake are straight out of the McCarthy era.

No free-thinking American would have a problem with non-stop PalinChristianConservativeMaleSouthern jokes if it weren't so obvious that our media and entertainment overlords are aggressively stacking the deck into a politically-conceived double standard against us, and using the likes of Stewart, Colbert, and Ferrell to do it.

We're fair game to be marginalized and made uncool.

The left is not.

That's not comedy, that's fascism. <sup>\*14</sup>

## How far will you let this silliness go?

That's a good question, kind of. Those of us who work to pay for government benefits offered to the American people typically don't have a lot of time to organize—because we're working. In fact because of our current economic situation many of us have had to rely on those government benefits, and we may even wonder if the system was ever designed to help people get out of it. But we need to be careful how we live in every aspect of life. When trying to preserve liberty and fight the forces that erode it we need to guard against damaging our own side. Thinking has as much to do with the culture war as does policy; perhaps even more so. Did you notice part of a progressive attitude even in asking "what can we do about it"?

If we take a collective approach to dealing with society's problems we can easily get locked into a progressive trap: the problem is SO BIG. That mentality can lead us to feeling defeated, and we give up. Or it can lead us to thinking only the professionals and experts can fight this fight—which is eerily similar to the "government knows best" tenet of left wing ideology. When fighting against progressive policy we're fighting an uphill battle. There's so much going on that we need to fight those up hill battles, sure, but we don't have to limit the fight only to this hard way of doing things. We can also battle the supply lines, the beginnings of the culture war: people's hearts and minds.

We can challenge progressive ideas before they over take our laws. We can attack parts of the progressive agenda before they take root in our communities. It's much easier to win a battle that way, if we would just do it. But we're reluctant. There are some brave souls willing to devote their lives to this battle, and they should be commended. Much of what is now called the "new media" or "alternative media" is a great example of what can happen when freedom loving Americans work together to fight the culture war. Alternative media has grown by leaps and bounds in the last few decades. But that's only a good start, it's not the end.

Freedom lovers need to be active not only in living life but also in defending the very liberty we love. We all know the saying eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. But we don't act like we know it. We often live our lives as though merely exercising freedom is enough. It isn't. Our freedoms are eroding while jaws scrape the ground in astonishment. But there is something we can do.

Pick an issue. Build a community around defending freedom in that arena. You're right in thinking you, alone, can't do much. But you also won't accomplish much in just leaving it "to the experts". You can form a tribe with like minded people. And as a team you can accomplish something.

Make movies. Make music. Form a club, a think tank, a fund raiser, etc. Pick something you and a group of other freedom lovers can do together to join in the fight...

The progressive agenda has dominated public education for generations, and it's getting worse. The left is moving further left and training future citizens to perpetuate a Statist way of life. This agenda can be challenged on a grassroots level. If that movement grows, as it almost certainly would, you could push back hard against the anti-gun/anti-Second Amendment agenda. In fact I've created something to help in that particular fight. I'm calling it the Separation Between School and State movement... I want to help right minded Americans fight the culture war from the grassroots level, fighting an oppressive philosophy BEFORE it becomes the law of the land. And when sufficient momentum is built you'll be amazed at how much can be done at the state or even federal level...

You should be happening to tyranny so freedom can ring. <sup>\*15</sup>

# Tyrannical Students

Watching student protests spread like wildfire across college campuses nationwide, a former Harvard Law School professor of 50 years is speaking out, warning that students are “moving to the absurd,” and faculty and administrators are doing nothing to stop it.

“It’s gotten to the point where it is so abused and so hypocritical, and yet nobody is concerned,” Alan Dershowitz told The Daily Signal in a phone interview. “After 50 years of teaching at Harvard, I have never met a less courageous group of people than tenured faculty.”

*The last thing administrators or faculty want to do is get into fights with minority students, because then they’re perceived as being racists and sexists and homophobes, and these are epithets that are hard to respond to. So it’s much easier to go with the flow and be popular, particularly with the most vocal students.*

Dershowitz, a Jewish native of Brooklyn who’s been called “the nation’s most peripatetic civil liberties lawyer,” speaks to the protests from experience. Throughout his career, Dershowitz says his pro-Israel advocacy work triggered anti-Semitic and hateful protests from students when he would speak on college campuses.

But those protests, he said, you never read about in the news.

“At Johns Hopkins University, when I delivered the Milton Eisenhower lectures, I was defaced with Hitler mustaches painted on my face,” he said.

*There’s clearly a double standard. Minority students, gay students, transgender students, Arab students generally have a greater leverage and a greater voice, and their grievances are taken far more seriously than the legitimate grievances of Jewish students, Zionist students, Christian students, conservative students.*

Dershowitz believes that protests are a legitimate exercise of free speech “as long as the protests don’t call for other people to lose their right of free speech.”

But the recent protests sweeping across college campuses, he said, are anything but.

“It started at Harvard with Larry Summers being fired, and once the faculty and the students saw that they had this kind of power...it’s very hard not to use it, because if you don’t use it, you’re regarded as a sellout.”

*And then it moved to University of Missouri, where apparently there were some racial tensions and problems. There may have been good reason for a transition of leadership. That may be correct. But then you move to the absurd, where at Yale they’re spitting at somebody who was talking about free speech. Or where they ban the showing of “The Vagina Monologues” because it doesn’t take into account transgender. Well, let transgenders write their own plays. Everybody should write their own plays. The idea that you can’t have a play about “The Vagina Monologues” because it doesn’t include transgender is just blatantly absurd.*

The most recent example took place at Princeton University, where students are protesting to remove President Woodrow Wilson’s name from all school buildings because he supported racial segregation.

Among other demands, Planet Princeton reported that students “called on the school to provide a dedicated space on campus for black students that is clearly marked.”

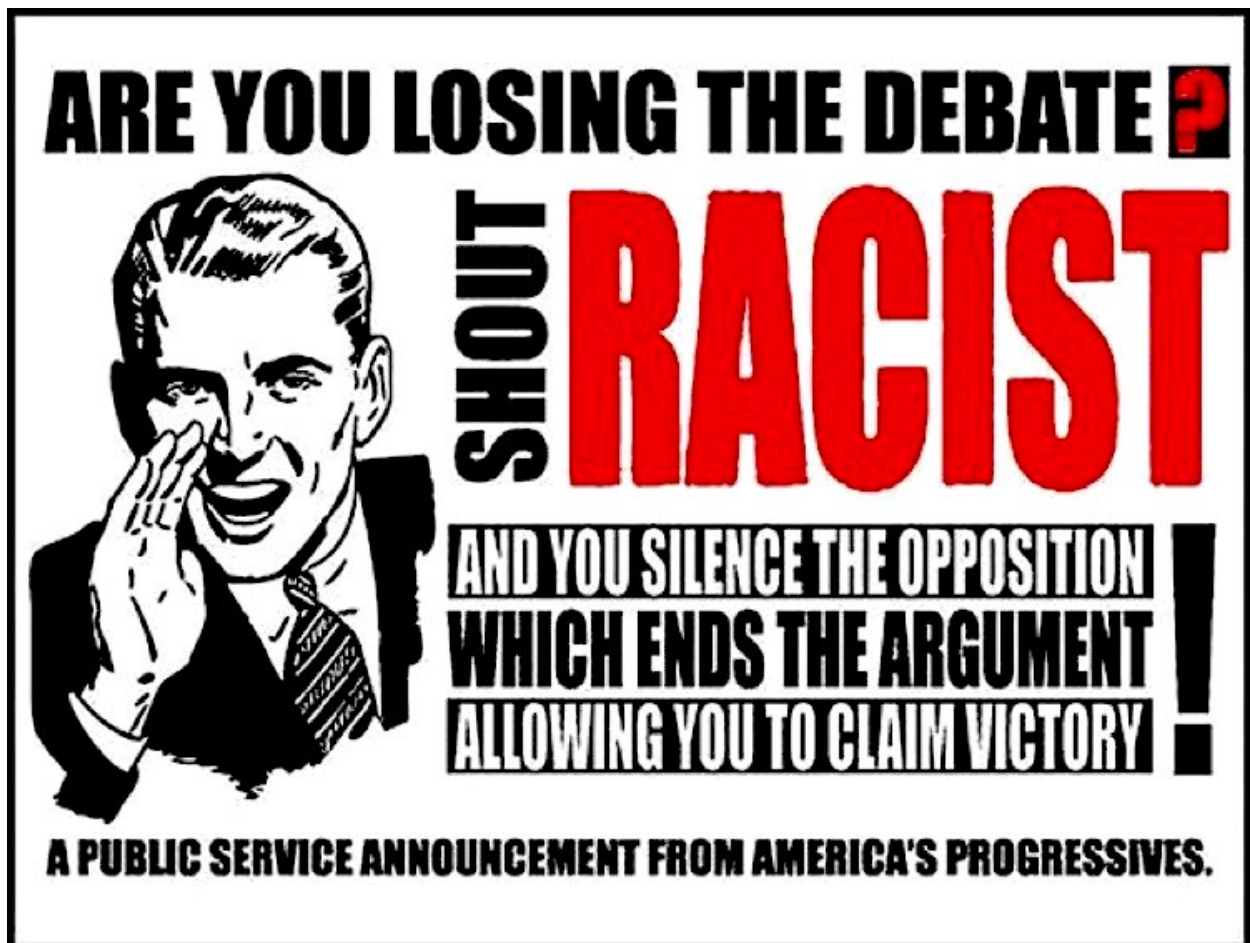
According to the Associated Press, Princeton University President Chris Eisgruber ended a 32-hour sit-in by signing an agreement with the students to “look into the legacy of alumnus and former U.S. President Woodrow Wilson.”

Dershowitz believes that all incidents of alleged racism and discrimination on college campuses should be investigated, addressed, and used as a “teaching moment” for students. But by giving in to the protesters’ “abused” demands, he said, faculty and administrators are relinquishing their primary duty of ensuring that “the exchange of ideas, the free expression of points of view, is never compromised.”

“It’s time for some brave administrators to stand up to these student hypocrites, and these are tyrannical students who think the truth is on their side and there’s no reason to hear opposing points of view,” Dershowitz said.

But that, he added, would require a “brave administrator or a brave faculty member.”

*I wish I were still back teaching actively, because I would be standing up to them.* \*16



ABOVE: “YOU CAN NEVER PLEASE THESE PEOPLE, SO STOP GODDAMN TRYING.” — ‘RACISM IS A COMMUNIST POLITICAL WEAPON USED TO DIVIDE AND POLARIZE THE PUBLIC, CAUSING AN EMOTIONAL REACTION IN THOSE WITH ANGER IN THEMSELVES, WITHOUT GOD’. \*17

# Think America's Racist? What That Says About You

A black pastor and activist says the black community is careening toward disaster unless it stops seeing racism as the root of its problems and focuses on rebuilding the black family with God at the center of it.

In the book, Peterson rips liberal activists and politicians for fanning the belief among many black Americans that ongoing racism is responsible for their economic and social conditions. He said it's something much simpler.

"The worst thing that can happen to children is not to have a good father in the home, where while they're growing up they can look at and observe and see the right way to go, the right way to deal with life," Peterson told WND and Radio America. "Most of these children don't have fathers in their homes. Seventy-three percent of black babies are born out of wedlock today."

He said the negative impact of fatherless homes runs very deep.

"They're angry because in their souls, in themselves, they miss their father," Peterson explained. "There's a longing for their father. There's anger because most of the mothers are turning them away from their fathers by telling them their father's no good, that he doesn't love you. There's a void there, and they're spoiled because their mothers are spoiling them."

When those "angry" young people reach adulthood, Peterson said deceptive politicians and activists that he calls "alchemists" are ready to manipulate that frustration.

"Instead of helping them to overcome their home life, they tell them that it's racism, that white people are against them and try to hold them back," he said. "Many blacks believe that because when you're angry, you can't believe the truth."

Peterson said the goal of the "alchemists" is not to improve lives but to exploit them for political purposes.

"(Today's) civil rights movement, Barack Obama and liberal whites are controlling black Americans for personal gain, to gain power and wealth and to really change America into a socialist society," said Peterson, who believes Obama feeds into the narrative because he's part of it after growing up in a broken home himself.

"He doesn't have the same respect for God," he said. "He doesn't have respect for the country. He is in that same fallen state that these black radicals that you look at every day on TV running white people away from their jobs, accusing white people, cursing and carrying on. Obama has created that environment even more so because he's in the same state of mind."

Peterson said the black family was already struggling to stay together when Lyndon Johnson's Great Society was introduced in the 1960s and government programs began sending checks to single mothers for food, welfare and other needs.

"When the civil rights movement started, they took the fathers out, and the government became the daddy," Peterson said.

This is not theory to Peterson because he's lived it. He was born on a plantation in Jim Crow Alabama. His mother and birth father split, and she married someone else by the time he was born. He said his mother, stepfather and grandparents instilled in him the values of hard work and the importance of not hating anyone because of their skin color.

Despite having a more stable home life than many young black men, Peterson said he struggled mightily when he ventured to California to start his own life.

"I grew up with a void," Peterson said. "Even though I had a stable environment, I still had a yearning for my father. I wanted my earthly father. My mother would try to turn me away from him whenever I would ask for him. She was saying he's no good, so I resented her for that."

Then came the "alchemists."

"I started listening to Jesse Jackson and others, and they said that white people was my problem," Peterson said. "Because they were in the forefront, were adults and popular, I thought they were telling the truth. I ended up, for the first time in my life, hating white people and my life went to hell in a hand-basket. I ended up on welfare."

Peterson said he still had white friends but would bristle over any sort of disagreement, particularly about race, and consider them racists. While he was still trying to cope with the absence of his earthly father, he turned to his heavenly Father.

"I asked God to let me see what was wrong with me," Peterson said. "He allowed me to see that the resentment that I had for not having my father and for my mother was holding me back in life. It separated me from God.

"He also showed me that I needed to forgive, so I went and forgave my father. When I forgave my father and mother, God forgave me. He took away all that anger, all the confusion, the doubt, the fear," said Peterson, who adds he now has an "excellent relationship" with his earthly father.

Peterson admits a Herculean effort is required to turn conditions around. But he said it starts with simply saying no to people who believe their victimhood entitles them to whatever they want.

"The first thing that white Americans need to say [is] no to is this notion that you're a racist. Let them call you whatever they want, but you speak the truth to the issue," Peterson said.

Next, he said, America must be rid of government programs that make millions willing to perpetuate their bleak condition.

"We need to get away from affirmative-action based on color," he said. "We need to stop giving these people free welfare, free affirmative-action, free everything. You're corrupting their nature when you do that. They lose all sense of hope and the ability to do for themselves."

From there, Peterson said we need to build the family back up again, starting with a right understanding of what a family looks like.

“There’s a spiritual order to life,” he explained. “That order is God in Christ, Christ in man, man over woman, women over the children. It’s not a competition. It’s just a spiritual order. When the wife and the children love the father, who loves God, then life works well.”

A major priority is getting men to acknowledge and live up to their responsibilities as husbands and fathers, something BOND has been doing for years.

“We are rebuilding the father by rebuilding the man,” he said. “What we’re doing is getting men to turn back to God, love Him with all their heart, soul and might, and then get married and start guiding their families in the right way to go.”

Peterson said this effort is of the utmost importance because a culture filled with hatred and division will not last very long.

“Unless we muster up enough courage to tell the truth about this anger that starts in the home first and not with white people, there’s no hope for this country,” Peterson said. “How can God help us when we refuse to speak the truth about what is wrong? The problem is the destruction of black families and not white racism. I guarantee you that.” \*18



ABOVE: “NO ONE CALLED TRUMP RACIST UNTIL JUNE 16, 2015” — ‘ON THE DAY HE ANNOUNCED HIS CANDIDACY FOR PRESIDENCY’. \*19

## Meet the Cry-Bully: A Hideous Hybrid of Victim and Victor

In the 1970s, there was a big difference between bullies and cry-babies. Your mum would have preferred you to hang around with the latter, but sometimes the former had a twisted charisma so strong that you found yourself joining in the taunts of 'Onion Head!' at some poor unfortunate creature sporting a cranium of a somewhat allium caste. After a bit, of course, if you had anything about you, you realized what a knob you were being and went off to sample the more solitary, civilized pleasures of shoplifting and reading Oscar Wilde with the bedroom curtains closed. But you could be certain, as you festered in your pilfered Chelsea Girl vest, that bullies were bullies and cry-babies were cry-babies and never the twain would meet.

Fast forward some four decades and things are not so simple. This is the age of the Cry-Bully, a hideous hybrid of victim and victor, weeper and walloper. They are everywhere, these duplicit Pushmi-Pullyus of the personal and the political, from Celebrity Big Brother to the frontline of Islamism. Jeremy Clarkson is a prime cry bully, punching a producer and then whining in The Sunday Times about 'losing my baby' (The baby being Top Gear). Perez Hilton, recently of the CBB house, is a good example too, screaming abuse at his wretched room-mates until they snapped and hit back, at which point he would dissolve in floods of tears and flee to the Diary Room to claim that he felt 'unsafe'. Stephen Fry is one, forever banging on about his own mental fragility yet mocking Stephen Hawking's voice at a recent awards ceremony.

Esther Rantzen—an anti-bullying campaigner—strikes me as another.... Rantzen has re-created herself as a pathetic widow, complaining about having no one to go on holiday with, so desperately lonely for human companionship that she once rang her daughter to say that the Almighty would want them to live together. (Not as much as He'd want people not to gloat over the deaths of people whose lives they had ruined, surely.)

Even social media—the source of so much fun and friendship for most of us—becomes a double-edged sword in the hands of the Cry-Bully. They will threaten women with rape on Twitter then boo-hoo about the invasion of their privacy when called to account. It's a sort of Munchausen's syndrome – causing one's own misery then complaining about it—seen most sadly in the case of Hannah Smith, the 14-year-old girl who took her own life in 2013 after allegedly being cyber-bullied on the teen website Ask.fm. It turned out that some 98 per cent of the abusive messages came from poor Hannah herself, with only four posts being contributed by actual trolls.

Cry-Bullies do end up isolated, as their determination to be victim and victor eventually wears out the patience of the most forbearing friend. But they can also be found hanging around in gangs; then, Cry-Bullies really come into their own and are not just irritating but dangerous. Islamism is the ultimate Cry-Bully cause; on one hand stamping around murdering anyone who doesn't agree with you, on the other hand yelling 'ISLAMOPHOBIA' in lieu of having a real adult debate about the merits of your case. Their 'helpline' is even called Tell Mama—bless. The British-born Islamist recently sentenced to twelve years had no problem posing with severed heads ('Heads, kaffirs, disgusting') and asking friends back home to send him condoms which he planned to use raping women captured as 'war booty' but then claimed to be having nightmares and suffering from depression in order to escape jail.

The transexual and pimp-lobbies bring classic Cry-Bully tactics into play whenever they come across someone who doesn't—shock, horror!—think the same as them, as unashamed feminists from the activist Julie Bindel to the comedian Kate Smurthwaite have discovered. In these cases, the claim that 'safe spaces' might be violated by the presence of someone who thinks differently to them; but born women, mysteriously, are expected to surrender the ultimate Safe Space—the female toilets—to pre-op chicks with dicks if they are not to be accused of violent bigotry...



# A Time When No One Was Afraid To Say Merry Christmas

When the first World War began, British women suffragists sent an open Christmas letter “To the Women of Germany and Austria” as the first Christmas of the war approached. Pope Benedict XV, Dec. 7, 1914, begged for a truce, asking: “that the guns may fall silent at least upon the night the angels sang.”

These requests were officially rebuffed.

Nevertheless, on Christmas Eve, Dec. 24, 1914, an estimated 100,000 British, French and German troops near Ypres in Belgium along the Western Front, ceased fighting. The thunderous booming of artillery fell silent that night. German troops started decorating their trenches with Christmas trees and candles in their branches.

They began singing “Stille Nacht”—“Silent Night.” As this was one of the Christmas carols that soldiers on both sides knew, English, French and German troops began to sing along across the battle lines.

“Silent Night” was written a century earlier by the priest Father Joseph Mohr, with the melody composed by Austrian headmaster Franz Xaver Gruber. The song came to be on Dec. 24, 1818, at St. Nicholas Church in Oberndorf bei Salzburg, Austria. The organ had broken for their Christmas eve service, so they quickly composed the song to be accompanied by guitar.

“Silent Night” has been translated into over 44 languages.

Silent night, holy night,  
All is calm, all is bright  
Round yon virgin mother and child.  
Holy infant so tender and mild,  
Sleep in heavenly peace,  
Sleep in heavenly peace.

Silent night, holy night,  
Shepherds quake at the sight,  
Glories stream from heaven afar,  
Heavenly hosts sing alleluia;  
Christ the Savior, is born,  
Christ the Savior, is born.

Silent night, holy night,  
Son of God, love’s pure light  
Radiant beams from thy holy face,  
With the dawn of redeeming grace,  
Jesus, Lord, at thy birth,  
Jesus, Lord, at thy birth.

The 1914 unofficial Christmas truce continued as soldiers from both sides started shouting Christmas greetings to each other... <sup>\*21</sup>

# Climate Change, Scientific Fraud, and Population Control

Social scientist and author Steven Mosher called the global warming movement an enemy of the sanctity of innocent human life at an international symposium that began online Tuesday to address the anti-Christian nature of population control.

Mosher, long recognized as an expert in China's domestic policy, started his address by explaining that the earth's temperature has always fluctuated, sometimes dramatically.

"I did a historical study of climate change in China, which shows that the climate in China 2,000 years ago was several degrees warmer than it is today," Mosher said, adding, "And of course that was a long time before we started hearing about climate change and global warming."

The bestselling author, who went through a Ph.D program in Oceanography at the University of Washington, further noted that during the Jurassic period, the earth was 15 degrees warmer on average than it is today.

Criticizing global warming fearmongers, Mosher said not long ago the same "experts" were frantically making the exact opposite claims. "In the 1970s ... the climate 'experts' were warning about a coming 'ice age,'" he said. "Now it has flipped over 180 degrees to be global warming."

"The truth is, nobody really knows what's going to happen to the climate in the future," Mosher explained. "We've seen extremes of temperatures on the cold side and on the warm side that make any projection of one or two degrees pale in comparison."

Mosher spoke on "Environmentalism and Climate Change as an Avenue for Population Control." The International Conference on Population Control is sponsored by the Lepanto Institute. Its theme is "How Radical Enemies of Life are Pushing Their Global Agenda to End Poverty by Eliminating the Poor."

"We had global warming and ice ages a long time before human beings invented the internal combustion engine, and a long time before there were a million of us running around the planet giving birth to little 'carbon dioxide emitters,'" he quipped, quoting how climate change activists refer to children.

Turning to his compromised colleagues, Mosher said too many are swayed by the government dole. "I'm really appalled at how the scientific community has sold out for big research grants and to get their name highlighted in the faculty journal and get invited to U.N. conferences," Mosher said. "This is the biggest scientific fraud ever perpetrated on the family of man."

Mosher accused "experts" of jumping on the global warming bandwagon because "they are well paid to do so." "When you spend billions of dollars subsidizing research, you generally get what you pay for," he charged. "The climate scientist who gets the million dollar grant and says, 'After study, there's really no danger of global warming,' doesn't get his grant renewed."

"But the guy who gets 10 million dollars for 'finding' global warming probably gets a hundred million after that," Mosher illustrated.

Mosher, who received the Blessed Frederic Ozanam award from the Society of Catholic Social Scientists for “exemplifying the ideal of Catholic social action,” mentioned that meteorologist Anthony Watts has tallied government payouts related to global warming. Watts estimates \$1.5 trillion to \$2 trillion are “tied up in the climate hoax.” ClimateDepot’s Marc Morano described the racket as the “Great Climate Hustle.”

But even if the earth’s temperature is rising, Mosher says that does not translate into the doomsday predictions of Al Gore — that the state of Florida sinks into the ocean in a decade.

“In my view, a little bit of warming is not necessarily a bad thing,” Mosher claimed. “Even if the earth does warm in the next hundred years, I argue it will be a good thing for humanity.”

A warming planet will open up land for much needed farming. If temperatures rise, “we will see Canada be able to bring vast areas of land under cultivation. We will see Siberia bloom. We will see food production go up,” Mosher said.

“More people die in the winter of cold than die of heat in the summer,” he explained. “We’ll see mortality rates among the very young and the very old go down. Lives will be saved,” Mosher said. “There will be less hunger in the world.”

Other speakers at the conference include Child Advocacy attorney Lis York, LifeSiteNews’ John-Henry Westen, Human Life International’s Dr. Brian Clowes, HLI president Fr. Shenan Boquet, La Nuova Bussola Quotidiana’s Riccardo Cascioli, Italian economist Ettore Gotti Tedeschi, Sacred Heart Institute’s Raymond De Souza, and Dr. Philip Chidi Njemanze.

Mosher calls the current politically correct environment a billion-dollar a year “giant propaganda effort” against science and common sense. “This is a myth of guilt,” he said. “This is a myth that drives population control. This is a myth that will decrease the use of energy that will literally kill poor people.”

“This is ultimately about radical environmentalists (engineering) their idea of paradise before man,” Mosher charged, saying radicals believe that people “ruined it.” “They have seized upon global warming as an excuse to justify their war on people to promote abortion, sterilization, and contraception around the world.”

Mosher emphasized that the ultimate goal of global warmists is population control. “They cheered China’s one-child policy from the very beginning,” he mentioned.

The Q&A session then turned to Catholic leaders’ part in the anti-life global warming movement.

“Catholic teaching promotes stewardship of the environment,” Mosher reminded listeners, “but some of the participants of recent Vatican conferences have a history of promoting population control (and) abortion. That’s in opposition to Catholic teaching. I’m surprised they were invited to these conferences (and) given a platform by the Vatican itself to propagate views to directly violate Catholic teaching.”

According to Michael Hichborn, president of conference sponsor the Lepanto Institute, pro-abortion population control activists have established a foothold inside the Catholic Church under the pretext of environmental protection. Now they are “actively working to undermine and subvert the Church and her teachings from within” in an “unprecedented attack.”

Mosher agreed. “The radical environmental movement is using the borrowed authority of the Vatican to propagate its false view of humanity (and) its false view of the relationship between man and the environment,” he charged. “Unfortunately, some in the Vatican are allowing themselves and the Catholic Church to be misused in this way.” The pro-life researcher and social activist questioned the motivations of those in the Vatican who would give pro-abortionists a voice. “I’m afraid there are certain people in the Vatican who are more interested in winning applause from the world than ... evangelizing and getting as many people home to heaven as possible,” he said.

Mosher quoted one Vatican guest speaker, former colleague Paul R. Ehrlich, who claims “the biggest problem that we face is the continuing expansion of the human enterprise.” Mosher quoted Ehrlich as saying, “Perpetual growth is the creed of the cancer cell.”

Mosher criticized Ehrlich for his extremist view of population growth and for “comparing it to a cancerous growth. I can hardly imagine a more derogatory description of the human family than comparing it to a cancer cell,” Mosher said.

“When my wife and I had nine children, we didn’t think that they resembled cancer cells. We thought that we were new souls into existence, cooperating with God in populating this world and hopefully in the next,” Mosher commented.

Mosher then took on worldwide abortion promoter Bill Gates. “Bill Gates tried to argue that he was only funding population control programs in countries where the population was increasing at three percent a year,” Mosher quoted, adding that he disagreed that high birth rates are a problem in the first place. “But I said, ‘Bill, there are only a few small islands in the Pacific where the birth rate is still that high.’”

Then Mosher got to his point with Gates. “If you’re worried about high birth rate, cure childhood diseases, reduce the infant mortality rate, and the birth rate will come down naturally,” he told the Microsoft billionaire. “The reason why families in Africa still have four and five children is because they expect to lose one or two children to disease before they reach adulthood.”

Mosher went on in his address to assert that climate changers have the solution all wrong. “This is all done under the false assumption that if you reduce the number of people on the planet you will somehow increase the number of seals and whales and trees and other things that the radical environmentalists seem to value more than human beings,” Mosher revealed. “What we need to have is continued economic growth, because once a country gets above \$2,000 per capita, they have the resources to set aside natural parks and nature preserves and national forests and so forth.”

“It’s poverty that’s the enemy of the environment, not people,” he summarized.

“It’s poverty that leads the poor to cut down the last tree, as they have in Haiti, to build a house or cook their food,” Mosher pointed out. “It’s poverty that leads them to pollute the water that they need to drink because they can’t afford to dig a well or build a sewage treatment plant. It’s poverty that leads them to plant the last square foot of land because they ... can’t afford fertilizer or they can’t afford proper irrigation.”

"Poverty is the enemy of the environment," the human rights advocate said. "And we know how to cure poverty: You have the rule of law, you have property rights, you have an open and free economic system. And once you cure poverty, people will take care of the environment."

But the radical environmentalists' have it backward, Mosher claimed. Their "more people equals less of everything else" narrative is not true, he said. "More people as good stewards of the environment means more of everything else: more whales, more trees, more land set aside."

The author described the global warmist movement as "anti-people." "Here we almost have a demonic hatred of our fellow human beings," he said. "They cry copious tears over a mistreated dog or cat, but they ignore that 4,000 babies are being brutally killed — torn limb from limb — in wombs across the United States today."

"The other side of the evangelization coin," Mosher said, "is allowing the human beings to come into existence in the first place."

Back on the subject of Catholic response to global warming threats, Mosher said the Christian response cannot be legislated. "The questions of how we should be good stewards of the environment are prudential questions that will never be settled dogmatically," the Population Research Institute president concluded.

Part of the Catholic solution is the Pontifical Academy of Science should invite as contributors "only people who were Catholic," Mosher offered.

"If you do not have a Trinitarian worldview," he explained, "then your position on many of these issues are going to be radically different than what the Catholic Church teaches."

Global warmists "are people who have radically different views of what humanity is," Mosher said. "It makes a real difference if I think that mankind is only a little lower than the angels, created in the image and likeness of God. Paul Ehrlich believes that we're only a little higher than the apes, and it's necessary now to thin the herd. He believes that we're only animals, (so) there's no moral question to be answered; it's just a simple question of numbers and power."

"Such a radical reductionist view of what human beings are should not be endorsed by the Vatican," he opined. Mosher commented that after listening to some of the non-Catholic Vatican conference speakers, Pope Francis himself has talked about climate change as the cause of world hunger. "That gets the facts exactly backwards," he said. "I think we need to go to Rome ... and talk and educate people."

Hichborn noted the significance of the issue today. "Population Control is an agenda that ties together nearly every major cause of the anti-family left," he said. "Homosexuality, environmentalism, poverty reduction, foreign aid, and even mass immigration are connected to the population control agenda."

"For the sake of souls, lives, and the family, it is vitally important for everyone who calls themselves pro-life to stand up now," Hichborn added. "If we don't fight this now, it won't be long before there won't be a civilization left to defend." \*22

"Everyone thinks of changing the world, but no one thinks of changing himself." —*Leo Tolstoy*

# The Carbon Dioxide Level is Dangerously Low

The United States is needlessly penalizing itself and squandering its resource endowment, all because of the big lie that carbon dioxide is causing dangerous global warming. The Chinese, in contrast, merely pay lip service to that big lie. The only reason they are making a token effort on the “global warming” front is to encourage Western countries to continue hobbling their own economies. One can be forgiven for thinking that there must be some truth in the global warming notion given how much noise its advocates have made. But as with most causes promoted by leftist ideologues, the truth is exactly the opposite to their claim. The fact of the matter is the carbon dioxide level of the atmosphere remains dangerously low at four hundred parts per million. In fact the more carbon dioxide there is in the atmosphere, the better for all forms of life on planet Earth.

Before the Industrial Revolution, carbon dioxide in the atmosphere stood at 286 parts per million. Let us round this number to 300 parts per million to make the sums easier. Naturally occurring greenhouse gases ensure that the planet is 30°C warmer than it would otherwise be if they were not in the atmosphere, so the average temperature of the planet's surface is 15°C instead of -15°C. Water vapor is responsible for 80 percent of that effect, and carbon dioxide for only 10 percent, with methane, ozone, and so forth accounting for the remainder. So the approximately 300 parts per million of carbon dioxide is good for 3°C degrees of warming. If the relationship between carbon dioxide concentration and temperature were arithmetic—in other words, a straight linear relationship—then adding another 100 parts per million of carbon dioxide would result in one degree of warming. We are adding 2 parts per million to the atmosphere annually, or 100 parts per million every fifty years. At that rate, humanity would fry.

Thankfully, the relationship between atmospheric carbon dioxide and temperature is logarithmic, not arithmetic. The first 20 parts per million of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere provides 1.6°C of warming, after which the effect drops away rapidly. From the current level of 400 parts per million, each addition of 100 parts per million adds only 0.1°C of warming. By the time we have dug up all the rocks we can economically burn, and burned them, we may reach 600 parts per million in the atmosphere. So perhaps we might add another 0.2°C of warming over the next two centuries. That warming will be lost in the noise of natural climate variation. So much for the problem of global warming! As a greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide is tuckered out. On the positive side of the ledger, it is very beneficial as aerial fertilizer. The carbon dioxide that mankind has put into the atmosphere to date has in fact boosted crop yields by 15 percent. This is like giving the Third World countries free phosphate fertilizer. Who could possibly be so heartless as to deny under- developed countries that benefit, at no cost to anyone?

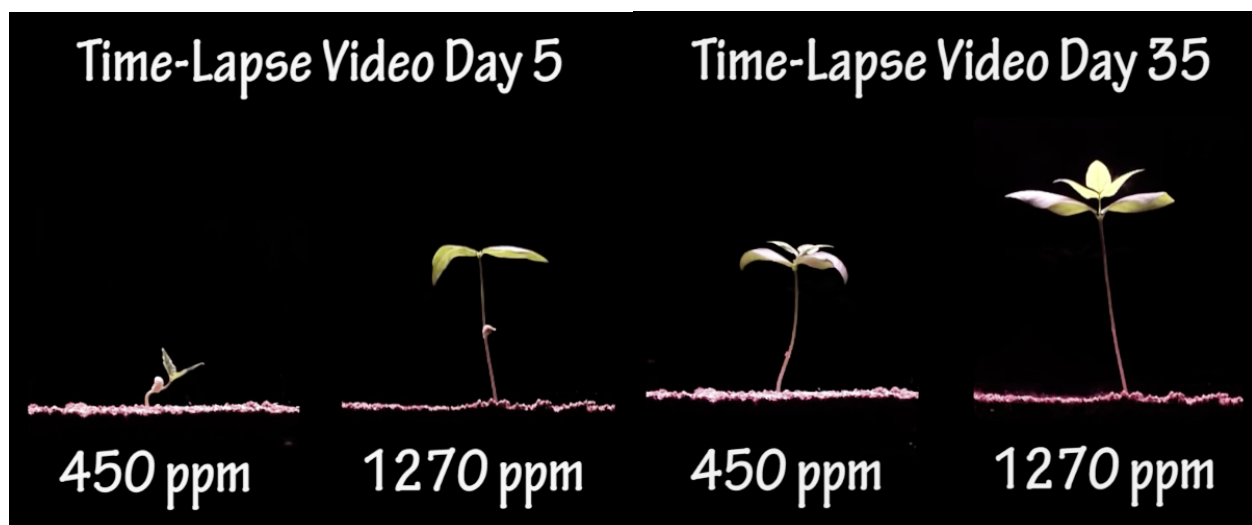
The real threat is dangerously low levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. The Earth has been in a glacial period for the last 3 million years, including some sixty separate glacial advances and retreats. The current Holocene interglacial period might last up to another 3,000 years before the Earth plunges into another glaciation. Carbon dioxide is a gas highly soluble in water, and its solubility is highly temperature dependent. The colder the planet is, the more carbon dioxide the oceans absorb. During glaciations the carbon dioxide level in the atmosphere has fallen to as low as 180 parts per million. It needs to be stressed that plant life shuts down at 150 parts per million, as plants are unable to operate with the partial pressure differential of carbon dioxide between their cells and the atmosphere. Several times during the last 3 million years, life above sea level was within 30 parts per million of being extinguished by a lack of carbon dioxide. The flowering plants we rely upon in our diet evolved 100 million years ago when the carbon dioxide level was four times the current concentration. For plant life, the current amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is near starvation levels.

And unfortunately, the carbon dioxide that human beings are pumping into the atmosphere will not be there for very long. There is fifty times as much carbon dioxide held by the oceans as there is in the atmosphere. As the deep

oceans turn over, on an eight-hundred-year cycle of circulation, they will take the carbon dioxide now in the atmosphere down into Davy Jones's Locker, where it will be of no use to man, beast, or plant life. Agricultural productivity will rise for the next two centuries or so, along with the atmospheric carbon dioxide level, after which it will fall away. By the year 3000 AD, the atmosphere's carbon dioxide level will be only a couple of percent higher than before the Industrial Revolution. Life above sea level will therefore remain dangerously pre- carious because of the low carbon dioxide level.

"Global warming" is an irrational belief whose proponents demonstrate no interest in examining scientific evidence that may prove their beliefs incorrect. As a simple cult, it has failed to progress much beyond the concept of original sin, apocalyptic visions, sumptuary laws, and the selling of indulgences. Wind farms are the temples of this state-sponsored belief system. This cult doesn't extend to building aged-care homes, hospitals, or anything much for the common good. Instead it degrades the fabric of society by misdirecting human effort. Its true believers can hardly be blamed; the global warming cult is not much different from any of the other end-of-the-world cults that have preceded it. Society's opprobrium should be saved for the gatekeepers who have failed in their duty to protect the public from the depredations of the global warming rent-seekers and charlatans. The boards and executive staffs of a number of learned societies across the Western world have embraced this cult against the wishes of the majority of their members...

The fact that the world has not warmed since 1998 (in defiance of the global warming scare) hasn't dented cult members' faith. Arguing scientific evidence with them is pointless. It will take something far worse than a return of the frigid winters of the 1970s to create doubt in their minds. That something worse is coming. Millions of people may have to endure many harsh years before this pernicious cult is vanquished. And until the global warming myth is exploded, the security of the United States—and thus of the world—is also at risk. <sup>\*23</sup>



ABOVE: COWPEA PLANT EXAMPLES "...ISOLATED FOR 42 DAYS IN CHAMBERS OF AMBIENT AND ELEVATED CO2 CONCENTRATIONS..." <sup>\*24</sup>

In light of the above, it is remarkable that many people actually characterize the ongoing rise in the air's CO2 content as the greatest threat ever to be faced by the biosphere, or that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has actually classified CO2 as a dangerous air pollutant. It is also disturbing to hear some people claim that we must do now whatever it takes, at whatever the price, to stop the upward trend in the concentration of this supposedly diabolical trace gas of the atmosphere... <sup>\*25</sup>

# Sources

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