

high scorers are more likely to be in prison. This problem is much less apparent in the interviews from the women, however, where the high scorers were mainly students and health workers, although 3 of the 25 were psychiatric patients.

Nevertheless, Altemeyer (1988, 37) notes that the San Quentin interviewees were “the backbone” of the statistically significant results separating the high and low scorers. Besides this method of inflating the level of statistical significance by including highly unrepresentative subjects, there was also a strong tendency to discuss results as if they were based on statistically significant differences when in fact the differences were not significant (Altemeyer 1988, 38).

It has also been shown that scores on the Ethnocentrism Scale are negatively associated with IQ, education, and socio-economic status to a much greater extent than found by the Berkeley group (Hyman & Sheatsley 1954). Lower socioeconomic status and its correlative lower IQ and education may result in ethnocentrism because such individuals have not been socialized in a university environment and because economic pressures (i.e., resource competition) are more likely to result in group identifications within the lower social classes. The latter perspective fits well with social identity research and with the general findings of another volume in the *Studies in Prejudice* series, *Prophets of Deceit* (Lowenthal & Guterman 1970).

125. Excerpts indicate that these individuals had very positive attitudes about their parents. A high-scoring female describes her mother as follows: “Mother—she amazes me—millions of activities—had two maids in——years ago, but never since—such calmness—never sick, *never*—beautiful women she really is” (p. 340; italics in text). Another (F24) describes her father as follows: “Father—he is wonderful; couldn’t make him better. He is always willing to do anything for you. He is about——years old, six feet tall, has dark brown hair, slim build, young-looking face, good-looking, dark green eyes” (p. 342).

126. Other examples of proposed resentment against parents by high-scoring subjects clearly suggest a parent who has strict rules and enforces them within the context of a relationship that is viewed positively overall. Thus a high-scoring subject says about her father, “I can’t say I don’t like him,... but he wouldn’t let me date at 16. I had to stay home” (p. 348). The interview material of a high-scoring female (F78) shows that “[h]er parents definitely approve of the engagement. Subject wouldn’t even go with anyone if they didn’t like him” (p. 351). Again, these subjects are labeled as victimized by their parents. The supposition seems to be that any parental strictures on children’s behavior, no matter how reasonable, are bound to result in enormously high levels of suppressed hostility and aggression in children.

127. This idea that rebellion against parental values and authority is a sign of mental health can also be seen in the theory of the psychoanalyst Erik Homberg Erikson (1968). Erikson proposed that the most important developmental issue of adolescence was the identity crisis and that going through an identity crisis was a necessary prerequisite for healthy adult psychological functioning. The evidence indicates, however, that adolescence is not normatively a time of rebellion against parents, but rebellion against parents is associated with hostile, rejecting family relationships.

The interesting point here is that research on identity processes during adolescence does not support the idea that adolescents who accept adult values show signs of psychopathology. The subjects who most resemble those viewed as pathological in *The Authoritarian Personality* are termed “foreclosure” subjects by Marcia (1966, 1967). These subjects have not experienced an identity crisis but have made commitments which they have accepted from other individuals, usually parents, without question. The families of foreclosure subjects tend to be child-centered and conformist (Adams, Gullotta, & Markstrom-Adams 1994). Matteson (1974) found that foreclosures participated in a “love affair” with their families, and Muuss (1988) summarizes evidence indicating that foreclosures are very close to and feel highly valued by their parents. Degree of control is intermediate, neither too harsh nor too limited, and such individuals perceive parents as accepting and supportive. The parent-child relationships of these individuals appear to be the authoritative parent-child relationships commonly viewed by developmental psychologists as producing optimal child development. Marcia and Friedman (1970) found that foreclosure women had high self-esteem and were low in anxiety, and Marcia (1980) summarizes several studies showing that the foreclosure females are well adjusted. There is thus no reason to suppose that adolescents who accept parental values are in any sense suffering from psychopathology.

On the contrary, individuals who have very poor parent-child relationships tend to be in the “identity diffused” category, namely individuals who completely fail to develop an identity. Very negative parent-child relationships are characteristic of such identity-diffused subjects (Adams, Gullotta, & Markstrom 1994), and they appear to lead to minimal identification with the values and ideologies of the parents. Parents of such individuals are described as “distant, detached, uninvolved and unconcerned” (Muuss 1982; see also Marcia 1980) and such individuals appear not to accept the values of their parents. There is even evidence that identity-diffused individuals are at risk for psychopathology.

128. Other examples: F71: “Right now, I’m [father’s] favorite... [H]e’ll do anything for me—takes me to school and calls for me” (p. 354); M47: “Well I

guess her [mother] being so good and friendly to everybody, especially me. (For example?) Well, always trying to do everything for me. Very seldom go uptown without bringing something back for me” (p. 354); M13: “Mostly [father’s] attention to us kids was very admirable. He’s very honest, so much so that he won’t condone charge accounts. He’s known throughout the country as a man whose word is as good as his bond. His greatest contribution was denying himself pleasure to take care of us kids” (p. 354).

In the section “Image of the Mother: Sacrifice, Moralism, Restrictiveness,” mothers of high scorers are individuals who are highly self-sacrificing on behalf of their children and also have a strong sense of appropriate behavior which they attempt to inculcate in their children. M57: “She was a hard working lady, took care of us kids; she never did mistreat us in any way.” M13: “Mother was sick in bed a great deal of the time. She devoted her last strength to us kids.” M47: “She always taught me the difference between right and wrong, the things I should do and shouldn’t.”

129. Other typical comments of high scorers are as follows: M58: “If there were any conflicts between mother and father, I didn’t know.” F24: “Parents get along swell—never quarrel—hardly ever. Just over nonsense if they do. They quarrelled once after drinking wine over who got the last. Silly stuff like that”; F31: “My parents get along very well with each other, so far—knock on wood. They have their arguments, but they’re never serious because of my mother’s easy-going personality.”

130. Other typical comments of the low scorers are as follows: M15: “Mother accuses father of ‘keeping her down.’ She talks about her ambitions too much. Mother thinks of herself first. She doesn’t want to settle down in any church. Keeps suspecting father lets another singer get ahead of her. There are many quarrels between them, which upset me. Father sometimes threatened to leave”; M50: “Father was temperamental and father and mother had considerable domestic strife”; M55: “Mother went along with him on all the moralizing, though not as harsh as he was, not really a very good marriage. Mother should have married someone a lot more human and she probably would have been a lot better off... well, it’s hard to imagine him with anyone with whom he would get along.”

131. Similarly, when a subject reports no aggression against his father on the Thematic Apperception Test, the results are interpreted as indicating suppressed aggression against the father because the only aggression in the stories is done by characters the subject rejects. Aggressive imagery unrelated to the father is evidence for suppressed aggression against the father.

132. Another example of concern for social status among high scorers is the following from F79, who comes from a wealthy family that owns a lumber mill, a logging camp, and other business interests: "It's a medium sized mill but I have no idea of his [father's] income. Of course, we children have always been to private schools and lived in exclusive residential section. In——we had tennis courts and horses. We had more or less to start over again when we came to this country. We lived in a nice house but really couldn't afford it. It was quite an effort to get into social circles. In——we felt secure and fitted in. Back here, we have lived at the same level but with anxiety about it. Mother and daddy have climbed socially... and I don't care so much" (p. 384). Since the subject seems not so concerned about social status, one might wonder why the protocol was scored as it was.

133. The examples of "anti-Id moralism" among the high-scoring women include the following: F22: "Sex isn't uppermost in my mind by any means... I'm more for having a good time with the exclusion of sex interest"; F31: "I think a girl should be friendly, but I don't like necking in the back of a show. A boy and girl should be just friends" (p. 396).

High-scoring males appear to value sexual decorum in females they intend to marry: M6: "I like a girl who is level-headed and can talk on several topics. I don't like the Maizie and Flo type or the sex boxes"; M14: "I want a girl whose sole interest is in the home."

134. Other examples of adaptive female mate discrimination behavior among the high scorers deemed pathological by Frenkel-Brunswik are the following: F71: "Fine boy. Father a writer; grandfather secretary of——Canal; very wealthy family but he doesn't have the drive and ambition that I want; I just have to have more drive; somebody who doesn't have to lean on me. I had the feeling that if I walked away he would collapse... Another boy here has everything except that he isn't thoughtful like... I've got to have someone who isn't selfish." F22: "I'm going to look (among other things) for the fellow's views on supporting me. I'd like to marry someone, for instance, who is going into a profession—maybe a doctor" (p. 401).

135. The other two examples given of such "pathological" attitudes among females are the following:

F32: "Well, I think that because of the society in which we live, young people miss a great deal by not being married in the church of their faith. They lose the reverence for marriage and don't learn the true meaning of marriage vows, when it is done so commercially (in a public office). I think that when people are married in church—by that I don't mean a large

wedding necessarily—they have one of the most beautiful experiences of their lives... The thing which the church can teach youth is ‘to choose.’ “By this, she means principally the choice between right and wrong, but also to choose one’s friends. “In a church group one meets the right kind of young people; not the kind who hang around the lake shore at night.” (p. 403)

F78: “It was just love at first sight. He has brown hair, brown eyes, white teeth, not handsome, but good clean-cut looking; beautiful smile; mixes well, easy to get along with but has a will of his own. He’s lots of fun, interested in everything. He’s a high school graduate, now a mechanic in the ground crew of the Naval Air Transport. He wants to get into something in the mechanical line. Before the war he was an apprentice in the auto industry...” The vocation of her husband really wouldn’t matter. She thinks boy friend has good chances of getting along, definitely. She would like a profession—”sort of middle class.”

136. The high scorers are said to engage in “self-glorification” for saying such things as the following: F71: “Child—nervous because of mastoid operations... terrible time getting started in school... afraid of kids... this in first half of kindergarten... by second half I was a leader. Think one of my best assets is my poise—learned from moving around so much” (p. 425); F38, commenting on overcoming infantile paralysis: “I have always had a happy disposition, and I’ve always been honest with my family. I appreciate what they did for me. I’ve always tried to find a way so that I wouldn’t be a burden to them. I’ve never wanted to be a cripple. I was always dependable in a pinch. I’ve always been cheerful and I’m sure I’ve never made anyone feel bad because of my handicap. Maybe one of the reasons I have been cheerful is because of my handicap. I wore a cast on my leg until I was 4 years old.” (p. 425). (Subject goes on to describe her marital fidelity, happy married life, and good relationships with her family.) Only an extremely perverse interpretation of these data—an interpretation made possible by psychodynamic theory—could result in supposing that these individuals are anything less than heroic in their ability to overcome their disabilities and lead fulfilling, productive lives.

137. These tendencies are confirmed in the projective material in Chapter XV. Low scorers again appear to be highly conflicted, anxious, and guilt-ridden (pp. 550, 562). They “identify with the underdog” (p. 566) and have a “strong sense of failure, self-blame, helplessness or impotence” (p. 562). They strive after close relationships at the same time they attribute feelings of hostility and exploitiveness to others (p. 551).

138. In keeping with his generally unscientific approach to the data, Adorno provides no information on how these types were arrived at or what proportion of

the subjects fit into the various categories. In the case of “The Genuine Liberal,” there is a discussion of one subject.

139. Interestingly, immediately after expressing the moral legitimacy of free competition between Jews and gentiles, the “genuine liberal” states, “Maybe if the Jews get in power they would liquidate the majority! That’s not smart. Because we would fight back” (p. 782) This subject clearly views Jews not as individuals but as a potentially menacing, cohesive group.

140. Similarly, in another volume of the *Studies in Prejudice* series, Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) found that some of their anti-Semitic subjects were rebellious and uninhibited.

141. Gottfredson (1994) likewise notes that in the media and public opinion there persists the idea that intelligence tests are culturally biased and have nothing to do with performance in life, and this long after these ideas have been discredited by researchers on intelligence.

142. The same might be said about Margaret Mead’s work discussed in Chapter 2. Despite the fact that at this point any reasonable person must assume that the work is at least highly questionable, her work continues to appear prominently in many college textbooks. Mead was on the advisory board of the Institute’s anti-Semitism project, which produced *The Authoritarian Personality*.

143. Several authors have found evidence for a general authoritarianism dimension in which attitudes toward authority are divorced from the ethnocentrism often included in measures of right-wing authoritarianism (e.g., Bhushan 1982; Ray 1972). Altemeyer (1994) notes that authoritarian individuals in North America and in the Soviet Union under communism had mirror-image authoritarian attitudes, with the latter supporting “hard line,” authoritarian communism. In *Studies on Authority and the Family* (the earlier attempt of the Frankfurt School to link family relationships and authoritarianism), it was impossible for an individual to be classified as authoritarian if he or she stated that socialism would improve the world situation and that capitalism caused hyperinflation. “The possibility that someone could remain loyal to the Communist Party or to its programme and nevertheless be authoritarian was thus excluded” (Wiggershaus 1994, 174).

144. The 1996 *Arts and Humanities Citation Index* listed approximately 375 citations of Adorno, 90 of Horkheimer, and 550 of Walter Benjamin. A search of the libraries of the University of California in April 1998 under the subject heading “Frankfurt School” listed 41 books published since 1988, with over 200 more on the topic of Critical Theory.

145. Consider the influential postmodernist Jean-François Lyotard (1984, 8) states that “the right to decide what is true is not independent of the right to decide what is just.” In the best tradition of the Frankfurt School, Lyotard rejects scientific accounts as totalitarian because they replace traditional accounts of culture with scientifically derived universals. As with Derrida, Lyotard’s solution is to legitimize all narratives, but the main project is to attempt to prevent what Berman (1989, 8) terms the development of “an institutionalized master narrative”—the same deconstructive project that originated with the Frankfurt School. It goes without saying that the rejection of science is entirely *a priori*—in the best tradition of the Frankfurt School.

146. I noted briefly the anti-Western ideology of Claude Lévi-Strauss in Chapter 2 (pp. 22-23). It is interesting that Derrida “deconstructed” Lévi-Strauss by accusing him of reactivating Rousseau’s romantic views of non-Western cultures and thereby making a whole series of essentialist assumptions that are not unwarranted by Derrida’s radical skepticism. “In response to Lévi-Strauss’s criticisms of philosophers of consciousness, Derrida answered that none of them... would have been as naïve as Lévi-Strauss had been to conclude so hastily in favor of the innocence and original goodness of the Nambikwara [an African tribe]. Derrida saw Lévi-Strauss’s ostensibly ethnocentric-free viewpoint as a reverse ethnocentrism with ethnic-political positions accusing the West of being initially responsible, through writing, for the death of innocent speech” (Dosse 1997 II, 30). These comments are symptomatic of the changes inaugurated by postmodernism into the current intellectual *zeitgeist*. While the earlier critiques of the West by the Boasians and the structuralists romanticized non-Western cultures and vilified the West, the more recent trend is to express a pervasive skepticism regarding knowledge of any kind, motivated, I suppose, by the reasons outlined in this chapter (pp. 166, 201) and Chapter 6.

147. I became aware of Borowitz’s (1973) interesting account of Jewish self-deception, *The Mask Jews Wear: Self-Deceptions of American Jewry*, too late for inclusion in Chapter 8 of *SAID*. It is a good treatment of the complexities of Jewish identity in the post-Enlightenment world, albeit with some self-deceptions of its own, such as its equation of Jewish ethnocentrism with applied morality.

148. Raab is associated with the ADL and is executive director emeritus of the Perlmutter Institute for Jewish Advocacy at Brandeis University. He is also a columnist for the San Francisco *Jewish Bulletin*. Among other works, he has co-authored, with Seymour Martin Lipset, *The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970* (Lipset & Raab 1970), a volume in a series of books on anti-Semitism in the United States sponsored by the ADL and discussed

in Chapter 5. Lipset is regarded as a member of the New York Intellectuals discussed in Chapter 6.

149. Moreover, a deep concern that an ethnically and culturally homogeneous America would compromise Jewish interests can be seen in Silberman's (1985, 357-348) comments on the attraction of Jews to "the Democratic party... with its traditional hospitality to non-WASP ethnic groups... A distinguished economist who strongly disagreed with Mondale's economic policies voted for him nonetheless. 'I watched the conventions on television,' he explained, 'and the Republicans did not look like my kind of people.' That same reaction led many Jews to vote for Carter in 1980 despite their dislike of him; 'I'd rather live in a country governed by the faces I saw at the Democratic convention than by those I saw at the Republican convention' a well-known author told me."

150. The American Zionist Maurice Samuel, although condemning the 1924 immigration law as racist (see p. 240), had well developed racist ideas of his own. Samuel wrote a well-known work, *You Gentiles* (1924), that contains a very clear statement of biological differences creating an unbridgeable gulf between Jews and gentiles:

Though you and we were to agree on all fundamental principles... yet we should remain fundamentally different. The language of our external expression is alike, but the language of our internal meaning is different... Instinct endures for glacial ages; religions evolve with civilizations. (p. 28)

The difference between us is abysmal. (p. 30)

This difference in behavior and reaction springs from something much more earnest and significant than a difference in our biologic equipment. (p. 34)

These are two ways of life, each utterly alien to the other. Each has its place in the world—but they cannot flourish in the same soil, they cannot remain in contact without antagonism. Though to life itself each way is a perfect utterance, to each other they are enemies. (p. 37)

The prominent and influential American Jewish pro-immigration activist Louis Marshall also had a strong attachment to Judaism which he viewed as a race. He stated that "As you know, I am not a Zionist, certainly not a Nationalist. I am... one who takes a pride in the literature, the history, the traditions, and the spiritual and intellectual contributions which Judaism has made to the world, and as I grow older, the feelings of love and reverence for the cradle of our race increase in intensity" (in Cohen 1972, 107). (The comment is another example of Jewish identification and group commitment increasing with age [see *PTSDA*, Ch. 7 Note 27]).

151. *Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives, 68th Congress, 1st Sess., Jan. 5, 1924, 571.

152. See *Reconquista!: The Takeover of America* (Los Angeles: California Coalition for Immigration Reform, 1997).

153. Statement of the AJCongress, Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Congress, 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816. March 6-April 9, 1951, 391.

154. Statement of the AJCongress, Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816. March 6-April 9, 1951, 402-403.

155. The ADL continues to be a major promoter of diversity education through its A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute (www.adl.org, June, 1998). Since 1985 this institute has trained more than 230,000 elementary and secondary school teachers in diversity education and conducted workplace diversity training programs for workers and college students in the United States. Teacher training programs have also been instituted in Germany and Russia.

156. Although blacks were included in the crucible in the play, Zangwill (1914) seems to have had ambiguous attitudes toward black-white intermarriage. In an afterword he wrote that blacks on average had lower intellect and ethics but he also looked forward to the time when superior blacks would marry whites.

157. *Restriction of Immigration*; Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives, sixty-eighth Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 3, 1924, 309, 303.

158. *Restriction of Immigration*; Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives, sixty-eighth Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 3, 1924, 341.

159. For example, in the Senate debates of April 15-19, 1924, Nordic superiority was not mentioned by any of the proponents of the legislation but was mentioned by the following opponents of the legislation: Senators Colt (p. 6542), Reed (p. 6468), Walsh (p. 6355). In the House debates of April 5, 8, and 15, virtually all the opponents of the legislation raised the racial inferiority issue, including Representatives Celler (pp. 5914-5915), Clancy (p. 5930), Connery (p. 5683), Dickstein (pp. 5655-5656, 5686), Gallivan (p. 5849), Jacobstein (p. 5864), James (p. 5670), Kunz (p. 5896), LaGuardia (p. 5657), Mooney (pp. 5909-5910), O'Connell (p. 5836), O'Connor (p. 5648), Oliver (p. 5870), O'Sullivan (p. 5899), Perlman (p. 5651), Sabath (pp. 5651, 5662), and Tague (p. 5873). Several

representatives (e.g., Reps. Dickinson [p. 6267], Garber [pp. 5689-5693] and Smith [p. 5705]) contrasted the positive characteristics of the Nordic immigrants with the negative characteristics of more recent immigrants without distinguishing genetic from environmental reasons as possible influences. They, along with several others, noted that recent immigrants had not assimilated and they tended to cluster in urban areas. Representative Allen argued that there is a “necessity for purifying and keeping pure the blood of America” (p. 5693). Representative McSwain, who argued for the need to preserve Nordic hegemony, did so not on the basis of Nordic superiority but on the basis of legitimate ethnic self-interest (pp. 5683-5685; see also comments of Reps. Lea and Miller). Rep. Gasque introduced a newspaper article discussing the swamping of the race that had built America (p. 6270).

160. *Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 3, 1924, 351.

161. Similarly, the immigration of Eastern European Jews into England after 1880 had a transformative effect on the political attitudes of British Jewry in the direction of socialism, trade unionism, and Zionism, often combined with religious orthodoxy and devotion to a highly separatist traditional lifestyle (Alderman, 1983, 47ff). The more established Jewish organizations fought hard to combat the well-founded image of Jewish immigrants as Zionist, religiously orthodox political radicals who refused to be conscripted into the armed forces during World War I in order to fight the enemies of the officially anti-Semitic czarist government (Alderman, 1992, 237ff).

162. Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, May 24-June 1, 1939: Joint Resolutions to Authorize the Admission to the United States of a Limited Number of German Refugee Children, 1.

163. Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, May 24-June 1, 1939: Joint Resolutions to Authorize the Admission to the United States of a Limited Number of German Refugee Children, 78.

164. Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, May 24-June 1, 1939: Joint Resolutions to Authorize the Admission to the United States of a Limited Number of German Refugee Children, 140.

165. Statement of the AJCongress, Joint Hearings before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 565.

166. Statement of the AJCongress, Joint Hearings before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 566. See also statement of Rabbi Bernard J. Bamberger, President of the Synagogue Council of America; see also the statement of the AJCongress, 560-561.

167. Statement of Will Maslow representing the AJCongress, Joint Hearings before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 394.

168. Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 562-595.

169. Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 410.

170. Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 404.

171. Similarly, in England in 1887 the Federation of Minor Synagogues was created by established British Jews to moderate the radicalism of newly arrived immigrants from Eastern Europe. This organization also engaged in deception by deliberately distorting the extent to which the immigrants had radical political attitudes (Alderman 1983, 60).

172. Joint Hearings Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 716, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 2816, March 6-April 9, 1951, 563.

173. Handlin also contributed several articles and reviews to *Partisan Review*, the flagship journal of the New York Intellectuals. Reflecting his deep-seated belief in cultural pluralism, in a 1945 book review he stated, "I simply cannot grasp a conception of 'Americanism' that rests on the notion that 'a social group constitutes a nation insofar as its members are of one mind' " (Handlin 1945, 269).

174. Similarly, L. C. Pogrebin (1991) describes her involvement as a major figure in the early feminist movement and her eventual disenchantment resulting

from the blatant anti-Semitism of “third world” women, which was apparent at international conferences, and the lack of zeal on the part of Western feminists in condemning these outbursts. As did many Jewish leftists, Pogrebin eventually developed a hybrid in which feminist ideas were combined with a deep commitment to Jewish culture.

175. In turn, neoconservatives have responded that such charges are anti-Semitic. For example, Russell Kirk stated that “some prominent neoconservatives mistook Tel Aviv for the capital of the United States,” a charge that Midge Decter labeled “a bloody piece of anti-Semitism” (see Judis 1990, 33). See also Norman Podhoretz’s (1986) comments on Joseph Sobran’s charges that U.S. foreign policy is determined by a powerful Jewish lobby that places Israel’s interests above America’s interests and harnesses the U.S. military to pursue Israeli military objectives. On the other hand, neoconservatives have sometimes called on Jews not to condemn the American religious right because of its support for Israel (e.g., Kristol 1984). This has occurred even though there are indications of anti-Semitism on the religious right. Thus Lind (1995a) notes the neoconservative support for Pat Robertson (e.g., Decter 1994). Robertson has decried the role of Jewish organizations in undermining the public visibility of Christianity, their voting for liberal political candidates, and their role in media attacks on Christianity (see Lind 1994a, 22). Robertson (1991) has also proposed an international conspiracy theory in which individual wealthy Jews (e.g., the Rothschilds, Paul Warburg) play a prominent role. Citing anecdotal data, Lind (1995b, 67) suggests that this neoconservative tolerance of such manifestations of anti-Semitism on the American religious right is motivated by the fact that the religious right has been a supporter of the Israeli right wing.

176. Ryan’s characterization of Herrnstein is reminiscent of Gal’s (1989, 138) characterization Louis Brandeis: “Brandeis worried about opportunity, about preserving a type of society in which ambitious and talented persons could, through hard work and ability, be able to make their fame and fortune.” Brandeis, a Zionist leader, was instrumental in originating the use of social science research in litigating social issues, a trend that culminated in the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (Urofsky 1989, 144). Roberts and Stratton (1995) detail the unethical behavior of Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter (a Brandeis protégé) and Philip Elman (a Justice Department lawyer) in bringing about this decision.

177. Although there undoubtedly were gaps between the theory and the reality of the medieval *societas Christiana*, in my view it is completely inaccurate to label the social achievement of the Middle Ages in these terms. In this regard, I would again hold up as an example medieval French society during the reign of Saint

Louis (1226-1270) (see also *SAID*, appendix to Ch. 5). Louis had a powerful concern to develop a just society that preserved hierarchical relationships but nevertheless attempted to ensure harmonious economic and political relationships among his people, and there is little doubt that he was substantially successful in this endeavor (e.g., Richard 1992). Contrary to this view, George Mosse represents a mainstream perspective when he contrasts what he describes as the irrational, mystical tendencies of the *Volkische* intellectuals with the Jewish-dominated leftist intellectual movements of the period. The latter are described as rational, scientific, and based on a high ethical standard (see Mosse 1970, 171ff).

178. Such social policies are quite the opposite taken by historical Judaism and can only lead to the decline of the entire society in the long run. I have noted that a critical component of Judaism as a group evolutionary strategy has been eugenic practices aimed at intelligence, conscientiousness, and high-investment parenting. These practices have resulted in Jews being highly qualified to participate in the increasingly technological, literate societies of the contemporary world. Similar eugenic proposals consciously aimed at strengthening the competitive ability of the group were also common among many progressive gentiles in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and such proposals have recently been revived by Seymour Itzkoff (1991) and Richard Lynn (1996). Current data and theory support the idea that eugenic procedures would result not only in a more competitive group, but also result in a much more harmonious society because they would produce a decline in criminality and psychiatric disorders. Eugenic practices may be seen to fall within the Western tradition, since traditional Western societies, while far more reproductively egalitarian than any other human stratified society, have also been characterized until recently by a moderate association between social success and reproductive success (MacDonald 1995c).

179. The fundamental problem, as documented extensively by Herrnstein and Murray (1994) and Rushton (1995), is that there is a 15-point gap between the average IQ of Caucasian and African Americans combined with a similar gap in which African Americans are disproportionately characterized by low-investment, high-fertility parenting. There is evidence that these very large group differences in IQ and reproductive strategy are genetically influenced and, in any case, they cannot be significantly changed with any known behavioral technology. These group differences have resulted in a strong tendency for African Americans to adopt a political strategy advocating programs that effectively expand the underclass while favoring group-based entitlements to ensure that their group will be proportionately represented in higher-socioeconomic-class occupations. The result has been an escalation of group-based resource competition in the United States that is formally analogous to the

consequences of historical Judaism in Western societies but stems from a quite different group evolutionary strategy. It is this situation that is at present the most dangerous and most ineradicable threat to the Western ideal of hierarchic harmony.

180. Mosse (1970, 174) describes the Jewish-dominated leftist movements of the Weimar period as seeking “actively to make society correspond to a preconceived image of men and the world.” And Horowitz (1993, 62) notes of T. W. Adorno that “the more remote real people were from his political dreams, the less regard did he show for the masses as such... [Adorno] sets the stage for a culture of left-wing fascism... [that assumes] that what people believe is wrong and that what they ought to believe, as designed by some narrow elite stratum of the cultural apparatus, is essentially right.” For their part, the *Volkische* and conservative intellectuals who advocated a society based on hierarchic harmony advocated a return to a perhaps somewhat idealized version of actually existing historical societies, particularly the Middle Ages.

181. A very interesting analysis of the attachments humans show to pets in modern Western societies is that this phenomenon represents manipulation by pets of evolved systems designed to underlie close human relationships (Archer 1997). Many people form extremely close attachments to pets, carrying around photos of pets, grieving over the death of a pet, celebrating birthdays of pets, and so on, often at considerable financial cost to themselves. From an evolutionary perspective, such behavior is presumably maladaptive (at least in the absence of any overriding psychological benefits). In any case it represents exploitation on the part of animals, and it is reasonable to suppose that people who are prone to developing close relationships are more likely than average to be exploitable in this manner. These phenomena are much more characteristic of Western compared to other societies (Archer 1997). This finding fits well with the proposal that romantic love and attachments are more typical of Western societies and it illustrates how an evolved system that is highly adaptive in ancestral environments can result in maladaptive behavior in environments that are far removed from the environments in which the Western peoples evolved.

About the Author

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