

the “gender gap.”

Congratulations, *Chronicles*, you’ve textualized it. Even if you had made the prudent decision to throw in an essay by a token woman or two, your plans reveal the basic mentality at work. And it’s that mentality that the women I know really do *not* want.

Like *Chronicles*, Freud had ample opportunities to get good answers to his famous question. He ignored them, like *Chronicles*. Is this similarity because of shared conservative values, which, far too often, both in Freud’s Vienna a century ago and in the later 20th-century United States, require ignoring the actual concerns of real women?

—Martine Watson Brownley  
Women’s Studies Program  
Emory University  
Atlanta, GA

## On Crime and Race

Steven Goldberg’s honesty (“Black Murder,” January 1995) is much to be

admired, but it does not penetrate nearly far enough to the causes of racial disparities in crime. What is yet to be acknowledged is the race/crime relationship that is common worldwide. The matrix found within the United States, with Asians being the most law-abiding, Africans the least, and Europeans intermediate, is also evident in other multiracial countries like Britain, Brazil, and Canada. I have published several sets of data from recent *Interpol* yearbooks showing that African and Caribbean countries consistently average double the rate of violent crime (an aggregate of murder, rape, and serious assault) than European countries, and three times more than countries in the Pacific Rim. Whatever the causes of the racial pattern in crime, it is clear that they go beyond American particulars.

One neurohormonal contributor to crime is testosterone. As I review in my book *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*, studies show 3 percent to 19 percent more testosterone in black college students and military veterans than in their

white counterparts, with the Japanese showing lower amounts than whites. Sex hormones go everywhere in the body and have been shown to activate many brain-behavior systems involving crime, personality, and sexual behavior. Statistics from the World Health Organization and U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reveal greater sexual activity, higher fertility, and greater rates of AIDS in African than European and East Asian populations. Race differences in crime do not exist independently of these other variables, and they cannot be understood without taking into account biological and neurohormonal processes and ultimately genetic and evolutionary explanations.

—J. Philippe Rushton  
Professor of Psychology  
University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario



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## CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS

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WHEN *CHRONICLES* talks, people listen—at least in New Zealand. I have had my allotted 15 minutes of total fame, all because of a couple of paragraphs snatched by the Kiwi press out of a little piece of mine (Letter From Inner Israel, “Sorting Out Jew-Haters”) printed in these pages in March.

Readers will recall that I reflected on the problem of sorting out the many diverse forms of hostility to Jews and Judaism. Specifically, I referred to three incidents I experienced while in New Zealand last summer which set me thinking not about what is, but what is *not*, appropriately labeled “anti-Semitism.” I never suggested New Zealand was a fascist, anti-Semitic country—that was the judgment of a professor at Waikato University, whom I quoted and whose outrageous opinion I rejected. The pinpricks I did notice struck me not as anti-Semitic but as gauche, provincial, and uncomprehending. To make that point, I set into context the observations I made during my

winter in a cold country, a place far off the beaten track, where little happens that matters to anybody anywhere else—that is, life in nowhere special, where all of us live who are fortunate; in the heart of the human condition.

Since a reporter in Christchurch had taken an interest in my prior reflections on Canterbury University, I sent him an advance copy of the article. He wrote a story about it, and poor O.J. Simpson lost his place to me as the prime American news item in the New Zealand press. The *Christchurch Press* put the story on the Kiwi counterpart to the AP wire; it appeared all over the country. The *Press* even published an editorial of its own—a bit inane, but quite august in all.

But it did not end there—nor with more editorials elsewhere, follow-up stories, and columns and columns of mighty hot letters to the editor. Radio New Zealand called from Wellington for a live interview. When I returned their call, they interrupted their morn-

ing talk show to put me right on the air. They spent 30 minutes of expensive trans-Pacific phone time hectoring me on my observations, along the lines of, “Do you really think it’s cold on the South Island in July?”

“Yes, very cold.”

“Do you think you’ll be invited back?”

“Not to Canterbury University.”

“Would you go?”

“I’m busy next year and the year after, but try me in 1998.”

Finally, at the climax of perfect fame, New Zealand TV asked me to come back to Auckland to take up the argument on their *Sixty Minutes*. “We know what other people say about you, now we want you to have your say.” This is summer in New Zealand, so I would help on a slow news day.

When, thinking the controversy somewhat disproportionate, I said I saw no point in pursuing the matter, having

done several newspaper and radio interviews by phone, they immediately faxed back: "We will pay all expenses for a week's visit, to deal with you and your critics." (Evidently in their first invitation they'd imagined that I would pay my own way!) Meanwhile, back at the University of South Florida, my mailbox and even my voice mail got crowded with letters, phone calls, and even cassette tapes from unhappy Kiwi, some of whom actually signed what they wrote.

A distinguished religious studies professor at the University of Waikato explained the furor to me: "I was intrigued by recent media exposure you have received here. Frankly, I think your own perspectives are right on target—the locals just don't want to be told the harsh truth! New Zealand's worst prejudice is the prejudice that there is no prejudice here! In fact, there is, as you detected so incisively." My mailbox had already told me that. I sent my reporter-colleague, Colin Espiner, at the *Press* a sample of the letters, as well as a tape; he could then judge for himself. But I had not said the place was prejudiced, only provincial, as readers will remember.

In the storm, I had hoped to hear from Canterbury University some voices of reason and perhaps even contrary views, joined with solid evidence and compelling argument. After all, if you want to know about the attitudes of a whole society, you turn not to episodic incidents and hearsay, but to surveys of public opinion, on the one side, and the evidence of systematic analysis on the other. How, for instance, do Maori view New Zealand society—as open or racist? What about the locals of Indian or Chinese origin? (Letters from Indian and Chinese Kiwi confirmed my impression of a rather closed and uncomprehending society.)

What came back may not qualify for a place on *Firing Line*, for reasoned debate gave way to raw emotion, mainly to blind, personal fury. Here is David Novitz, Canterbury professor of philosophy, who is himself Jewish: "Professor Neusner's extreme sensitivity to his Jewishness made it impossible for people to speak to him for very long. . . . Professor Neusner is an excellent scholar in his area of expertise, but that did not qualify him to comment on New Zealand society or the students at Canterbury." "Extreme sensitivity"—that is to say, I'm "too Jewish." I reckon he's not.

Here is William Shepard, Canterbury

lecturer in religious studies, who was in charge of my visit: "As the person who had the misfortune of having to host him in our department, I can assure readers that their most negative conclusions about the character of this man and the value of his opinions will probably not be wide of the mark." Shepard is so gauche he can't even deliver a cutting insult.

Here is a man named Henry Tedder, describing himself as "a visiting retired college lecturer from Traverse City, Michigan": "Professor Neusner is nuts. No one reads the magazine his article was published in except the writers and their students who are forced to read them. He reminds me of a jackass braying in the wilderness to his own confusion."

Here is Norman Simms of Waikato University, who was my guest for a year as visiting scholar when I taught at Brown University: "Neusner is prone to arrogance . . . he is known as a man who had never had an unpublished thought in his life." How Simms knows what I haven't published I can't say. Simms was the professor who told me he thinks New Zealand is an anti-Semitic country with a fascist government, so perhaps when I said in these pages that this wasn't so, he took offense. Why he stays there, I don't know.

Here is Professor Norton Moise, a visiting professor at Otago University in physics, who had already written to *Chronicles* and demanded "equal time" to reply to me. As John Gibb reported in the *Otago Daily Times*, Moise "was unhappy that the American publication had apparently seen fit to publish Professor Neusner's views without checking on the views of the many other American academics who had visited Christchurch and New Zealand. Professor Neusner's views were based on a very limited time in this country, could damage New Zealand's reputation abroad and potentially bring other visiting American academics into some disrepute in this country."

Some may find the intellectual quality of the replies a bit disappointing, expecting more than arguments that appeal to "extreme sensitivity," bad character, "arrogance," and so on and so forth. But don't wonder why it was mostly Jews (Shapiro, Novitz, Moise, and Simms) who volunteered to clobber the Jew—for self-hatred marks the hostile society. They prove my case.

And then there are the other outsiders, welcome only on the fringes of Kiwi society: the Americans, Shepard, Shapiro, Moise, Simms, who leaped to defend Kiwidom (Novitz is a South African refugee). But who can have predicted appeal to—of all things—good old American academic snobbery: "My university is better than yours, so shut up and sit down"? Leave it to our crowd to degrade already-despicable discourse. In some circles hereabouts, it's not the power of your ideas that matters, nor what you have accomplished, but who pays your salary—an attitude as Yankee as apple pie, the Fourth of July, and racism.

It was an American teaching at Canterbury, a classicist named Harold Shapiro, who had earlier written to the *Press* and reassured people that University of South Florida students spend all their time on their surf boards (I reckon he's never seen Tampa Bay, where they build the causeways all of six inches above the water surface, to avoid the enormous waves, or perhaps he's confused the Gulf of Mexico with Big Sur). Here is the indignant Norton Moise, visiting-Jewish-American-physicist, delivering his knock-out punch, again in Mr. Gibb's report: "It was ironic that both Canterbury and Otago Universities enjoyed higher international standing than the University of South Florida in Tampa. . . . Canterbury and Otago students were also of a higher overall academic standard than students at the South Florida institution." I asked my colleagues what international standing we at USF enjoy, but they didn't bother to reply—several were overseas, lecturing at foreign universities.

To assess my response to Norton's snobby dismissal of little old USF, with its 36,000 students out on surf boards, the older readers of this magazine may be reminded of President Roosevelt's indignant objection that the Republicans had sunk to criticizing "my little dog Fala." Those guys really hit you where it hurts.

Oh well, now that the Novitzes and the Shepards and the Moises and the Shapiros and the Simmses have vented their spleen, perhaps it is time for a reasoned discussion about issues—if any survive for discussion. Still, if you want to become famous in New Zealand, you can do worse than print an article in these pages. If you're really lucky, you, too, can get to turn down invitations to

appear on *Sixty Minutes* in Auckland.

Next case.

—*Jacob Neusner*

**THE NEH** has provided me with several substantial (and highly competitive) grants, and so perhaps I should maintain a discreet silence in the current debate over the proposed abolition of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts. (Strictly speaking, I am not the recipient, but rather the Principal Investigator for grants received by my university.) But the media and politicians have so vulgarized and trivialized the issue (and when do they ever not?) that there are a few things that need to be said.

In principle, the federal government should not be in the business of subsidizing the arts (NEA). The argument is somewhat less conclusive in regard to scholarship. It is at least moot that there is a proper role for support of certain types of humanistic endeavor that have a "national" purpose. This is the same principle that justifies national parks, the Library of Congress, and the Smithsonian Institution. But in terms of both principle and the amounts of money involved, the NEA and NEH constitute a trivial issue (which is why it has interested the politicians). Doubtless there is more federal money stolen any Thursday in Chicago than the entire annual budget of the NEH and NEA. And considering all the things the federal government is doing that it should not be doing—consuming a third of the national income, inflating the currency, bombing Serbs, policing Haitians, incinerating members of obscure religious cults, interfering with schoolchildren, subsidizing the proliferation of illegitimate babies with low IQ's, subsidizing the murder of other babies, etc.—the arts and humanities subsidies are somewhere below number 200 on the list of things that need attention.

Egregious abuses have been perpetrated by the NEA, without any question. But it has not been pointed out that this was largely an administrative failure. The Republicans controlled the executive branch for 12 years. In this broad and goodly land are hundreds of people who are knowledgeable and dedicated in the arts, who are conscientious and talented citizens, and who even voted for Reagan and Bush. Instead of finding such people and getting them into

management—the natural thing to do considering that the NEA was, for the nonce, established by law and not going to go away—the Republicans appointed Washington establishmentarians indistinguishable from Democratic appointees. It was under the execrable Frohnmayer, a Bush appointee, that the worst obscenities were perpetrated and defended.

Here, as in so much else, the failure was in the implementation of the "Reagan Revolution." Imagine if, as originally planned, M.E. Bradford, a great gentleman and a great scholar, had been put at the head of the NEH in 1981. Wonderful things might have happened, things that would have been good for the country, the administration, and the cause of scholarship. Instead, neoconservatives took over the NEH and made an effort to turn it into another patronage machine for themselves. They failed, largely due to a dedicated, professional, and honorable staff, and soon moved on to the Department of Education, where they had more luck. The NEH staff, in fact, has a good record of restraining politicization by both neocons and conventional leftists and adhering to responsible standards. Ethically, it certainly compares favorably to Congress, the federal courts, the armed services, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, etc.

Another aspect of the situation that has not been remarked on at all is the scandal of Indirect Costs. Indirect Costs originated with scientific grants which often required maintenance of extensive physical facilities. They were written into the arts and humanities law without rhyme or reason. This means that every time a grant is given to cover the costs of a certain project, the necessary amount is multiplied by a factor of the Indirect Cost rate. The I.C. rate for Harvard University is 200 percent. For my own institution it is 49 percent.

Without I.C., the same projects could be accomplished at much lower cost, or a greater number of projects could be supported with the same amount of money. I.C. constitutes an immense subsidy for the higher education establishment, a hidden agenda. These funds, moreover, are generally at the command of administrators with fewer controls than normally budgeted funds, which explains the famous Stanford University scandal of a few years ago. In addition, the intrusion of I.C. in-

to budgets complicates every potentially worthwhile endeavor. Whatever the case for I.C. in the sciences, they seem unjustifiable in the arts and humanities.

None of us—not even the most knowledgeable Washington insiders—really know at this point what, if anything, will happen in regard to NEA and NEH. If the Republicans really want to dismantle the Great Society, there are a couple of hundred better places to start. What I would recommend, which would be reasonable for Washington, is: abolish the NEA; keep the NEH, with I.C. eliminated. This would both reduce expenditures and preserve what is worthwhile.

—*Clyde Wilson*

**ENTITLEMENTS** are leading the country headlong to insolvency. These include a whole range of programs such as Social Security, Supplemental Security Income, Medicaid, Medicare, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, etc. Some entitlements are "permanent appropriations," which means the money to pay for them is automatically appropriated and distributed to whoever meets the criteria for receiving a handout. The two biggest programs in this category are Social Security and Medicare. The sum of interest on the national debt plus permanent appropriations is "mandatory spending," which is known in Washington's parlance as "untouchable."

The figures are startling. This year, Social Security will cost \$600 billion, about 40 percent of the federal budget. By 2004, if trends continue, the figure will double. Social Security began going bust when Congress raided it to give money to welfare mamas, alcoholics, and drug addicts and when retirees began to outlast the benefits to which they were entitled. But things will only get worse. Right now, four American workers support one retiree. By 2030, the ratio will have dropped by half.

If what is past is prologue, consider the past three decades of entitlement spending in general. In 1963, 70.4 percent of federal spending was discretionary, meaning Congress had a choice of how much to spend. A decade later, that figure dropped to 55 percent and entitlements had grown to 38 percent of the federal budget, with net interest on the national debt at 7 percent. By the time Ronald Reagan was two years into

office, entitlements constituted 45 percent of the budget. Net interest was 11.1 percent. Now entitlements consume 47 percent of the budget, with interest on the debt pulling down another 14.1 percent. "Mandatory spending" is now 61.4 percent of the federal budget. By 2030, according to one estimate, the annual deficit will reach \$4.1 trillion, the size of the national debt today.

Scared for your kids yet? Listen to even more figures from the Bi-Partisan Commission on Entitlements and Tax Reform: by 2010, entitlements and interest on the national debt will consume the federal budget. By 2030, federal revenues will not cover entitlements. Now the national debt is \$10,000 per American. By 2030, the figure will rise to \$64,000.

And who are the entitled? Not just ghetto-dwelling, black crackheads scamming the government. About \$150 billion in Social Security payments this year will go to households with an income exceeding \$50,000, meaning home-owning, white Republicans. Ayn Rand would have called them all "looters," and what these disparate groups of people have in common is an Atlas to shoulder the ponderous burden they represent. That would be the working, taxpaying American.

In any event, a number of lawmakers

want reform, and Senator Judd Gregg chaired a Republican commission on entitlements, which was scheduled in March to release a report that suggested a number of "reforms." If all went according to plan, legislation is now coursing through the veins of Capitol Hill's body politic. Gregg rightly observes that the Constitution does not entitle anyone to anything, but he and his well-meaning group do not seem to understand that "reform" is not the answer. Congress should not reform entitlements by "block grants" that would "let the states decide" how to distribute welfare or by tinkering with Social Security to stave off its impending insolvency. If Gregg is right, then entitlements are unconstitutional and must be scrapped.

This cardinal goal ought to be approached by zeroing in first on Social Security, the most important target for a reason that has less to do with the staggering cost of subsidizing the well-to-do Bush generation than with the cultural and social problem it has created: militant old people. "The system was supposed to promote self-sufficiency and independence," says Paul Hewitt of the National Taxpayers Union. "But what it says is 'Don't save, we'll tax your kids' to pay your freight. In short, claims Hewitt, Social Security has created a "belligerent dependency pitting senior citizens against their children and grandchildren."

Yes, Hewitt notes, Social Security has promoted "independence." But it is the independence of parents from their children, not of parents from the state, almost the exact opposite effect welfare spending has on families in the ghetto. Social Security has created a bottomless chasm between the generations that will worsen with time and is responsible for the shameless and aggressive panhandling in Congress by the American Association of Retired Persons, which owes its clout to 64 million Americans who joined it to get cheap airline tickets and health insurance.

Of course, scuttling the welfare state's ship will not be easy without first getting rid of its crew, meaning the bureaucrats trying to protect their jobs. Yet progress on the issue lies not in firing bureaucrats or converting politicians but in showing middle-class Americans that killing entitlements is required as a matter of principle as well as practicality. Forget about constitutionality for a moment. Toppling the welfare state would eliminate

the need for laundering money in the federal bureaucracy, which would mean the states really could decide how they wanted to address the needs of their residents. That's what the House Speaker's "contract" is all about, isn't it?

Maybe it will be hard, if not impossible, for members of Congress to relinquish control over the entitlements on which their power is based. But one thing is certain. By 2010, the money runs out. Then Americans will have a choice: either spend money on legitimate functions of the federal government or turn everything over to the looters. At that point, Atlas may finally shrug.

—R. Cort Kirkwood

**OBITER DICTA:** This issue of *Chronicles* features a sequence of poems by Katherine McAlpine, whose terse poetry has often graced our pages in the past. These new poems form an operatic sequence and can be found on page 29. Richard Waller, whose poem "Oratorio in the Ruins" appeared in *Chronicles* last year, has published a volume, *Beethoven's Brain*, containing 44 samples of his work. Another contributor to *Chronicles*, Frederick Feirstein, the author of five books of poetry, is one of five authors whose work is featured in the current *Quarterly Review of Literature*.

The German publishing firm Peter Lang has released a book on the Balkans, *Titoism and Dissidence*, by journalist and *Chronicles* contributor Tomislav Sunic, who currently serves in Croatia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Examining relations between the various ethnic groups of Communist Yugoslavia, whose co-existence is widely supposed to have been "peaceful," Sunic reveals the acute tensions that exploded into open warfare after the collapse of the Yugoslav federation.

In Arizona, the following stores now sell *Chronicles*: Barnes & Noble Superstore, Metro Center, Phoenix; Bookstar, Town & Country Shopping Center, Phoenix; Borders Books and Music, Biltmore Fashion Park, Phoenix; Books Etc., 901 South Mill Avenue, Tempe; Mill Avenews, 1 East 6th Street, Tempe; Tower Records, 821 Mill Street, Tempe; Hastings Books, Music, Video, 1990 McCulloch Boulevard, Suite #4, Lake Havasu City; Northern Arizona News Company, 1709 North East Street, Flagstaff.

**LIBERAL ARTS**



**DRYER-PHOBIA**

Since spanking children is illegal in Sweden, a 26-year-old Swedish mother disciplined her rowdy two-year-old son, who enjoyed jumping on freshly laundered clothes, by placing him in a clothes dryer and turning it on for a few spins, reported the *European* last January. Two years after the incident, the mother was charged in a district court with maltreatment after a relative noticed that "the boy had an unusual fear of tumble-dryers."

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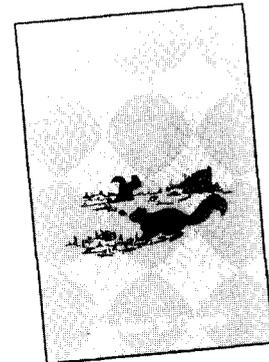


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by Samuel Francis

## Voices in the Air

By the middle of the second month of the Republican Revolution, acute observers were beginning to see that the revolution might actually go somewhere if only the Republicans were not in charge of it. Aside from such irritating contretemps as the revelations of Speaker Newt Gingrich's book deal, his instantaneous dumping of historian Christina Jeffrey when her criticisms of a curriculum on the Nazi persecution of European Jews came to light, and his irrepressible habit of unbosoming his every neurological reflex to a bewildered press and citizenry, the prospects of the revolution dimmed considerably when Mr. Gingrich and his counterpart in the Senate, Bob Dole, eagerly signed on to the bailout of a bankrupt Mexico and began to back away from some of their own revolution's commitments.

Mr. Gingrich had second thoughts about ending welfare for immigrants, despite the obvious popular support for doing so, and second thoughts again about repealing the notorious "assault weapons" ban enacted with Republican help in the last months of the previous Congress, despite the obvious debt of the new Republican majority to the votes of outraged gunowners. On all these issues—the bailout, the immigrants, and guns—he was obliged by pressures from within his own party, especially freshmen Republicans considerably to the right of him and Mr. Dole, to reverse himself yet again and exude third thoughts. But since exuding thoughts is never difficult for the Speaker, his political ping-pong was not the problem.

On the more substantive commitments of the party to its "Contract with America" there was definite progress, though many rank-and-file Republicans and conservatives asked themselves exactly why the Contract's sometimes arcane pledges were important at all. Several items in the Contract involving rather radical changes threatened to turn what remains of the Constitution into the kind of voluminous and indecipherable document more familiar to such governments as those of Bolivia and Botswana, and even with a Republi-

can majority in the House, some parts of the Contract could not pass without suffering amputation of their more radical and meaningful provisions. Nor was there any language in the Contract that committed its signatories to eliminating whole departments and agencies of the federal leviathan, abolishing affirmative action, or reversing the ruin inflicted on the Republic by generations of judicial insanity, though individual Republicans did mutter about engaging these issues on their own.

Revolutions, however, exhaust themselves quickly, even when fed by passions considerably fiercer than those known to drive the souls of Republicans, and by locking the House and Senate on the immediate goal of enacting the Contract, the Republican leadership may have ensured that any further and more substantial radical proclivities in Republican breasts would be smothered before they had a chance to squeak. Indeed, even as the 104th Congress convened, it was advised by its self-appointed egghead, Bill Kristol, to eschew serious reforms from the right until the Republicans had also captured the presidency. The Republicans, it seems, were about as ready for their own revolution as a college freshman is to start studying for his final exams.

Yet the main problem with the Republican Revolution comes not from the questionable conduct or judgment of its leaders or from any lack of legislative skills. The main problem is simply that the Republican Party finds it almost impossible to conceive of public policy in anything but economic terms, that it remains wedded to the worldview associated with the myth of Economic Man. No matter how often Republicans dip their knees to "family values," the religious right, and "cultural issues," and no matter how much they exploit patriotic sentiment by contriving to nominate such military titans as Ulysses S. Grant or Colin Powell for President, it is only when dollars and cents are being talked about that the Republican eye begins to gleam and the Republican lip trembles with lachrymose enthusiasm.

The myth of Economic Man is today less a theory of human nature and history than an intellectual archaism from

the bourgeois order of the 19th century, when the Republicans led the nation in crushing a region that did not embrace the myth and proceeded to construct around it what was essentially the "Second Republic" of American history between the Civil War and the New Deal. Perhaps the only wise sentence that John Maynard Keynes ever wrote was his well-known insight that "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas." Leaving aside his skepticism about the power of vested interests (a skepticism rather implausible when the Mexican bailout is considered), Lord Keynes could (and may) have been describing the Republican Party of the 20th century.

The myth of Economic Man holds that human beings are driven mainly by considerations of material gain and loss, and therefore that the key to understanding history is the calculation of which economic interests prevail and what those interests are. From that dubious generalization, its adherents elicit a moral imperative, that economic calculations should prevail, and that therefore the value of any course of action, especially public policies, should be judged in terms of whether and how much it enhances material gain. The myth and its derivatives are the foundation stones of both socialism (especially its Marxist version) and capitalism, and it is no accident that Karl Marx was as indebted to the classical economists who helped unleash the myth on the modern mind as he was enchanted by the American Civil War and the Second Republic it initiated as progressive forward steps of world-historical significance. The main practical difference between the socialist and capitalist versions of the myth is simply that each perceives different roads toward their shared goals of the full dinner pail. (It tells us something about both communists and Republicans that they think utopia consists of