

Southern

VOLUME XIX FOURTH QUARTER 1999 \$4.50

PARTISAN

**Walter
Williams:**

Right from the beginning

**Hillary
Clinton:**

Wrong to the end

**SPECIAL
Photographic
Essay:
Largest
Confederate
Funeral of the
20th Century**



“You may be whatever you resolve to be”

—THOMAS J. “STONEWALL” JACKSON

...Except all male!

— RUTH BADER GINSBURG U.S. v. Virginia (1996)

“We are engaged in a great cultural war where reason itself is at issue. The other side reduces all human relationships to power struggles, where gender is merely a cultural phenomenon to overcome. They care not about education, character building or developing responsible citizens. By being all male and worse, adherents to tradition, we were perceived as powerful and therefore had to be destroyed.”

—THE HONORABLE THOMAS M. MONCURE IN HIS RESIGNATION LETTER FROM THE VMI BOARD OF VISITORS 1997

Dear Friend of Tradition:

The education and training of military officers of the United States have fallen victim to the tyranny of the U.S. Justice Department and its accomplice the Supreme Court in their efforts to use the military as a tool to force social reforms on the American public. The last all-male military college in the U.S., fell victim to this tyranny in September of 1996.

In the wake of this disaster there remains only one all-male college in the United States, while there are eighty-four women's colleges and two newly created all female Corps of Cadets.

“Late-twentieth century society is blighted with an epidemic of gender chaos. Men and women and, consequently boys and girls, are groping in a unisex darkness that must be dispelled.”

The mission statement of the Southern Military Institute is a breath of fresh air for lovers of virtue and Western tradition:

MISSION

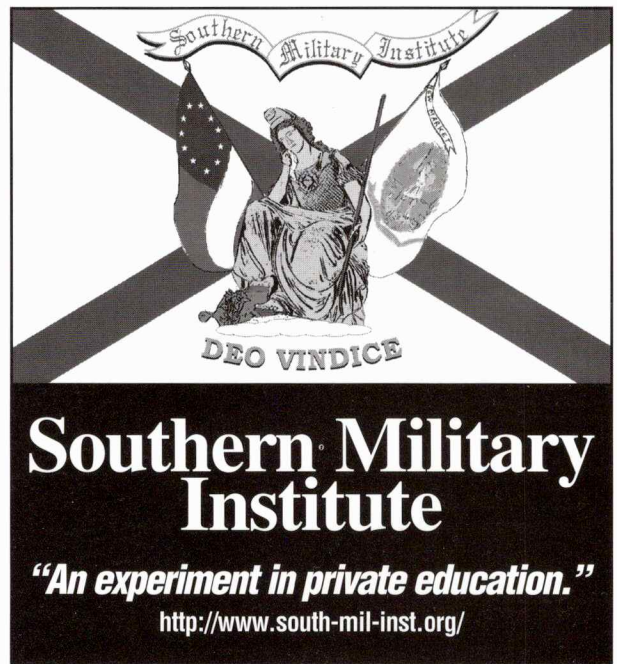
“The mission of the Southern Military Institute is to train young men to be strong moral leaders who are devoted to God, dedicated to constitutional government, educated in the modern sciences, and who are able to serve their church, community, or State in civilian roles during peacetime or in military roles during times of war.”

PURPOSE

- To provide young men with a firm foundation in the fundamentals of the Christian faith;
- To provide a unique all-male educational environment to male citizens of the United States;
- To provide and sponsor programs that advance the knowledge and awareness of Southern history and culture;

- To preserve a traditional gentleman-officer training program within the United States in a private institution having no commissioning authority for officers of any State or the United States.

SMI will be a small engineering and science institution emphasizing the foundations of Christian faith and morality. It will also provide a sound background in the history of Western Civilization, American politics, Constitutional studies, and military history. SMI will be steeped in Southern tradition and will re-establish the all-male Corps of Cadets; the Gentleman's Honor System, and the traditional infantry basic training system.



“All male military education is an essential part of our Nation's history and must be preserved. I heartily support the establishment of Southern Military Institute!”

—DR. RON TROWBRIDGE, VICE PRESIDENT, HILLSDALE COLLEGE*
FOR IDENTIFICATION PURPOSES ONLY

SMI will be unique among colleges and universities, not only in its military and Southern traditions, but also in the fact that it will be a small Christian engineering and science college, and one of only two all-male colleges remaining within the United States.

**Our Nation needs SMI . . .
SMI needs your support!**

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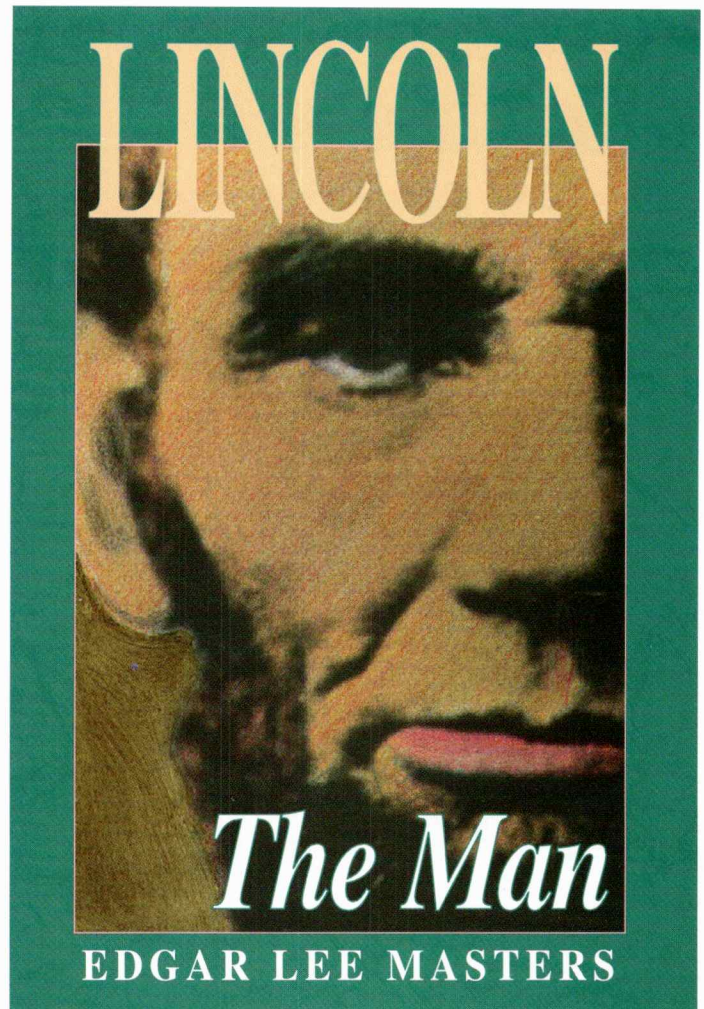
"[A] brilliant picture of the decay of the old American spirit... the writing is so eloquent as to be genuinely moving."
—H.L. Mencken

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—Andrew Lytle

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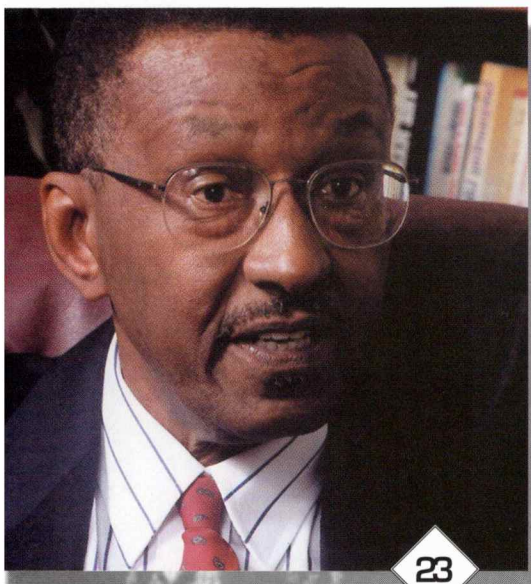
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Southern PARTISAN



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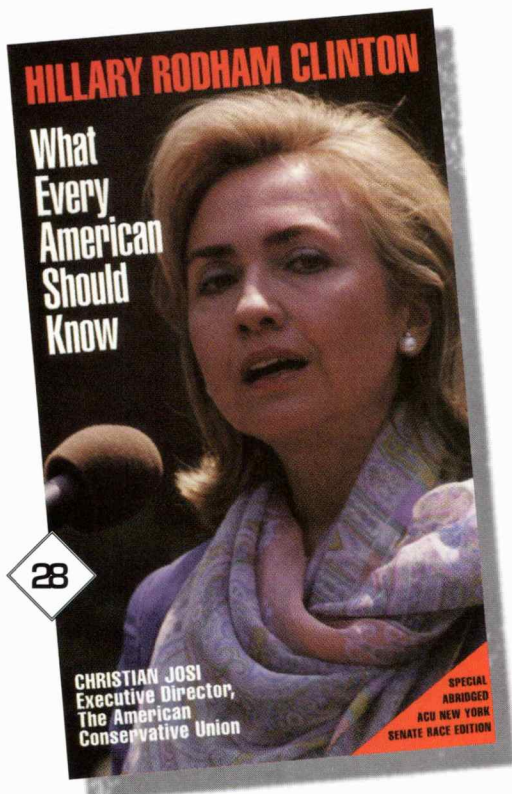
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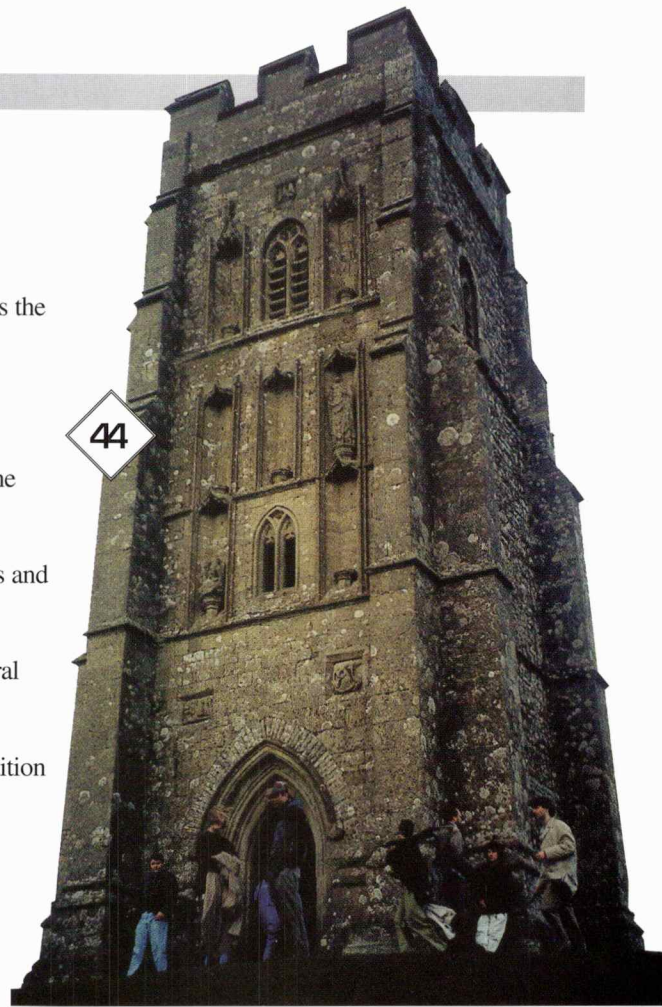
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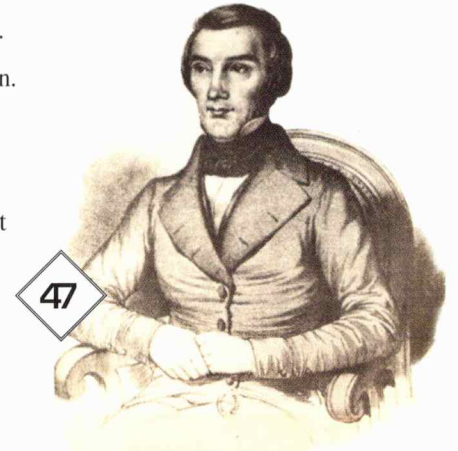
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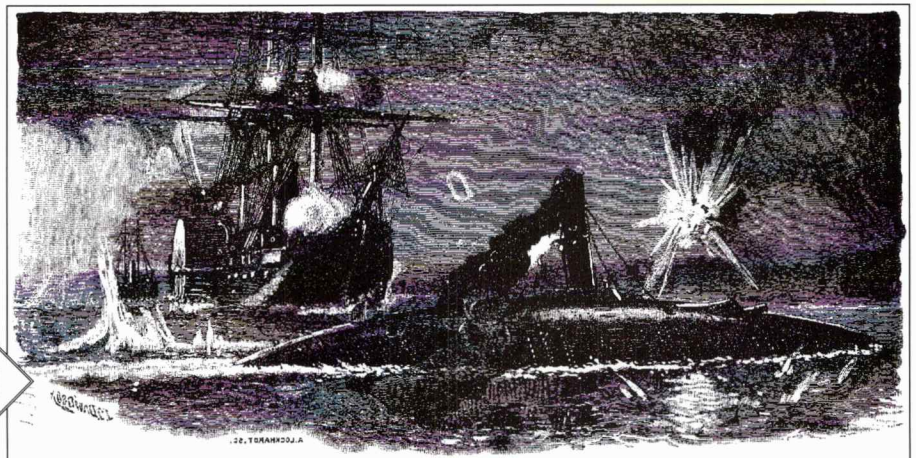
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Southern PARTISAN

"If there were a Southern magazine, intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South..."

—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate
May 1927

"No periodical can well succeed in the South, which does not include the political constituent...The mind of the South is active chiefly in the direction of politics...The only reading people in the South are those to whom politics is the bread of life."

—William Gilmore Simms
Southern Quarterly Review, April 1853

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THE SOUTHERN PARTISAN QUARTERLY REVIEW was founded in 1979 by Tom Fleming of McClellanville, South Carolina, who published two issues. The magazine was later purchased by The Foundation for American Education and the publication was resumed under the shorter title in the Summer of 1981. In 1984, the magazine was purchased by **THE SOUTHERN PARTISAN CORPORATION**.

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PARTISAN LETTERS

★ YOUTHFUL DISCRETION

Gentlemen:

The last issue certainly highlighted the pitiful dearth of books for Southern children.

As grandmother of several home-schooled and private-schooled children, I'm familiar with lists of books for all ages, and have found only two or three thoughtful, much less sympathetic, to the South.

Why couldn't *Southern Partisan* commission someone—or several—to write the real history and fiction, based on fact, for all ages of Southern young people?

There couldn't be a better cause now, or legacy for the future.

Jean M. Brooks
Chattahoochee, Florida

★ TRAINING A CHILD'S EAR

Gentlemen:

I have enjoyed reading *Southern Partisan* magazine for many years. The recent issues listing all the Greatest Books for Southerners was very interesting and came not a minute too soon. The guide to books for children especially intrigued me, so I thought I would share with y'all my secret for making almost any book suitable for Southern children.

Whenever asked to read a story aloud for my children (or now grandchildren) I always try to make it a little more interesting by adding voices and accents to the characters. This can be very educational if done properly.

For instance, not long ago I sat down to read them the tale of the "Three Billy Goats Gruff." In this story I read the part of the goats with a Southern drawl, and the part of the Troll under the bridge in the voice of a New England Yankee. In fact, I usually try making him sound as much like Ted Kennedy as possible. In this way the children in my charge can learn from even their earliest moments the difference between good and evil.

Ben Cabinass
Atlanta, Georgia

★ LOG CABIN LIBERALS

Gentlemen:

Regarding the staff's partial endorsement of John McCain's presidential bid, are you folks aware that an August 11, 1999 *New York Times* article by Katherine Q. Seelye

reports that the Senator has supported anti-hate-crimes legislation not only for race but for sexual orientation, and, "He has said that someday he could envision a gay President"? William Kristol, editor of the *Weekly Standard*, is later quoted giving this explanation: "The Republican establishment does not want to fight the conservative culture war, partly because they think it's a losing fight but more importantly, they don't believe in it." George W. Bush is also mentioned as being no threat to the homosexual agenda.

This information can be found at www.lcr.org, which is the web page of the Log Cabin Republicans, a national organization of more than 10,000 gay (so-called) conservatives. Can you look into this report and see if it's true? If it's a lie then you can forcefully refute it. If the allegations are true, however, then please let us know about it.

Jack Chandler
Simpsonville, South Carolina

★ FORREST HOME FUNDING

Gentlemen:

I would like to bring to your attention a very important project that needs your support as well as the support of all Southerners. This project is none other than the restoration of the Nathan Bedford Forrest Home in Chapel Hill, Tennessee. This is the only surviving home of one of the South's greatest Cavalry Generals. It has deteriorated a lot in the past 170 years. At one time this historic home was used to store fertilizer.

In August of 1997 the state of Tennessee deeded the Forrest Home to the Sons of Confederate Veterans. I was recently appointed to the Forrest Restoration Committee by our Commander-In-Chief Patrick Griffin. I have applied to many foundations and corporations for financial support. There seems to be a great fear amongst these institutions to commit to anything that might be politically incorrect.

Fundraising by Sons of Confederate Veterans camps is a very slow process. In short, we need to raise more money and faster. We have made some repairs but we need help. I therefore make an appeal to your fine magazine for support and appeal to your readers if they would find it in their hearts to please give us a helping hand to restore this

home and to transform it into a fine museum honoring the memory of General Nathan Bedford Forrest and his famous Forrest Cavalry Corp. Please make out your checks to SCV/Forrest Home. The address is: Box 59, Columbia, TN, 38402-0059. This is the General Headquarters of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Thank you for bringing this to the attention of your readers.

*Dr. Ted Boyias
Westhills, California*

Glad to help. Ed.

★ UNFLAGGING SUPPORT

Gentlemen:

I write in response to the "Obiter Dicta" piece, "A Tale of Tenderness" (Third Quarter, 1999). I find it disturbing and disappointing that *Southern Partisan* would include an article in praise of anyone who, for business (i.e. money) reasons and "to avoid conflict," would hide away the Confederate Battle Flag of our brave ancestors. These are the very same two reasons given for removing it from the South Carolina dome.

The chambers of commerce, the tourist business interests, and the scalawag politicians are all trembling at the thought of losing money. The NAACP, of course, welcomes the conflict without regard to the ensuing economic hardship. And we have the "great compromisers" running around advising the removal of the flag for "racial harmony" (to avoid conflict).

Any time we hide away or deny the Flag of our fathers, we have said, "They were wrong. And by this action, we admit it." Either we stand on what they were and what we are, or let us furl the flag and "avoid further conflict."

*Ellen Williams
Leroy, Alabama*

★ FAVORITE SON SHINES

Gentlemen:

I am appalled and filled with dismay with the last two issues! It would appear that you have joined the liberal mainstream Yankee press.

The lies about George W. Bush were bad enough. However, we have come to expect that kind of bashing from the left-

wing press that support the present "Coward-in-Chief."

Most disturbing of all was the language and filthy name-calling used on Mrs. Dole! I did not support her but, after all, she is a lady and decent Southern men (if they are MEN) do not speak that way about any women. Certainly no true Southern man would do so. I can only conclude that the writer is not a true Southern man and certainly not a gentleman! Where was the editor when this filth was submitted for publication?

I am so disappointed that you would take this track. I want nothing more to do with this disgusting publication!

*Douglas Moore, Capt. USN (Ret.)
Houston, Texas*

We re-read the article and found no "filthy" language. You must be referring to the word "jackass." We find it hard to believe that a retired Navy man would be shocked by such mild slang. Throughout the presidential series, we've made it clear that the opinions expressed on candidates are those of the individual writers and not the editorial position of this journal. As we've said repeatedly, our editors are badly divided on the presidential campaign. We assure you, however, that none of us support Clinton, Gore or the "liberal, mainstream, Yankee press." Ed.

★ LACKLUSTER LISTS

Gentlemen:

I have just received the Vol. XIX Third Quarter edition of *SP* and, as always, am pleased. I read in the "CSA Today" section what the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* considers the top ten "most influential Southerners." I do not know whether to laugh or cry. I should not expect any better from the *Journal Constitution*, but Ted Turner? Sam Walton? And, even worse, Hank Aaron?

I agree that the results of the various end of the century, millennium, etc. polls "reveal what an ignorant, silly, and self-centered people we are." And the sad irony is that a lot of the suggestions come from what today passes for educated folk. What is most foolish about these polls is the fact that only those in the present can vote! I wonder what the people of 1900 would have to say about The Beatles, Elvis (whom I like), or Ted Turner

BOOKS OF THE SOUTH

"Truth is Error's Best Antagonist"

The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians First known as "Gregg's" and Subsequently as "McGowan's Brigade"
by J. F. Caldwell, 326 pp.\$35.00

Campaigns of Lt. Gen. N. B. Forrest and of Forrest's Cavalry
by Jordan/Pryor, 745 pp.\$45.00

Chaplain Davis and Hood's Texas Brigade (pb)
Ed. By Everett, 234 pp.\$14.95

A Manual of Military Surgery for Use of Surgeons in the Confederate States Army with Explanatory Plates of all Useful Operations
by J. J. Chisolm, M.D. Cloth, 584 pp.\$45.00

Our Fathers' Fields: A Southern Story by Kibler, 444 pp.\$29.95

The Southern Tradition at Bay; A History of Postbellum Thought
by Robert M. Weaver, 400 pp.\$25.00

Preachers With Power: Four Stalwarts of the South (Baker, Thornwell, Palmer, Girardeau)
by Kelly, 198 pp.\$23.00

Truths of History: A Historical perspective of the War from the Southern Viewpoint (pb)
by Rutherford, 190 pp.\$15.00

Army of Northern Virginia Memorial Volume
compiled by J. Wm. Jones, 347 pp.\$30.00

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by John Esten Cooke, 337 pp.\$29.00

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by R. L. Dabney, 356 pp.\$16.00

Personal Reminiscences of General Robert E. Lee
by J. Wm. Jones (pb), 509 pp.\$22.95

Southern Quilts: Surviving Relics of the Civil War (pb), 160 pp.
Ramsey/Waldvogel\$19.95

Confederate Wizards of the Saddle
by Bennett H. Young (pb) 633 pp.\$15.95

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(especially his remarks about Christians).

In view of these shallow "pop culture" polls and their predictably shallow results, why not take a survey of *Southern Partisan* readers? Who do they think the "Most Influential Southerners" of all time are? I am sure the results would be quite different from those of the average American couch potatoes who stuff the ballots of the pop polls. Why, I can think of ten giants right off the bat:

- George Washington
- Thomas Jefferson
- Robert E. Lee
- James K. Polk
- James Madison
- John C. Calhoun
- Jefferson Davis
- William Faulkner
- Hank Williams, Sr.
- And yes, Elvis

*Derrick Joel Strelow
Burlington, North Carolina*

★ CORPS DE GARDE

Gentlemen:

As always, I look forward to every issue of *Southern Partisan* that arrives and generally read it from cover to cover. Your volume XIX Third Quarter, 1999 has recently arrived and I have likewise enjoyed this issue. As a graduate of the Citadel, I was particularly interested in Bryant Burroughs, "Crossroads to the Confederacy." The thesis was Lexington, Virginia; Virginia Military Institute; and Stonewall Jackson.

Unfortunately, I observed an error by the author in a paragraph dealing with the battle of New Market in 1864. It refers to the VMI cadets participation in that battle with the statement, "the only college student body to fight as a unit in battle." The Military College of South Carolina's (The Citadel) regimental flag is adorned by several battle streamers of the Confederate War evidencing several battle engagements in which The Citadel Corps of Cadets fought as a unit. It is regrettable that your proofreaders in Columbia, only 100 miles away from The Citadel, did not pick up on the inaccuracy of the statement.

*Thomas P. Lowndes, Jr.
Charleston, SC*

★ MISSING THE MARK

Gentlemen:

I enjoyed your article "What is Adam's Mark?" in the Third Quarter issue. Now I read in *Florida Today* about a magnanimous gift of \$50,000 by Adam's Mark to promote Black College Reunion week in Daytona Beach.

I think all Southerners owe it to be more than fair to Adam's Mark, so let's return its arrogance with kindness. The kindness I visualize would be for everyone to write to editors of Black newspapers (perhaps with a copy to very sensitive Mr. Kummer) and suggest that they to have Blacks patronize them as often as possible, and that they should demand reduced rates as "reparations" for discrimination in the past, discrimination as recognized by the Florida Attorney General and the U.S. Department of Justice (both predominant experts at recognizing such).

Anyway, I'm sure Adam's Mark definitely prefers that sort of patronage to that of any of us Southern bigots.

*Byron C. Driskill
Cocoa Beach, FL*

★ PRO SOUTH YANKEES

Gentlemen:

Under the CSA Today section, you might consider adding a section for Northern Confederates and not just the individual Southern States. Southerners might find it encouraging to know that many Northerners like myself have critically reviewed the facts and concluded that the South was indeed right!

"Southern" views might be better named "Confederate" views. To even hope for another States Rights movement and possible reestablishment of the CSA, we need to show the entire country that there is widespread support of these issues. Liberal Yankees think that all Confederate thoughts are localized to the South. They hate people like me because we stir up trouble on the local front! Let's not forget that many Northern States like Illinois had large numbers of citizens who wanted to join the CSA. Unfortunately, Chicago won out due to numbers.

Keep up the good work! You have many fans on the other side of the Mason-Dixon line!

*Tom Malinich, MD
Springfield, Illinois*

Let us know...

...what you think.

Everybody likes to get mail and we're no different. We always enjoy getting letters to the editor even when they don't agree with us.

...if you move.

In order to keep your copies of *Southern Partisan* coming, please let us know right away of any changes in your address.

...what's going on.

Never hesitate to send along anything we could use for our CSA Today or Obiter Dicta columns. We keep up the best we can, but we always appreciate a little help.

Please feel free to contact us...

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The Never Ending Struggle

By CHRISTOPHER M. SULLIVAN

NOTE: Regular readers may be aware that Richard Quinn, who for years has served as editor-in-chief and as a columnist for this magazine, is by profession a campaign consultant who has helped elect candidates like Ronald Reagan, Strom Thurmond and many others. This year, Mr. Quinn was a consultant to John McCain's presidential effort. After Senator McCain's surprising win in New Hampshire, an unprecedented, no-holds-barred \$60 million campaign was launched to discredit McCain in every possible way. As a small part of that gargantuan effort, suddenly and mysteriously old Southern Partisan quotes taken out of context (and some that never even appeared in the magazine) were faxed to various news organizations in an effort to damage McCain by association with Quinn. Several media outlets took the bait. We devote this page and most of *Obiter Dicta* to bring you the full story.

Just when you think that anti-Southern bigotry has cooled to white ashes, suddenly a tongue of flame leaps out and you've got a four-alarm fire. That's what happened during the campaign between George W. Bush and John McCain.

To be sure, everyone was up tight. McCain had won big in New Hampshire, and for about ten days it appeared as if the fat cats of the GOP had thrown \$60 million down the largest rathole in history. If McCain won South Carolina, then the nomination was up for grabs. Small wonder Bush and his handlers were ready to adopt desperate measures.

The strategy they finally devised involved a combination of larceny and high risk. The larceny was an outright theft of McCain's reform message. Suddenly, Mr. Bush emerged from the wreckage of his campaign in New Hampshire as "The Reformer With Results." And his new theme was coupled with a nationwide but regionalized attack against McCain. In the South, with telephone push-polls and mail, he attacked McCain as too liberal, pro-abortion and not a real Republican.

Outside the South, the attack was different. In New York, the Bushwhackers bought television ads

suggesting that McCain was for breast cancer and against the environment. And they fed national reporters the idea that McCain had hired a Southern extremist, Richard Quinn, as a key campaign consultant. After all, Quinn had been the editor-in-chief of the *Southern Partisan* magazine for years; and the *Southern Partisan* was full of ideas considered subversive and politically incorrect. Wasn't that enough to make South-haters everywhere just a little suspicious of McCain?

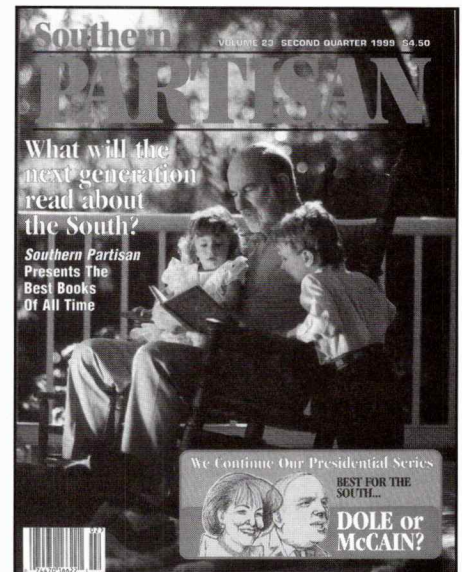
In an age that worships the logical fallacy, hanging the *Southern Partisan* around McCain's neck passed for reasoned debate.

Less than two weeks later, the Republican nomination went to Bush for reasons other than the attacks on Quinn and the *Partisan*. However, it's instructive to see how the modern liberal mind operates: its fierce commitment to illogic and oversimplification, its disregard of fact, its perennial love affair with stereotype.

Here are just a few of the charges the media brought against Quinn and the *Partisan*, as well as the passages cited to support them.

The first blast came from Benjamin Soskis, writing in the *New Republic*.

Soskis called me one afternoon



Is This Image Racist?

If you read the *New York Times* you might think so. An article by David Firestone, which appeared January 12, 2000, had this to say:

A recent issue, [of Southern Partisan]... shows a man reading an Uncle Remus book to his grandchildren, [and] contains a list of the 15 Best Southern books of all time... none is by a black writer.

As you can see from the cover image above, the title of the book the gentleman is reading is not visible. Firestone nevertheless decided to imply to his readers that Uncle Remus was a central element on the cover.

By the way, we did list a number of books written by black writers as among the best of all time, a fact Firestone failed to note. He preferred stressing that not one of the top 15 books were written by blacks, which we suppose suggests *his* view that the authorship of the Bible (our number one book) can be racially identified. He also neglected to mention that one of our top 15—St. Augustine—was an African. ☪

In response to these misrepresentations, Richard Quinn called Mark Halperin of ABC, a news executive in Washington, and sent Halprin documentation showing that the quotes were inaccurate. Halprin reviewed the material and said, "We owe you an apology." But the apology was never given on the air. Being Sam Donaldson apparently means never having to say you're sorry.

and we talked for about thirty minutes. He asked several general questions about the magazine's focus and intended audience. We also discussed Mr. Quinn's role in the magazine and at his request we sent him several back issues to review.

Soskis pulled a number of quotes out of context to paint a picture of racial and historical bigotry in the *Partisan*. He began by describing what he termed a "racist apologia."

For example, from a 1996 *Partisan*, Soskis offered the quote that "slave owners...did not have a practice of breaking up slave families. If anything, they encouraged strong slave families to further the slaves' peace and happiness." Aha! Soskis concluded that the *Southern Partisan* defends slavery.

That particular quotation came from a review of a scholarly work entitled *Time on the Cross*, a book written by William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, two academics who ran all statistics available on the peculiar institution to determine precisely what slavery was like. It was they who discovered this upsetting fact about the nature of family life among slaves.

So respectable is this opinion among historians today, that Walter Edgar's *South Carolina: A History*, published just two years ago and uniformly hailed by liberal reviewers, contains the following passage: "Owners realized it was to their advantage to encourage stable family life...Slaves who had families were less likely to run away."

Are Fogel and Engerman racists for reporting what their computer revealed? Is Edgar likewise a racist? Early in his *New Republic* article, Soskis

takes aim at an op-ed piece written by Reid Buckley, describing it as follows:

In 1987 the [Southern Partisan] offered a vision of South African history straight from the apartheid textbooks: "God led [Afrikaners] into the Transvaal. it was with God that they made their prayerful covenant when they were besieged by bloodthirsty savages on all sides.

Here Soskis reveals more than mere bias. He had to know he was blatantly altering Buckley's meaning. Here is what Buckley actually wrote in the piece from which Soskis skillfully lifted the quote:

...what demon has provoked their [the Afrikaners] hateful policies? Well, not demon, it transpires upon reading a little South African history, God Almighty. In their view. [italics in the original] God led them into the Transvaal, it was with God that they made their prayerful covenant when they were besieged by bloodthirsty savages on all sides.

Buckley clearly distances himself from the Afrikaner view of history and speaks about "the Jim Crow nastiness of apartheid." Soskis suggests that the excerpted passage expressed the *Partisan* view, when it wasn't even Buckley's.

Question: Do you think this was an honest mistake, or was it a deliberate cropping of a quote to give a false impression of the magazine's editorial position?

The rest of the Soskis article contains enough examples of illogic to supply a textbook on the subject. But he was only the first journalist to use these techniques to discredit the *Southern*

Partisan. Soskis's article never touched on any of the questions he and I discussed in our one and only telephone conversation.

Others more famous would try the same tactic, in some instances apparently using the Soskis article as their source, in some instances coming up with new examples.

Thus, Sam Donaldson, hosting ABC's "This Week" (Sunday morning, February 6), said to his guest, Sen. McCain: "...were you aware that he [Richard Quinn] was editor of *Southern Partisan* magazine—has been for 15 years—a magazine which espouses racism?"

McCain replied: "No...."

Whereupon Donaldson said: "Well, let me show you some of the things—just a couple of the quotes..." In fact, three quotes were flashed on the screen:

Abraham Lincoln is "a consummate conniver, manipulator, and liar"

This quote was from a reprinted speech by the late Murray Rothbard, a respected economist who, until his recent death, was S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada. Again, the quotation was cropped. What Rothbard really said was: "Of course, Abraham Lincoln was a master politician, which means he was a consummate conniver, manipulator and liar." Needless to say, this was a laugh line.

However, had the quotation been a serious evaluation of Lincoln, would it have proven that Murray Rothbard, Richard Quinn, or the *Partisan* were racist? Is any criticism of Lincoln by definition racism?

The second *Partisan* quote that ABC News flashed on the screen:

"the South is still the C.S.A. (Confederate States of America); blacks are still 'Negroes'; Union forces are "the Yankee invaders."

That quote never appeared in the *Partisan*. It was, in fact, a hostile description of the magazine written years ago by David Witte for *Legal Times*.

The *Partisan* does indeed run a section called "CSA Today," a tongue-in-cheek allusion to *USA Today*, which publishes a state-by-state report similar in format. (Witte missed the irony.)

Also, the *Southern Partisan* never refers to blacks as "Negroes." Witte may have dredged up that usage from a reprint or review in which the word was used in an antiquated context. But, as all regular readers know, the standard usage in the *Partisan* is "black," a fact Witte could not have failed to notice.

And finally ABC flashed up the slave-family quote again.

In response to these misrepresentations, Richard Quinn called Mark Halperin of ABC, a news executive in Washington, and sent him documentation showing that the quotes were inaccurate. Halperin reviewed the material and said, "We owe you an apology." But the apology was never given on the air. Being Sam Donaldson apparently means never having to say you're sorry.

Two weeks later, Tim Russert of "Meet the Press" (Sunday, February 20) cited the same Lincoln quote, again with the same key omission of words. He also mentioned an ad he alleged had appeared in the *Partisan*. Taken from a transcript of the show, here is what Tim Russert said to John McCain:

And, Senator, they put out a catalog which would help subsidize their magazine, Southern Partisan General Store. Let me show you some of the items they sell and give you a chance to talk about them.... Abraham Lincoln, sic semper tyrannis. You're a man of history. You recognize that slo-

gan. It's what John Wilkes Booth said when he killed Abraham Lincoln. And let me show you some bumper stickers that the Southern Partisan General Store used to sell. If I Had Known This, I Would Have Picked My Own Cotton; Stop a Riot, Buy a Gun; Clinton's Military, a Gay At Every Porthole, A Fag In Every Foxhole. Why would you surround yourself with such a man?

Those bumper stickers were never advertised in the *Southern Partisan* or its General Store catalog. Nor did the Lincoln "sic semper tyrannis" image that NBC projected on the screen ever appear in the magazine.

The next day after the show aired, Richard Quinn spoke by telephone with Russert and sent him the same documentation he sent to ABC. Quinn said Russert seemed genuinely concerned about the error and promised he would clear up the misunderstanding on a future show. Perhaps at least one news outlet will bother to set the record straight.

Others got into the act as well: the *New York Times*, *Salon*, *USA Today*, *People* for the American Way—all repeating the fictions that appeared in *The New Republic*.

Even the Anti-Defamation League, trusting the information that had been conveyed in the media, wrote McCain a letter requesting an explanation. Regular readers of the *Partisan* know that we have never published anything that even suggested anti-semitism. In that regard, a friend of Quinn's (Sam Tennenbaum, a South Carolina businessman and a prominent Democrat) happens to serve on an advisory board to the Anti-

Defamation League. Tennenbaum called the League's national leaders and persuaded them that the attack on Quinn was unfair and undeserved.

The feeding frenzy, which lasted more than two weeks, raised several questions among *Partisan* editors and readers.

1. Were these gross misrepresentations and distortions deliberate or merely the result of poor journalistic skills?

Who cares? The end result is the same: The public is misled either way. The ethics of reporters match the morals of the day. How could we expect otherwise?

2. Is the South really as despised as these commentaries suggest?

Probably—and small wonder! The people of our region have been systematically slandered for more than a half century in newspapers, magazines, books, movies, and on radio and television. Our history has been rewritten, transforming the past into a morality play, with Southerners portrayed as ignorant, tobacco-chewing bigots, lynchers and Ku Kluxers. Our speech has been mocked. Our symbols have been reviled.

Never mind that the most recent Gallup Poll on race relations reveals that the South is the least segregated region in the country and the only region where a majority of blacks believe they are treated equally. Never mind that Northerners are moving down here in hordes as thick as swarming termites. We are still a region peopled by media stereotypes, despised by the masses of New York and Boston and Los Angeles, who believe what they read, hear and see in a Press that's either careless or dishonest or both.

3. Will it end?

As King Lear put it, "Never, never, never, never, never." And that's why our resistance to the assaults must also never end. ☸

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Senseless Census

When the Census 2000 form arrives at your house, filled with all manner of intrusive questions, you may want to ask a question: Is this Constitutional?

We've been amazed recently by the amount of television time dedicated to advertising the Census. It seems failing to return a census form is the proximate if not direct cause of disasters, overcrowding, neighborhood conflagrations, and lack of government programs all around. The U.S. Census Bureau's official mission-statement is "To be the preeminent collector and provider of timely, relevant, and quality data about the people and economy of the United States."

Just last week we heard an interview with Rep. Jim Clyburn, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, urging black citizens to fearlessly respond to census-taker's questions because the higher the census count the more tax dollars spent on entitlement programs.

For Rep. Clyburn's information—and our reader's edification—we here-with publish the only constitutional reason for the decennial census.

Amendment XIV, Section 2, "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed." And, Article I, Section 2, "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct."

By the way, if you think answering a few Census questions is altogether harmless you might want to think again. According to a report in the *New York Times* the Census Bureau was a crucial component in the round up of Japanese-Americans just before

World War II. And, in Volume XX of the Journal of Confederate History Series, *To Live and Die in Dixie: How the South Formed A Nation* (p. 77), we find this insight, "[Union Gen. William T. Sherman] believed that he knew "more of Georgia than the rebels did" because he had become familiar with the area while stationed near Atlanta in the 1840s as a young artillery lieutenant. In preparation for the campaign, Sherman carefully studied maps, tax documents, and census reports from every county."

The Only One

Only one presidential candidate has unequivocally stated that he believes the Confederate battle flag should continue to fly in the region. He says no one should be offended at the sight of the flag flying over a public building. As he put it, "This flag flew over the battle fields. It never flew over the slave fields."

He reminds Southern voters that one of his great-grandfathers died at Vicksburg fighting for the Confederacy and another was captured just outside of Atlanta.

The candidate who voices such sentiments is, of course, Pat Buchanan.

A Word of Warning

You have to keep reminding yourself that the national media aren't to be trusted—that even when they give you the facts, in all likelihood they're lying. A case in point is the coverage of the Iowa caucuses.

If you watched the report on TV, you saw the figures in terms of percentages rather than raw vote. George Bush—41 percent; Steve Forbes—30 percent; etc.

And on the Democratic side, Al Gore—64 percent; Bill Bradley—35 per-

cent, uncommitted—1 percent.

As you sleepily registered those figures, you probably thought that both parties had equally lively primaries, right?

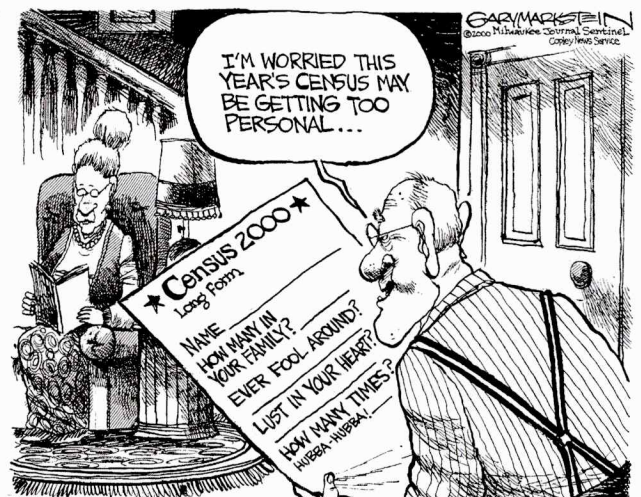
Well, consider these figures:

- The Republican Primary attracted 85,940 participants.
- The Democratic Primary attracted only 1,991 participants.
- John McCain, who didn't even enter the GOP contest, received 4,045 votes, while Al Gore, the winner of the Democratic primary, received only 1,269 votes.

What do these raw figures tell you about political sentiment in Iowa? Is this lack of interest in the Democratic caucus indicative of voter disillusionment with the Democratic Party, or is this just Iowa being Iowa?

Jean Faircloth MacArthur Requiem In Pace

My father grew up with Jean Faircloth in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, when the South was smaller and everybody knew everybody else. Though she was a couple of years older, he went to parties with her in Murfreesboro and danced with her at Vanderbilt, where her brother Bub was a Phi Delta Theta. Bub even came to visit us in Florida in 1935 or 1936—a dying alcoholic who arrived on a Greyhound with a suitcase full of whiskey bottles and stayed for what



seemed an eternity. (Andrew Lytle, who also grew up in Murfreesboro, once told to me that "Bubba was disappointed in love.")

Jean married Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1937, when he was the chief military adviser to the Philippine government. She was 38 and he was 57. They had four years of domestic tranquility before the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and invaded the Philippines. When the emperor's troops advanced on Manila, the MacArthurs moved to the island of Corregidor, where they prepared for inevitable capture. When the president of the Philippines offered to transport Jean and her small son to Australia, she replied, "We have drunk from the same cup; we three shall stay together."

In order to appreciate her extra-

ordinary courage in making that choice, you must understand the reputation of the Japanese Army during the late 1930s and early 1940s. They had raped, tortured, and murdered countless civilians during their conquest of Asian territories. Indeed, the atrocities they committed against Americans, both military and civilian, during World War II, were far greater than any committed by the German Army. (The Bataan Death March was only the most famous incident.) So Jean MacArthur was risking unspeakable degradation and death when she chose to stay with her husband.

Eventually, President Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to abandon the Philippines so he could take command of U.S. forces in the Far East; but both he and his wife were pre-

pared to stay. Perhaps remembering her resolve, in later years, her husband would refer to her as "my finest soldier."

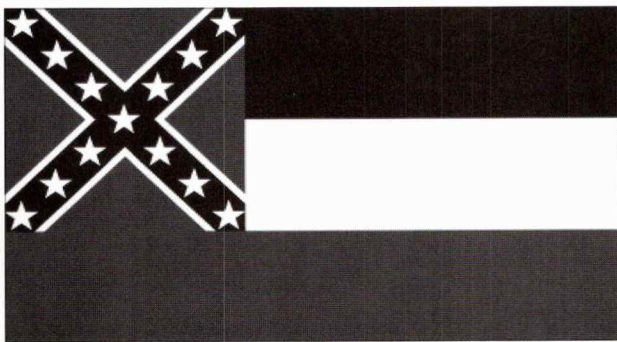
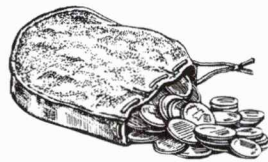
Jean never lost her Middle Tennessee accent or the gracious manners she learned as a child. Everyone was charmed. Even William Manchester, who wrote a less-than-laudatory biography of the General, called her a "poem of womanhood."

In January, she died at the age of 101, having lived in three centuries and outlasted the gentle, orderly society into which she was born. Given the coarsening of our sensibilities and the cheapening of our culture, it's difficult to imagine that women like her will ever grace the world again.

—Tom Landess



Scalawag Award



Mississippi Thought Patrol

There's nothing more obnoxious than a politically correct cop. Like the military, we expect our police force to be above politics—and also to look with scorn on what poet Robert Frost once called that "tenderer-than-thou-collectivistic-regimenting love." In other words, we want our law enforcement officers to be politically uncommitted on the outside and hard right-

wing on the inside.

Yet in Mississippi (of all places), we have a liberal activist heading the Highway Patrol—and an opponent of the Confederate flag as well. In office for less than a month, L. M. Claiborne, Jr. ordered troopers to remove all emblems from their state-issued vehicles—including the state flag of Mississippi!

Adopted over a century ago, the flag, in case you hadn't noticed, includes the dreaded Confederate battle flag in its design. There has been steady pressure on the state—from the usual quarters—to change the flag for years. So far, those attacks have gone nowhere.

The order covers license tags and decals. You can't even put a SUPPORT YOUR HIGHWAY PATROL sticker on your rear bumper.

Sitting around their usual table at the International House of Pancakes, the men in the ranks are muttering and grumbling. But Claiborne remains adamant, arguing that a patrol car is an extension of the self—like a uniform. But everyone gets his message, including a gleeful press. He personally wants the design of the state flag to be altered; and until it is, he intends to do everything in his power to remove it from the sight of fellow Mississippians. The next thing we know, he'll order troopers to avoid driving down streets named after Nathan Bedford Forrest.

Fortunately, it appears the Mississippi legislature will act to do something about it. Legislation has been proposed to require every Mississippi Highway patrol car to have a state flag on tag.

But it should never have happened in the first place. This is a sickening abuse of power from an appointed official who isn't supposed to intrude himself into political questions. That's why we feel obliged to give Claiborne this month's Scalawag Award. ⚔

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES TRIVIA

"In the introduction to *A Treasury of Civil War Tales*, I wrote, 'This volume does not begin to exhaust the rich lode of Civil War material available.' The same is true of the present volume. Hopefully, though, *Civil War Trivia* will prove to be an enjoyable challenge to every student of this most unusual of wars, the ramifications of which continue to our own time."

—Webb Garrison in the introduction to *Civil War Trivia*

FAMOUS NAMES

1. What Virginia congressman resigned to become a colonel of infantry, then resigned that commission under accusation of being a Unionist?
2. What Kentucky native was appointed to West Point from Louisiana, graduated eighth in the class of 1826, then later resigned from the U.S. Army to become a full general in the Confederate army?
3. A U.S. Army fort was named for what Georgia lawyer and C.S.A. brigadier general whom Lee called "Rock"?
4. What Kentucky-born West Pointer served in the artillery, the infantry, and the cavalry?
5. At First Bull Run, what fellow brigadier general coined the nickname "Stonewall" for Thomas J. Jackson?
6. In what battle was Kentucky native Daniel W. Adams, a noted duelist, wounded most seriously; Shiloh, Murfreesboro, or Chickamauga?
7. What West Point graduate, class of 1830, was the first and only commandant of the C.S.A. Marine Corps?
8. Georgia native E. Porter Alexander, third in the West Point class of 1857, helped develop what communication system?
9. What Tennessean enlisted as a private, became a brigadier after Shiloh, and had six horses killed under him?
10. What was the native state of Rufus Barringer, who became a brigadier with no military experience and as a final exploit covered Lee's withdrawal from Richmond?

Webb Garrison is a veteran writer who lives in Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. Formerly associate dean of Emory University and president of McKenree College, he has written 40 books, including The Lincoln Nobody Knows, and The Amazing Civil War (1998). Civil War Trivia and Fact Book, ©1992 by Webb Garrison and reprinted by permission of Rutledge Hill Press, Nashville, Tennessee

ANSWERS

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Albert Rust. | 4. Brig. Gen. Hylan Benton Lyon. | 7. Col. Lloyd J. Beall (b. Rhode Island). |
| 2. Gen. Albert S. Johnston. | 5. Bernard Bee (b. South Carolina). | 8. The semaphore or "wig-wag" system. |
| 3. Brig. Gen. Henry Lewis Benning. | 6. Shiloh, where he lost an eye. | 9. William B. Tate |
| | | 10. North Carolina. |



SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOF

ON GENERAL TURNER ASHBY, CSA

"He was the most picturesque horseman ever seen in the Shenandoah Valley—he seemed to have been left over by the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe."

—Henry Kyd Douglas

ON THE FAMILY

"When the family ceases to exist as a patriarchy, the larger social and political patriarchies—community, state, country—that take the family as their foundations are lost as well."

—Walter Sullivan

ON DUTY

"There is a true glory and a true honor; the glory of duty done—the honor of the integrity of principle."

—General Robert E. Lee

ON NATIONAL HONOR

"National honor is national property of the highest value."

—President James Monroe

ON STATES' RIGHTS

"I am not for transferring the power of the states to the general government..."

—President Thomas Jefferson

A BENEDICTION

"If ye love wealth greater than liberty; the tranquility of servitude greater than the animating contest for freedom; go home from us in peace. We seek not your counsel nor your arms. Crouch down and lick the hand that feeds you. May your chains set lightly upon you and may posterity forget that you were our countrymen."

—Samuel Adams

CSA TODAY



ALABAMA

Rep. Phil Crigler, a Republican from Irvington, is pushing for a bill that would allow the governor to fly the Confederate battle flag on the Capitol dome—as it once did before a court order removed it.

Some Democrats seem sympathetic with Crigler's legislation—but nervous. Reporter Dana Beyerle of the *Shoals Times Daily* reports Rep. Blaine Gallihier (D-Gadsden) as saying, "I don't like to be labeled as a racist because I am proud of my Southern heritage. It's sad to me to see the flag being used...used by Gov. Wallace at one time as a racist move, but for many southern Americans today it's our heritage and I don't think it stands for slavery."

In Montgomery, the flag now flies at the Confederate monument at the north end of the capitol grounds—a compromise that has also been proposed in South Carolina. Republican Bill Armistead from Columbiana says the flag should remain at the monument and predicts that the legislature will never act on Crigler's bill.

But we all know that the day will arrive—and very, very soon—when the NAACP will not only be calling for the State to remove the flag from state property, but to raze the Confederate monument as well.

Three cheers for Phil Crigler. He has the right idea: The best defense is a good offense.



ARKANSAS

The downtown crowd in Little Rock had a great idea to quaint up their town for tourists—bring in a horse and carriage to pull Yankees up and down the streets of the historic city. Sandy Thomas, owner of the Little Rock Carriage Company, came up with the scheme after attending a wedding in St Louis.

Of course, when someone offers an innovative idea, the government has to pass new regulations. So both the Little Rock and North Little Rock city fathers addressed the issue. The North Little Rock City Council managed to pass an ordinance controlling horse-drawn vehicles, but members of the Little Rock Board of Directors were stopped in their tracks by animal activists who don't believe that horses should have to work for their oats. In fact, animal-rights spokesperson Martha Grunewald

suggested that the rides would be counter-productive: "I know that personally when my family visits another city, that we don't go in areas where there are carriage rides because it's sort of a downer to us. So we avoid these areas and don't patronize the businesses in those areas."

Thomas said that the horse she plans to bring to Little Rock actually takes pride and pleasure in his work: "He has a great work ethic. You can tell he enjoys his routes."

Confused by this conflict, the Board of Directors postponed a vote while the city manager conferred with members of the ASPCA. The Board will vote later on whether or not to allow Thomas to operate the carriage pull. Rumor is that if animal activists win this one, they'll ask the Board of Directors to outlaw the practice of teaching dogs to fetch newspapers.



FLORIDA

Ward Connerly, who has led efforts in Washington and California to ban affirmative action, has set his sights on Florida, where polls show that a majority of the people favor such a ban.

In an effort to head off Connerly's proposed amendment to the Florida Constitution, Gov. Jeb Bush has supported an alternative strategy known colloquially as the "Wimp Plan." The Wimp Plan—which was named after the Governor's father—would allow racial and gender preferences in state contracting and education, while the constitutional amendment would ban these very same things.

Of course, there is much teeth grinding and nostril flaring among Democrats in general and members of the black caucus in particular.

And Republicans are running from the amendment like mosquitoes from a dragonfly—despite the fact that objective political observers say the measure will pass by a margin of 4-1—if it ever gets on the ballot. The state GOP is working behind the scenes to make certain that never happens.

So why would Gov. Bush and his fellow Republicans oppose such a popular measure? Among other reasons, because it would bring





out the black and Hispanic vote in the next general election—and that might hurt the presidential campaign of Governor Bush's old friend, the Governor of Texas.

Then, too, Jeb Bush is one of those dreamy types who believe that lollypops help good little boys finish their chores and that millions of blacks will switch to the GOP if Republicans will just compromise a few principles.



GEORGIA

Just when you tell yourself the Cold War is a thing of the past, something happens to remind you that there are plenty of useful idiots who haven't gotten the word.

Thus 3,000-4,000 activists entered Ft. Benning to protest the very existence of the Army's School of the Americas. Some of them poured bottles of red paint on themselves and laid down in the road—symbolizing the Latin American victims of wicked South and Central American soldiers trained at the U.S. facility. Demonstrators included actor Martin Sheen and Fr. Dan Berrigan, both old hands at this sort of melodramatic nonsense.

It's against the law to demonstrate on a U.S. military installation; but as far as we can tell, no one was charged. In fact, the Army provided portable toilets for the crowd.

Even if a tenth of the horror stories about Latin American atrocities are true—and that's highly unlikely—no one can blame the School of the Americas, which bends over backwards to teach its students the gospel of human rights.

Sheen is currently playing a Democratic president on the TV series "West Wing," so he knows all about conditions in Latin America. Right?



KENTUCKY

Katie Hazlett, 95, was extremely interested in a recent re-enactment of John Singleton Mosby's exploits. Her father fought with the Gray Ghost from January of 1864 until the War ended.

As the re-enactors were galloping about, she told family members with cameras, "Be sure and get those horses. He fit on horses."

She recalled that her father, who died in 1917, told her that he fought with a sword; that he ate raw, maggot-infested meat; and that he hated Abraham Lincoln so much that he tore up a picture of the 16th president one

of his daughters had hung on the wall.

When asked to give more details about her father, she said she couldn't, because—"like Elvis Presley... I'm all shook up."



LOUISIANA

Two students from Nicholls State University, Marc Kimball and Danny Griffin, tried to think of a way to protest "the exorbitant amount of money" spent on a monument built to commemorate the institution's 50th anniversary. The monument—which cost \$87,500—is a two-tiered fountain topped with an "eternal flame" similar to the one that burns over JFK's grave in Arlington Cemetery.

Kimball and Griffin could have done any number of the usual things: picketed the monument wielding angry signs, spray-painted the fountain with obscene words, staged a sit-in strike in the president's office. Instead they roasted weenies on the eternal flame—an original and non-destructive way to dramatize their discontent.

Instead of ignoring the stunt, the university's PR director, Michael Delaune, harrumphed about it to the *Daily Comet*, saying that "such an act is certainly disrespectful to the people the monument was intended to honor."

Kimball replied that he didn't intend to be disrespectful, that he thought the monument is "ugly and cost too much."

We haven't seen it, but we bet he's right.



MARYLAND

Marty O'Brien, a teacher at Maryland School for the deaf, joined 199 other teachers on a three-week trip to Japan to learn about Japanese culture. When he came back, he told a reporter for the *Frederick News-Post* that the main difference between Japanese education and U.S. education is the behavior of the students.

"There are no discipline problems [in Japan]," he said. "When the teacher comes into the room, everyone immediately calms down and stands as a sign of respect."

Before the lesson begins, O'Brien said, the students thank the teacher—and after the lesson ends, they thank the teacher again.

"The kids are taught to respect older people and to accept responsibility."

This difference in attitude and behavior probably explains why Japanese students are acing standardized tests and U.S. stu-

dents are doing poorly. And by the way, when asked about their abilities, Japanese students have far less “self-esteem” than the poorer-scoring U.S. students.

The next time the Japanese decide to bomb Pearl Harbor, they’ll probably go on to whip us.



MISSISSIPPI

If you’re an old-fashioned Southern conservative and are sorry the Democrat beat the Republican in the

Mississippi gubernatorial race, cheer up. A lot of people like you voted for the winner, Lt. Gov. Ronnie Musgrove.

Or rather, they voted against GOP candidate Mike Parker.

Again, the main issue with these folks was gambling, which is legal along the Mississippi River and on the Gulf Coast. Gambling interests have influenced a number of legislative races in the recent past; this year many church-going folks perceived Mike Parker as the candidate of the gambling interests.

The perception was well founded. Parker openly supported gambling and accepted contributions from gambling operators.

He further alienated religious-minded voters by refusing to go on the American Family Association radio network to discuss the issues, while his opponent and other candidates participated in AFA’s forum.

As one pro-family voter told us, “He let me know right then that he wasn’t interested in my vote—and, sure enough, he didn’t get it.”

As we are about to go to press, the matter will be decided in the House, because Mississippi has an electoral system, and both Musgrove and Parker received 61 votes. However, the House has a Democratic majority; and the outcome should be a foregone conclusion—unless, of course, the gambling interests can buy enough Democrats in the next few days.



MISSOURI

You may remember the story of Negusse H. Zeleke, the airport parking lot employee who shot two of

his fellow co-workers, then turned the gun on himself. The media reported the tragedy as an example of why we need to pass more gun control legislation.

One thing is certain: You didn’t hear the story of *why* he shot these two people.

Zeleke was black, an Ethiopian. The two people he shot were white. In fact, he spared

black people, shouting to one man, “Hey, I’m not shooting you. This is for all black people.”

Then he handed the man a letter, went outside, and shot himself.

In the letter he wrote that his “entire life has been under continued attack by the white-ruled Federal Bureau of Investigation office. Wherever I go, they are behind my back, spoiling my reputation, spreading completely false and made-up stories and slander, inciting me to perform crime specifically at my workplace and my home in San Francisco, Atlanta, and here in Kansas City.”

And why were they after him, an Ethiopian? “[B]ecause the Ethiopians are the first black race to fight, win and degrade those trash racist white men.”

So was this a hate crime? Note the reaction of Richard A. Bjork, vice president of the company that manages the airport parking lot where Zeleke worked. He said the letter “raised the question of a possible racial motivation for his actions.”

“Possible”?

Zeleke’s family said they had tried to get him to seek psychological treatment. Why? He doesn’t sound any crazier than Kweisi Mfume or the Rev. Al Sharpton.



NORTH CAROLINA

The Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network has called for

sympathizers to withhold their donations from UNC-TV until the station agrees to show a gay-rights propaganda film called “It’s Elementary: Talking About Gay Issues in School.”

A station spokesman, Steve Volstad, said the program violated one of the station’s guiding principles, that specifies programming should be “based on principles of editorial integrity to guarantee objectivity, fair and balanced presentation of issues.”

And the station’s director, Tom Howe, said the film “advocates and promotes rather than analyzes.”

This refusal to bend to pressure is remarkable. Before gay rights activists are finished, the station may not be standing. But if it is, it will be standing for sound principles.



OKLAHOMA

One of the committees of an organization called the Tulsa Race Riot Commission has recom-



mended that the state of Oklahoma—or somebody—pay reparations for a riot that occurred back in 1921. According to records, about 40 square blocks in north Tulsa were destroyed, though no one seems to know just how many black residents were killed.

The suggested settlement: \$33 million, to be spent on scholarships, memorials, museums, and lump sums to the survivors.

The chances are slim that such an appropriation will be approved by the Oklahoma legislature, which has already turned down a \$5 million settlement proposed by a Democratic member of the House. Most legislators realize that once you pay a claim like this, new claimants will appear like weeds after a hard rain.

These groups are springing up all over the South, commandeering the attention of the media, posturing for TV cameras, wagging their fingers and shaking their heads in reproof, determined to shakedown taxpayers for something they had no hand in.

Much bigger riots have occurred in Chicago and New York City. Do you suppose groups in those cities have organized, conducted investigations, and made similar demands? We don't think so either.



SOUTH CAROLINA

The silly season rolls in this month with Republican

State Sen. David Thomas introducing his guaranteed-to-cure-all-ills solution to the Confederate flag problem. He has proposed that the legislature build another Confederate monument on a tree-shrouded side of the Statehouse, and inscribe upon it the names of Confederate dead.

This Confederate monument would also include memorials to the Emancipation Proclamation and the Underground Railroad among other things. Not surprisingly, flag supporters have ridiculed the idea.

Oh yeah. The monument will cost several million dollars and take years to design & build. Meanwhile, under Thomas' plan the flag would come down immediately.

As Josey Wales would say, "How is it on stains?"



TENNESSEE

It looks as if Tennessee has dodged the bullet one more time:

No state income tax as yet.

Gov. Don Sundquist is furious. He has demanded the additional tax in order to pay for social services. He has told lawmakers that if they don't approve this new source of revenue, the sky will fall.

Tommy Hooper, who used to be state chairman of the Republican Party and now heads the Free Enterprise Coalition, has sponsored radio ads to counter "the lies" of "Don Sundquist and his tax thieves."

And these are just some of the milder protests emerging from this ugly dog fight. Protesters waved angry placards outside the Legislative Plaza. Lines of cars crept past the capitol, angrily honking their horns.

One anti-tax activist appeared in the hallway brandishing a bucket of tar and a pillow filled with feathers.

Don't be surprised if this gets even uglier in the next session, because neither side seems willing to take even one step backwards.



TEXAS

In November, the United States Supreme Court agreed to hear

arguments involving student-led prayer at school athletic events. The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals had previously ruled in a Texas case that such prayers were unconstitutional.

A week after the High Court's announcement, the Texas Poll—the most reliable survey in this vast and complicated state—reported that 82 percent of Texans believe students should be permitted to initiate and lead prayers at football games and other contests.

The pollsters also found the following:

- 64 percent said creationism should be taught in school.

- 84 percent said students should be allowed to participate in prayer while at school.
- 87 percent said students should be allowed to lead prayers in locker rooms before athletic contests.

The usual people stamped their feet and fumed—the ACLU, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and a local group called the Texas Freedom Network.

But clearly the courts have gone too far in this area. Support for more prayer in public schools and public life is overwhelming. Some day it will be too great and too militant to ignore.



VIRGINIA

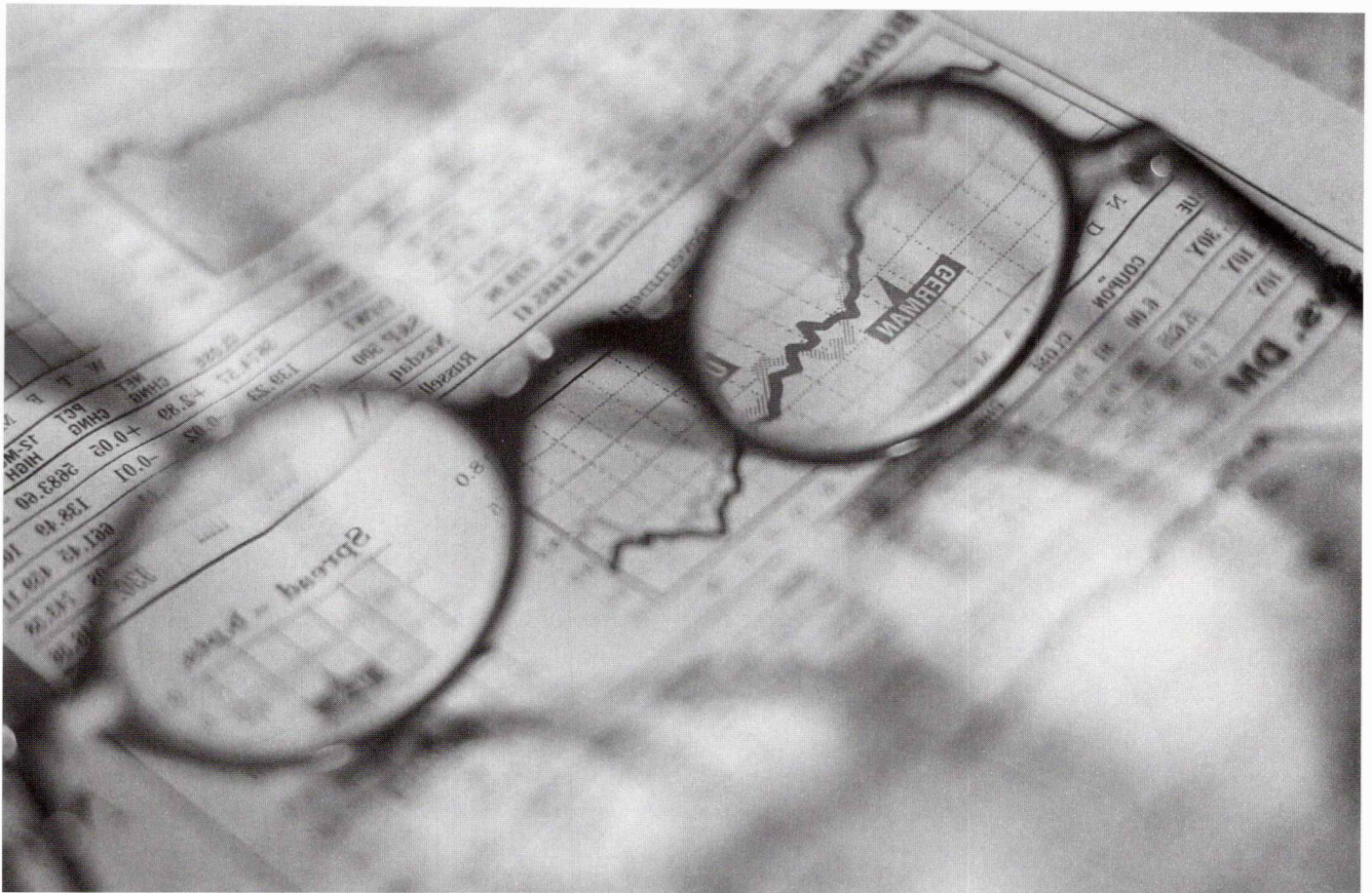
Our old friend Sa'ad El-Amin is at it again.

This time the Richmond City Councilman has proposed that two of the city's bridges be re-named. If Sa'ad and Mayor Timothy Kaine get their way both the J.E.B. Stuart Memorial Bridge and the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Bridge will be renamed the Samuel W. Tucker Bridge and the Curtis Holt Bridge. This is the second time that Mayor Kaine has tried to get the bridges stripped of their Confederate names.

In case you're curious about the new namesakes, the late Samuel W. Tucker died in 1990. He was a partner of State Sen. Henry L. Marsh III and worked as a cooperating attorney with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The late Rev. Curtis J. Holt Sr. died in 1986. A civil rights activist, for seven years Rev. Holt used the courts to prevent the voters of Richmond from electing a city council after a predominantly white section of Chesterfield County was annexed in 1970.

- Bonus Question: How long before Kweisi Mfume demands that Robert E. Lee Elementary School be renamed Tawana Brawley Elementary School?



How safe is the stock market?

What will you do with your money during a prolonged bear market in stocks?

Isn't it time to place some of your money into real money—

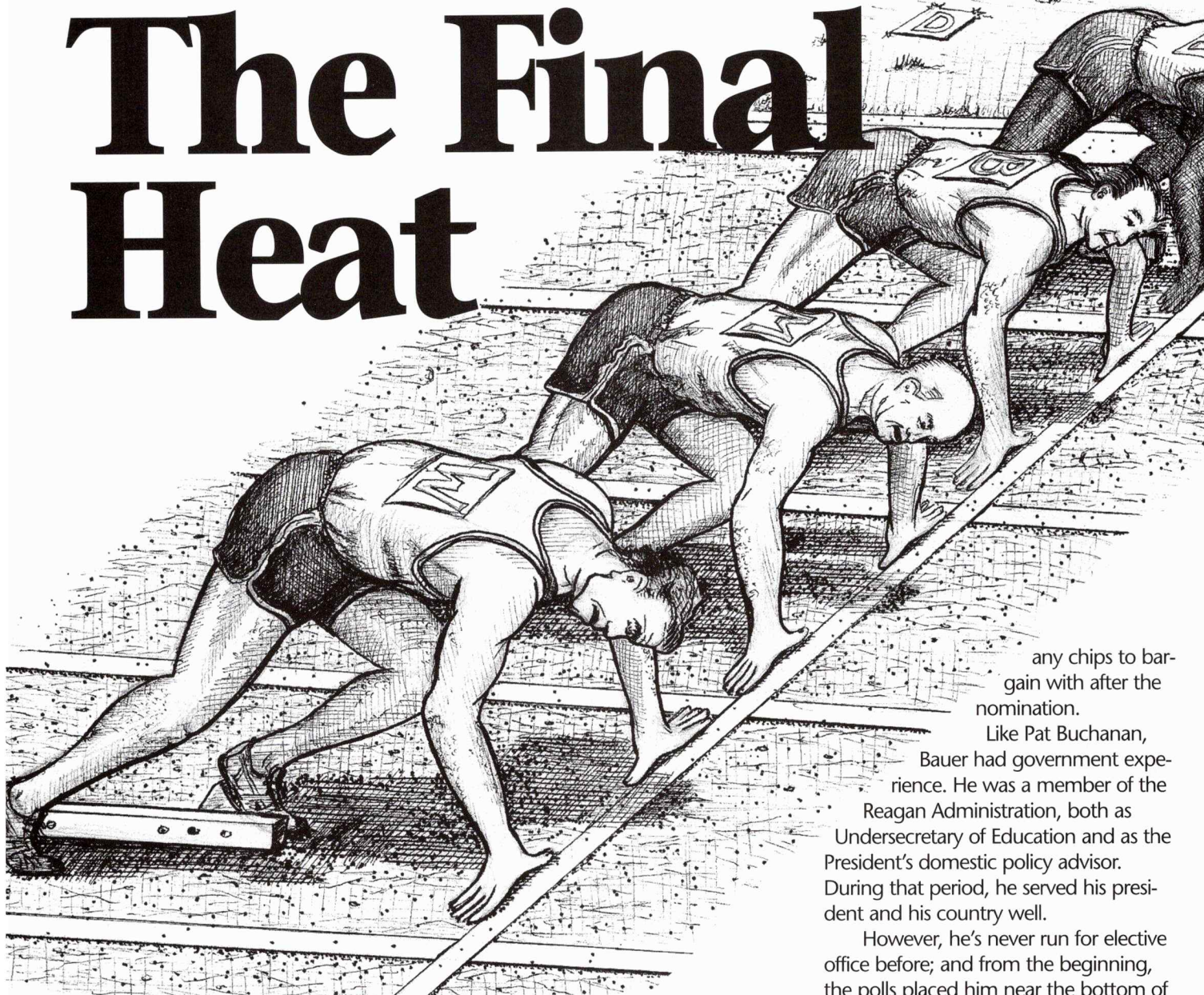
Gold and Silver?

Current *Precious Metals Market Update* features an article on the Confederate Battle Flag fight in South Carolina. To receive the latest issue and an information packet on buying gold, silver and platinum call or write:

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The Final Heat



any chips to bargain with after the nomination.

Like Pat Buchanan, Bauer had government experience. He was a member of the Reagan Administration, both as Undersecretary of Education and as the President's domestic policy advisor. During that period, he served his president and his country well.

However, he's never run for elective office before; and from the beginning, the polls placed him near the bottom of the heap.

You could argue that his candidacy was designed to show-case a pro-life, pro-family agenda except that a number of other hopefuls have held roughly the same position from the beginning, including Pat Buchanan, Howard Phillips, Bob Smith, Steve Forbes, and Alan Keyes. In fact, many observers have pointed out that Bauer's candidacy actually divided the GOP's social conservatives and made life easier for "moderates" like McCain and Bush.

Gary Bauer entered the race with some troops in the field. The Family Research Council has many friends in the

Editor's Note: As we go to press, Super Tuesday is just days away. Al Gore appears to have the Democratic nomination sewed up, while G.W. Bush and McCain fight over who's the most electable in November. Mr. Bush's massive support among establishmentarian Republicans appears finally to be paying delegate dividends, although independent voters remain unimpressed. All the other GOP contenders are gone either de jure or (as in the case of Mr. Keyes) de facto. Still, as a footnote to the 2000 contest and to place the full cast of characters in a larger context, various Partisan writers offer the following views.

Mr. Bauer Goes to Washington: Almost

By Andrew Morgan

It's difficult to understand why Gary Bauer ran for president. He stands for all the right things. Over the past few years he turned the Family Research Council into one of the largest and most influential pro-life, pro-family groups in Washington. But few people took his candidacy seriously, and he won't have

religious community, a number of whom were eager to work for Bauer. However, as the campaign developed, several of his staff members defected, accusing the candidate of improper conduct with a female campaign worker. Curiously, those who left said they didn't believe he'd committed adultery, merely that he'd spent too much time with the woman behind closed doors.

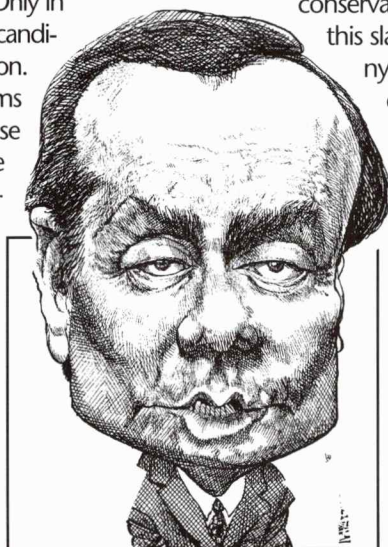
The departing staff members said they told him several times that his conduct was causing talk. He claims they didn't, and accused the Forbes organization of trying to drive him out of the race. Whatever the truth, the incident didn't help Bauer with his base.

Too bad. He's good on the issues. In addition, he's a Southern Baptist, born in Kentucky to a blue-collar father. So he has the right ideas and the right roots.

He also raised a lot of money for a man without a track record in electoral politics. Usually that's an indication of a strong political organization. In Bauer's case it wasn't. His surprisingly large war chest shows that he was widely known among evangelicals—people who don't ordinarily contribute money to political campaigns.

For the most part, Bauer's race was run by amateurs; and amateurs never quite make up for their inexperience by a superabundance of enthusiasm. Only in Hollywood fantasies does a candidate like Bauer win an election.

Conclusion: Bauer seems to have had his own purpose for running, his own private agenda. Perhaps that agenda would have had greater appeal to a large number of Southern conservatives, but Bauer seemed more focused on running for president than on pushing his agenda.



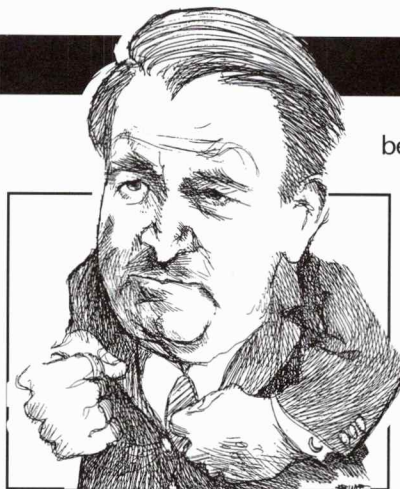
Pat Strikes Back

By L.W. May

Pat Buchanan has at last broken off his relationship with the GOP after years and years of unrequited love. He now seeks the hand of the Reform Party. Many of his admirers are relieved. If he wins the nomination, he will automatically receive \$13 million in matching funds—enough to become a real presence on the national scene in the year 2000.

The prospect is intriguing; but he must overcome enormous obstacles in order to be taken seriously.

1. In recent years, the media have engaged in smear tactics unprecedented in U.S. electoral politics, calling him an anti-Semite, a fascist, a bigot, an admirer of Adolph Hitler, and a hate-monger, without offering any credible evidence to support such slander. If these charges were directed against a man of the Left, they would be termed the worst kind of "McCarthyism" (though McCarthy's allegations usually rested on more solid ground). Pat has never expressed sympathy for Hitler; did not say in his recent book that the U.S. should have stayed out of World War II; and, by the testimony of his many Jewish friends, is no anti-Semite. The fact that self-styled conservatives have joined in this slander is mute testimony to the cowardice and defeatism rampant in the Republican Party, which has become the old sow that eats its farrow.
2. Democrats and Republicans alike increasingly embrace the abstraction called "free trade" and globalism. With eager help from the media, Pat has



been saddled with the label "isolationist."

3. Pat Buchanan has never held elective office. The fact that Pat has made Washington his headquarters and served in

the White House under two presidents doesn't help much with those voters who value political experience.

However, Pat has virtues that the other candidates lack, and these will gain him significant support, primarily among conservative Republicans, Independents, and Reagan Democrats.

1. He's foursquare on the issues important to both social conservatives and blue collar workers, whose numbers are formidable when they unite.
2. If he did win, a Pat Buchanan government would be the first truly conservative administration since Calvin Coolidge chose not to run.
3. Pat's skills as a debater are unmatched by any other candidate. It ain't even close.

Given these pros and cons, is it realistic to believe that Pat Buchanan could become president? At best, he has a long shot—this time. Americans still think politically in terms of the two-party system, and the country is riding a wave of prosperity. The majority of the people are complacent, just as they must have been at Pompeii before Vesuvius began to shake and mutter.

However, Ross Perot has already proven that a third-party candidate could win under the right circumstances; and over the next months, the economy might well take a downward turn. Also, the riots in Seattle indicate a growing uneasiness on the part of blue-collar workers, as well as a growing suspicion of internationalism.

Could Pat win, then?

Nothing is impossible—but a winning scenario is highly improbable.

However, if Pat fails to be elected

but makes a strong showing in 2000, the American people may be more receptive to a Reform Party candidate in 2004. If so, Pat would be well-positioned to scoop up all the marbles.

Meanwhile, if Pat begins to rise in the polls as he did in 1996, expect a renewal of the slanderous attacks mounted against him in 1996 after his New Hampshire victory. He scares the bejesus out of the king makers and the opinion makers. To them, he's the Beast of the Apocalypse.

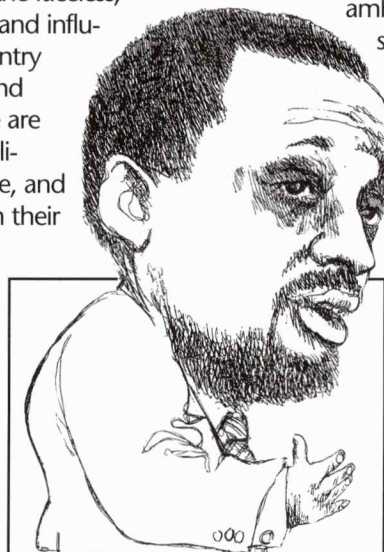
To Southern partisans, he's a former contributor and senior advisor to the journal who is proud of his Confederate heritage. If Pat's on the ballot come November, he may do a lot better than expected.

The Minority Voice

By Roger Kaplan

Why should Alan Keyes be doomed to failure as a presidential candidate? There is little doubt as to his oratorical power. He is passionate and articulate. He invokes God, the Bible, the Declaration and the Constitution. He is even a little wild, suggesting with a straight face that there is evil stalking the land, that there is treason in high places, that the war in the Balkans is immoral. This definitely should doom him with the kinds of people who make or break Republican politicians—the faceless, wordless men of power and influence who go to the country club on the weekends and wear green pants. These are men of heavy responsibilities—industry, commerce, and the great law firms are in their hands.

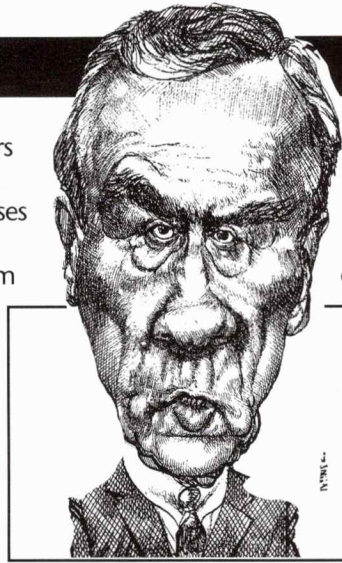
They do not, except in the most extreme crisis, want a Savonarola in the White House. And yet, Mr. Keyes is the only candidate who is showing the kind of fighting spirit that char-



acterized Republican leaders like Teddy Roosevelt and... Ronald Reagan. He expresses the outrage that was supposed to propel Mr. William Bennett, the other moralist in the Republican party, to the presidency, but that instead led him to the more stressful regions of the best-seller lists and the Chattauqua circuit. Mr. Keyes, unlike Mr. Bennett, seems to have misperceived the key to success and influence with the country club moneybags, but then again, it's their party, not his.

Still, why should Mr. Keyes presume to be the Republican presidential candidate? He is a still relatively young man and seems to be in a hurry. So was Mr. Clinton, a young man, but Mr. Keyes often expresses his loathing for the president. In this, one might observe that he is in the finest rhetorical traditions of the antebellum years, when politicians and rhetoricians loathed one another with elegant but powerful thrusts of the American language they were inventing. Mr. Keyes' most serious disadvantage in appealing to the public for its votes is that he has never been elected to anything, whereas Mr. George W. Bush, for instance, has been elected governor of Texas. Mr. Keyes is basing his claim to leadership on his brief but meteoric diplomatic career (he rose to the rank of ambassador and assistant

secretary of state for international organizations), his failed campaign for the U.S. Senate from Maryland (where he lives with his wife and several children), and his erudition, which is impressive. A Cornell Ph.D., Mr. Keyes represents the most intense involvement in intellectual affairs by a Republican presidential contender since the



New York congressman Jack Kemp, who studied with prominent economists and learned that confiscatory taxation discourages enterprise. The "neoconservative" and "Straussian" thinkers who used to prepare vice-president Quayle sorties into the world of ideas come closest to Mr. Keyes' thinking. They like him

and he likes them. They do not have votes to deliver, neither in the party nor in the country.

At any rate, Mr. Keyes is not a "pussyfooter." "The core of the Bush strategy," he said last October, "is to maintain a resolute silence on the fact that we have just come through the most humiliating period in American history and suffered the deepest betrayal ever of America's moral conscience." To him, the number one problem facing the U.S. is "our abandonment of the most basic principles of justice and decency that constitute the foundation for our discipline as a free people." And he adds cruelly, "But I gather this is a minor matter, to some people..."

Mr. Keyes is unambiguous. Notwithstanding—or perhaps due to—his involvement in foreign policy-making, he loathes foreign entanglements like the Balkan affair, "a civil war in which the U.S. has no vital interests." He is against gun control. He is opposed to quotas, but is not against action by the federal government to remedy past discrimination. Mr. Keyes, who is African-American in his ethno-geographic ancestry and Christian in religion, favors school prayer and supports capital punishment and rejects the socio-economic explanation of sociopathic behavior. He believes juvenile offenders should under certain circumstances be tried as adults. "I have said for months that I simply could not support George W. Bush," he said upon hearing that the governor of Texas would be less insistent on the abortion issue than he, Mr. Keyes, is. As president, Mr. Keyes would work to

reverse *Roe v Wade*. He characterizes abortion as murder and would forbid it except, as among the Jews, when refusing it would imperil the life of the mother. There is something of the Biblical prophet about Mr. Keyes; a Calvinistic sternness that brings to mind a temperament like Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's. Carried perhaps by his own passion on the abortion matter, which does seem to exercise some Americans exorbitantly, Mr. Keyes went so far as to say, "the George W. Bush movement is the Republican wing of the Clinton movement." Keyes also supports terms limits and the flat tax.

He has not expressed himself on the shape of the earth. But on one occasion, Mr. Keyes warned that if the Republicans "continue down the road that they have gone... and further compromise with the left wing in this country, then in the year 2000, I predict... they will [go the way of the Whigs, for] you cannot win an election when you have betrayed your base in the country." Strong stuff. But is the base listening?

Silk Stockinged Cowboy By William J. Watkins

Orrin Hatch, a devout Mormon, is married with six children. In his spare time he writes songs and has produced or co-produced seven compact discs of music. Most of his music centers on religion, family life, and patriotism.

One of Hatch's major themes was the composition of the federal judiciary. Hatch warned voters that the next president would probably have at least three Supreme Court nominations and scores of lower court appointments. President Clinton has appointed over 40 percent of the sitting federal judges, and a Democratic victory would ensure the ascendancy of a liberal jurisprudence. Hatch was a vociferous supporter of Judge Robert Bork and repeatedly emphasizes that the courts' role is interpretive, not legislative. Hatch refuses to endorse a litmus test for his nominees, but promises to appoint judges who will

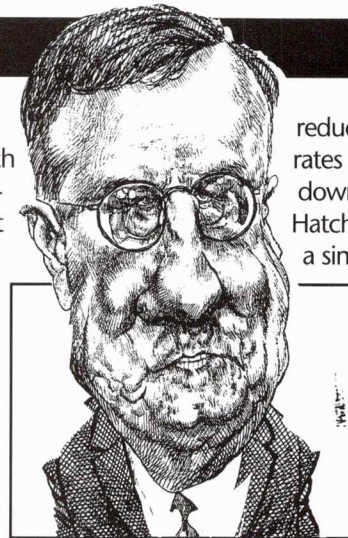
strictly construe the Constitution. Though the Hatch rhetoric is music to a conservative's ears, some of his conduct has been questionable. For example, Hatch describes Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg as the personification of his commitment to helping women reach the heights of the legal profession. Supposedly, Hatch influenced Bill Clinton to appoint her to the High Court in 1993.

Ginsburg wrote the majority opinion declaring single-gender education at VMI unconstitutional, and votes consistently with the left wing of the Supreme Court.

When it comes to the military, Hatch is an unreconstructed Reaganite. Ronald Reagan spent an average of 6.2 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on the military. Today, we spend approximately 3.2 percent of GDP. Hatch believes that the Clinton administration has drastically cut defense spending and a President Hatch would reverse this trend. Hatch complains that a record number of military families are on food stamps. He promised to boost service members' pay and to excuse lower enlisted members from paying federal income taxes. Believing that an ICBM attack is the nation's greatest military threat and Hatch supported a national missile defense system such as originally proposed by President Reagan.

Though Hatch's campaign speeches urged the administration to leave peace-making to the UN and nation building to civilian organizations, he is no America Firster. Hatch supported air strikes against Serbia and called for the destruction of the Serbian military. He also remains committed to overthrowing Saddam Hussien. Though a President Hatch would have probably defined national interests more narrowly than the present occupant of the White House, he would not entirely abandon our role as world constable.

On the subject of death and taxes, Hatch was again quite the Reaganite. Hatch spoke fondly of President Reagan's



reduction of marginal tax rates from 70 percent down to 28 percent. Hatch repeatedly called for a simplification of the tax code and a reduction in capital gains taxes. He especially loathes the death tax and in general believes taxpayers should keep more of what they earn.

Hatch talks a good states' rights game, but he is not afraid to expand federal power. Hatch is a tough-on-crime-conservative, which unfortunately means federalization. For example, Hatch has jumped on the hate-crime bandwagon and called for an extension of federal jurisdiction. He is also not afraid to back massive federal "civil rights" measures such as the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Moreover, when it comes to New Deal or Great Society programs, one never expects Hatch to call for a roll back. Just recently he proposed increasing Medicare benefits and he is a long-time champion of the Head Start education boondoggle.

In sum, Hatch is not without foibles. But for a career politician, he has been surprisingly true to conservative principles. Hatch's moral character is unimpeachable and we certainly would never worry about Whitewatergates or Monicagates from a President Hatch. However, strapped for cash and but a blip in the polls, Hatch is out of the race.

A Million Reasons to Vote for Forbes By Christopher Sullivan

I like Steve Forbes. He is the only presidential candidate since Ronald Reagan to enter the race with a consistent message on taxes and stick to it; and he's now done it twice. Forbes has also developed a solidly conservative message on social issues as well.

I know, I know. All my accountant friends tell me how terrible it would be to have a simple tax code; how the economy would collapse without a mortgage deduction. But, I can't help but listen to the Siren's song of a flat tax with no deductions and a 1040 no bigger than a postcard.

Forbes' problems, however, lie not in his message—which is pretty hard to argue with—but rather in his persona. He just doesn't seem to be presidential.

Mr. Forbes carries himself with the glee of the little whiz kid from middle school who was famous for raising his hand at 2:45 on a Friday afternoon to remind the teacher that she "forgot to give us our homework assignment."

But if he really wants to be president in this day and age he must first be presidential: he needs a reputation. To be taken seriously as a candidate for Chief Executive of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and all the ships at sea one must first demonstrate moral frailty, deficiency of character, and infirmity of judgment (at least in one's youth) of which Mr. Forbes—seemingly—has none.

Having been married to the same woman for all these years, having not been invited to the really exciting parties when he was in college and having spent his days since graduation in a steady state of employment in the private sector, Forbes has almost completely disqualified himself for high political office regardless of whatever appeal his proposals may have in the abstract. How can the voters be expected to trust a man who may have better character than they do?

How indeed.



How Howie Works

By Matthew Sandel

Heaven is a benevolent monarchy, not a democracy. God doesn't run for reelection every four years, nor do candidates vie for lesser offices. But if elections were held up there for an American

president and vice president, Howie Phillips and Joe Sobran would probably win. Their chances of victory in a fallen world, however, are the nearest you can get to zero and still have a number.

Along with Paul Weyrich, Stan Evans, and a few others, Phillips is one of the few conservatives in Washington who are always, *always* good on the issues. His organization, the Conservative Caucus, is one of the most effective groups in Washington, because he has never compromised on principle in order to curry favor with the *Washington Post* and Dan Rather. If the Clinton Administration were to order conservatives to recant or have their heads chopped off (and such a decree is not beyond the realm of possibility), Howie Phillips would go to the guillotine reciting the Bible and the U.S. Constitution.

He is also loyal to fellow conservatives when they fall from grace. When Bill Buckley turned his back on Joe Sobran, accusing him of anti-Semitism—a charge Buckley failed to substantiate in his self-serving *National Review* article. At that point, Howie Phillips, himself a Jew, gave a testimonial dinner for Sobran, complete with celebrity speakers from the conservative movement.

So Phillips is loyal to his own, whereas the Bushes are notorious for betraying conservative principles and conservative heroes. Indeed, Republican administrations over the past half-century have repeatedly shot their own wounded. A Phillips administration would be filled with politically incorrect appointees who would shoot off their mouths with impunity.

Because Phillips heads the Constitution Party (formerly the U.S. Taxpayers Party), some may mistakenly conclude that he doesn't care about the social issues. Note the first three items in his Position Statement:

1. I will end legal abortion by naming Federal judges who acknowledge the legal

personhood of the unborn child and by instructing U.S. attorneys to prosecute abortionists for violation of federal statutes and regulations.

2. I will veto funding for judges who unconstitutionally disregard Article IV due processes for unborn children and the elderly.
3. I will cut the Federal government down to Constitutional size, vetoing any budget with even a penny for Planned Parenthood, the Department of Education, the IRS, National Endowment for the Arts, Legal Services Corporation, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, etc.

After outlining plans for a sound fiscal policy, including abolition of the income tax, Phillips says this about foreign policy:

"I will withdraw the U.S. from institutions of the New World Order, including the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, NAFTA, World Trade Organization, and all of the others which deprive us of independence and liberty."

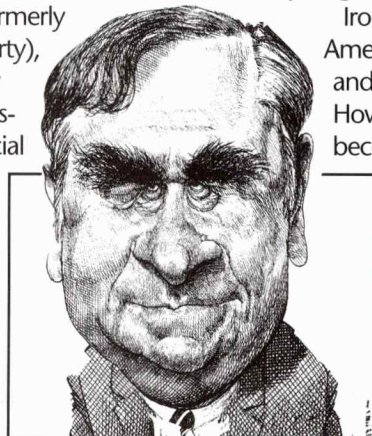
And he concludes with this statement:

"My comprehensive objective is to restore American jurisprudence to its Biblical presuppositions and the Federal government to its Constitutional boundaries. The death penalty must be fully available to states and localities to deal with murderers and rapists."

O.K. Phillips was born in Massachusetts, but he lives in Virginia now, is married, has six children, and is ready to go to work for his country.

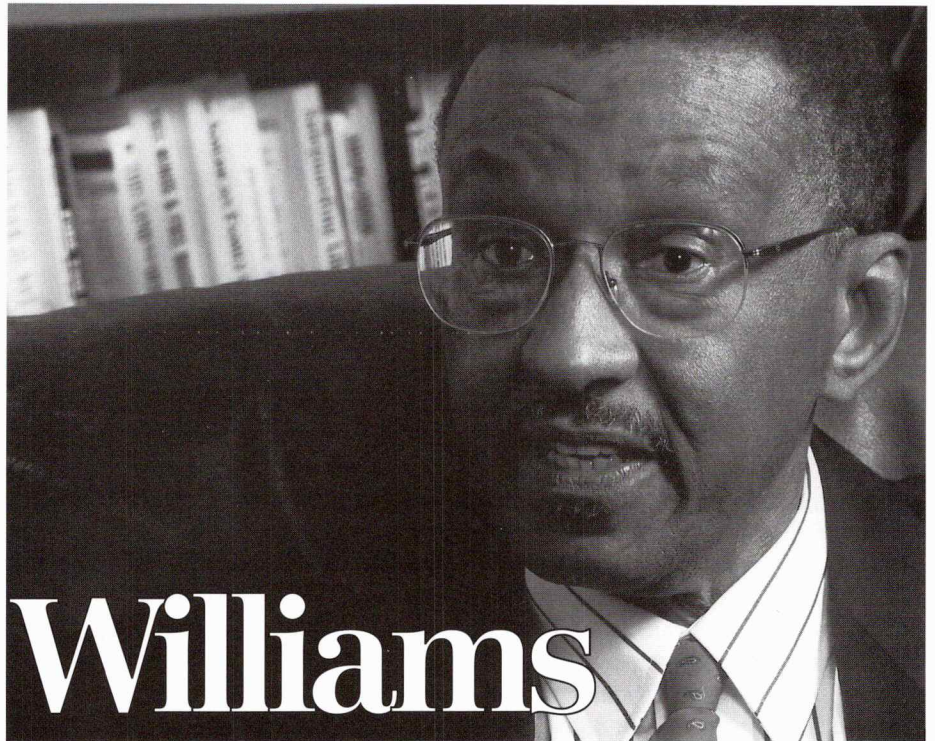
Ironically, if every right-thinking American ignored the pollsters and voted his conscience, Howie Phillips might well become President of the United States.

We all know that isn't going to happen.
What a pity.



Walter Williams was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—on the same block with comedian Bill Cosby. He was educated in California, and remained there to teach before returning to Philadelphia for a faculty position at Howard University.

For the last years he has been on the faculty at George Mason University in Virginia where he is Chairman of the Economics Department. When Dr. Williams is not teaching he writes books, a syndicated newspaper column, and is an occasional guest host for the Rush Limbaugh Show.



Walter Williams

Southern Partisan: What factors brought you to a conservative view of politics and economics?

Williams: I have always been a radical. Radical in the Jeffersonian sense, Thomas Jefferson and [James] Madison, those people who believed in liberty. I say that I am radical because any American who believes in personal liberty and limited government is probably way out of the mainstream because most Americans believe that government should be doing many things that it has no constitutional authority to be doing. Thomas Paine was one of my heroes; I read *Common Sense*, I don't know how many times. When I went to UCLA and came into contact with liberal, hard-line faculty members there, Paine's ideas about liberty stuck with me.

You, Clarence Thomas and Thomas Sowell are unusual as prominent black conservatives. Why does that seem to be so rare?

In terms of media exposure, we may be rare, but there is a lot of evidence to suggest that black people as a group are far more conservative than we are portrayed by our so-called leaders. Some of the evidence of that is that—

according to opinion polls—sixty-some percent of blacks are for the death penalty. Seventy-some percent of blacks are for prayer in school. Eighty-some percent of blacks are for school vouchers. Surely Jesse Jackson would not agree with that, or Al Sharpton, or anybody else that is widely recognized as a black leader, so if you were to look at Gallup polls, you would find that blacks have more in common with Reverend Falwell while Jesse Jackson has more in common with white hippies. However, just because of the history of blacks in the United States, I think there might be a misguided sense of loyalty that blacks have to these civil rights leaders of the past and to the Democratic Party.

I don't want the subject of race to dominate our discussion, but I do want to ask you a little bit more about that subject. First, the phrase "racial reconciliation" has been used a lot in political discourse. What are your thoughts on how racial reconciliation can be achieved or do you think it needs to be achieved?

Well, the only long-term way it can be achieved is for there to be equality before the law. That is, every

American should be treated as an equal before the law. So, that means we have to undo some things we have done in the past. I believe that those people who struggled, and many times gave their lives, in the civil rights struggle in the forties, the fifties and the sixties, many of those might be dead and gone... I believe that those people, at the time, had every legitimate expectation that by the turn of the century, our racial problems would have been solved by now.

There have been many efforts made by so-called black leaders and civil rights leaders, to resuscitate racial discrimination. I can't think of a better way to make people angry than to have quota programs or to have forced bussing programs and to have all of these other preferential treatment programs. Just one example: at Pennsylvania State College, black students who maintained a C plus grade point average and higher, were given a bonus of \$1000. Can you imagine a white kid from Appalachia whose father is a coal miner, maybe a drunkard. He's never seen a black in his life, and so he is neutral on the issue of race. But, if he comes to Penn State and sees this preferential treatment,

let's say, my daughter getting \$1000 when I have a very high income. Well, that will create racial animosity where none existed before. And, so, this is why I stress that we have to be willing to have equality before the law. That is the main ingredient, I think, to racial harmony.

Do you think race relations are better now than they were 25 years ago?

Well, there is a lot of evidence that race relations are better. Just look at some of the Gallup poll figures that asked whites, "would you mind if a black person of your same socioeconomic status moved next door to you?" In the fifties, you got very, very low numbers, maybe fourteen percent would not mind. Now, you get numbers like sixty and seventy percent who do not mind. If you look at some particularly sensitive areas of racial relationships..., there is more acceptance of interracial marriages or inter-racial dating, and these are some indications that racial relations have improved.

At the same time, however, there is the other side where racial relations have not improved. That is, if you look in our country for racial conflict, a lot of it occurs on college campuses, but you note one thing about college campuses. This is where quota programs have been pushed the most. Many times, you will find black and white kids—who might be the sons and daughters of black and white people who marched in the civil rights struggle arm in arm—are at each other's throats, and I think that has to do with some of our policies regarding race.

You mentioned attitudes of conservative blacks towards political issues, but nonetheless, the Democratic Party seems to have a death grip on the black vote. In a lot of places, ninety-five per cent of the black population votes Democratic, even sometimes when it seems it would be in their economic self-interest to vote Libertarian or Republican. What do you attribute that to?

Well, I am not sure. I think that some



If you look in our country for racial conflict, a lot of it occurs on college campuses, but you note one thing about colleges, this is where quota programs have been pushed the most.

of that has to do with Republicans having been portrayed as civil rights obstructionists during the sixties. But keep in mind that for a very significant part in our history, blacks were the party of Lincoln, that is, the Republicans had a lock on the black vote until the 1930s with Franklin Roosevelt. And so, it could change the other way.

Let's talk about economic questions for a second. We are in a pretty good economic time right now, or at least it seems. What do you think needs to be done to preserve that?

Well, I think that one of the major things is to get government out of economic activity in our country to reduce the role of government. To do things like reduce income taxes, privatize social security and engage in more deregulation of the economy. In general, let government play a smaller role.

I think that we have done well during the Clinton administration because President Clinton was not very successful at getting done what he wanted to get done. For example, if he had socialized our healthcare system, as he and his wife wanted to early in the administration, we would not have this robust economy. If he had been successful in getting the BTU tax (the energy tax) that he wanted to get through, we would not have a successful economy.

A lot of people tell me, when I'm on radio programs, "Clinton has really created a wonderful economy." I say, no, he should not get the credit. I give the credit to Monica Lewinsky, because she kept him so busy that he was not able to mess up our economy.

Let me ask you a question about economics. There has been sort of a debate about whether Reaganomics was good fiscal policy or voodoo economics. Others have argued that the economic boom we are in right now is a ripple effect from things that happened during the Reagan administration. Where would you come down on that?

Well, Reagan was instrumental in getting the tax rates cut from the marginal tax rate of seventy percent down to twenty-eight percent. That was a huge boom to the economy. We are still feeling the effects because, prior to the reduction of marginal tax rates, people were doing all kinds of things solely for tax purposes..., buying land, buying boxcars, all of these tax shelters..., which is relatively an unproductive use

of money, but it saves taxes. Now, with the reduction of marginal tax rate, people said, the heck with these shelters, I am going to put my money in sectors of the economy that are very productive and create more income because I don't have to pay as much in taxes.

The deregulation that occurred during the Reagan administration was also very significant. I think that was just the leadership he gave the country; however, I should say that during the Bush administration, there was a reversal of some of this momentum. As a matter of fact, I think that President Bush had been far more destructive of the economy than President Clinton, because President Clinton did not get any major legislation through, but Bush got major legislation through, particularly, the Americans With Disabilities Act. That is imposing a huge cost on the economy.

I would like to turn your attention for a moment to history. I understand you are a bit of a war buff. What piqued your interest in the War Between the States?

I don't know whether there is any particular thing. I have a deep respect and regard for the Constitution and I wonder why there is so much disrespect for the Constitution of the United States among our politicians and judges, including Supreme Court judges, whose job is to interpret the Constitution. I started paying a lot of attention to the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, the so-called States Rights Amendment.

The only good thing that resulted from the War Between the States is the elimination of slavery. But, we are living with another legacy of the War Between the States and that is, the Federal government running roughshod over the rights of the people and the rights of States. So, I came to the conclusion that once it was decided by a force of arms, that a State could not secede, and states had the right to secede, then the Federal government can do anything it wants. That kind of got me interested in look-



You could just as easily call the War Between the States the Second War of Independence, and the recognition of that doesn't mean that people have to accept slavery as moral—but nonetheless, it was a war of independence.

ing at the issues of the War Between the States and reading John C. Calhoun's statements about the Tariffs of Abomination, and it just kindled an interest in the whole era.

I noticed you have a Confederate flag in your office. One of the legacies of

the War is that there is a lot of controversy over Southern symbols—Confederate flags in particular—being displayed in public places. There is certainly a controversy raging down in South Carolina about the flag over the State House. What is your advice on that controversy?

Well, I think there is an education job that needs to be done. The victors write the history of wars and the Northerners were the victors. You could just as easily call the War Between the States the Second War of Independence, and the recognition of that doesn't mean that people have to accept slavery as moral, but nonetheless, it was a war of independence.

Now, the Confederate Battle Flag was a symbol of that period and a lot of people take it as a symbol of slavery, but it is not, in my opinion. Now, there are many groups who might march with the Confederate Battle Flags, the skinheads or the Klan, and I think that what we have to recognize is that people can misuse a symbol, but that does not mean that the symbol is bad. We have to keep in mind that very, very brutal people use the symbol of the Bible to justify, as a matter of fact, slavery, but does that mean that we should get rid of Bibles along with the Confederate Battle Flag? I say no.

Do you think the War Between the States was fought for economic reasons?

Well, part of it was for economic reasons. The South was an agricultural region and the North was manufacturing. There was conflict and you could see it at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. If you had been a good predictor, you would have predicted that something like that would happen. The South wanted to send agricultural products to Europe and in exchange, get manufactured goods. The North was not interested in the South getting manufactured goods from abroad, so they used protectionist tariffs. They even did some things that were equivalent to the Navigation Act of King George which required that vessels

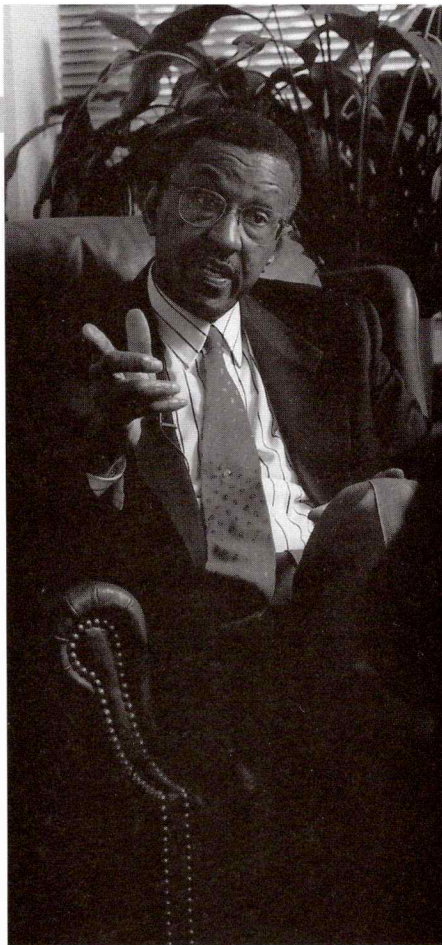
traveling, let's say, between Savannah and Boston, to be U.S. owned vessels. So there were some economic issues involved with the war and all of the evidence suggests that there would have been a war—certainly a conflict—even without the issue of slavery.

What is your opinion of Abraham Lincoln?

After the war had started and after the war was not going well, he started talking about slavery... he started pushing that issue. I think it was a good idea to focus on the Abolitionist Movement; however, I think that, as I have said before, we are living with the legacy of Abraham Lincoln's vision of consolidation. During the Lincoln/Douglas debates, Douglas accused him of wanting to homogenize the country, to have a single set of values and to have control of the country coming from Washington. What has been done since the War has accomplished Lincoln's vision of consolidation far beyond anything he could have possibly dreamed.

How would you describe yourself politically? Do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Libertarian?

I am not a member of any party. You can't blame me for anything. If I were to join a political party, I believe it would be the Libertarian Party. As a matter of fact, if we can imagine the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution were somehow alive today, they would probably be Libertarians. One of the tragedies of our country is that if a person like Madison were running for political office today, he would be tarred and feathered in any city where he spoke. For example, Congress was passing a bill to help some French refugees, and Madison says essentially, "I cannot lay my finger on that article in the Constitution that warrants Congress spending the money of its constituents for the purposes of benevolence." Can you imagine a politician saying that today?



There have been many efforts made, by so-called civil rights leaders, to resuscitate racial discrimination. I can't think of a better way to make people angry than to have quota programs and to have all of these other preferential treatment programs.

Earlier this year, Southern Partisan magazine, did a special section on the great books of history—I know you mentioned Thomas Paine's Common Sense. Are there any other books that have influenced you strongly that you might recommend?

Oh, yes. There is an excellent book called *The Law* written by Frederick Bastiat. He was a French philosopher and economist during the 1800s. Anyone who reads the book will find the true test of moral government. As a matter of fact, Bastiat says to see whether a government action is right or moral, ask yourself the following question: "If I did the same thing the government did would I be arrested?" Now, an example of that is that I could see some poor person out there who needs some food, and I can walk up to you and take, by force, your money and give it to him. Well, clearly, that is criminal and immoral, but it is still criminal and immoral when the government does it.

I think another book, by an economist who writes very well, is Frederick Hayak's notable book *The Road to Serfdom*. He discusses how Germany became the bad country that it was during World War II as a result of the growth of government. Another good book is *Human Action* by Ludwig von Mises—that takes a long time to read, but it is a fun book. My colleague, Thomas Sowell, has written roughly twenty-five books; anyone of those I would highly recommend. The one I like the most is *Knowledge and Decisions*; another good one is *The Vision of the Anointed*.

How about the presidential race? If it were up to you, who do you think should be the next president?

Well, let me start by saying that it shouldn't really make a difference. That is, I would like the day to come where the average American doesn't care who is the President of the United States, because his powers would be so limited. As a matter of fact, if you go to Switzerland..., Switzerland has the Canton system, a republic like we were supposed to be..., I am very sure that if you ask the average Swiss who is the president of Switzerland, he might not know because the central government has so little power. Mostly, everything that occurs in Switzerland happens at the Canton level, or the state level. I

would like to think that our President should be so unimportant.

As a practical matter, it looks like George Bush will be the winner unless something changes. Although, his view of government is quite different from mine, I do think it is important that the next president be a Republican, because we need good, liberty-minded people appointed to the Supreme Court.

Just a couple of more questions. In America, right now, we are in a period of tremendous economic prosperity. At the same time, there seems to be a lot of moral decay, sort of a decline in values. Do you consider yourself optimistic about the future of America?

Well, it all depends on what day you ask me. The most optimistic thing I can say about our country—the future of our country—is the effect that technology is having on our liberty. Technology is going to allow us to escape the grasp of government, because now I can communicate with anybody around the world and nobody else knows about it. Or, I can buy goods on the Internet without the government knowing about it. They are trying their best to find out, but I don't think they are going to be successful. There is a possibility that I can be a United States citizen and have a factory in Nepal and have my money banked off coast, so the technology says a lot about our liberty.

There is however, significant moral decay in our country. Tragically, most Americans are unaware of it and the reason why is that most Americans are not my age. They haven't lived at a time when people did not lock their doors, or when students did not curse out teachers. When I was coming up in elementary school in the forties and in high school in the early fifties, you would never think of cursing a teacher, much less hitting a teacher. That just never crossed your mind.

I think another thing that helps the decline of moral values is just our



I would like the day to come when the average American doesn't care who is the President of the United States, because his powers would be so limited.

affluence. We give people a lot of time to do things that they could not do if they were poor. I am not making an argument for poverty, what I am saying is that when women had to get up at five o'clock in the morning to fix breakfast, get the kids off to school and cook all day and make sure dinner was ready, they didn't have time to get involved with bra burning and watching Jerry Springer and all of that kind of stuff on television. My grandmother used to always say that idle hands are

the devil's workshop. One of the things that affluence has made possible is for a lot of people to have idle hands. We don't have to think about survival as much as we used to.

You mentioned students and teachers. As a professor, do you see students better prepared for college today or less prepared? Are they more conservative, or more liberal?

Well, academically, they are less prepared: way less prepared. I think politically, they are far more conservative than they used to be. That is just reality sinking in. Many students find that they just can't get a job taking all of these Mickey Mouse courses, so they tend towards the more rigorous disciplines.

In terms of academic achievement, it is a disgrace what goes on in many colleges. Kids that can just barely read and write are being admitted to college. The government schools at the elementary and high school level have done devastating things to our young people. Surveys show that SAT scores are falling and grade point averages are rising. Even at places like Stanford and Harvard, you find that eighty percent of the kids have a B plus grade point average, but yet their SAT scores are declining, so grade inflation is a serious problem.

Tell me a little bit, just to conclude, about your latest book.

Well, it is a collection of my syndicated columns entitled *More Liberty Means Less Government*. I kind of look at my syndicated column and the radio programs I do as an extension of my classroom. I love economics, so I try to apply economics to a whole range of issues, and my columns are a fun way of doing it and it teaches me to be able to get a message across in sixty words.

That is pretty good. Do you have any other book projects in the works?

Well, I am in the process of revising a book that I wrote in 1982. It is called *The State Against Blacks* and I expect it to be out next year.

Thank you for taking the time to talk to us.

Thank you very much. I enjoyed it. ✪

Editor's Note: Christian Josi is executive director of the American Conservative Union, a highly visible grassroots organization headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia.

Recently, he wrote a book on Hillary Clinton that will soon be in the hands of literally hundreds of thousands of people. This book—*Hillary Rodham Clinton: What Every American Should Know*, is a compendium of Hillary stories beginning with her earliest days in a middle-class suburb of Chicago up to her current senatorial race. The narrative, though heavily documented, is riveting. Josi chronicles some of the most outrageous behavior in the annals of American politics—both by Bill Clinton and by Hillary herself.

We've chosen to excerpt two sections that focus on Arkansas, where the Clintons lived together for a while, then married, and immediately began to engage in marital infidelity, shady financial dealings, and political skullduggery.

The first section, "Along Came Bill," deals with the personal life of the Clintons in relationship to Arkansas politics.

The second section, "Cattlegate," deals with Hillary's highly suspicious speculation in commodity futures, a complicated venture that Josi explains in clear and unambiguous prose.

These two sections merely hint at the scandal surrounding the Clintons from the time they first met. As Josi's book makes clear, these earlier adventures were only the beginning.

What Every American Should

ALONG CAME BILL

Bill Clinton was a man like none Hillary Rodham had ever seen. Tall and trim, he looked like an athlete without having to be one. He was warm, outgoing, and exhibited the easy courtesy of a plantation heir, while professing the politics of a migrant worker. Good manners were *de rigeur* in Arkansas; radicalism was rarer.

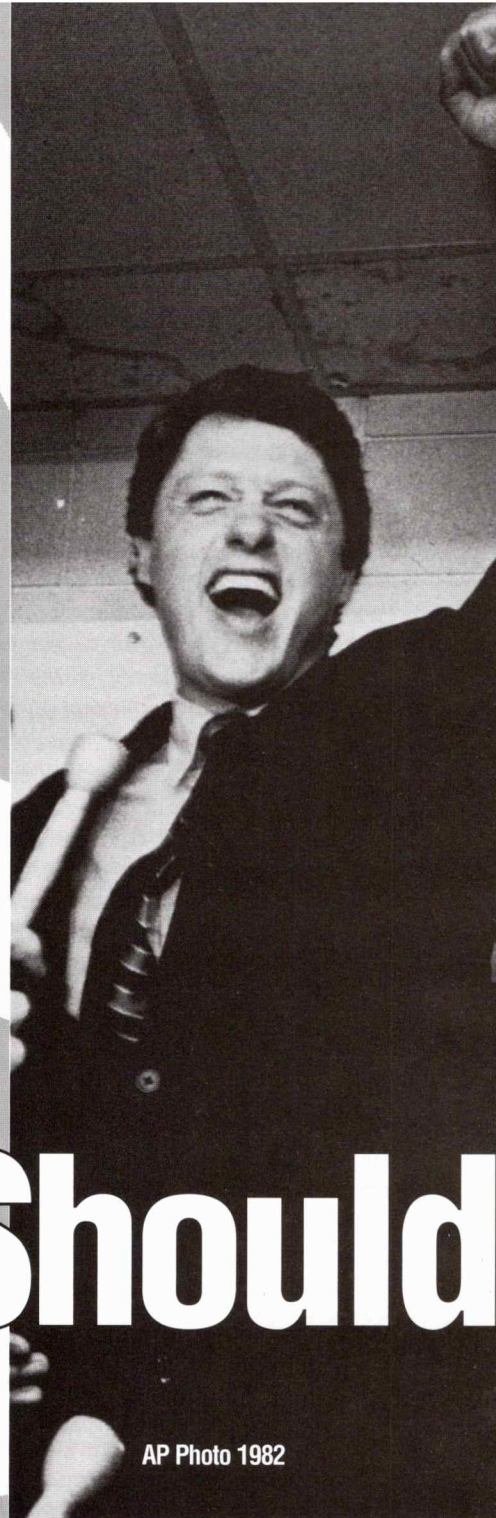
Clinton had also learned a lesson that most men skip: He listened quietly and attentively when women talked, as if he really wanted to hear what they were saying. And there was a tender, thoughtful, disarming quality about him—one that made him all but irresistible.

He had something else women liked—a

smooth self-confidence that bordered on cockiness, yet somehow stopped just short of the mark. He was never shy or awkward in their presence. He knew all the right moves and performed them flawlessly. Girls he'd seduced in high school remembered him as "sweet."

The manners, the tenderness, the warm grin, and the sunny disposition hit Hillary like a freight train. Here was a man who shared her political agenda, yet wasn't an awkward left-wing geek who made long coffee-house speeches about gender equality and treated her like a housemaid.

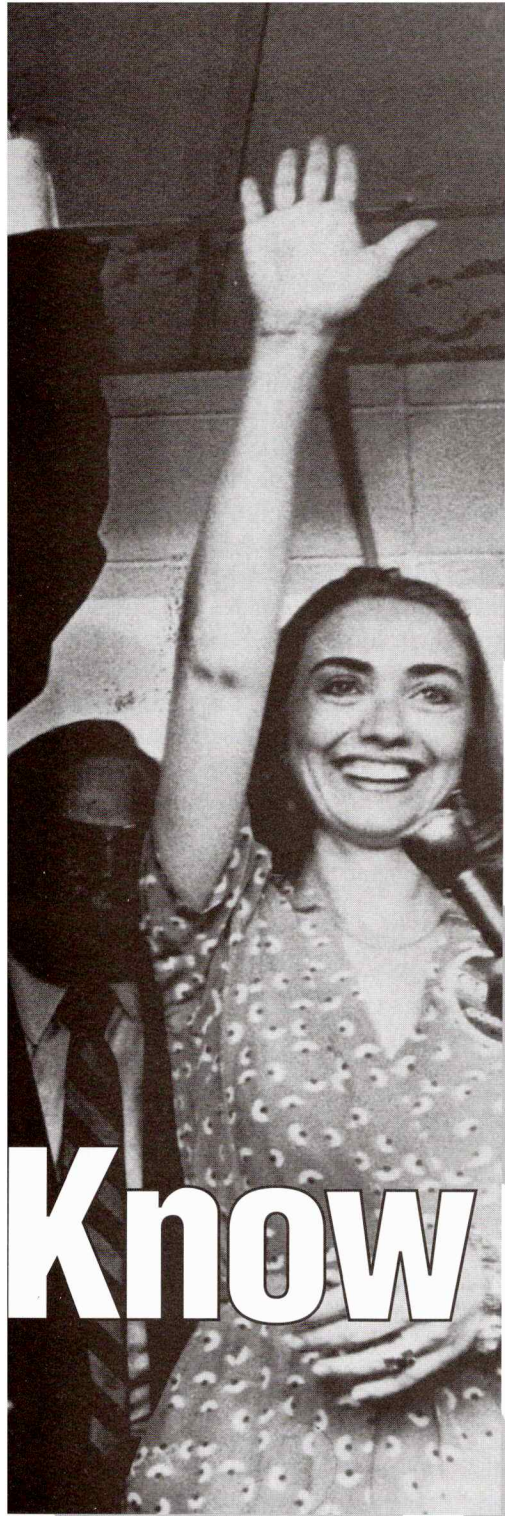
Hillary thought she had "discovered" Bill Clinton—in fact, literally hundreds of meretricious cuties in Arkansas, Northern Virginia, England, and even New Haven had



AP Photo 1982

long ago discovered him—in the backseats of cars, in motel rooms, and in scores of less likely places. He'd been discovered so many times that he'd probably lost count.

In fact, he had a real problem: He enjoyed "discovery" so much that it had become a vocation with him. He was a serial seducer, who, wherever he went, would bed as many women as he could work into a busy schedule. It wasn't just something he *liked* to do. It was something he *had* to do—an addiction, an obsession—the only thing that overrode his almost boundless ambi-



The Rodhams were low-key and respectable. The Clintons weren't the textbook definition of white trash, as some commentators have alleged. But they could pass for white trash—particularly when engaged in Hot Springs-style recreation on Friday and Saturday nights. Bill's stepfather, Roger Clinton, a Buick dealer, was a drunk who physically abused his wife and her two boys, one of them his natural son. He was known among his fellow gamblers as "Dude."

Virginia, Bill's mother, drank heavily herself and loved to gamble as well. The two parents would often make the late-night weekend rounds of the rowdiest establishments Hot Springs had to offer—particularly the dives featuring gambling and country music. A makeup-soaked big-haired woman who loved to have fun, Virginia was by no means Junior League material.

In addition to family differences, Bill was not the kind of smooth Ivy League man that Hillary had been dating; and she was unlike any girl Bill had looked at twice. He went for cheerleaders, beauty queens, and young married women with red lips, rouged cheeks, and blonde hair that tumbled in ringlets down their bare backs. Hillary Clinton wore no makeup didn't bother to shave her legs, wash her hair, much less style it, and barged around in clothes calculated to make her look like a grape picker's daughter.

But they fell in love at Yale Law School; and, to the surprise of all their friends, they were soon living together, first in New Haven, later in Arkansas.

Finally, after a stormier relationship than most, and following Bill's purchase of a modest home, they were married on October 11, 1975. During the reception, a guest discovered Bill "passionately kissing a young woman and fondling her breasts" in a bathroom.

Marriage changed little about their lives. They continued to live together. She kept her name. He kept climbing into other women's beds.

THE CAMPAIGN BEGINS

In March of 1976, less than five months after the wedding, Bill announced that he was running for attorney general. He had already established a reputation as an unsuccessful but highly popular candidate for Congress,

so he was an easy winner. His reputation as a womanizer was also expanding.

In 1978, Bill decided to run for governor.

During the gubernatorial campaign, Hillary was not an issue. But after he was elected and the Clintons moved into the Governor's mansion, the press and public began to scrutinize her more carefully. And they soon discovered she was an unlikely—and unlikable—First Lady of Arkansas.

In the first place, like a growing number of feminists, she refused to take her husband's last name. As she later explained, "I had made speeches in the name of Hillary Rodham. I had taught law under that name. I was, after all, twenty-eight when I was married, and I was fairly well-established."

In the second place, instead of acting as his hostess and speaking on behalf of high-way beautification at ladies' luncheons, Hillary decided to continue her law practice at the Rose Law Firm. "We realized that being a governor's wife could be a full-time job," she explained. "But I need to maintain my interests and my commitments. I need my own identity, too."

Many Arkansans regarded such an attitude as proud and haughty—an excess of ego. Others would become impatient with talk about "commitments" and "identity"—the kind of dialogue they heard on *As the World Turns*. In addition, they would regard her refusal to play the conventional First Lady role as a slap in the face of the people of Arkansas as well as their favorite son.

What's more, because she had stringy brown hair, dressed like a social worker, scorned makeup, wore Ben Franklin glasses, and laced her speech with four-letter words, gossips spread the word that she was a lesbian. Christopher Anderson quotes an Arkansas woman as saying, "Some of the women she was close to were tough-as-nails types. They wore unflattering, boxy business suits, let their hair go gray, and swore like sailors."

Instead of taking this kind of talk seriously, the First Lady of Arkansas dismissed it with a flippant remark, "When I look at what's available in the man department, I'm surprised more women aren't gay."

Both Clintons apparently assumed that Bill would win reelection and gave only half-hearted attention to the 1980 campaign. Neither apparently realized the degree to which Arkansans judged a man's worth by the way he managed his home life. Too many voters believed that Bill Clinton's hardboiled

tion.

But in the case of Hillary Rodham, it wasn't just another roll in the hay. He found her as intriguing and as inviting as she found him.

Their mutual attraction was both likely and unlikely. In the first place, Hillary was from suburban Illinois and Bill Clinton was from rural Arkansas. The two worlds had little in common—indeed, not even a mutually shared language. The tempo in Chicago was swift, the style abrupt, while Arkansas ran on a low battery and good manners.

Yankee wife ran both the marriage and Bill Clinton.

So widespread was the defection that in the 1980 election, Republican Frank White scored an upset, beating Bill Clinton by 31,000 votes.

Two years later, he ran again.

Initially, his supporters worried about the Hillary factor. According to many observers, she had been the chief reason why he'd lost two years earlier. Would she continue to dress like a frump and barge around Arkansas like "Super Ms.?"

As soon as the campaign began, Arkansans noticed the dramatic transformation in Hillary Clinton.

When she went out in public, her hair was washed and even coifed.

She wore makeup—not the brightest lipstick or the heaviest mascara, but makeup nonetheless, makeup that was noticeable.

She dressed like a smart southern woman rather than a Yankee Lesbian.

She had traded in the Ben Franklin glasses for contact lenses.

And most important of all, she was now introduced as "Mrs. Bill Clinton." In fact, she was introducing herself that way! Some

Arkansans compared her metamorphosis to the conversion of the Apostle Paul on the road to Damascus.

This new Hillary—the "wifey," wearing lipstick and blush, looking up adoringly at her Bill—wasn't a major asset to the campaign, however she was no longer a liability. Her husband won easily.

Though Hillary remained a hard-nosed professional woman and an absentee mother, she had toned down her militancy to the point where she was tolerable to Arkansas. And she continued to play her schizophrenic role, balancing her outwardly conventional appearance with her inward zeal to be a political and social Amazon.

Henceforth, anyone who wished to understand her had to come to terms with the paradoxical nature of her character—and her uncanny willingness to compromise, to back down, to do whatever it took to win.

CATTEGATE

In 1978—as her husband was on the verge of election as Governor of Arkansas—Hillary was dabbling in cattle futures.

At the time, the combined income of the Clintons was around \$60,000; so Hillary couldn't risk a lot—a mere \$1,000 to dip her toe into an uncertain stream. However, it turned out she was enormously lucky—so lucky, in fact, that a lot of cynics in Arkansas and elsewhere came to believe that luck played little or no role in her success, that she and her financial adviser had engaged in a scam. Her friends defended her with a very weak, "beginner's luck."

Here are the bare facts.

In 1978—when her husband was still Attorney General of Arkansas—Hillary

make the difference in whether or not people nationwide bought Tyson's chicken tenders or Perdue's. So, if you were a chicken man, it was nice to be tight with the people who ran the state.

Jim Blair performed a satisfying service for Big Daddy and the Governor: He arranged deals that made both men very happy. And it's hard to believe that Hillary's futures account wasn't a part of those mutually beneficial arrangements.

As noted above, her initial investment was small. However, over the next year, Blair wrought miracles that Harry Potter has yet to learn. The account grew like wildfire and stood at almost \$100,000 when she collected her winnings. Some of her biggest scores came from selling short—a particularly risky venture because of potential margin calls.

Blair and Bone had an understanding about margin calls—Refco didn't issue them, regardless of the circumstances. "Buying on the margin" means putting up a "down payment" on a contract. You put down 10 percent, say, selling cattle futures short based on the current price. This means you're betting the price will fall. If the price increases, your liability increases and the new 10 percent is higher than the old one. At that

point, a brokerage house will usually issue a margin call, asking you to put in more money to cover what looms as a substantial loss.

When it came to margin calls, Bone was defiant—so much so that in 1977 the Chicago Board of Trade had disciplined him and ordered the Refco home office in Chicago to limit his activities, an order Bone didn't follow. He was also reprimanded by the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, which cited "repeated and serious violations of record-keeping functions, order-entry procedures, margin requirements and hedge procedures." [emphasis added]

The question of margin calls is relevant here, because had Bone and Blair played by the rules, according to James Glassman of the *New Republic*, in July of 1979 Hillary should have received a margin call to put up \$117,500. No such call was issued, though it undoubtedly would have come from any other commodities office.

Hillary—who had spent most of her life

Hillary—who had spent most of her life denouncing the greedy predators of Wall Street—enjoyed the exhilaration of making money the easy way. In fact, she admitted that while she was in labor with Chelsea, she was worrying about her sugar futures.

Rodham Clinton opened a futures account with Refco, a Chicago-based firm, whose local broker was Robert L. "Red" Bone. She turned the management of this account over to James Blair, counsel for Tyson's Foods Inc., one of the biggest chicken processors in the country and a major Arkansas employer.

Blair's connection with Tyson is by no means irrelevant to a consideration of Hillary's futures account. Over the years, Don Tyson was a major supporter of Bill Clinton's many political campaigns—according to some, the most generous contributor of all.

A governor could do a lot of favors for an old chicken plucker. And Big Daddy needed all the breaks he could get from friends in high places. For example, in a state-regulated food industry, it made a difference who was inspecting for health hazards and environmental infractions. The right inspector—somebody who understood the troubles chickens could pose and who could use a little extra money "off the books"—might well

denouncing the greedy predators of Wall Street—enjoyed the exhilaration of making money the easy way. Her account experienced a few downs, but mostly Blair reported lots and lots of ups. In fact, she admitted that while she was in labor with Chelsea, she was worrying about her sugar futures.

Marshall Magazine, a publication of the Marshall School of Business at the University of Southern California, printed a frank and revealing analysis of these transactions:

These results are quite remarkable. Two-thirds of her trades showed a profit by the end of the day she made them and 80 percent were ultimately profitable. Many of her trades took place at or near the best prices of the day.

Only four explanations can account for these remarkable results. Blair may have been an exceptionally good trader. Hillary Clinton may have been exceptionally lucky. Blair may have been front-running other orders. Or Blair may have arranged to have a broker fraudulently assign trades to benefit [Hillary] Clinton's account. Many people familiar with these markets think that the first two explanations are exceedingly unlikely. Well-informed traders rarely trade with such remarkable success and consistency.

In other words, the odds of a trader honestly achieving these results are simply too high for hard-nosed traders to believe. *The Journal of Economics and Statistics* placed those odds at 250 million to one. And the fact that staid academic and professional journals would state the proposition in such blunt language is an indication of just how widespread and respectable these suspicions are. The only question remaining would then be: Which of these two illegal methods did Blair or the broker use in behalf of Hillary Clinton?

Marshall Magazine even provides a possible answer to that question:

Although no evidence of fraudulent trade assignment has ever surfaced, this method seems most likely to many people. Here is a simple explanation of how a dishonest broker could achieve this objective: Execute buy and sell orders in the same contract. The contract price will eventually go up or go down. If it goes up, assign the profitable buy trades to the favored

account and assign the losing sell trades to an account owned by the benefactor. If the price falls, assign the profitable sell trades to the favored account and assign the losing buy trades to the benefactor's account.

Marshall Magazine goes so far as to print some speculation on the identity of the benefactor:

Many of Clinton's political enemies believe that the scheme was designed to surreptitiously transfer an illegal bribe or gratuity to Clinton in exchange for a political favor or for political influence. They believe that Don Tyson—a major supporter of Clinton—was the benefactor.

This series of transactions illustrates several important points about Hillary Clinton and her role in Bill Clinton's rise to power.

First, she clearly believed in the old adage that you could sup with the Devil if you used a long-handled spoon. Big Daddy Tyson was everything she'd been taught to despise at Wellesley and Yale—a greedy capitalist who hated labor unions and had no compunction about polluting Mother Earth for financial gain. Yet she allowed Blair, Big Daddy's right-hand man, to manage her financial affairs.

Second, assuming the speculation in *Marshall Magazine* is correct, then she was the conduit for a bribe. If so—and many signs point in that direction—then it's virtually impossible to believe that she entered into this scheme in all innocence.

Third, legal or illegal, this was not a campaign contribution, justifiable in terms of ultimate and noble political ends. This was cash flowing into the Clintons' personal bank account. After all, the Clintons had acquired rich, influential friends; and they needed the funds to travel comfortably in such circles. Ultimately, the cultivation of the moneyed crowd would prove politically advantageous; but they had to dress in the right clothes and entertain in the right way.

And fourth, the money came to Hillary rather than the governor—a way to sidestep some of the ethical issues that might have been raised had Bill opened a futures account and beat such incredible odds. In chivalric Arkansas, even a politician's wife is cut some slack. Only in 1994, after Bill was President of the United States, would anyone seriously scrutinize her commodities trading account.

THE FINAL CHAPTER?

By 1999, Hillary was rehabilitated enough to want to make another go at her desire “to run something.” She announced plans to form an exploratory committee to run for veteran Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's soon-to-be vacated seat in New York.

Ironically, Hillary owed this unprecedented opportunity in small part to Paula Jones, for reasons previously mentioned, and in large part to Linda Tripp. For if Tripp hadn't taped her conversations with Monica Lewinsky then Bill Clinton's affair with the White House intern would probably never have been exposed. And if Tripp hadn't advised Monica to keep the stained dress, the Clintons would likely have stonewalled their way around the issue, rolling their critics in the process. Simply put, if the whole sordid story hadn't spilled out, the public wouldn't have come to regard Hillary as the wronged wife and showered her with such uncritical sympathy. At the beginning of 1999, a *Newsweek* poll placed her approval rating at 56 percent with only 26 percent disapproving.

By March, *Time* was reporting that, according to its latest poll, Hillary would defeat New York Mayor Rudolph Guiliani by 52 percent to 42 percent and would finish in a statistical dead heat with popular Governor George Pataki. The magazine speculated that the talk about her candidacy might simply be a diversionary tactic to focus the public's attention away from the wounded president.

Whoever wrote the story didn't understand Hillary Clinton—her blind ambition, her obsession to run everything and everybody, her passion to use government to impose order and “meaning” on the American people, despite their waning but still active commitment to individual freedom.

The people of New York or the people of the United States may be faced with the prospect of either putting their stamp of approval on the Clintons and ensuring their continued presence on the national scene—including a Hillary race for president in 2004—or else rejecting them and sending them into political oblivion.

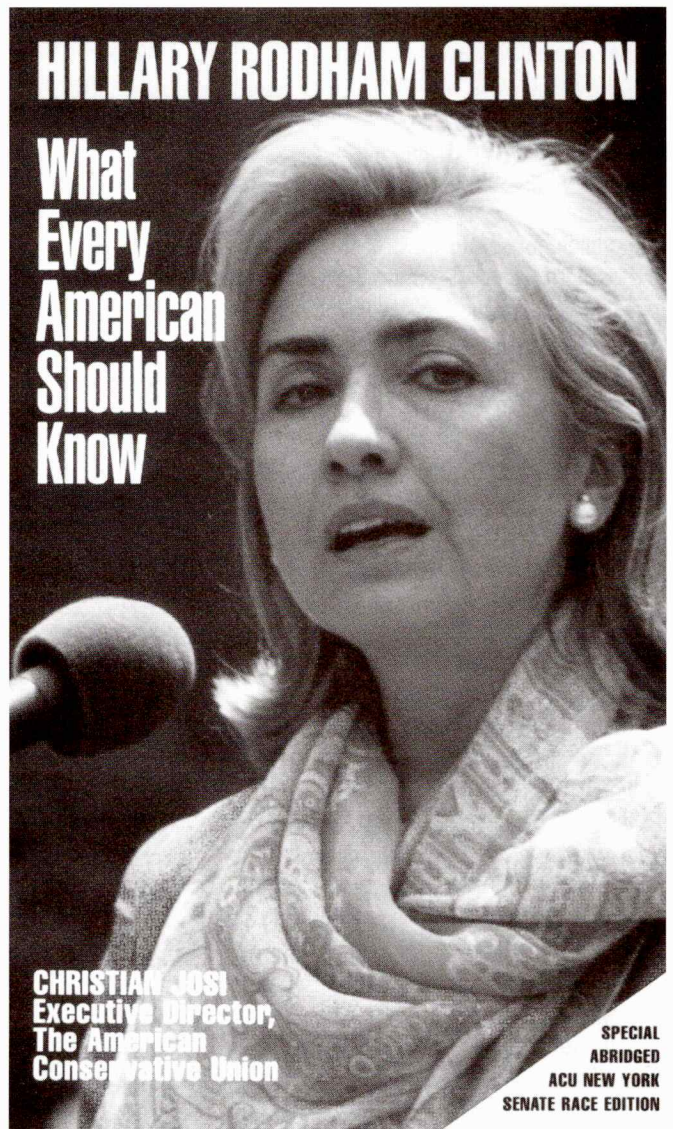
That choice will be as important as any other the electorate has made in the second half of the 20th century. This book is offered in the firm belief that the people, when given the facts, will always do the right thing. ♣

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SMOKE NEVER CLEARS

H. W. CROCKER III

Confederate Wizards of the Saddle, by Bennett Young, J.S. Sanders and Company, 633 pages, \$15.95, paperback.

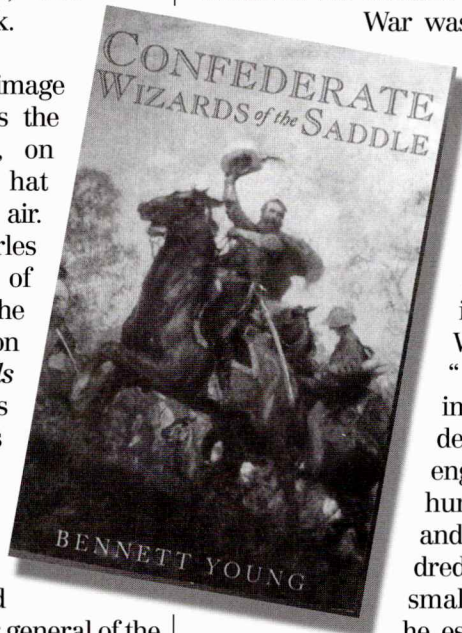
The Campaign that Won America: The Story of Yorktown, Burke Davis, Eastern Acorn Press, 319 pages, \$4.95, paperback.

One ineradicable image of Confederate valor is the daring man in grey, on horseback, plumed hat waved jauntily in the air. Such an image—Charles Hoffbauer’s portrait of J.E.B. Stuart—adorns the jacket of this new edition of *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle*. Young’s book features chapters not only on Stuart, the gallant cavalier, but also on Nathan Bedford Forrest, whose “enemies feared him as they did no other general of the South;” John Hunt Morgan and his successor as the leading Confederate raider, John Singleton Mosby; and the great South Carolinian, Wade Hampton. Such stalwarts of the saddle as Joe Wheeler and Joe Shelby aren’t neglected either.

Of these cavalry officers, it was Forrest that aroused the most fury from Union commanders. William Tecumseh Sherman famously expostulated, “That devil Forest must be eliminated, if it costs ten thousand lives and breaks the treasury.” By Bennett Young’s estimation, Sherman’s offer to promote one of his brigadiers to major general if he could succeed in killing Forrest “was the highest price put on any Confederate officer’s life during the war, and there is no other instance in American mili-

tary history where one general found it necessary, in order to destroy an opposing major general, to offer a premium for his life and to openly declare that his death was the highest aim to be sought... [T]he offer was not for dispersing Forrest’s forces; it was not for his capture; but “to pursue and kill.”

Less well known, but just as valiant in the western theatre of the War was Fighting Joe



Wheeler, who never let “anything short of the impossible” prevent him from executing his orders. Wheeler “seemed immune from death.” Though engaging in “two hundred battles and in six hundred skirmishes or smaller conflicts, he escaped injury.”

And it wasn’t caution that kept him healthy. “Like Forrest, he led wherever he was present, and he never hesitated to charge any line or assail any force that came his way.”

Of Joe Shelby, another western theatre hero, Bennett Young remarks, “No man in the Confederate army marched more miles, and with the possible exception of General Joe Wheeler, fought more battles.” This might be in part because Shelby began his fighting career in Missouri; and as Young wryly comments, “In these days it did not take long for fighting men in Missouri to find people who were willing to fight them.”

Hats off to J. S. Sanders and Company for returning Confederate Wizards of the Saddle to print.

Also back in print is Burke Davis’s *The Campaign that Won America: The Story of Yorktown*. Well-produced, well-bound, illustrated, and by the author of such classics as *They Called Him Stonewall* and *Gray Fox*, at \$4.95 this must be the Southern history buy of the decade. (If you have trouble finding a copy, call the bookstore at the Yorktown National Battlefield, in Yorktown, Virginia.)

Burke Davis reminds us of how America’s independence was linked directly to the campaigns in the South—in the Carolinas with the battles of King’s Mountain, Cowpens, and Guilford Court House, and in Virginia, home of General Washington and so many of America’s other Founding Fathers.

The American General Nathanael Greene—a Quaker from Rhode Island—noted that soldiers from the coastal North were “sickly and but indifferent militia,” but the South’s “back-country people are bold and daring in their makeup.”

The Marquis de Lafayette was similarly impressed when he was joined by riflemen from the Shenandoah Valley: “*Mon Dieu!* What a people are these Americans; they have reinforced me with a band of giants.” The marquis wrote appreciatively to General Washington: “The riflemen ran the whole day in front of my horse without eating or resting.”

On horseback, Southerners were equally handy. Like the Confederate wizards of the saddle, the Americans were led by Southern cavalymen like the Swamp Fox, Colonel Francis Marion, and “Light-Horse Harry Lee, a handsome Virginia cavalryman whose Legion, mounted on fine plantation horses, was the army’s crack band of raiders and scouts.”

Even the South’s “peculiar institution” played its role in defeating the British commander of the Southern theatre, Lord Cornwallis. To disrupt the operations of

Southern plantations, Cornwallis marched through the Carolinas encouraging slaves to leave their American masters. But the thousands of former slaves that joined his march proved a hindrance. Not only did the newly freed slaves eat his supplies, they turned to crime: "Great complaints having been made of negroes straggling from the line of march, plundering and using violence to the inhabitants, it is Lord Cornwallis's positive orders that no negro shall be suffered to carry arms on any pretense..."

Allied with the Americans, of course, were the French, without whose assistance the war would not have been won. The French shared certain Southern prejudices about the North. As one French officer said about the New Englanders, not only did they trade with the British, but "They overcharge us mercilessly; everything is enormously dear; in all the dealings we have had with them they have treated us more like enemies than friends. Their greed is unequalled, money is their God..."

And while the French noblemen who made up the officer corps were not overly impressed by General Washington's estate at Mount Vernon, they did see him as fitting the ideal of a soldier and statesman in the classical Roman mold, and regarded him as the sort of landed gentleman with whom they could communicate on an equal level.

And what landed gentlemen—and colorful soldiers—they were. J.E.B. Stuart, among other Confederate cavaliers, would have admired the French troops, led by "barons, counts and viscounts, and at least one prince" and the "infantrymen in white coats and long waistcoats... behind sergeants who wore ostrich plumes in their caps... Most dazzling of all were the swaggering hussars of the Duke de Lauzun's Legion, with saddle cloths of tiger skin and tall fur hats, the officers in scarlet breeches and pale blue coats... Many of the Legion

were Irish and German mercenaries; there were also Poles, men with huge mustaches who carried lances and curved sabers." Also among "the rich young adventurers" was a Swedish Count, Axel Fersen, who, like the Duke de Lauzun, was said to be a lover of Marie Antoinette. One Virginia officer confessed that he had had his doubts about the French—until he met them. "Finer troops," the Virginian wrote, "I never saw." In fact, some of these officers—at least those that survived the French Revolution—would later find themselves leading Napoleon's conquering armies.

In Burke Davis' capable hands, the campaign for Yorktown—in the South's first war of independence—is a splendid story, so entertainingly told that one would be foolish to miss the experience. I cannot recommend Burke Davis' *The Campaign that Won America* highly enough. Call Yorktown now to get a copy. ☼



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SIDE LIGHTS AND LIGHTER SIDES

Compiled by Ralph Green

AN INSPIRATION

General Joseph Johnston always enjoyed the confidence of his men. They were reported to say as Johnston rode by, "There goes old Joe; he don't look like he's whipped, and I ain't 'til he is."

HAD TO BE A REASON

Riding briskly along, a cavalryman overtook an old straggling infantryman trudging wearily on the road and called out, "Hurry up there, old webfoot; the Yankees are coming!" The infantryman asked, "Did you see 'em, Mister?" "Yes, they are coming on right behind us!" The infantryman, no fan of the cavalry, responded, "Say, Mister, was your hoss lame, or wus your spurs broke?"

FIRST SHOT AT BETHEL

According to the "State Journal", Raleigh, North Carolina, 26 June 1861, and Clark's "North Carolina Troops", Vol. 1, page 96, the first shot fired at Bethel by a member of Captain Ashe's Company, D, was by Sam Mayho, a black servant of Lt. R. B. Saunders.

The shot was fired at Major Theodore Winthrop, a member of Butler's staff, who was leading a charge of Massachusetts and Vermont troops.

IT'S THE TRUTH

From the Appendix, Congressional Globe, 1st Session, 30th Congress, January 12, 1848, page 94: "People have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government."
—Abraham Lincoln

CONSIDERATE

After a battle during which a farmhouse had been destroyed, pigs and chickens were wandering about the area. The Southern troops had not eaten in forty-eight hours, but strict orders had been issued against foraging the livestock of farmers around there. With a dry humor one of the troopers commented that someone should take care of the homeless creatures. Within moments his suggestion was heeded and the men took care of every one they could catch!

Apocalypse How

BY JOE SCOTCHIE

A REVIEW OF

The Camp of The Saints, Jean Raspail, Petoskey, MI: The Social Contract Press, 316 pages. \$12.95.

Literature on the decline of the West remains a large and growing field. It seemed to have picked up steam in the late 19th century, with the triumph of large, densely populated nation-states, and the advent of quack theories enunciated by Darwin and Marx. The two world wars of the 20th century blew away nearly all remnants of Christendom. Since then, the mere phrase, "decline of the West" has disintegrated into a cliché, rarely noticed anymore by cynical denizens of Europe and the United States.

But it does matter. *The Camp of The Saints*, the celebrated novel by Jean Raspail, is enough to shake even the most jaded Westerners out of their lethargy. The theme is the same as other fall-of-the-West tomes: An indictment of a decadent, cowardly, post-Christian peoples who no longer believes in the survival of their ancient civilizations. But the plot is different. In short, Western civilization disappears under a tidal wave of Third World immigration.

Next to *The Camp of The Saints*, such popular apocalyptic novels as *1984* and *Brave New World* read like kids stuff. A flotilla carrying one million impoverished Indians steams its way to Europe. Millions more in other Third World nations wait to see if the invasion is successful. Rejected by the South African government and bypassing Spain, the flotilla heads toward France. The French president, a dilettante named Clement Dio decides to

use his nation's armed forces to stem this non-military invasion.

While giving a national radio address "that the whole world is waiting to hear," the president, in an action that is a metaphor for the fall of the West, loses his nerve, and announces that "every soldier and officer" can "accept or reject" his orders to turn back the flotilla. And so, aliens overrun France. But that's not all. Third World peoples already living in Europe rise up against their supine regimes. Asian immigrants overwhelm Australia and New Zealand. Even Switzerland gives in, signing a pact a la Chamberlain at Munich, to open its borders to the Third World.

Grim as the novel is, it is not without gallows humor. The pages are littered with the usual politically correct types: Clergymen, journalists, academics, politicians who all lecture against "racism" and welcome the foreigners. In France, a group of monks travels to the shoreline to greet the onrushing immigrant tidal wave. Showing no gratitude, the refugees literally overrun and kill the hapless monks. Across the channel, the Queen of England welcomes Pakistani immigrants to Buckingham Palace, ready to comply with their demands only to be told that the younger son of the royal family must marry a Pakistan woman to bear future heirs to the crown.

The Camp of The Saints was first published in 1973. Then it received strong praise from some strange quarters, including the liberal columnist Max Lerner, plus reviewers at *Time* and *The Wall Street Journal*, the latter publication now having the most militant pro-Third World immigration editorial page in the country. Also, in the 1970's, the novel seemed futuristic, more a horror story than anything close to reality.

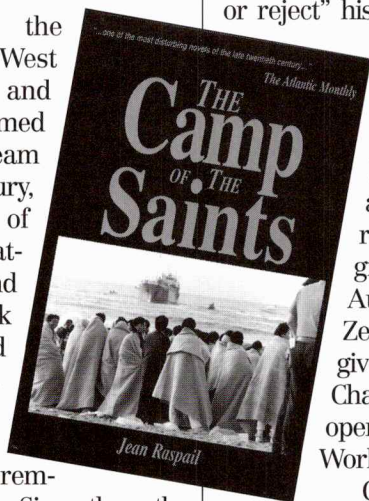
No one can take that view today. *The Camp of The Saints* scenario has happened and is happening. There are not one million immigrants flooding Europe (or the US) in one mad rush; rather it is a silent invasion that takes place at the rate of several thousand on a daily basis and in the aggregate, over one million legal and illegal aliens entering the US every year.

The cultural consequences are already with us, not just multiculturalism, but all-out attacks on Christopher Columbus and Thomas Jefferson, and the doing away of George Washington's birthday as a national holiday. In Europe, the situation is no different. Broadcasters in Great Britain have been instructed not to use the letters "A.D." after dates lest they offend that island's growing Muslim population. In France, there are now more mosques than cathedrals. Indeed, as the author points out in his introduction, up to 30 percent of the French population, in the coming decades, will be comprised of Asian, African, and Middle Eastern immigrants and their offspring.

The demographic upheaval in this country has been accompanied by a rhetoric that would have revolted the Founding Fathers, all of whom wished to have a relatively homogeneous population for the young nation. Last summer, President Clinton gloated that in the 21st century, the United States would lose "its dominant European culture," a development this native of Arkansas declared to be a "good thing." (At this writing, Clinton is house shopping in exclusive Westchester County, New York, in mostly white towns where the only "people of color" usually wash dishes or mow the lawn.)

Not to be outdone, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, during his inaugural address, boasted that his state would soon no longer have a "majority ethnic group." This is incorrect. If immigration rates continue, there will be a majority ethnic group in Texas. And it won't be Anglos like George W. Bush.

And so, the South is not immune



to these nation-breaking trends. A demographic revolution has already been accompanied by a cultural and political one. Consider how the GOP has dropped their anti-affirmative action stance just to appease the Hispanic vote. If Southerners lose their largest state, then the realities of America's sinister immigration policies will come home to them at last. But by then, it might be too late.

The Model Man

By Bryant Burroughs

A REVIEW OF

Robert E. Lee on Leadership: Executive Lessons in Character, Courage, and Vision by H. W. Crocker III, Rocklin, CA: Prima Publishing, 1999, 248 pages, \$22.00.

When C. S. Lewis moved from Magdalen College, Oxford to Magdalene College, Cambridge—and quipped that the administrative changes in Heaven would be minimal—the first order of business was the traditional inaugural lecture. In a hall so crowded that listeners stood even behind him on the platform, Lewis scathingly described the descent of culture and civilization caused by the modern myths of secular man. Those who reject these myths and hold fiercely to the old order, Lewis said, were dinosaurs, a description he proudly ascribed to himself.

Robert E. Lee, too, was a dinosaur, a man clearly marked as a member of the old order by his faith in a God larger than himself, his sacrifice of career and personal gain in order to defend the home and people he loved, and his belief that civility, reason, courage, and self-discipline are virtues that all citizens should possess.

Harry Crocker's focus is on Lee as a leader, and he projects Lee as the antidote to the poison of false leader-

ship that plagues America today. We expect our leaders to lie and then call it "spin". We expect our leaders to be immoral and then piously claim a "zone of privacy". We expect our highest officer in the land to make sure that cameras catch him clutching his wife's hand while exiting church, and then engage in shabby adultery with a young intern just steps away from the Oval Office in which Washington, Jefferson, and Reagan worked. We expect all this because we have lost the moral ground of true leadership.

Lee reminds us that leadership is founded upon character, and that the fundamentals of leadership—courage, intelligence, perseverance, responsibility—must precede any action as a leader. Robert E. Lee was a leader in all that he did and in all stages of his life precisely because of his character.

Crocker weaves each epoch of Lee's life into a presentation of the principles of leadership that Lee learned and applied. We follow Lee as the young army captain in the war with Mexico, and who wins praise by commanding general Winfield Scott as "the very best soldier I ever saw in the field." We follow Lee as the businessman who rebuilt an Arlington planta-

tion whose property and fields had been neglected for years. We follow Lee as the Confederate commander whose audacity and skill won victory after victory against overwhelming numbers, until overcome by a Union general who bore no scruples against using the one Yankee advantage—sheer numbers of men—and therefore in one month in the summer of 1864 sacrificed the lives of 50,000 young Yankees. We follow Lee as the college president who led young men as students as superbly as he had led them as soldiers, and became the model for all in the South as to how to go about rebuilding the shattered homeland.

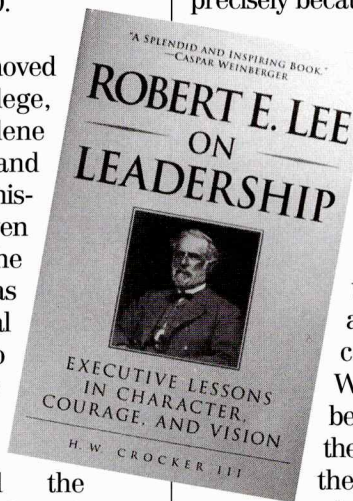
Crocker concludes each chapter of Lee's life with succinct yet profound statements of Lee's leadership principles, which he calls "Lee's Lessons". A few of these lessons are as follows:

To lead others, one must first master oneself.

- A leader is responsible not only for his own actions but also for those of his subordinates and for the overall effect of his enterprise.
- A leader controls his passions and appetites; they do not control him.
- A good leader is first a good subordinate. Leadership must be learned.
- A leader focuses his subordinates on their common goal and inspires them by his own devotion to achieving it.
- Find your Stonewall; find subordinate officers you trust and who share your vision, and turn them loose.
- A leader takes full responsibility for the failures on his watch, and never tries to shift blame to his subordinates.
- A true leader does not rely on force, but on the power of example.

Lee's greatness is best seen in comparison with the blustering braggadocio of the Union commanders who faced him:

- George McClellan, the self-styled "young Napoleon", who when armed with Lee's battle plans in Maryland boasted that "if I cannot whip Bobbie Lee, I will be willing to go home." After a desperate battle along the banks of Antietam Creek, Lincoln relieved him of command.
- John Pope boasted that his headquarters would be in his saddle and that his troops had always seen the backs of its enemies. Within two months, he and his shattered army retreated to Washington.
- Ambrose Burnside blithely launched a campaign to march directly from Washington to Richmond, and slaughtered his army in front of the stone wall at Fredericksburg.
- Joseph Hooker marched his 134,000 men into the tangled Wilderness to face Lee's 60,000 soldiers, and boasted "God have mercy on Bobby Lee, for I shall have none." After Lee and Jackson's bold flank attack at



Chancellorsville, Lincoln without mercy sacked Hooker.

Lee's lessons of leadership are not reserved for military commanders. All of us are leaders: as parents, as managers and employees in the workplace, as members of churches and clubs. Crocker focuses on business leadership principles, but all the principles may be applied in any sphere of life, because Lee operated as a leader in all of life. Thus, Crocker correctly notes that "Lee's lessons offer a way to live."

Colonel Charles Marshall, a member of Lee's staff and grandson of chief justice John Marshall, wrote in his memoir: "Such was the love and veneration of the men for him that they came to look upon the cause as General Lee's cause, and they fought for it because they loved him." These are words that describe a true leader.

Black Red Shirts

By Dr. Carey M. Roberts, University of South Carolina

A REVIEW OF

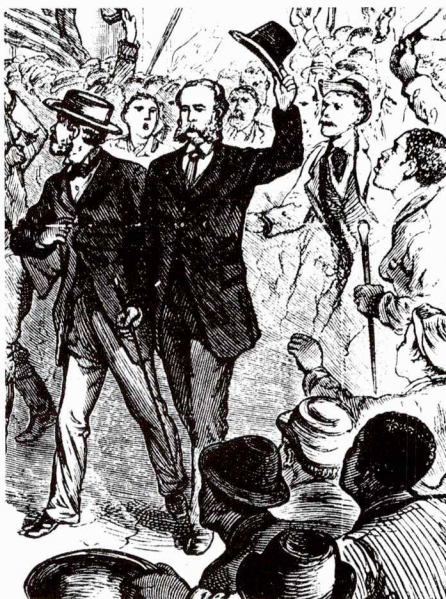
Hurrah for Hampton! Black Red Shirts in South Carolina During Reconstruction. Edmund L. Drago. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998. 158 p. with bibliographical references and index.

Edmund Drago has combined a fine summary of South Carolina's redemption campaign of 1876 with a new twist. He considers himself a "post-revisionist" scholar of black history, meaning that he rejects attempts to portray blacks as a monolithic "community" free from the complexity and contradictions of their white counterparts. Historians have long admitted that a few blacks did support white conservatives in the 1870s. However, their inclusion in the ranks of the S.C. Democratic party has been brushed aside as the result of intimidation, or worse, the work of Charleston's light-skinned "Colored Aristocracy." By

showing how blacks supported the Southern conservative resistance to Radical rule, Drago hopes to counter a long-standing misinterpretation.

Drago's focus is the 1876 gubernatorial election when General Wade Hampton and his Red Shirt supporters triumphed over Republican Daniel H. Chamberlain. Drago disputes the characterization of the Red Shirts as a paramilitary force, which threatened blacks and ignored the needs of poor whites. He admits that the Democrats launched a two-pronged strategy. First was Hampton's paternalism and his desire to woo the black vote. The other was that of Hampton's lieutenant, Martin W. Gary, who wished to keep blacks away from the polls through disinformation, bribery, and intimidation. The latter strategy may have worked in keeping many blacks out of the voting booth, but it can not explain why thousands of blacks, especially in the Carolina Upcountry, decided to vote for Hampton. Furthermore, the ability of black men to gain patronage from white benefactors by voting Democratic could not account for the numbers either.

As Drago states, "confronted with economic hard times, increasing turbulence, and Republican corruption,



Former Confederate Cavalry General Wade Hampton strides towards his election as governor, ending Carpetbag rule in South Carolina.

they sought a way out." Above all, Upcountry blacks were not part of the same patronage circuit as the black Lowcountry elite. Most were former slaves, married with large families, and lived in counties with black majorities. They were illiterate farmers, ethnically of black rather than mixed ancestry, and like their white counterparts, suspicious of outsiders like New England born Governor Chamberlain. In the end, black Red Shirts sincerely believed Wade Hampton promised a better way of life, free from the hunger and corruption of Reconstruction.

Black Red Shirt support did not come without a price. They faced reprisals from white Republicans, but the worst came from other blacks, who ostracized the Red Shirts and expelled them from their churches. Occasionally, threats became violent as skirmishes led to stalkings and pistols fired into black Democrat houses at night. The worst rejection came on behalf of black women withholding their favors. Wives even whipped their husbands and tore their shirts off in public with the occasional pants coming off as well.

One final note. *Hurrah for Hampton* is part of a new genre of classroom literature. It combines a short summary with rich primary sources from the period. In this case, black Red Shirt testimonies and W.P.A. narratives are included in an extensive appendix. Should one not agree with Drago's conclusions, he will appreciate perusing the primary documents and the window they open into America's most tragic era.

Paleo-Partisans

By William J. Watkins, Jr.

A REVIEW OF

The Paleoconservatives: New Voices of the Old Right by Joseph Scotchie; Transaction Publishers, 1999; \$29.95 hardcover.

The Old Right was short-lived.

From the New Deal to the late 1950s the Old Right's champions battled both arms of Leviathan: the welfare and warfare states. Though the likes of John T. Flynn, Garet Garrett, Albert J. Nock, and Robert Taft are largely forgotten, their ideas still influence a remnant that continues to challenge the socialism and militarism of the modern American state.

In *The Paleoconservatives: New Voices of the Old Right*, Joe Scotchie provides a glimpse of both the original Old Right sages and their intellectual progeny. Featuring essays from thirteen distinguished thinkers, the book outlines the paleoconservative creed and highlights the differences between the paleos and the Manhattan/Washington conservatives.

As *The Paleoconservatives* demonstrates, the Old Right and the modern conservative movement differ in four major areas: trade, immigration, foreign policy, and tradition. These four categories also represent the common ground between the Republicans and Democrats. And considering the breadth of the categories, one could conclude that the two major parties are virtually identical. Differences only emerge in the occasional squabble over taxes and the like.

Turning first to trade, in the introduction Joe Scotchie recognizes that paleoconservatives are divided over this issue. Some paleos, mostly those raised on the teachings of the Austrian school of economics, view tariffs as a mechanism by which special interests profit at the expense of consumers. Other paleos, most notably Pat Buchanan, have adopted a neomercantilist view of trade. Both groups, however, unite in opposition to such wonders as NAFTA and the WTO. The Austrians object that NAFTA is in reality managed trade, and the WTO is but a vehicle to transfer sovereignty from the United States to an international body. The neomercantilists, on the other hand, complain that the federal government's trade policy encourages American industry to relocate to the Third World where wages are low.

William R. Hawkins, in his contribution to the book, characterizes national economic strategy as "a struggle to control the world's wealth and resources, markets and territory; to provide for future generations and for the security of the nation." Hawkins' essay is an excellent example of neomercantilist thought and offers compelling arguments. Unfortunately, Scotchie did not include an essay arguing the other side of the issue. The absence of the Austrian view of free trade is the one gap in what proves to be a fine anthology.

With immigration, however, the paleos are largely in agreement. And Chilton Williamson's essay critiques the establishment's adherence to open borders. Williamson recognizes that people are not interchangeable units. Hence, one should not expect the waves of the Third World immigrants to mimic our achievements. "We have no alchemical atmosphere," writes Williamson, "capable of imbuing third world peoples with the ability to maintain the first world culture that created and continues to create the economic and technical fruits for which they hunger." Similarly, Richard Weaver, writing before the changes wrought by the Immigration Act of 1965, observes that a culture must exclude in order to maintain integrity. He emphasizes that homogeneity is an essential element of culture. Thus, one can see why the current multiculturalism fad is really anticulturalism. A culture forbidden to exclude is a culture destined for quick death.

Foreign policy is the third area in which paleos are at odds with the two major parties. Unlike the paleoconservatives, Republicans and Democrats have accepted our new role as world constable. They simply bicker over when to use ground troops or air power. While the Constitution empowers the national government to provide for the common defense, our elites have unfortunately expanded this power so that now the military does little defending, but much intervening. National security takes a backseat to

such feelgoodisms as "world peace." Murray Rothbard's contribution to the book traces the beginnings of our current foreign policy to World War I, the war to make the world safe for democracy. Of course, the garrison state did not become a fixture of American life until World War II. Rothbard and his Old Right colleagues realized that perpetual war for perpetual peace would lead to bigger government, and an America First foreign policy opposing entry into World War II complemented their opposition to the socialistic New Deal.

Though not specifically denominated as such by Scotchie, the final category highlighting differences between the paleos and the modern conservative movement is tradition. This catchall encompasses such diverse topics as classical republicanism and Russell Kirk's "permanent things." For the two major parties, the permanent things are the likes of Social Security and *Roe v. Wade*, but Kirk had something far different in mind. Kirk describes tradition as "the means by which man comes to understand the principles of his own nature and of society." And tradition is a guide to "the permanent qualities in society and thought and private life." Rural Americans have been the guardians of the permanent things, but their numbers are dwindling. If the past fifty years are any indication, urbanites will squander what is left of our patrimony as materialism reigns.

America also has a tradition of republicanism, which means much more than representative democracy. Republicanism, as understood by the Founders, encompassed self-sufficiency, virtue, education, and the citizen's involvement in local governance. Clyde Wilson observes that today "an ideological construct mislabeled 'democracy' has triumphed." Under our present consolidated government, the Supreme Court strikes down sundry local ordinances, while Congress pre-empted local authority by enacting comprehensive regulatory schemes that make a mockery of the Constitution's

enumeration of powers. All of this is done in the name of healthy or rational democracy. But consolidation is salubrious only for oligarchy, not republicanism. However, Wilson does not believe our situation is hopeless insofar as “the preponderance of the American people are still republican at heart.”

Samuel Francis also laments the demise of classical republicanism in America, but he does not believe the tradition is recoverable. To Francis, the demise of self-sufficiency makes republicanism impossible to restore. “Men who become dependent on others,” writes Francis, “cannot govern themselves, and if they cannot govern themselves, they cannot keep a republic.” Thus, rather than calling for a renewal of the republican tradition, Francis advocates a “Middle American nationalism.” According to Francis, even though Middle America is dependent on others for its protection and livelihood, working class Americans receive few benefits from the current regime. Thus, Francis advocates a new nationalism built on the economic security championed by the left and “the defense of concrete and national identity offered by the right.” However, one must question what Francis’ nationalism offers that neoconservatives do not. The neocons have accepted the social security of the nanny state and at the same time offered a national identity based on equality and the flexing of American muscle across the globe. Of course, Francis would adopt an America First foreign policy and repudiate Mr. Lincoln’s nation dedicated to a proposition, but the prescription he writes eerily resembles that offered by his enemies.

In sum, *The Paleoconservatives* is part history and part manifesto. In addition to the contributors discussed in this whirlwind review of the book, essays by Frank Chodorov, James Burnham, Allan Carlson, Mel Bradford, Thomas Fleming, and Paul Gottfried delight and instruct. From the New Deal to the New World Order,

the paleoconservatives have offered Americans an alternative to politics as usual. And though the paleos have so far been but modern Cassandras, the people just might be beginning to listen and believe. For example, the growth of home schooling indicates that the independent spirit is not yet dead. It would certainly be easier and less expensive for parents to leave education to the government, but many parents realize what is at stake and are willing to shoulder the burdens of educating their children. Perhaps Clyde Wilson is correct that the American people are still substantially republican. We can only hope so.

Worn Out, Not Suppressed

By Stephen Page Smith

A REVIEW OF

The Confederate War: How Popular Will, Nationalism, and Military Strategy Could Not Stave Off Defeat, by Gary W. Gallagher. Harvard University Press, 1997. 218 pages. \$24.95.

In recent years, a veritable academic “cottage industry” has sprung up, seeking the answer to the question “Why did the South lose the war?” or, alternatively, “Why did the North win the war?” The toilers in this industry start with the fact of Southern defeat and work backwards from Appomattox, looking for the factor or factors that will explain the result, for the moment when Confederate fortunes reached the tipping point and could not recover.

The current consensus of what is loosely termed “scholarly” opinion holds that the Confederacy fell due to the Southern people’s collective loss of the *will* to carry on. This consensus

accords well with the politically correct version of the war, which pictures the South as not only wrong and evil, but also weak and stupid in making its attempt at independence.

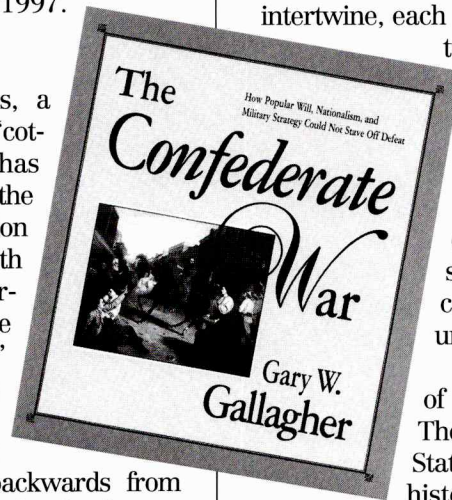
Well, political correctness may hold sway for a time—even for a long time—but truth, in the form of objective scholarship, endures. Honest scholars, such as Princeton’s James McPherson (no Southern partisan, he!), readily, if quietly, admit that there was no inevitability to the North’s victory. At many points, until relatively late in the war, the issue could have turned out either way.

Now, that objective scholarship has received a bold augmentation from Professor Gary Gallagher of the Pennsylvania State University. In his *The Confederate War*, Gallagher demonstrates that if there was a problem of “will” on either side, it was not with the South.

Gallagher approaches his subject under three headings listed in his subtitle: popular will, nationalism, and military strategy. (Necessarily, these three considerations overlap and intertwine, each affecting the other

two to some extent.) With regard to each, he takes the position of the current leftist-revisionist consensus and subjects it to what it cannot stand: a test under the evidence.

And a plethora of evidence there is. The War Between the States is not ancient history. In historical terms, it was relatively recent and all but fully documented; its last living participants departed from among us only a generation ago. In this concise book, Gallagher has chosen from the vast resources available to the historian to make a complete, if not exhaustive, case for his thesis. In turn, he establishes that: (1) the popular will of the Southern people for independence



outlasted their material ability to maintain the struggle; (2) the Southern people developed a full conception of a separate Confederate *nation*; and (3) the military strategy pursued to achieve independence was well-adapted to the purpose, but failed owing to the fortunes of war and not any intrinsic flaw.

Mention has been made of this book's concision, and indeed, the reader is left wishing for more of the same when the book is finished. However, Professor Gallagher has done the great service of rendering defenseless the revisionist consensus that has prevailed since the 1960s. It now remains for another historian to render the *coup de grâce*, using the weapons Gallagher has already provided. (There is an analogy here to recent historical scholarship in the English Reformation, in which J. J. Scarisbrick's *The Reformation and English People* prepared the way for Eamon Duffy's more comprehensive study in *The Stripping of the Altars*. If Gallagher is our Scarisbrick, we still await our Duffy.)

It is to be regretted that Gallagher largely limits his analysis in *The Confederate War* to white Southerners. The full treatment of these questions that is yet to come must also examine the attitudes of black Southerners in the Confederacy, both bond and free. Historians doubtless will find those attitudes more complex and fluid than many are now willing to admit.

A group as vile and hateful as leftist historians is not confronted and contradicted with impunity. Professor Gallagher alludes to this in his introduction, where he feels he must defend himself against the charge of being a "neo-Confederate." He succeeds in establishing his impartiality, but perhaps at his new academic home at the University of Virginia, he will feel less need to be so defensive.

So, the problem of "will" in the war was not a Southern, but a Northern one. The essential contest

was between the Northern *willingness* to keep fighting and the Southern *ability* to do so. In that contest, the South's ability gave out first, although the issue was in doubt until very nearly the end.

No Americans have ever fought harder against greater odds, or sacrificed more for their cause, than those of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865. In both blood and treasure, they suffered far greater proportional losses than their erstwhile compatriots in the North. Aside from the Gettysburg Campaign and some cavalry raids (and, as some will insist, the St. Albans incident), all the fighting took place in their territory, south of the Mason-Dixon Line. That the end came only through their sheer inability, and not any unwillingness, to continue, was acknowledged at the time by their opponents. As a Union colonel observed at Appomattox, "the rebellion has been worn out rather than suppressed."

The Confederate War should be read by everyone who seeks—or needs—a fuller understanding of the mind and soul of the Confederate South. We look forward to more pioneering work by Professor Gallagher and those who follow him through the opening he has made back to unbiased history.

BOOK NOTES

The Political Reference Almanac: 1999 – 2000 edition, compiled by Anthony Quain, Keynote Publishing, 1999, 912 pages, 645 photographs, \$44.95.

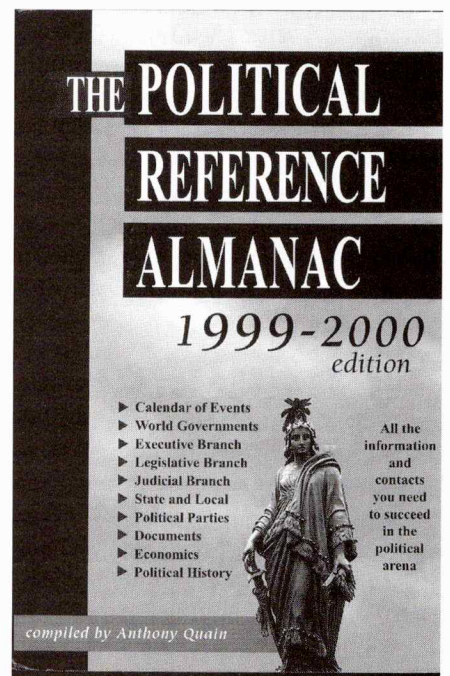
The *Political Reference Almanac* is a comprehensive reference guide to politics and government. Designed as a desktop reference for political professionals, students, and researchers this volume methodically lays out the three branches of the United States government, including photographs and biographical information for over 600 congressmen, senators, gover-

nors, mayors, cabinet officers, justices of the Supreme Court, as well as the president and vice-president. In addition to the major bodies of government, the almanac also provides a description of virtually every government organization and agency, and even quasi-official agencies.

State government profiles look at the governors, legislatures, courts and parties on the state level. A separate section devoted to political parties further examines the history and present status of major and minor American parties and provides a directory of advocacy and research interest groups.

The almanac contains much useful information beyond just names and contact info. An annual summary of the federal budget since 1901 is included as well as a breakdown of the current budget by agency and function (just in case you wondered what they were doing with all your money). It also contains an interesting political history section that includes previous governors for each state and presidential vote tallies all the way back to 1789.

If you want to know whom to harass when the government gets out of line this almanac is the place to start. ✪



CONFEDERATE HONOR ROLL

Confederate States Navy

BY ROD GRAGG

Military minds had dreamed of submarine warfare through the ages, but it was the Confederacy that launched the first successful submarine attack.

Naval inventor Horace L. Hunley designed the semi-submersible craft that achieved this milestone in naval development. Off Charleston on the night of February 17, 1864, his submarine boat—*H.L. Hunley*—rammed and sank USS *Housatonic* with a spar torpedo. The Confederacy had experimented with other semi-submersible craft, but the *Hunley* was the first to sink an enemy warship. It was a costly victory: numerous crewmen—including Horace Hunley—drowned before *Hunley's* successful mission, and all aboard the boat were lost when it sank following the attack on the *Housatonic*.

The innovation and daring which sank USS *Housatonic* were typical of the Confederate States Navy, which sought to compensate for limited resources with ingenuity and courage. The C.S. Navy was one of the first departments established by the new nation, created by the Confederate Congress on February 20, 1861. Organization was about all the new navy possessed in the beginning. The Southern states had an assorted handful of seaworthy ships and a few shipyards, but no factories capable of producing marine engines. However, the Confederacy did have one key naval resource: Stephen R. Mallory. He was the perfect choice for the first C.S. Secretary of the Navy.

A native of British Trinidad, Mallory had grown up among seafarers in Key West. After stints as a lawyer, a customs inspector and a judge, he had been elected as a U.S. Senator from Florida. In Congress, Mallory had served as chairman of the Senate's powerful Committee on Naval Affairs, and had invested almost ten years building and strengthening the U.S. Navy. The day after Congress

established the C.S. Navy, President Davis named Mallory as Navy Secretary.

He modeled the Confederate Navy's organization on the old U.S. Navy, but there much of the resemblance ended. Mallory knew he could not match the increasing power of the U.S. Navy, so he concentrated on building a naval force strong on innovation. While seeking conventional vessels in Canada and Europe, he focused on building armored warships—ironclads—and developing torpedo defenses that prefigured the harbor minefields of the 20th century. He also concentrated on launching armed cruisers to disrupt Northern merchant marine interests. By attacking Northern merchant ships and whaling fleets, he hoped to damage the Northern economy and lure Federal warships away from the Federal naval blockade of the Southern coasts. Although the Northern economy proved impervious to his attacks, Mallory's cruisers were remarkably successful: two of them—CSS *Alabama* and CSS *Florida*—resulted in the loss of more than 200 Northern vessels and millions in Yankee shipping.

His torpedo program, developed and implemented by talented subordinates, prompted serious worries within the ranks of the U.S. Navy—and for good reason. Confederate torpedoes—actually a variety of primitive sea

mines—sent several Federal warships to the bottom. Among the most notable Federal torpedo losses were the ironclad USS *Cairo*, which was sunk in Mississippi's Yazoo River in 1862, and USS *Harvest Moon*, Admiral John Dahlgren's flagship, which went down in South Carolina's Winyah Bay in 1865. Although the sinking of *Housatonic* was the Confederacy's single submarine victory, another semi-

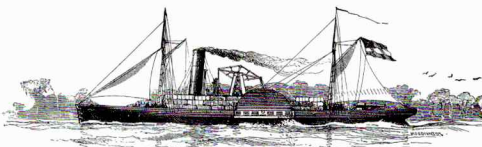
submersible boat—*St. Patrick*—successfully struck USS *Octorara* in 1865, but the boat's spar torpedo failed to explode. The Confederacy's semi-submersible craft significantly advanced submarine warfare.

The Confederate Navy's single most important achievement was the development of ironclad warships. Mallory's ironclad program resulted in plans or construction of almost 50 ironclads, and more than 20 were launched. This was a spectacular achievement for a new nation trying to fight the greatest war in American history at the time, especially considering the South's near-crippling shortage of iron and marine engines and its steady loss of seaports.

The Confederacy's first ironclad, CSS *Virginia*, changed the face of the world's navies on its maiden voyage by dramatically demonstrating the superiority of ironclad warships over wooden vessels. Built on the refitted hull of USS *Merrimack*, CSS *Virginia* ravaged the Federal fleet at Hampton Roads, Virginia on March 8, 1862. The next day, *Virginia* battled to a standstill with the U.S. Navy's first ironclad, USS *Monitor*, in the first warfare between ironclad warships. Until the arrival of USS *Monitor*, the devastation wrought by CSS *Virginia* at Hampton Roads provoked near-panic among Washington's government officials.

Although criticized by some for the loss of Southern ports, Secretary Mallory was the only Confederate cabinet officer to hold his post for the duration of the war. Federal officials had Mallory imprisoned for almost a year after

the war. When released, he went home to Florida and resumed his law practice. His best efforts had failed to break the U.S. Navy's effective blockade of Southern ports, but Stephen Mallory and the Confederate Navy had revolutionized naval warfare and had made a major contribution to the development of the modern navy. ✪



Confederate Mariners

Charleston — On November 12, 1999 the corporeal remains of twenty-two Confederates and one three year-old child were ceremonially buried in Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina. The funeral ceremony—the largest since July 1871—began at the Battery and proceeded to Magnolia Cemetery where the men were re-interred with full military honors.

This ceremony was the culmination of many years of research and hard work on the part of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, the South Carolina Hunley Commission, and the Confederate Heritage Trust (in which participated the local Sons of Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy).

These men had been buried in Charleston's Mariner's Graveyard, but shortly after World War II, the city of Charleston built a football stadium on the site. In 1963, the city gave it to the Military College of South Carolina (the Citadel). Although the graves should have been relocated, in fact only the tombstones were. For 135 years these men lay unknown beneath the parking lot and foundation of Johnson Haygood Stadium—named for the famed Confederate General.

When the pioneering Confederate submarine *H.L. Hunley* was discovered three years ago, research began on the burial sites of the first two crews. This research led archaeologists to excavate the stadium site where these remains were discovered. Not all the remains are Hunley crewmen. In fact, of the thirty-eight graves discovered, only four were from *H.L. Hunley*. One is a small child, about whom nothing is known. The rest are soldiers, sailors or marines who died while on duty in Charleston.

The re-interment ceremony was conducted with full military honors and great solemnity. It is our pleasure to bring you this event in pictures.

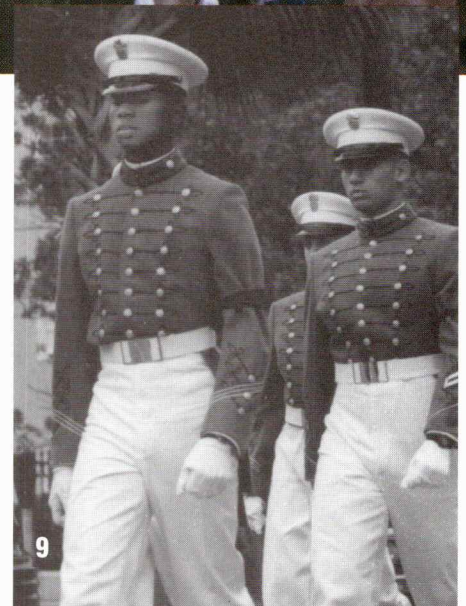
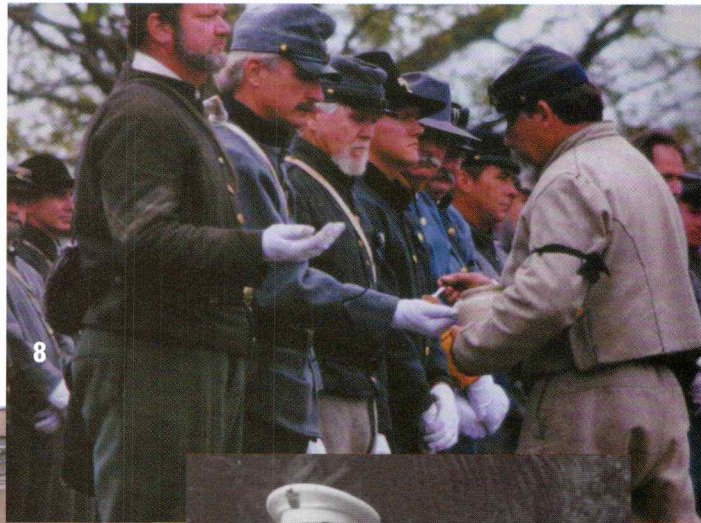


Photographs by Michael Givens and Lloyd Turner.

1. One of the widows receives a flower from a soldier.
2. A large crowd of spectators as well as international media were on hand.
3. The Color Guard leads the cortege down East Bay Street.
4. The line of coffins just before being laid in the grave.
5. A limber, laden with one of the flag-draped coffins, passes the old Exchange Building.
6. Re-enactors also portrayed the widows of the slain.
7. A descendant of one of the soldiers hugs Randy Burbage.
8. Larry Steedly places a small portion of dirt in the hand of each of the pallbearers.
9. Citadel Cadets also participated in the procession.



Reburied



The Original Southrons

By TOMMY STRINGER

Mountain were inundated with anti-English slogans—and with good reason. The English have trampled on the rights of Scotsmen since 1707 when the Act of Union was ratified and the Scottish Parliament took a three hundred year timeout.

In spite of being diverted by the tired assumption that all actions by traditional Southerners are racist in origin, Ms. Roberts does pose an interest-


ing question: Does the South owe its identity to Scotland or are we still merely enamored by the romantic writings of Sir Walter Scott? The connection between the South and Scotland has grown steadily since the 1988 publication of Grady McWhiney's *Cracker Culture*, which purports the Celtic tendencies of Southern society. Both the Confederate Battle Flag and Confederate uniforms are common sights at the Highland Games, and even the League of the South has web links to the Scottish National Party (even though the SNP is anti-gun ownership and pro-European Union, two positions that are distinctly anti-Southern). During a recent trip with several friends to southwest England, I was reminded that while certain aspects of Southern culture have distinct Scottish tendencies, the more important traditions of religious piety, individual freedom and military proficiency descend directly from English traditions. In fact, the word Southron is a Scottish term originating in the late Middle Ages for those who inhabit England.

Like the South, England is a land of churches, and contrary to the United States there is no wall of separation between church and state in England. The Church of England

is the official state church as it was in the original Southern colonies, and while Southern towns have many churches reflecting our denominational diversity, each English town seems to be dominated by an ancient cathedral. (The South still has a *de facto* state church. Take a look at how many towns are dominated by a First Baptist Church.) We toured several cathedrals during the trip including those at Winchester, Salisbury and the ruins at Glastonbury. It could be argued that once you have seen one cathedral, you have seen them all, but each cathedral reflects the majesty of God and the continuous history of the people.

Our first stop was Winchester Cathedral, which was first built as a Saxon church in 643. Rebuilt in 1079 in Norman architectural style, the Cathedral is the longest medieval church in Europe measuring 556 feet. Rivaling London in importance at that time, the town of Winchester was the ancient capital of the Saxons and the remains of several Saxon kings are kept in ornate caskets atop the walls of the choir. In contrast to the tourist trap known as Westminster Abbey, there is no charge to tour the church and it remains in use by the local inhabitants. On Resurrection Sunday morning we joined a mere fifty other worshippers for services in the cavernous Cathedral. The Church of England has less than one million Britons attending church on any given Sunday, but as I knelt in one of the choir stalls surrounded by the remains of the faithful and listening to the English service as it has been said for hundreds of years, I realized that we have lost a necessary element of worship in our Southern churches. We have forgotten how to pay proper reverence to the Almighty; we have changed the church from God's house to God's patio.

In contrast to Winchester, Salisbury Cathedral was built beginning in 1220 in the Early English architectural style with a spire reaching over 360 feet. Alongside the Cathedral is the Chapter House that was used



The watchtower of Windsor Castle flying the Queen's standard.

In the September/October 1999 issue of *Oxford American*, writer Diane Roberts, in her article entitled "Your Clan or Ours?" attacks (among many other ideas) the concept that Scotland and the South share a common heritage. She declares that the Scottish-Heritage movement in the United States is nothing more than an ill-disguised attempt at racial exclusion and that Scottish Southerners believe that Celtic whiteness is "somehow whiter than other whites." Now, I am not of direct Scottish descent, but I have attended the Highland Games at Grandfather Mountain, North Carolina, and I can attest that the twenty-five thousand attendees who were wearing kilts and tossing cabers were not celebrating being white (or non-black). They were celebrating being Scottish, which may be racial but is not racist. While it is true that I did not see any African-Americans with their faces painted blue, I do not imagine that many Scottish-Americans wear African kente cloths around their necks or celebrate Kwanza. Furthermore, Ms. Roberts misses an important point: the Scottish-Heritage movement is not anti-black, it is anti-English. The Highland Games at Grandfather

as a meeting place for the clergy. The name "Chapter" derives from the practice of reading a chapter of the Bible at their meetings. Within the Chapter House is exhibited one of the four surviving original texts of the Magna Carta, the agreement made between King John and the barons at Runnymede in 1215. The agreement established, among other things, that no free man may be imprisoned or prosecuted without fair trial before his equals. It also stated that the "Church in England shall be free and shall have its rights undiminished and its liberties unimpaired." These basic rights, English in origin, are incorporated in the Confederate and United States Constitutions and are the foundation of Southern civilization. Ironically, if you are a Southerner of Scottish descent, the freedom to wear your kilt is guaranteed by English common law.

The cathedrals at Winchester and Salisbury have survived many persecutions and reformations, and they represent a combined two thousand years of expressing the Christian faith. The cathedral at Glastonbury was not so blessed. Pious notion (church legend) suggests that the chalice used in the Last Supper was brought to Glastonbury around AD 60 by Joseph of Arimathea. Joseph and his companions built the first Christian church in England, known as the *Vetusta Ecclesia*, from wood and vines. In the South, this would be known as a brush arbor church. Actual church history tells us that the church was re-founded in 166 by Pope Eleutherius and was visited by St. Patrick in 463 (who died there). Successive churches were rebuilt on the site with each containing a replica of the *Vetusta Ecclesia*. In 1184, the entire cathedral was burned to the ground. Rebuilding began at once and was completed in 1303. In 1539, the abbot at Glastonbury, Richard Whiting, refused to turn over the cathedral to Henry VIII and was beheaded and quartered on the Tor, a gigantic hill outside the town. His body parts were scattered on the town's four sides and his head was staked in front of the church. Henry banned services in the cathedral and it fell into neglect. Visitors today can walk through the massive ruins and dwell on how a king's hubris led to the destruction of the oldest church in England.

Modern Glastonbury is a destination for New Age pilgrims and the streets were full of

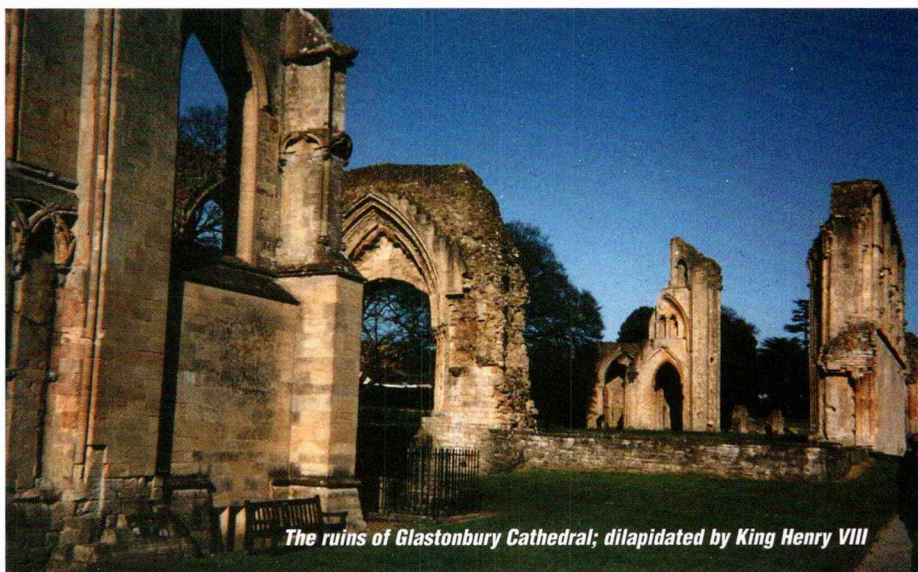
bleary-eyed teenagers and their bleary-eyed hippie parents. Legend hints that King Arthur is buried on the cathedral grounds and the Arthurian stories have become entwined with New Age mysticism. While touring the ruins, we encountered a massive woman dressed in white robes conducting a crystal healing ceremony in the cathedral catacombs. When she had finished muttering, several of her followers extracted her from the catacombs and with great effort carried her up the steps. They were badly in need of a pickup with a heavy-duty winch, but I am sure her healing powers cured their pains. Outside the town, the grass covered Tor rises 521 feet with the ruins of St. Michael's church resting on its apex. Originally the site of human sacrifices, the church was built on the hill's peak as an attempt to convert the pagan druids. Actually, two churches have been built and destroyed on the hill and all that remains of St. Michael's is its bell tower. Some believe that the druids destroyed both churches, but after hiking through several cow pastures and climbing a rock strewn trail in a pair of Weejuns to reach the summit, I believe that the local parishioners destroyed the churches so they would not have to walk so far each Sunday.

Glastonbury was previously surrounded by water until a public works project drained the lakes during the 1930s. Some New Age followers believe the Tor is the ancient isle of Avalon and that Merlin is imprisoned inside the hill. After our group had recovered from its hike up the hill, we discovered that the church ruins were crawling with New Age

types smoking pot and channeling Merlin's energy. We all agreed that if there existed any energy to be channeled, it was Satan's and it was disturbing to see people searching for spiritual fulfillment in the ruins of Christianity. In spite of the long walk and suspect company, we were rewarded with a stunning view of the rolling green hills of southwest England.

Southerners tend to take the romantic view, no matter if the subject is our own history or that of another country. When we think of Scotland, we are more apt to associate it with the freedom fighters of *Braveheart* than the heroin invested youth of *Trainspotting*. We also tend to think of England as still being populated with the landed gentry that ruled our own antebellum period.

We fail to realize that both countries are suffering from a serious spiritual malaise. A recent survey conducted by Opinion Research Business found that less than half the British population believes in Jesus Christ and fourteen percent do not recognize his name. Less than forty-nine percent of people surveyed claimed to belong to any religious group. The Church of England showed the steepest decline from forty percent of the population in 1990 to twenty-seven percent in 1999. The South's strong religious piety originated with the Church of England and evolved into our own Episcopal, Methodist and Baptist denominations. Contrasting the glorious history of the Church with the current decline of English Christianity reminds us of where Southerners have been and where we could be going. ☘





DEVOUTLY SPEAKING

BY ROBERT P. HILLDRUP

God, The South, and the 21st Century

Predicting what God will do is a business best left to Old Testament prophets. For a member of the common clay to do so verges on Blasphemy.

Yet now that those who worship man-made calendars have been proved wrong in their end-of-the-world predictions for this new year, it is probably not too risky to suggest that both the South and God will survive well into the 21st Century, providing the latter wills it for the former.

But what role is religion apt to play in the South in the new century? Will that role change? Yes. Will it change for the better? I suspect not, at least in the lives of most Christians, and if it does, it won't be right away.

Among main-line religions in the South—and here I speak primarily of the Presbyterians, Episcopalians and the United Methodists—membership has plummeted in the last two decades. Some of these members have simply given up on organized religion, and it is hard to blame them. Others have sought membership in those churches who preach and practice a more ancient truth, many Baptist churches, the Church of God, evangelicals in general.

This is not, as some have argued, merely a return to a blind, thoughtless Fundamentalism. It is, rather, a realization, that something has gone seriously wrong in the way so many modern Southern churches worship God. It is, as the late Walker Percy said so well, "A logical outgrowth of man's sneaking realization that he is indeed lost, and lost as surely as Adam was when he got tossed out of the Garden."

And yet, in the midst of all this, some sense a turning of the tide, particularly in the

proliferating suburbs of the South. Churches are, indeed, springing up in many areas. Some of the established ones are experiencing new spurts of growth.

Much of this growth is attributed to a changing sense of role for the church. The modern, "successful" Southern church now offers an endless array of focus groups, day care centers, physical fitness programs. People swarm in and out at all hours of all days for all reasons: to dine, recline, have their psyches tweaked, their children entertained, even their checkbooks balanced. Is this bad? Not at all.

And yet...

I was thinking how best to describe what the future is of the modern "successful" Southern church of the 21st century and here is what I think may lie in store.

A man who realizes he is desperately hungry and thirsty goes into a beautiful restaurant where the waiter brings him a menu filled with wonderful selections, none of which the man feels he can eat given his present thirst.

"It all looks so good," the man says to the waiter, "but may I first have a glass of water so that I will be able to enjoy the meal?"

"Oh," the waiter replies, "we no longer serve water. We presume you're getting that somewhere else."

When the modern church gets so caught up in expanding its menu that it expects its members to get the Water of life somewhere else, then ultimately that church is doomed. It may become a great day care center, provide the best in weight control training, offer outstanding computer classes. But it will have ceased to be a church.

And when disaster strikes, for it surely will, and the members cry for Water, then the church will have to start all over trying to find it, and the suffering will be great.

Disaster, thank God, brings a return to fundamentals (not Fundamentalism). When the one you love best in all this shallow, sinful world is struck down, you will find that you will turn not to the book of Psychology, but to the Book of Psalms for your solace. Southerners, whose faith once sustained them through bitter defeat by an invading army and a malicious occupation, knew this all too well.

The Depression of the 1930s reinforced this knowledge. Much of the South had

never really recovered from the economic devastation of the War Between the States.

But now we have more than 60 years of citizens who have no memory of the collective suffering that invasion, occupation and Depression can bring—and I am thankful for it.

Yet if the church in the South is to perform as God intended—if it is to be true to its heritage of comforting the bereaved and providing hope to the hopeless—it will have to get its priorities in order. Soul care will have to come before day care. It will do this best when it remembers the dark nights through which it has traveled, of the sustenance it has given its people by calling sin by the ancient names assigned by God, of holding out the hope and promise of the Christian mystery to all people and above all things.

With God, it has been written, all things are possible. But it is also possible to write these words: Without God, all things are permissible. No culture or civilization—the South's included—can afford that.

If the church in the South is to know where it should be going in the 21st century, it can best start by remembering where it has been.



SOUTHERN MOTORSPORTS

BY BILL LAMKIN

WOW, What A Year!

The inauguration of the next half-century of NASCAR roared like a hungry lion and should continue into the next century. I will maintain that 1999 was much better than the 50th anniversary (1998) season. As the season made its way through turns 3 and 4, there were a lot of announcements, changes, and surprises, and 2000 looks to be just as exciting.

There is one concern facing NASCAR for the future that must be addressed—the season is getting a bit too long. If they add many more new venues, the fans will get tired of the already LONG season. There are

now 35 weeks of racing activity on the calendar. With new tracks opening around the country, the addition of each new track pushes an older track into the shade or extends the season to rival that of the NBA or the PGA.

In January of 1999, I predicted that Elliot Sadler would win the Rookie of the Year award as he helped the Wood Brothers steer #21 back to the winner's circle. Boy, was I off on that one. Tony Stewart stole the show in 1999. This rookie sensation drove the wheels off of his Pontiac Grand Prix. No driver has ever enjoyed that much success in his first season since Davey Allison 12 years ago. And, Tony eclipsed that fabulous year by winning 3 races; two of which were back to back. Stewart finished the season 4th in the Winston Cup Points standing as well. In the end, this stallion of the Joe Gibbs stable bested every active former Winston Cup Champion—convincingly!

Stewart began his driving career on the dirt tracks where he learned the art of manipulating a loose car through tight corners in order to maintain high speeds. This proved to be to his advantage as all three of his wins came on shorter flatter tracks (Richmond, Phoenix, and Miami/Homestead). If you saw those races then you saw this young man dominate the field with a veteran's acumen. Look for Stewart and Labonte to be at the top of the game in 2000, too. Together, they won 8 races and pushed Pontiac to the level of a true competitor for the manufacturer's points race.

There are some interesting notes regarding changes in store for the 2000 season. Three-time champion crew chief Ray Evernham abruptly left the Rick Hendrick #24 Jeff Gordon Chevy to begin his own team in 2001. Methinks the man was just about burned out and was desperately in need of a break. Gordon's new crew chief, Randy Whitesell, immediately won two consecutive races and proved that the team can survive without the mastermind of Ray Evernham. But, before the season could end, the remainder of the Rainbow Warriors announced they would move on to another team in 2000. The Hendrick team will face great challenges in 2000—a new crew chief, new crew, and a newly designed Chevrolet Monte Carlo.

Ford will also introduce a redesigned Taurus to the fray as Dodge will be reintro-

duced to NASCAR in 2001 with Evernham and Petty. These changes for Ford and Chevy will leave the design advantage to the Pontiacs as the Grand Prix will not be redesigned in 2000. This will aid Stewart and Bobby Labonte as they reach for the Winston Cup.

The Rookie Race of 2000 will also provide us with heat and excitement. Matt Kenseth, Dale Earnhardt, Jr., and Dave Blaney have already announced their plans to be full-time Winston Cup men. Blaney will join Bill Davis Racing as Ward Burton's partner and hopefully push the powerful one-man team to the front as a multi-car team. Ward finished 1999 as the best single-car team by taking his Pontiac to 9th in the points standing. Kenseth will be driving for Jack Roush and join a strong stable with partners such as Mark Martin and Jeff Burton. "Little E" will be driving for his dad as Steve Parks' teammate. The field is strengthening.

In addition to the many drivers who will be switching rides in 2000, Darrell Waltrip has announced that he will retire at the end of 2000. The 52nd NASCAR season will be very similar to Richard Petty's final circuit in 1992. Each venue will pay a special tribute to "Mouth of the South" and there will certainly be tons of laughs as Darrell remembers the many adventures of his quarter century of fender bumping and gear grinding.



French Economist Frederick Bastiat

Babe Ruth was once asked why he bragged so much about his abilities. Ruth replied, "It ain't bragging if you can do it." Waltrip lived that line throughout his career and it appears that Tony Stewart and many other new faces will prove that they, too, "can do it" among the ranks of racing's finest.

Note: Alabama did not win 10 NCAA national championships under Bear Bryant. They won 6 NCAA and 8 SEC championships in the 70s alone as they proved to be a true sports dynasty.

Musings

BY TED ROBERTS

Seen and Unseen

Frederic Bastiat, the early 19th Century economist, was not from Dixie; and he probably favored Chicken Rochembeau over fried chicken with flour gravy. A reasonable supposition, since he was a Frenchman. His palate may have had Gallic tendencies, but his head was stuffed with down-home Southern common sense. He hated taxes, tariffs, and public works worse than sin.

An essay titled, "That Which is Seen and That Which Is Not Seen" lays out his basic premise. Economic events, says the economist, have an immediate visible effect and then like earthquakes an aftermath of tremors—less dramatic, less visible, but equally significant. Both ends of the event impact economic decisions. "A bad economist confines himself to the visible effect, the good economist considers effects that must be foreseen."

Bastiat presents a parable which he calls the broken window fallacy:

The clumsy son of Jacque Bonhomme breaks a window. Jacque grimaces and clutches his purse, but the onlookers survey the glass in the street with typical Parisian Sangfroid. Everybody has to make a living—what would become of the glaziers if no one ever broke a window? They see an economic windfall in the shattered glass.

So, the glazier repairs the window, pockets Jacque's six francs and silently blesses the clumsy kid. That's what is seen. What is not seen is the new pair of shoes that Jacque

would have purchased with his six francs had the window remained whole. The consumer, as represented by Jacque, has lost a pair of shoes to the coffers of the glaziers. And the shoe industry is down six francs. Bastiat goes on to extend the panoply of his logic over taxes, public works, and trade.

Did you say, "Ho Hum—pass the No Doze?" Did you say, "Who doesn't know that six francs given to the glazier can't be used to take Annette to the cinema or given to the barkeep for a 6-pack of vin rouge?"

A) Well, tell it to the U.S. tax collector who estimates a 3 billion dollar reduction in treasury receipts due to a contemplated lowering of the capital gains holding period. The tax man needs the Frederic Bastiat short course. That 3 billion buck loss is as "seen" as a locomotive headlight coming at you in the tunnel. But legislators in love with the capital gains taxes need to look at the "UNSEEN" as a blossoming garden of jobs, opportunities, and possibilities provided by an extra 3 billion joyful, stimulating dollars in the private economy.

B) Tell it to the FDA and the consumer groups who worry about the "hasty" approval of a cure for AIDS, Alzheimers, Arthritis. "Hasty" approval offers sufferers a choice and those in desperate straits will accept the risk. Others can demur and wait for more data. "Unsafe" drugs must be kept off the market until long term longitudinal studies prove their safety, say the anti-Bastiatists. They "see" unpleasant side effects, maybe even casualties among users of the new drug. But, ah the unseen: the countless invisible lives saved.

C) Tell it to those who lament the closing of the local shirt factory and family chicken farms purchased by agri-giants. Sure there's a very visible generation of kids that won't run a textile machine or feed the chickens. But they'll do something else and the odds are at least 50/50 that the alternative path will be equally satisfying to them and society. What's seen is the temporarily displaced son or daughter. Somewhere totally unseen is a generation of kids, hypnotized by computer screens, who threaten the pants off Bill Gates and his empire. And folks who wear shirts and love stewed chicken get a lot more chicken and shirts for the same buck. (Wonder what happened to the kids of the elevator operators or the gas pump attendants—think they're cursed because Pop lost his job?)

D) Tell it to the headline writers, "Starlight Tech and Astro Computing Merge—4000 jobs cut". Send them the Frederic Bastiat essay. The bloody surgery results in a leaner organization that increases profits. Expansion and energetic employment often follow. Again, the marquee pain of today versus the invisible fruit of tomorrow.

E) Tell it to the Alabama politicians who supported the state lottery. Seen: headlines with a grinning lottery winner holding up a multi-million dollar payoff. Invisible as heartache: a couple hundred thousand losers. And what about the invigorating effect their losses might have had on the private economy. Frederic Bastiat hated the new post office, the bridge, the four-lane highway to nowhere. What if, says our sage, the electorate were forced to contribute their labor instead of their tax dollars to that new highway? What if the state randomly selected 3,000 Americans—in lieu of taxes—to fell the trees, prepare the road bed, spread the blacktop on this road paved with pork? Who wouldn't join the Montana Militia?

And before you crow about the employment benefits of highway construction remember that those tax bucks left in the public pocket would have been sprinkled on the economy—also nourishing employment. But not necessarily road builders. The marketplace, in its usual impartial way, would have defined the employed work force.

Here's a guy who stated 150 years ago, "The state is the great fictitious entity by which everyone seeks to live at the expense of everyone else". Positively Orwellian!



PARTISAN OUTDOORS

BY JIM MCCAFFERTY

My Stand On Deer-Hunting With Dogs (With Apologies to the late Judge Noah Sweat*)

Each deer season, tempers of hunters

and other interested parties inevitably run hot over the subject of hunting deer with dogs, and the partisans on each side of that thorny issue seethe with a passion usually reserved for religion and politics. When that happens, someone, without fail, will ask me where I stand on that perennially controversial question. Many columnists are too timid to commit themselves in indelible ink as to this argument, but I believe the reading public has a right to know where a journalist stands. Accordingly, once again, I'm hurling caution to the wind and boldly laying my position on deer and dogs before you.

But first, let us define our terms. When you speak of deer hunting with dogs, just what do you mean? If you are referring to that nefarious practice of outlaws who round up any free-ranging pieces of bone, hide, and gristle even remotely resembling dog flesh and then cast them onto any piece of land that might possibly harbor deer, regardless of who owns the property or the use to which it is put, only to abandon the pitiful wretches when their services are no longer required; if you are referring to the decimation of wildlife by selfish ignoramuses who will harry the last whitetail in the township out of the country with a gang of too big, too fast curs, and claim it is their God-given right as Americans to do so; if you mean that cold-hearted occupation of the poaching, trespassing loafer who has no visible means of support other than the tired old wife he drives to the factory every morning before he looses his mob of mongrels to run amuck among the livestock of honest landowners; if you mean that sorry spectacle observed throughout the state each fall and winter wherein one-gallused crackers skulk down public roadways, heedless of the safety of others, shot-guns loaded, cocked, and at the ready, waiting for a deer—any deer, be it buck, doe, or spotted fawn—to show itself at the roadside long enough for a shot—no matter how wild—to be taken; if when you say deer hunting with dogs you have in mind such senseless, sportless, valueless, ethics-less meat-thievery, then I would sooner see the deer seasons closed than to allow deer hunting with dogs.

But, on the other hand, if, when you say deer hunting with dogs, you have in mind the priceless camaraderie of hunter and hound that brightens the leaden skies of a

cold winter morning; if you mean the free-spirited cavorting of well-bred beagles, Walkers, and other hunting animals born, bred, and trained for the field and well cared for both before and after their work is done; if you mean that happy pastime of upright sportsmen who wouldn't dream of entering land where they are neither invited nor welcome, but who follow the hounds only on their own land or on land where they have permission to be and where their pleasure will in no way detract from the enjoyment of fellow hunters; if you mean the unequaled music of a well-tuned pack filling a thousand acres of woodlands, where the smell entering your nostrils is not the stench of exhaust fumes but the luxuriant odors of bottomland hardwoods, or the unparalleled scents of southern pines, and where the sounds are not the offensive cracklings of CB radios, but the cry of hawk or the echo of hunting horns through tall bottomland timber; if you mean a tradition older than Southern settlement, practiced by our forebears from the tidewater country of Virginia to the thickets of east Texas, and, before that, in the forests of Europe and upon the heathers of Caledonia and Hibernia; if you mean that ancient, noble, and ennobling art of the chase, then I heartily endorse the hunting of deer with dogs, and I'd sooner see the deer season closed than to see such a grand, glorious Southern institution banished from our midst.

That is my unequivocal stand. I shall not waiver from it.

Good hunting!

Columnist's note: *When I was a boy, Oklahoma and my home state of Mississippi were the last states in the Union with statewide prohibitions against distilled spirits. Each year a bill to repeal prohibition was introduced into the Mississippi legislature. Until around 1964, each year, it was roundly defeated by, some wags said, a coalition of Baptists and bootleggers.*

There was a dynamic state legislator in those times who later became a circuit judge (and even later, through some bizarre reversal of fortune—his, not mine—my law professor) by the name of Noah Sweat. Judge Sweat took the floor in the state house one day and weighed in on the liquor question with what would forever be known in the

annals of Mississippi folklore as "the Whiskey Speech," a piece of oratory that comically and brilliantly exposed the chinks in the armor of the partisans on both sides of that issue.

Now that liquor runs freely in the Magnolia State, about the only question that can engender as much enthusiasm as the old whiskey debates is the subject of deer hunting with dogs. Given the similarity in passions attending whiskey and deer hunting, I've attempted to give deer hunting the same treatment my late law professor might give it were he with us today. Rest in Peace, Judge Sweat.



NASHVILLE VOICE

BY JON RAWL

New Yorkers Nix Nashville Network

The Nashville Network (TNN), the scalawag network that once broadcast country music, has hit an all-time low. In an almost too unbelievable to be true twist, the cable channel delivered to millions of American homes has thrown together G. Gordon Liddy and *Star Trek* actor Billy Dee Williams to make *18 Wheels of Justice*, an original dramatic series. What a marriage!

Network executives are calling this program "its most ambitious effort ever," billing it as a cross between *Knight Rider* and *Walker, Texas Ranger*.

The weekly episodes will feature a performance or cameo appearance by a country music artist, a first for a network program. The Wednesday time slot the show runs in was once home of country music-themed shows *Nashville Now*, *Music City Tonight* and *Prime Time Country*. Last year, the Dick Clark-produced *Prime Time Country* was canceled.

18 Wheels of Justice is loosely centered on a federal agent hunk that drives around the country in a futuristic big rig. Lucky Vanous, best known for displaying strong stomach

muscles in Diet Coke commercials, plays the fed. Billy Dee plays Vanous' supervisor. Former Watergate conspirator Liddy plays a mob boss who chases the show's hero.

Another TNN show sure to please the masses (ha ha) will be *Rockin' Bowl*, a one-hour show that pits college bowlers against each other.

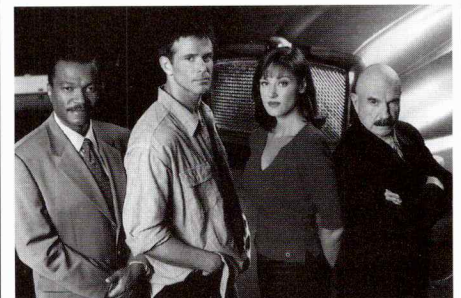
Incredibly, the TNN execs are touting their brilliance in programming. They claim the sport of bowling will be enhanced with high tech additions like glow-in-the-dark pins. I do believe the producers of the show must have shopped this idea around and were rejected by everyone, except the fine folks at groundbreaking TNN.

A third-rate wrestling show was another recent addition to the channel.

What do you expect from a group of sellouts? In 1997, TNN was bought out by CBS. The result, New Yorkers are calling the shots. Those shots include a virtual wipeout of country-themed programming. Already deleted from the channel are the once-popular shows *Club Dance*, *Crook & Chase*, *Today's Country*, *Prime Time Country* and various music video programming. Fans around the world are in disbelief.

To add insult to injury, CBS has mandated that TNN not be called The Nashville Network, but "TNN" instead.

Sadly, no heavyweight broadcaster has put up the money to fill the void left by the absence of country on TNN. CMT, also owned by CBS, has a niche in its video-centered programming and won't stray far from that niche.



Greed is the cause of all this utter nonsense. NASCAR Racing made the folks at TNN a lot of money over the years. Figuring the dramatic increase of more racing and outdoor programs would bring more and more revenue, the New York "Cowboys" gambled... and lost.

They failed to realize that NASCAR

wanted to get greedy too. The racing organization just dropped TNN from its list of networks carrying NASCAR in 2001 and beyond, in favor of a much more lucrative offer from competing networks. Shame, shame, shame. What will the once proud network air in the future—supersonic go-kart racing?

Dolly Parton, once accused of anti-Semitism, has the movie rights to a book called *The Jew Store*. It's a true story about a Jewish family who moved from the Bronx to a town in Tennessee where the Ku Klux Klan was dominant.

Parton was turned onto the book this summer in Nashville when in Music City filming *Blue Valley Songbird*.

If the book becomes a movie, Dolly's role would be Miss Brookie, an enlightened townswoman who is the bridge between the family and the town.

In 1994, Dolly told a popular magazine that her proposed TV series about a gospel singer died because "people (in Hollywood) are Jewish. And it's a frightening thing for them to promote Christianity."

Parton later apologized for her remarks.

Fortunately, Hollywood eventually allowed a great show like *Touched By An Angel* to hit the air. That show has done wonders to promote spirituality in a nation obsessed with spiritual ignorance.



SOUTHERN COOKING
BY SALLIE JEAN

Bedside Manners

For some, true morning luxury is breakfast in bed.

Not for me.

Teetering coffee cups, crumbs in the sheets, stiff legs. It all reminds me of my hos-

pital stays when my boys were born.

However, breakfast has always been my favorite meal, and one of life's great culinary pleasures is a leisurely brunch. Whether it's you and your family, or the family and a few close friends, brunch helps make the weekend, especially Sundays, proper days of celebration, and it's easy to do.

**A good starter is
*Crustless Charleston Quiche.***

Sauté 1 cup chopped fresh mushrooms, 1/2 cup finely chopped celery, and 1/2 cup finely chopped green onion in 2 Tbs. butter. In a large bowl, beat 6 eggs. Add 1/4 cup flour, 1 1/2 cup milk, 1 tsp. seasoned salt, 1 tsp. paprika and two or three good shakes Tabasco sauce. Stir in 1 cup chopped crisp bacon or ham (or cooked vegetable, such as broccoli or spinach), 2 cups shredded cheese (I use 1 cup cheddar and 1 cup swiss or monterey jack) and 2 Tbs. dry white wine. Cover and chill until ready to use. Bake in a buttered 9-inch quiche dish or deep pie plate, or for a real showstopper—in muffin tins for individual servings. Garnish with a dollop of sour cream and chives.

**A popular favorite in our house is
*Grits and Sausage Pie.***

Grits Crust: Bring 2 cups water with a dash of salt to boil. Stir in 3/4 cups grits and cook, stirring often until quite thick. Cool slightly. Press into a well-buttered deep pie plate.

Filling: Sauté one chopped, medium onion with one pound sausage. Drain and put in prepared crust. Sprinkle over 1 1/2 cups shredded cheese. Whisk together 3 eggs, 1/2 cup milk and 1 Tbs. hot pepper sauce. Carefully pour over sausage and cheese, encouraging eggs to fill all the nooks and crannies. Bake at 350° until set, approximately 40 minutes.

**And, of course, you'll need to serve up a
Smoked Virginia Ham
*with Cranberry Orange Chutney.***

Slice one orange very thin. Discard seeds and end pieces then finely dice remaining fruit. In a large pot, combine orange with 1 package fresh cranberries, 1/2 cup finely chopped onion, 2/3 cup cider vinegar, 2/3 cup orange juice, 1/4 cup water, 2 cups brown sugar, 2 Tbs. finely diced fresh ginger, a dash

of cinnamon and a dash of nutmeg. Bring to a slight boil, then reduce heat and simmer, stirring often, until mixture thickens, about 20 minutes. Refrigerate thoroughly.

**For those with a sweet tooth—and who want a variation on hash browns—try
*Apple Sweet Potatoes with Maple Syrup.***

In a large pot, melt 1/2 stick butter. Stir in 1 1/2 cups apple cider, 1/2 cup maple syrup, 1 tsp. ground cinnamon, 1/4 tsp. nutmeg, 1/4 tsp. ginger and 1/2 tsp. salt. Add 3 pounds sweet potatoes, peeled and cut into chunks and 3 tart apples, cored, peeled and cut into chunks. Bring to a boil, then reduce heat and simmer, stirring often, until potatoes are tender.

**Finally,
*Bourbon Street Peach Crisp.***

This fruit dessert can be made the day ahead or at the last minute:

- 1 15 oz. can peaches, drain but reserve 1/4 syrup
- 1 package vanilla pudding and pie filling, divided
- 1/4 cup brown sugar
- 2 Tbs. Bourbon
- 2/3 cup flour
- 1/2 cup chopped pecans or walnuts
- 1/2 cup quick oats
- 1/4 cup sugar
- 1 tsp. cinnamon
- dash salt
- 1/2 cup melted butter

In an ungreased 1-1/2 quart casserole or 8-inch square, combine drained peaches, 1 Tbs. of the pudding and pie filling, the brown sugar, 1/4 cup fruit syrup, and the bourbon. In a large bowl, combine remaining ingredients and sprinkle over fruit mixture. Bake 45-50 minutes at 350°. Serve with whipped cream or ice cream.

The great thing about a proper brunch is that it doesn't leave you feeling stuffed—it energizes you for the day. So treat yourself, and your family, to a Sunday brunch this weekend, and enjoy the good cheer that winter can bring.



MINORITY VIEW BY WALTER WILLIAMS

Misplaced Priorities

Now that the schools that black youngsters attend are educating well, the devastating crime rate in black communities has abated and the black family has recovered its past stability, the NAACP can now focus on perceived indignities such as the Confederate battle flag flying over the Capitol Dome of South Carolina. The NAACP has done just that with a proclamation that calls for boycotts and economic sanctions against South Carolina. Surely, the NAACP leadership can't really believe that blacks have reached a point where we can now focus attention and expend resources on social fine-tuning.

It must be ignorance, an ignorance I once shared. The NAACP crowd sees the Confederate battle flag as a flag of slavery. If that's so, the United States flag is even more so. Slavery thrived under the United States flag from 1776 to 1865, while under the Confederate flag a mere four years. The birth of both flags had little or nothing to do with slavery. Both flags saw their birth in a violent and proud struggle for independence and self-governance. However, if one sees the War for Southern Independence solely or chiefly as a struggle for slavery, then it's natural to resent the Confederate battle flag.

The idea that President Abraham Lincoln waged war against the South to abolish slavery is fiction created by the victors. Here's an oft-repeated sentiment by President Lincoln: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

Slavery simply emerged as a moral front for Northern aggression. A more plausible source of North-South antagonism is suggested in an 1831 speech by South Carolina Sen. John C. Calhoun where he said, "Stripped of all its covering, the naked question is

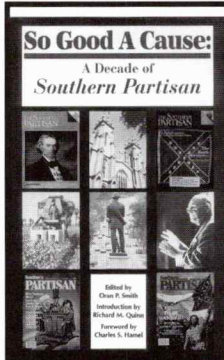


whether ours is a federal or consolidated government; a constitutional or absolute one; a government resting solidly on the basis of the sovereignty of the States, or on the unrestrained will of a majority; a form of government, as in all other unlimited ones, in which injustice, violence and force must ultimately prevail."

A significant source of Southern discontent was tariffs Congress enacted to protect Northern manufacturing interests. Referring to those tariffs, Calhoun said, "The North has adopted a system of revenue and disbursements in which an undue proportion of the burden of taxation has been imposed on the South, and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North." Among other Southern grievances were Northern actions similar to King George III's Navigation Acts, which

drove our Founders to the 1776 War of Independence. Though it's not politically correct for our history books to report, black slaves and free blacks were among the men who fought and died heroically for the cause of the Confederacy. Professor Edward Smith, director of American studies at American University, says Stonewall Jackson had 3,000 fully-equipped black troops scattered throughout his corps at Antietam—the war's bloodiest battle. Smith calculates that between 60,000 and 93,000 blacks served the Confederacy in some capacity. These black Confederate soldiers no more fought to preserve slavery than their successors fought in WWI and WWII to preserve Jim Crow and segregation. They fought because their homeland was attacked and fought in the hope that the future would be better and they'd be rewarded for their patriotism.

If the NAACP leadership just has to commit resources to issues surrounding the Confederacy, I'd like to see them make an effort to see to it that black Confederate soldiers are memorialized and honored. ✪



SO GOOD A CAUSE: A DECADE OF SOUTHERN PARTISAN

Antebellum Matters

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Regional Color

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The War and

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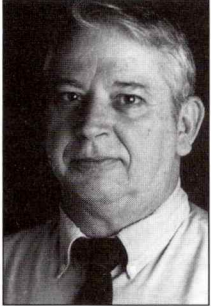
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SOUTHLINE BY CHARLEY REESE

The American Consensus Old & New



I've read a couple of scholarly articles that speculate it is becoming increasingly possible that the United States will break up. The general theme is that the United States has been held

together by a consensus on major issues, and that this consensus is breaking down.

I agree. While two sides can always compromise if the basic premise of both sides is the same, two sides can never compromise when their respective basic premises are mutually exclusive.

In many areas of public policy, Americans are finding themselves without any grounds for compromise with their opponents. As a rule, in matters of truth and morality, no compromise is possible.

Now what is often called the Establishment is built around a consensus. I think it is fair to describe the Establishment consensus on issues as this:

1. It is secular.
2. It approves of abortion and euthanasia.
3. It wants an internationalist foreign policy and is generally opposed to the nation-state.
4. It wants a central bank with a debt-based monetary system and usury.
5. It wants people to think of homosexuality as merely a normal and alternative lifestyle.
6. It is egalitarian, at least in its propaganda, though in fact the Establishment is elitist to the core.
7. It seeks to constantly remind black Americans that white Americans are racist and the cause of all their problems.
8. It favors a global economy controlled by multinational corporations.
9. It favors an open borders policy in order to drive down the cost of labor

and to break unions.

10. It favors a centralized government with no restraints on its powers.

To me, the traditional American consensus was for the most part a contradiction of the Establishment positions. The traditional American consensus was:

1. Christian, with an expectation that its government would reflect Christian morality.
2. It disapproves strongly of abortion and euthanasia.
3. While it was willing to engage in trade and commerce, its policy was to remain aloof from the rest of the world's quarrels and wars. It sought to avoid entangling alliances.
4. It favored a hard money system and opposed legal tender laws (laws that compel people to accept government-issued currency).
5. It views homosexuality as an aberration and, from the biblical point of view, a sin.
6. It favors an aristocracy of merit while insisting that government must be neutral and neither reward nor punish any group of citizens based on politics, race, gender or ethnic origins.
7. It seeks racial harmony while conceding that total elimination of racial prejudice, on both sides, is probably impossible.
8. It favors an "America first" approach to trade and foreign relations and believes that raising the American standard of living should be the goal of all trade policies.
9. It sees the nation-state as the best form of government possible and jealously guards the nation's independence.
10. It wishes for a tightly controlled immigration policy, admitting only those who can make a positive contribution to America.
11. It favors dispersing the powers of government to provide checks and balances and to limit those powers severely.

New Rules for Old Schools

The first step to start real reform in government education is to repeal compulsory-attendance laws.

Now don't worry. There would be no mass exodus of students. Compulsory-attendance laws are obsolete. They may have been useful in an agrarian society, in which parent's used to work their children on the farm. But in this urban society we have today, there is little danger that parents can persuade their children to work at anything.

In fact, the purpose of repealing compulsory-attendance laws is to send a message to parents that public education will no longer be their free baby-sitting service; that public education instead is a benefit but a conditional benefit; and those conditions are that the parent or parents, A) civilize their children before they show up for kindergarten and, B) they support the child's teachers.

Some children are fortunate to have good caregivers, but, sadly, many of them today do not. These poor parents (poor in the sense of sorry) need to be told loudly and clearly that if they send rude, out-of-control children to school, the school will send them right back home.

A teacher facing a classroom of 20 to 30 kids cannot possibly make up in 50 minutes what a parent has failed to do for the past five years. It is unjust—both to the teacher and to those students ready to learn—to turn loose in the classroom children who haven't been taught even the most basic things about manners and hygiene. Instead of holding teachers accountable for something they have no control over, the parents must be held accountable, and the way to do that is to saddle them with their own children until they prepare those children for school.

It's bad enough that the public system forces teachers to try to educate children whose IQ range may run from near genius to nearly retarded.

Second, school districts must be granted sovereign immunity so they can not be threatened constantly with lawsuits. In the rare event that a teacher or administrator actually did injure a stu-

dent, then the parents could petition the district board for compensation. But under no circumstances should individual public employees be subjected to the threat of lawsuits while doing their jobs.

This suit-sliding is one of the most injurious things to happen to America. And if the public has to vote out of office every official with a law degree in order to have political leaders with enough spine to reform this out-of-control legal-shakedown industry, then that's what we ought to do. Otherwise, most of our problems will remain insoluble.

Politicians are scapegoating teachers because those politicians are too gutless to

address the real problems. Look at the poor school district in Decatur, Ill., now under siege by Jesse Jackson for expelling some hoodlums who rampaged through the stands at a football game, endangering the lives of innocent people. And look how quickly the white politicians in Illinois cave into Jackson. Jackson is a demagogue, a racist and an opportunist. He has no business injecting himself into a school disciplinary problem just to attract media attention to himself.

In addition to getting rid of the lawyers, we may have to get rid of the cowards who are so susceptible to cultural and racial intimidation that they are willing to sacrifice the interests of chil-

dren just to avoid trouble with a professional trouble-creator.

Finally, we need to elect legislators who, at least, have sense enough to ask teachers what their problems and needs are before imposing some blue-sky scheme on them dreamed up by a speechwriter or some grant-hog in a college of education. ☛

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THE SOBRAN VIEW BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

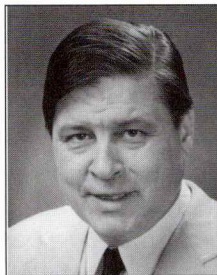
General Welfare: What It Doesn't Mean

This column is for serious conservatives only. No cheap off-color Clinton jokes today. We're going deep. You may want to put on your thinking cap for this one.

As you presumably know, Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution gives Congress the power to impose taxes to "provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States." But since the New Deal, this clause has been pretty much boiled down to one phrase: "general welfare." It is now generally assumed that Congress may pass any law it deems in the "general welfare" of the United States.

Strict constructionists have always objected that this broad and vague interpretation endows the federal government with an unlimited range of power, making redundant nonsense of the rest of Section 8, which lists the particular powers of Congress. In Federalist No. 41, James Madison asked rhetorically: "For what purpose could the enumeration of particular powers be inserted, if these and all others were meant to be included in the preceding general power?"

Madison was replying to anti-Federalist writers who had warned that the "general welfare" clause opened the way to unlimited abuse. He haughtily accused those writers of "labour[ing] for objections" by



"stooping to such a misconception" of the obvious sense of the passage, as defined and limited by those powers explicitly listed immediately after it.

Like so many things the Federalists said could never, ever happen, it happened. The "general welfare" clause is constantly abused in just the way the pessimists predicted. The federal government exceeds its enumerated powers whenever it can assert that other powers would be in the "general welfare."

The Federalist Papers are one of our soundest guides to what the Constitution actually means. And in No. 84, Alexander Hamilton indirectly confirmed Madison's point.

Hamilton argued that a bill of rights, which many were clamoring for, would be not only "unnecessary," but "dangerous." Since the federal government was given only a few specific powers, there was no need to add prohibitions: it was implicitly prohibited by the listed powers. If a proposed law—a relief act, for instance—wasn't covered by any of these powers, it was *ipso facto* unconstitutional.

Adding a bill of rights, said Hamilton, would only confuse matters. It would imply, in many people's minds, that the federal government was entitled to do anything it

wasn't positively forbidden to do, whereas the principle of the Constitution was that the federal government is forbidden to do anything it isn't positively authorized to do. Hamilton too posed some rhetorical questions: "For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said, that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed?" Such a provision "would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretence for claiming that power"—that is, a power to regulate the press, short of actually shutting it down.

We now suffer from the sort of confusion Hamilton foresaw. But what interests me about his argument, for today's purpose, is that he implicitly agreed with Madison about the narrow meaning of "general welfare."

After all, if the phrase covered every power the federal government might choose to claim under it, the "general welfare" might be invoked to justify government control of the press for the sake of national security in time of war. For that matter, press control might be justified under "common defense." Come to think of it, the broad reading of "general welfare" would logically include "common defense," and to speak of "the common defense and general welfare of the United States" would be superfluous, since defense is presumably essential to the general welfare.

So Madison, Hamilton, and—more important—the people they were trying to persuade agreed: the Constitution conferred only a few specific powers on the federal

government, all others being denied to it (as the Tenth Amendment would make plain).

Unfortunately, only a tiny fraction of the U.S. population today—subtle logicians like you—can grasp such nuances. Too bad. The Constitution wasn't meant to be a brain-twister.

The History of Victimhood

Should the United States pay reparations to black Americans for slavery and its "lingering effects"? Such is the proposal of John Conyers Jr., aptly described by Jonathan Yardley of the *Washington Post* as "the Democratic congressman from Michigan who, after a long career as political hack and power broker, has made a leap onto the moral high ground." Conyers himself is black, and he is taking the politics of victimhood to new heights. Or depths.

Yardley, whose liberalism is tempered by common sense, opposes the idea. He concedes "the injustice and brutality and horror of slavery," adding: "That a nation founded upon a commitment to freedom and liberty could have permitted the enslavement of human beings is a stain that can never be removed; it is central to our history."

He reflects: "The labor of slaves went uncompensated, so why shouldn't their descendants, struggling for justice and opportunity, be compensated in their stead? After all, weren't Japanese Americans interned during World War II compensated only a decade ago to the tune of \$20,000 apiece?"

But here Yardley makes an appropriate,

but usually overlooked, distinction: "Yes, but those payments were to the survivors, not their heirs. There are no surviving slaves, so there is no one with a just claim on reparations; probably reparations in some form should have been paid in 1865, but this is 1999 and the case is closed. There are, by the same token, no surviving slaveholders, so there is no one upon whom blame and responsibility can be fixed."

Only one qualification needs to be added. White Americans didn't invent slavery; they imported it—from Africa. In fact slavery is the only African institution this country has ever adopted, and it persisted there (and still does, in some places) long after it was abolished here. Sentimentalism about Africa, encapsulated in the phrase "African Americans," blinds us to these obvious facts.

So why aren't today's Africans charged with responsibility for slavery? When it comes to "injustice and brutality and horror," the African brand was far worse than the American version. African slaves were mutilated, turned into eunuchs, even cannibalized by their fellow Africans. The luckier ones survived the ghastly voyage across the Atlantic and wound up in the New World, where slavery was far milder, tempered by the Christianity of most slaveholders.

Should the descendants of the Africans who enslaved other Africans pay reparations too? Such a notion has never occurred to Congressman Conyers, who is obsessed with race and with punishing the white man.

American slavery was bad enough, and it was widely condemned by whites when the United States was founded. But slavery

already had a toehold in the South, and the Framers of the Constitution were in no position to do much about it beyond setting a date for the termination of the importation of slaves. If the sovereign states of the South were to be induced to join a new federal union, slavery had to be tolerated. Otherwise the Southern states would have formed a separate confederacy long before the Civil War, and the United States of America would not exist today.

But for the likes of Conyers, history means only a moral melodrama, of which all we need to know is that all blacks are the helpless, innocent victims of the evil white man. By this logic, everything blacks feel entitled to should be taken, by the government, out of the hides of whites.

Conyers, a voluble fellow who never stops talking long enough to listen to himself, seems not to realize that he is actually in agreement with white supremacists. He assumes that only whites have free will and the capacity to act responsibly, and that blacks are only what whites choose to make them. All the problems of blacks thus become the "lingering effects" of what whites did centuries ago.

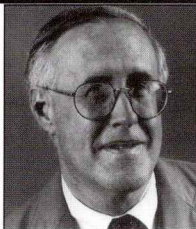
This is not to deny that history does have "lingering effects." We still live in the shadow of the Roman empire, the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and Communism, not to mention several devastating wars. But sorting out hereditary victims and oppressors would be an impossible task.

How about a bill to pay reparations to the descendants of medieval serfs? ☛

MAINSTREET BY WILLIAM MURCHISON

All We Need Is Competition!

The Corsicana, Tex., public schools informed—or deformed, take your pick—the mind that strings together these amiable paragraphs. Despise public education? Lust for its overthrow? Not this boy. Were I even to attempt such folly, the spirits of Anna Belle Kiber, Rowena Wilks, and Andy Armistead would descend from the Great Classroom in the sky to haunt me. The pub-



lic schools gave me, most of the time, what I needed, including some timely checks on teenage hubris.

That said, let's get down to modern cases.

To be "public" isn't to enjoy some divine right to educate. What today's public schools need is healthy competition—of omeriness and Luddism of the public school establishment.

Witness: A couple of weeks ago, Dallas

school trustees rejected their new superintendent's plan to let Edison Schools, Inc., a private corporation, operate, for a fee, up to 11 public schools. The superintendent's public tantrum following the vote doesn't excuse the board's obtusity.

Public schools in Dallas are so great they can't be improved on? Tell me something else hilarious. After almost three decades of judicial supervision caused by busing, and steady deterioration of academic standards, the wonder is that any good Dallas schools and teachers remain. Some do—just fewer than we need.

The schools are caught in a familiar

modern trap. Education? Sure, sure, that's fine, provided the teachers can get to it. First come priorities like hormone-control, the maintenance of classroom order, appeasement of the busing-case plaintiffs, and provision of a power base for racial partisans. Have to protect jobs, too. Teachers have a huge union.

Well, still the Dallas board wouldn't open 11 schools to a test of Edison's methods. Why not? Because those Edison folks wear bowties and purpose a white-elitist kind of education? In fact, Edison's target audience, so the speak, is low-income minorities.

As a Brookings Institution analyst writes in the Wall Street Journal, Edison, with its computer networks and lengthened school day and year, aims primarily to serve "disadvantaged urban students" – kids conventional public schools haven't educated very well. Nearly half of Edison's students are black, and 60 percent are from impoverished families. The average Edison student comes to the company's school scoring at the 30th percentile on standardized tests."

Edison, at the 79 public schools it presently runs, "tracks student achievement and school performance to a degree unprecedented in public education ... Edison principals are awarded performance-based bonuses of up to about 20 percent of their salaries. And the company swiftly fires principals and teachers who don't perform." Passing rates on national test scores "have risen or their scores have ratcheted up faster than expected about 75 percent of the time."

Is Edison the answer? Nobody said so. Edison may be one answer, in combination with vouchers, charter schools, and yes, home schooling. Competition is the ticket.

Why is there so little competition in the education trade (not counting relatively high-priced private schools)? The government dominates no other department of life the way it dominates schooling. Government doesn't run grocery stores, although you might assume eating to be more urgent than reading. There's no government commissar to run health clubs, video stores, used car dealerships, not even – for now – hospitals and doctor's offices. Yet, government runs education – and runs over, where it can, those who rise to challenge the monopoly

Dallas' school board, voting to nix the Edison deal, was saying, in essence, *you can't*

do education, *we* do education around here.

We're all probably going to be seeing about that in the 21st century. God (whose name, of course, can't be mentioned on government property) bless 'em anyway: The public schools are only as indispensable as they make themselves, and right now that isn't very. There's got to be a better way.

A Nominee for Man of the Century

...[F]or there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved. – Acts 4:12b

St. Peter speaking. The Big Fisherman himself, talking about Jesus of Nazareth and creating inadvertently a 20th century puzzlement. To wit: When Peter's successor, the pope, goes to India and claims the right and duty of Christian evangelization, we're to keel over in shock? That seems a little odd.

It seems a little modern, too.

We live in a "pluralistic" world, here on the millennium's edge. Some might suppose our official faith were Christianity. Not so. Our faith is "I'm OK, you're OK." Oh (we're under culturally imposed constraint to say), so you think there *are* other names under heaven given among men? Well, have a nice day."

But that isn't what St. Peter said, and it doesn't even tack Jesus' parting injunction to the disciples (Matt. 28:19-20a): "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Hindu and Muslim leaders were perhaps less than charmed to hear the pope's affirmation that "every person has the right to hear the Good News of the God who reveals and gives himself to Christ." Maybe even less charmed are Christians of the oh-so-contemporary sort who regard the pope as pushy. In fact, here's a thesis; see what you think of it:

The shucks-we're-just-another-faith attitude pervading Christianity explains the bewilderment other religious leaders feel on hearing the pope talk as he did in India. Unused to hearing Christians insist on the primacy of their own Gospel, they can't figure where this guy is coming from.

1999 has a major problem with the whole idea of "truth," not least in its religious

manifestations. For something to be better, higher, *truer* than something else isn't real democratic. And it certainly isn't pluralistic.

Pluralism '90s-style, presupposes "truths" that stack up more or less equally (within, naturally, the "progressive" consensus that condemns sexism, guns, and lighting up a Camel). The new presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, Frank Griswold, invites his flock to ongoing "conversation" concerning their various takes on "truth."

Good morning, Fred, what's "true" for you today?

Nice of you to ask, Daphne; actually I was wondering what's true for *you*.

Well, Fred, to be honest...

And so on, I guess. It's certainly in the modern spirit.

I clipped out of a church magazine recently the stirring testimony of an Episcopal priest in St. Louis: "To limit God to the historical Jesus as the sole conduit of divine salvation would seem the height of pretension ... No religion is totally pure, nor is any totally impure."

Under a similar spell, the Presbyterian theologian John Hick writes: "We must ... be willing to see God at work within the total religious life of mankind ... to see Christianity within this pluralistic setting."

So, Christianity rests on the same truth level as Hinduism? As Buddhism? As Theosophy? *The Bible* is just the *Bhagavad Gita* in English? Well, silly us. If only we'd figured this out at the start. Think of the expense we'd have been spared: all those church buildings, for instance.

Where Aquinas, Augustine and Luther labored to lay bare the ways of God, they might better have dispensed advice on family medicine or minimizing the tax bite.

The martyrs, too, could have saved themselves a lot of vexation, including the missionary father and sons burned alive last January in India by Hindu fanatics.

What's all this religious relativism about in the end? It's about the modern West's silly embarrassment over its supposedly sordid past and whatever informed that past. Why the West should be uniquely embarrassed—well, no doubt that's up to a certain brand of Westerner to say. Not John Paul II's brand, I would assure you. This pope, if a non-Catholic may venture an opinion, is the Man of our Century. ☛

Anatomy of A Controversy

As usual, our detractors make a point of oversimplifying the Confederate flag controversy in order to place flag supporters in the worst possible light. Once they make the unprovable case that every supporter of the Confederate flag is a hotheaded racist, then it's easy enough to make the case for furling the banner.

On one side, you have Klansmen in white robes who use Confederate symbols to dramatize their hatred of black people. On the other hand, you have good-hearted blacks whose feelings are hurt by the officially sanctioned presence of the battle flag on the dome of South Carolina's capitol and woven into the design of state flags in Georgia and Mississippi.

Given that choice, what decent, fair-minded observer would opt to keep the flag? Such a choice, however, is a textbook example of a logical fallacy called "false dilemma"—offering only two choices when others are available.

A vast majority of flag defenders fall into at least three additional categories.

The Heritage Defenders sincerely believe that the Confederate flag represents the virtues of the Lost Cause—courage, honor, respect for women and family. Such people know the history of the conflict better than their media critics, and because of their extensive investigation of the past, Heritage Defenders are frustrated by the reaction of blacks, who seem to be acting out of a radical ignorance in need of correction. Heritage Defenders write thoughtful articles and letters to the editor, since they believe (quite mistakenly) that once the NAACP and the media learn the true history of the region, they'll drop their attacks on the flag.

The Pragmatists are less moved by a commitment to their heritage than a

desire to prevent the controversy from spreading.

Today, the NAACP is focusing on the Confederate flag—a symbol. But if the flag comes down, the Pragmatists believe the NAACP will launch a new campaign. Confederate monuments will begin to offend the organization, then Kweisi Mfume will demand that streets and schools be renamed, the bodies of Confederate soldiers removed from public property. (Black activists across the region *have already demanded these very concessions.*) In order to avoid such escalating demands, the Pragmatists believe it's better to defend the flag as vigorously as possible.

The "Had-Enough" Crowd are simply fed up with the demands of the politically correct and want to strike back. They may care little about the Confederate flag, but they're tired of people who make a living by getting their feelings hurt. They've been called "bigot" and "fanatic" because they believe in Biblical morality and say that sex outside of marriage is wrong. Now they're told, for example in South Carolina, that if they continue to display a flag that's been flying for the better part of 40 years, they're stupid or morally deficient. At some point, the self-righteousness of the nation's scribes and Pharisees becomes too great an indignity to bear, and the Had-Enough Crowd screams, "No more!"

These three groups (and more perhaps) make up a very complex support group for the retention of the flag, a coalition that has nothing to do with racism.

The groups opposing the flag are equally diverse. All in this category are by no means good-hearted folk with highly refined sensibilities. Here, too, we find at least three additional categories.

The Money Grubbers—like the NAACP—can't survive without high-decibel outrage. Their prosperity depends largely on the contributions of white folks, particularly those who live

in the North. For this reason, leaders like Kweisi Mfume must keep the racial pot boiling.

If race relations were harmonious, the NAACP would be out of business—since they have never chosen to emphasize positive initiatives to Advance Colored People. So they must continually scour the Southern landscape for indignities. At one time, these outrages were real; today the outrages are almost exclusively symbolic. Never mind that, according to the most recent Gallup Poll on race relations, the South is the only region in which a majority of blacks believe they are treated equally.

The Racists are more problematic. The greatest unaddressed problem in America is black racism. In the South, this racism is less strident, but it exists nationwide. Few people realize the degree to which black activists are stirring up racial animosity among black college students. Even as the white community tries to purge itself of such feelings, black leaders are encouraging students at historically black colleges to despise white people and to look forward to revolution. Teachers of Black History are telling their students that the Vatican has hidden pictures of the black Jesus, that Napoleon shot off the nose of the Sphinx because it was Negroid, that 100,000,000 blacks died while being transferred from Africa to America. Black activists scream that white people are devils without souls and the government invented AIDS to kill off black people. All these people hate the Confederate flag.

The Blind Followers are good people with poor judgment who trust black activists and charlatans. They believe the lies and respond accordingly. Had some ideologue not told them they'd been insulted, they would never have gotten their feelings hurt over the Confederate flag or "Dixie" or a portrait of Robert E. Lee. They are among the chief victims of the propagandists and black racists.

This, then, is a more complicated and realistic cast of characters in the ongoing controversy over Confederate symbols. As the drama unfolds, remember that the players are neither as bad nor as good as the press and politicians would have you believe. ☪

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