

# Postmodernism, Truth And Deception

## *“The Axis of Appeasement”*

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The promotion of the postmodern worldview is a tactical weapon being used by the Radical Political Center for the control of governments and the Islamic movement in the non-Muslim countries to ultimately establish a global Islamic state. To the causal observer this may seem absurd considering the fact that Islam appears as such a strict code. However, the Muslims realize that before you can impose control you must change a population's beliefs in the Biblical worldview and belief that absolute moral truths exist. The cultural Marxists are joining forces with the Neo-Nazis and Islamists that are leading the demonstrations in cities worldwide.

On December 13 and 14, 2003 a conference took place in Cairo, Egypt titled: Middle Eastern Promise.<sup>1</sup> The Cairo conference brought to a close a momentous year for the global anti-war movement. Over 1,000 activists from Europe, North America and around the Middle East met on at the Egyptian Journalists' Union headquarters to debate strategies for building worldwide resistance to imperialism and globalization.

Egyptian campaigners told how thousands of protesters took over central Cairo on the first day of war against Iraq. British trade unionists spoke about building the local Stop the War Coalition groups, which mobilized millions on 15 February 2003. US activists described launching a mass movement to bring the troops home.

Anti-war MP George Galloway, Tony Benn, Salma Yaqoob from Birmingham Stop the War Coalition, and former US attorney-general Ramsey Clark were among the international speakers. Prominent Egyptian campaigners taking part included Nasserist MP Hamdeen Sabahy, Galal Aref, head of the Egyptian Journalists' Union, and Ma'mun al-Hodeiby, leader of the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood. Egyptian novelist Sonallah Ibrahim and human rights activist Aida Seif-al-Dawla were among the conference organizers.

John Rees from the Stop the War Coalition in Britain summed up the mood of many when he told the conference that, despite the media frenzy around the capture of Saddam Hussein, 'it is our movement which is the real story'. The links, which have been forged in Cairo, are helping to knit the global anti-war movement closer together, and build a resistance, which takes its strength from below.

Ramsey Clark, the legal counsel for the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), which was led by John Kerry. Clark has given his support for run for President in 2004. The Muslim Brotherhood is the 'mother' of Islamic Jihad organizations.

The International Action Center (IAC), another Workers World Party (WWP) offshoot, was a key partner with ANSWER in promoting the protests. Ramsey Clark, attorney general for

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Ashford, "Cairo Conference: Middle Eastern Promise" Socialist Review, January 2004  
<<http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=8716>>

President Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s, founded it. For years, Clark has been on a bizarre political odyssey, much of the time in sync with the Workers World Party. As an attorney, he has represented Lyndon LaRouche, the leader of a political cult. He has defended Serbian war criminal Radovan Karadzic and Pastor Elizaphan Ntakirutimana, who was accused of participating in the genocide in Rwanda in 1994.<sup>2</sup>

Clark is also a member of the International Committee To Defend Slobodan Milosevic. The international war-crimes tribunal, he explains, “is war by other means” — that is, a tool of the West to crush those who stand in the way of U.S. imperialism, like Milosevic. A critic of the ongoing sanctions against Iraq, Clark has appeared on talking-head shows and refused to concede any wrongdoing on Saddam’s part. There is no reason to send weapons inspectors to Iraq, he told CNN’s Wolf Blitzer: “After 12 years of brutalization with sanctions and bombing they’d like to be a country again. They’d like to have sovereignty again. They’d like to be left alone.”

While in the UK, we see the launching of Respect: the Unity Coalition to mount an electoral challenge to Blair and New Labour, it is a new political development. It is new for those directly involved - George Galloway, Salma Yaqoob, the SWP, the thousands of ex Labour supporters or formally uncommitted people who will join. It is also new in that no political formation like it has hitherto existed in British history. Regarding their political consciousness, the evidence of the demonstrations, above all the fantastic anti-Bush march, was clear for all with eyes to see. There is a remarkable degree of consensus. The large majority (1) were and remain totally opposed to the Iraq war; (2) are not just critical, but contemptuous of Bush and Blair; (3) are completely opposed to the US Project for a New American Century; (4) are strongly anti-racist and broadly internationalist; (5) are pro-Palestinian; (6) are splendidly together and free from sectionalism (there was no sense of divisions in the movement - trade unions versus politicos, respectable versus unrespectable, or anything like that). In other words they are in general terms anti-imperialist and anti-system. Respect will include the potential involvement of Muslims in general and the Muslim Association of Britain in particular. Salma Yaqoob declared to the Cairo conference in December that, 'The main division in the world is not between different religions but between oppressor and oppressed. The main issue is justice and the unity of the oppressed.' In this regard Respect offers the chance to build on the excellent work done by the Stop the War Coalition and raise it to a higher level. It must be taken.<sup>3</sup>

This conference preceded the worldwide Antiwar demonstrations of March 21-21, 2004. On Saturday, March 20, members of the anti-war movement came out to mark the one-year anniversary of the war in Iraq with a "global day of action." The resulting rallies were a bizarre hodge-podge of pacifism, socialism, and Islamism. Nowhere was this more apparent than in San Francisco, ground zero for leftist politics in America.

The San Francisco rally was co-organized by the A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition (a front for the communist Workers World Party), United for Peace and Justice, and other leftist organizations.

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2 David Corn, “*Behind the Placards - The odd and troubling origins of today’s anti-war movement*” November 1-7, 2002 <<http://www.laweekly.com/ink/printme.php?eid=39605>

3 John Molyneux, “The Necessity of Respect”, Feature Article Socialist Review February 2004 <<http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=8764>>

That A.N.S.W.E.R has questionable ties to North Korea and the former Baathist regime in Iraq wasn't remarked on, nor were the pro-Castro leanings of United for Peace and Justice.

Various Arab and Muslim groups such as Al-Awda (the Palestine Right to Return Coalition), the Council on American-Islamic Relations ([CAIR](#)), and the Muslim Students Association came out to rally--ties to terrorism being the common denominator among them. Flyers were thoughtfully provided in both English and Arabic to accommodate such participants and judging by the overwhelmingly pro-Palestinian slant of the rally, they were the ones setting the agenda.

A line of police officers stood between the counter-protesters and the hostile masses attempting to argue with them. At one point, a large group of Muslim youth wearing keffiyehs, hijabs, and waving Palestinian flags and Arabic banners, confronted the pro-Israel crowd, which had also assembled. Looking like something out of a Hamas recruiting video, the youth marched in unison, chanting "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," the battle cry of Palestinian terrorist groups seeking to obliterate Israel.

It turns out that most of them were members of Students for Justice in Palestine and the Muslim Students Association, which happens to be under investigation for financing terrorism. So it was hardly surprising when one young woman told me that, "America is the problem...we are supporting terrorism...with our foreign policy towards Israel." She said that, "Palestinians blow themselves up because there's no hope." In regards to the Patriot Act, she maintained that, "No matter what anyone says, it's not a war on terrorism, it's a war on Islam" and that the "radical stuff...really doesn't exist." When I asked about the 9/11 attacks, she shot back: "What about Hiroshima? If that's not terrorism, then what is?" A young man I spoke to from the same group extolled the virtues of "understanding" what motivates terrorists instead of simply "hitting back."

Strewn among the literature tables were various anti-Israel offerings. The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) table displayed posters of Rachel Corrie (the ISM member who was accidentally killed by an Israeli bulldozer) as martyr for the cause. Palestinian propaganda videos were broadcast on a laptop and flyers urging volunteers to "Join ISM in Palestine for Freedom Summer 2004!" were strategically placed nearby. And next door, the table for IfAmericansKnew.org, a rabidly anti-Israel organization, pushed the work of Australian journalist and anti-Semite John Pilger, along with conspiratorial pamphlets on "Neo-Cons, Israel, and the Bush administration" and our "Special Relationship with Israel."

Pro-Democrat labor groups rubbed shoulders with various communist, nationalist, and anarchist outfits. Members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) marched with signs saying "Down with the Patriot Act: Bush's War on Terror = War on Workers," while the "Teamsters for Kerry" manned a table nearby. The Maoist International Movement, the International Communist League, and the Spartacist League were all represented. And the ever-present Anarchists marched with red and black flags, their faces covered by black bandannas. Koreans United Against the War, MECha, Zapatistas, and various other ethnic organizations were present. The National Committee to "Free the Cuban 5" focused on the five Cuban

"political prisoners" being held in U.S. jails, but said nothing about the hundreds of journalists and other "dissidents" currently rotting away in Castro's prisons.<sup>4</sup>

## **Man Seeking Consensus**

Man by nature seeks consensus. But the means he manipulates for this end do not always serve the purpose. Human history is full of momentous events whereby certain individuals or groups have endeavored to effect an agreement but the consequences of these events have far exceeded the innocence of their initiators. Religions or belief systems have always occupied a significant place in man's struggle for consensus. Some contemporary intellectuals have stressed the importance of inter-religious communication to the degree that without a factual understanding between the adherents of various world religions, they claim, the future of mankind will remain under threat.<sup>5</sup> In seeking this consensus we are witnessing in 2004 the rise of the 'Axis of Appeasement'. The name that is commonly used for this new era is postmodernism.

Following in the footsteps of the pre-postmodern Nietzsche – God is dead, the intellectuals that were the philosophers of Frankfurt School developed philosophies known as "Critical Theory" or 'Cultural Marxism' thus promoted postmodernism to go after the hearts and minds of the population. The intellectual 'reformers' of Islam are utilizing these same successful tactics used to create the Postmodern Era and are now utilizing 'Critical Islam' as the guideline - the strategic weapon for communication with the adherents of other religions. Thus one of their slogans is 'From The Schoolhouse To The White House'.

The uniformity of fundamental beliefs among believers of the same religion is no longer intact, due to exposition to various propaganda influences of different cultural orientations. Easy access to the knowledge of alien cultures has caused considerable polarization among co-religionists, so much that difference of opinion between two members of a religion on essential matters may become greater than that may exist between members of two different religions. A good example of this is the discrepancy in respect of worldview between a traditional Muslim and a secular one. The former may feel that a practicing Christian is nearer to him than the secular Muslim as far as the similarity between their respective fundamental (metaphysical) beliefs is concerned. In such a situation it would be more befitting for a Muslim that is anxious to propagate his belief, to start with his coreligionist: the so-called secular-minded Muslim, rather than attempting to convert a Christian. It is also this 'Moral Trade Deficit' within the Christian church that provides the vacuum being filled by postmodernism and 'Critical Islam'.

A survey by the pollster George Barna found only 4 percent of the general population have a biblical worldview and suggests many of the nation's moral and spiritual challenges are directly attributable to this fact. For the purposes of the research, a biblical worldview was defined as believing that absolute moral truths exist; that such truth is defined by the Bible; and firm belief in six specific religious views. Those views were that Jesus Christ lived a sinless life; God is the all-powerful and all-knowing Creator of the universe and He still rules it today; salvation is a gift

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4 Cinnamon Stillwell, "Palestinian Propaganda Dominates San Francisco Peace Rally" March 23, 2004  
<<http://www.chronwatch.com/content/contentDisplay.asp?aid=6510>>

5 H. Küng: 'Dialogue With Islam', in: *Toward a Universal Theology of Religion*, ed. L. Swidler, Maryknoll 1988, p. 209.

from God and cannot be earned; Satan is real; a Christian has a responsibility to share their faith in Christ with other people; and the Bible is accurate in all of its teachings.

Among the most prevalent alternative worldviews was postmodernism, which seemed to be the dominant perspective amongst the two youngest generations. One of the most striking insights from the research was the influence of such a way of thinking upon people's behavior. Adults with a biblical worldview possessed radically different views on morality, held divergent religious beliefs and demonstrated vastly different lifestyle choices. People's views on morally acceptable behavior are deeply impacted by their worldview. There often more concerned with survival amidst chaos than with experiencing truth and significance."<sup>6</sup>

As we witnessed following the 3/11 terrorists attacks on the trains in Spain during run up to the election in 2004, the terrorists were able to control the election. The populous were more concerned with survival amidst chaos than with experiencing truth and significance. One more step toward achieving Ossam bin Laden's goal of returning Andalusia into the caliphate.

### **Anti-Americanism At Home And Aboard**

As Jeremi Suri, a fellow at the Hoover Institute and an assistant professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison relates that the story of war and occupation in Iraq is a story of widespread anti-Americanism.<sup>7</sup>

Following the events of 3/11 in Spain millions took to the streets leading to election of Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, 43, a lawyer, member of parliament and the Socialist party's general-secretary. Zapatero vowed to remove his troops from Iraq.

The revelation that al Qaeda was likely behind the Madrid slaughter of hundreds, just prior to Sunday's elections, is widely viewed as the reason for the Socialists' upset victory. The result, it is said, reflects voter backlash against Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar's strong support for the global war on terror.

If so, it also reflects terrorist backlash against Mr. Aznar's staunch support for American efforts to destroy al Qaeda. "This is an answer to your cooperation with the Bush criminals and their allies," was the message on the purported al Qaeda video that blew open the Spanish elections. "This is an answer to crimes that you committed in the world, notably in Iraq and Afghanistan."

The Socialists' 11th-hour campaign theme, and the terrorists' rationale for their bloody retribution thus coincides. It was the Spanish government's willingness to stand with America in taking the fight to the terrorists -- notably, according to the tape, in Afghanistan as well as Iraq -- that both the Socialists and the terrorists claim made Prime Minister Aznar himself culpable for the deaths of 200 of his countrymen.

Public protests began in late 2002 throughout the world and have been joined in their rhetoric by politicians, intellectuals and celebrities. At times, protesters go so far as to identify with terrorist

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6 Church Doesn't Think Like Jesus WorldNet Daily.com December 3, 2003

7 Jeremi Suri Hoover Digest December 2003

supporters, lashing out against the United States. We must ask the questions as to why these protests are taking place on behalf of distant and unknown people? Why resist America's dominant power when it is deployed against horrific regimes?

The answer to these crucial but often neglected questions brings us back to the 1960s. That decade began with citizens in nearly every society-even totalitarian regimes-expressing general faith in their leaders. We need only glance at pictures of the adulatory crowds surrounding John E Kennedy, Mao Zedong, and many other political personalities to remember this fact. After the experience of the Vietnam War, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the turmoil of 1968 throughout Western Europe and the United States, citizens turned against their leaders. This manifests itself in one of the clearest and most consistent public opinion trends since 1968: the universal decline in voter turnout, and political participation in general, across the globe. Nearly everywhere the children of the 1960s report that they do not vote because they do not feel connected with their representatives. We have become a globally integrated but politically fragmented world community.

The respect for leaders that preceded the 1960s has given way to a deep distrust of authority. Working within "the system" today implies a willingness to sacrifice moral ideals for the corrupt realities of power. Even after September 11, 2001, students rarely express any serious interest in government service. They simply assume that the State Department, the intelligence agencies, and even the White House require that you check your integrity at the door. Our "postmodern" sensibility encourages this prejudice and a general reaction against government, against leaders, and against the use of force. Memories of the 1960s have made many citizens cynical and, in some cases, self-hating. This is evident from the obsession with American misdeeds in the contemporary media, and the extraordinary public neglect of the inhuman brutalities perpetrated by Saddam Hussein and other foreign dictators.<sup>8</sup>

### **Using Inter-Religious Dialog As A Strategy For Spreading Islam**

There is a huge increase in the growth of the Inter-religious movements worldwide since 9/11 targeted toward bringing Christians and Muslims together. In a postmodern period there is new emphasis on consensus. Many publications from both Western and non-Western countries are appearing. The common themes in all these works are that the heydays of modernity are over, and that a movement of deconstructivism is already underway. The name that is commonly used for this new era is postmodernism.<sup>9</sup>

In this new period a considerable interest has been aroused for various social matters, among which traditions and belief systems that make the crux of worldviews, are the most discussed issues – the culture wars. Moreover, certain religious movements both in the Muslim and the Christian worlds are other indications that the old-abandoned beliefs for the sake of modernity are reappearing and that all reservations against non-scientific matters adopted during modernity are no longer at work.

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<sup>8</sup> Jeremi Suri Hoover Digest December 2003

<sup>9</sup> See A.S. Ahmad and H. Donnans (eds): *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*. London 1994, p.1-21; see also the 'Forward' by E. Gellner, p. IX-X.

Another characteristic of this new beginning is that scholars have begun to notice that the subjugation of social studies to the methodology of scientific inquiry is wrong. Therefore, social matters where human beings are agents but not physical objects, require a methodology of their own. This new approach to social phenomena which is yet in the making, may include any perspective that contributes to the analysis of events caused by human interaction, except the principle of deterministic causality which renders human beings to properties of nature deprived of will and feelings. Some of the expressions prevalent among different scholarly circles denoting this mood of new endeavor are: inter-religious dialogue, communicative action, inter-subjectivity, universalism, trans-cultural activities, free world market, globalization, multicultural world community etc.

In this postmodern environment an Islamic strategy has emerged that favors globalization which can serve as guideline for a Muslim to witness to the believers of other religions.

First, the medieval techniques of converting non-Muslims into Islam, which continued until the beginning of the 20th century, are now virtually obsolete.<sup>10</sup> This is equally valid for the Christian world. The main causes for this development were primarily those trends of thought that characterized western worldview since the Enlightenment. These can be shortly summarized as: the categorization of religious beliefs under subjective knowledge, relativism, de-absolutized knowledge in all fields, including natural sciences, facilitated acquaintance with alien cultures, pervasion of secular ethics. All these factors dissuade a proselytizer from carrying out his vocation in traditional fashion, i.e. engaging in a dialectical discourse whereby he persuades his counterpart that the set of beliefs that he advocates is superior and more meaningful than the beliefs of the other, and on the other hand, he tries to refute the others' beliefs, though mostly through allusions. Such a stance, of course, stems from the conviction that he is the possessor of the absolute truth, and that any other claim to truth is void.<sup>11</sup>

Another reason for the abandonment of the old approach to the peoples of other religions is that the uniformity necessary among the believers of the same religion is no longer intact, due to exposition to various propaganda influences of different cultural orientations.<sup>12</sup> Easy access to the knowledge of alien cultures has caused considerable polarization among co-religionists, so much that difference of opinion between two members of a religion on essential matters may become greater than that may exist between members of two different religions. A good example of this is the discrepancy in respect of worldview between a traditional Muslim and a secular one.<sup>13</sup> The former may feel that a practicing Christian is nearer to him than the secular Muslim as far as the similarity between their respective fundamental (metaphysical) beliefs is concerned. In such a situation it would be more befitting for a Muslim that is anxious to propagate his belief, to start with his coreligionist: the so-called secular-minded Muslim, rather than attempting to convert a Christian. This has led to the formation of single issue political organizations such as

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10 R.W. Rousseau (ed), *Christianity and Islam*, Scranton 1985, p. 53-62.

11 See L. Swidler: *After the Absolute*, Minneapolis 1990, p. 7-21, where he presents a profound critique of absolutism.

12 A Biblical Worldview Has a Radical Effect on a Person's Life, December 1, 2003 Barna Research Group, Ltd. <<http://www.barna.org/cgi-bin/PagePressRelease.asp?PressReleaseID=154&Reference=F>>

13 See S. M. Naquib al-Attas: *Islam and Secularism*, Kuala Lumpur 1978

Alliance for Marriage (AFM)<sup>14</sup> combining radical Islamists and Christians and The Clergy Leadership Network: The New Religious Left.<sup>15</sup>

Difficulty in maintaining homogeneity in a religious community may, on the other hand, be interpreted as a progress towards a universal concept of religiosity. Since, if differences between the members of the same religion are tolerated, and these differences may concern even essential matters, then why not different religions be equally tolerated. Followers of the postmodern philosophy then push for mutual consensus as a necessity for an ideal world community.

There are many views in the Qur'an (2.21, 2.187, 4.170, 31.20, 10.107, 23.49) implying that Islam is a universal religion for whole the mankind and that the prophet Muhammad was sent by God to propagate the truth of Islam to every part of the world. An important characteristic of Islam with regard to Islamisation of non-Muslims is that it considers communities already practicing a monotheistic religion like Christianity and Judaism as peoples of acknowledged religions (ashab al-Kitab) who are not to be forced to accept Islam except by their own consent except for the paying the tax and being subservient to Islamic rule. This is critical since unlike other religions, Islam is a total political and economic system requiring the establishment of an Islamic state, one world without borders – dar al-Islam on earth.

Claiming to be neither capitalist nor communist, Islamist society is a markedly egalitarian and even anarchical third way. To quote the often subtle writings of Islamist theoretician and "prophet" Sayyid Qutb, the Islamist seeks an entirely new order where authority is leveled and subject to Allah alone: a state where there is "no sovereignty except God's, no law except from God, and no authority of one man over another, as the authority in all respects belongs to God."<sup>16</sup>

In fact, Islamism represents a turbaned version of the radical utopian ideas that so plagued the troubled twentieth century. Our enemy is a vocal minority that has succeeded in putting many in Islam at the service of a confusing mixture of Marxist economics, anti-Western politics and postmodern angst. It seeks to pit a "poor" and "oppressed" Islam against the industrialized secular West in a global class struggle that threatens to escalate and intensify.

It resonates among liberation theologians that have set Latin America aflame with their gospel according to Marx. Brazilian Leonardo Boff, a founder of the movement, recently exclaimed: "I think it very little that one plane hit the Pentagon. Twenty-five planes should have hit it. We must destroy the whole Pentagon."<sup>17</sup>

It resonates with the anarchist fanning anti-American sentiment in Europe or the professor railing against Western values in academia.

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<sup>14</sup> < <http://www.allianceformarriage.org> >

<sup>15</sup> Albert Mohler , *The Clergy Leadership Network: The New Religious Left*, <http://www.crosswalk.com/news/weblogs/mohler/?adate=12/11/2003#1235461>

<sup>16</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones* (Delhi: Markazi Maktaba Islami, 1995) p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> "O Nobel de Leonardo Boff," *O Globo*, Nov. 10, 2001, p. 6.



It resonated at the recent World Social Forum in Brazil with shouts of "Another world is possible!" amid banners with hammer and sickles and posters of Che Guevara.

In combating our enemy in the war against terrorism, we would do well, then, to expose the Marxist global class struggle of our adversaries both within Islam and the West and their increasingly united front to destroy what little remains of Christian order and worldview.

A feature of modern forms of communicative action is the ever-growing fact that worldviews representing separate cultures and religions are in a rigorous process of interaction with each other, exchanging values and amending their fundamental beliefs; a phenomenon that puts the integrity of the prime values of any worldview in a volatile position.

The influence of the postmodern society is affecting our worldview as reflected in family values. Much of what we see happening today was called for in the writings of Fredric Engles - *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

*Friedreich Engels, Karl Marx's co-author, wrote an 8-point plan for destroying the family, which might be summarized as: (1) Working mothers, (2) free and easy divorce, (3) elimination of sex roles in marriage, (4) housekeeping as a social industry, (5) communal child care or day-care centers, (6) elimination of the concept of illegitimacy, (7) an open definition of "family," and (8) unrestrained sexual activity.*

Sometimes one comes across something, said or written by someone, which comes as a bit of a surprise, especially if that statement was made a long time ago. Such a surprise was mine when first I came across the following statement by Brock Chisholm, 1959 Humanist of the Year, the Canadian psychiatrist who became the first Director General of the World Health Organization. In the February 1946 issue of *Psychiatry*, Chisholm wrote, "To achieve world government, it is necessary to remove from the minds of men their individualism, loyalty to family tradition, national patriotism, and religious dogmas."

The above is the extract most often quoted, but his statement continued as follows, "We have swallowed all manner of poisonous certainties fed us by our parents, our Sunday and day school teachers, our politicians, our priests...The reinterpretation and eventual eradication of the concept of right and wrong which has been the basis of child training, the substitution of intelligent and rational thinking for faith in the certainties of old people, these are the belated objectives... for charting the changes in human behavior."

Another proponent of this New World Order is Henry Kissinger who, according to one Professor Henry Paolucci, of St. John's University, writing in a study about Kissinger which appeared in the *Congressional Record* of August 4, 1971, stated: "Henry Kissinger, too, expressed as recently as 1965 the conviction that the time was at hand for a surrender of nationhood because 'institutions based on present concepts of national sovereignty are not enough.' The ultimate goal of a supranationalist world community, he wrote, 'will not come quickly; many intermediate stages must be traversed before it can be reached. It is not too early, however, to prepare

ourselves for this step beyond the nation-state.”<sup>18</sup>

## **Radical Enemies Of Western Civilization In The Postmodern Era**

The terrorists’ hatred for us is not rooted in disputes between nations. Rather it stems from religious fanaticism, tribalism, historic envy, and – my focus is radical political ideology.

Our Fourth Generation enemies <sup>19</sup> have swallowed whole the specious arguments that America and the West are engaged in an unending crusade of militarism, imperialism, and greed throughout the rest of the world. They ignore their own countries’ historic failures – their failure to institute a pluralistic order based on political and economic liberty. That America champions liberty, democracy, and human rights is a reality completely lost on them. <sup>20</sup>

Some of our own countrymen unfortunately subscribe to these same arguments. They pay lip service to peace, but in reality they lend intellectual and moral support to terrorism.

And where is the ground most fertile for cultivating such support? Clearly, it is our colleges and universities, and above all our most prestigious departments of humanities and social sciences that provide the most suitable environment. True, these ideologues – famously named “tenured radicals” by Roger Kimball<sup>21</sup> – are not necessarily a majority on campuses. Yet their politicized voices speak the loudest. They exert strong controls over what their colleagues dare to teach – and often over what students dare to say. As documented in many books, such as *Illiberal Liberals* and *The Shadow University*, radical thought now dominates entire academic disciplines and departments.

Indeed, in this era of instant communication, the voice of campus radicals is louder than ever. Their ideology worms its way into the minds of millions of people at home and abroad. It affects American and foreign opinion far beyond campus gates.

## **U.S. Institute of Peace**

As an example of the influence of Islamist penetration, utilizing the principles of ‘Islamic Theory’ we need turn only to recent events of March 2004 concerning the U.S. Institute of Peace, in Washington, D.C., the taxpayer-funded organization backed by President George W. Bush to promote dialog between Muslims, Jews and Christians. The Institute co-hosted a workshop on March 19 with a group - Washington-based Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy (CSID).

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.quebecoislibre.org/021207-6.htm>

<sup>19</sup> William S. Lind, Colonel Keith Nightengale (USA), Captain John F. Schmitt (USMC), Colonel Joseph W. Sutton (USA), and Lieutenant Colonel Gary I. Wilson (USMCR), *The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation*, Marine Corps Gazette October 1989, Pages 22-26

<sup>20</sup> Candace de Russey, Ph.D., SUNY Trustee, A lecture at New York University sponsored by the College Republicans on March 6, 2003, <http://www.cs.ucla.edu/~kaoru/NYU-2.doc>

<sup>21</sup> Roger Kimball, *Tenured Radicals*, Harper & Row, 1990. Roger Kimball is managing editor of *The New Criterion* and author of *Art's Prospect: The Challenge of Tradition in an Age of Celebrity*.

Most of CSID's Muslim personnel are radicals passing themselves off as moderates in the name of inter-religious dialog. One such person in particular in the leadership of CISD is Kamran Bokhari. Mr. Bokhari is a fellow at CSID; as such, he is someone CSID's board of directors deems an expert "with high integrity and a good reputation." As a fellow, Mr. Bokhari may participate in the election of CSID's board of directors. He is, in short, integral to the CSID.

On February 19, 2004 the U.S. Treasury Department froze the accounts of the al-Haramain Islamic Foundation with U.S. headquarters in Ashland Oregon. Over the past two years, U.S. and Saudi authorities have intensified a joint crackdown on al-Haramain offices around the globe after concluding that they had funneled money, personnel and equipment to al Qaeda. Branches in Bosnia and Somalia were shuttered in 2002, and last December others were closed in Indonesia, Kenya, Tanzania and Pakistan.

The U.S. branch of the charity has mainly distributed Islamic books and videos to Americans, and also helped establish a mosque in Springfield, Mo., with more than \$370,000 provided by the Saudi headquarters.

One of the top leaders of that mosque was Kamran Bokhari, a student at Southwest Missouri State University, who was also the U.S. representative of a radical London-based group called al-Mujahiroun, which supports al Qaeda, according to the Site Institute, a terrorism research group.

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Al-Mujahiroun is perhaps the most extreme Islamist group operating in the West. For example, it celebrated the first anniversary of 9/11 with a conference titled, "Towering Day in History." It celebrated the second anniversary by hailing "The Magnificent 19." Its Web site currently features a picture of the U.S. Capitol building exploding.

Nor is Al-Muhajiroun's evil restricted to words and pictures. Its London-based leader, Omar bin Bakri Muhammad, has acknowledged recruiting jihadists to fight in such hotspots as Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Chechnya. At least one Al-Muhajiroun member went to Israel to engage in suicide terrorism. Al-Muhajiroun appears to be connected to one of the 9/11 hijackers, Hani Hanjour.

"The acts of violence by the Mujaahideen against the enemies of Allaah in places such as New York, Washington, Bali, Turkey, Riyaad and Madrid are indeed acts of Terrorism (Al-Irhaab), and those who carry out such violence are definitely terrorists. Likewise, the acts of violence committed by the US, UK and coalition forces in areas such as Afghanistan, Filisteen (Palestine), Sheeshan (Chechnya), 'Iraaq, Kashmir etc... are indeed acts of terrorism against women, children and the elderly. On both sides acts of terrorism are being used to propagate and inject their ideology across the world; so who are the criminals?

There are two types of terrorism, one that is praised by almighty Allaah (swt) and one that is dispraised and worthy of severe punishment in this life and the hereafter. Violence is also of two,

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22 John Mintz, U.S. Freezes Accounts Of Of Large Saudi Charity Washington Post, Friday, February 20, 2004; Page A02<<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A55875-2004Feb19&notFound=true>>

one that is pro-life and one that is against life. Violence against aggressors, oppressors and tyrants is pro-life, whereas violence initiated (such as that by the US & UK in Afghanistan and in Iraq) against young women, children and the elderly is against life.”<sup>23</sup>

USIP's indirect association with Al-Muhajiroun has many pernicious consequences. Perhaps the most consequential of these is the legitimacy USIP inadvertently confers on Mr. Bokhari and CSID, permitting radicals to pass themselves off as moderates.

When its leadership insisted on working with CSID, it explained its reasons: "The CSID is assessed by relevant government organizations and credible NGOs supported by the Administration to be an appropriate organization for involvement in publicly funded projects organized by both the government and NGOs, including the Institute."

Translated from bureaucratese – postmodernism in the name of appeasement this says: "Others have worked with CSID, so why not us?"

Witness, for example, the international success of the book *Empire*, and an academic bestseller. Its authors Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, a Duke literature professor and a convicted Italian terrorist, celebrate anti-capitalist revolutionary violence, and they proclaim the birth of a utopian post-capitalist age.<sup>24</sup>

*Empire* identifies a radical shift in concepts that form the philosophical basis of modern politics, concepts such as sovereignty, nation, and people. Hardt and Negri link this philosophical transformation to cultural and economic changes in postmodern society--to new forms of racism, new conceptions of identity and difference, new networks of communication and control, and new paths of migration. They also show how the power of transnational corporations and the increasing predominance of postindustrial forms of labor and production help to define the new imperial global order.

More than analysis, *Empire* is also an unabashedly utopian work of political philosophy, a new Communist Manifesto. Looking beyond the regimes of exploitation and control that characterize today's world order, it seeks an alternative political paradigm--the basis for a truly democratic global society.

Recall also that three of the eight Muslim militants<sup>25</sup> indicted recently in Florida taught at the University of South Florida, and a fourth in London universities. They have been accused on fifty counts, among them conspiracy to finance terrorist attacks that killed more than a hundred people, including two Americans

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23 Al-Mujahiroun, <<http://www.almuk.com/obm/index.html>>

24 Michael Hardt is Associate Professor in the Literature Program at Duke University. Antonio Negri is an independent researcher and writer and an inmate at Rebibbia Prison, Rome. He has been a Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Paris and a Professor of Political Science at the University of Padua.

<http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog/HAREMI.html>

25 The eight terrorism suspects, BBC News Thursday, 20 February, 2003 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2785369.stm>>

Among the most frightening examples of this is the brazen Al-Arian family of Tampa, Fla. Sami Al-Arian is a University of South Florida professor and his son Abdullah, a Duke student, was an intern for Democratic whip, Rep. David Bonior, a Michigan gubernatorial candidate who is very supportive of Arab-American leaders' efforts to block reasonable counter-terrorism measures.

The problem is, Dr. Al-Arian is the U.S. front-man for one of the largest terrorist-group coalitions in the world – Islamic Jihad – which was declared an international terrorist organization by the U.S. State Department and which openly promotes death to Americans. Hijackers on Flight 93, which crashed near Pittsburgh, wore red headbands, customary among Islamic Jihad warriors who take their instruction from Iran.

Now I am emphatically not suggesting that American campuses knowingly harbor actual terrorists. But it is not too harsh to say that intellectual radicalism breeds not only complacency toward and appeasement of our enemies – but even militancy itself.

Of course there are different forms of intellectual radicalism – most prominently ideological multiculturalism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, and post-colonialism. But all these doctrines are what the Australian critic Keith Windschuttle calls an “anti-phenomenon.” They define themselves by what they reject. And what they reject, as I will demonstrate, is an American and Western identity – American and Western culture and values.

Keith Windschuttle wrote this in ‘The cultural war on Western civilization.’<sup>26</sup> For the past two decades and more, the leading opinion makers in the media, the universities and the churches have regarded Western superiority as, at best, something to be ashamed of, and at worst, something to be opposed. Until thirty years ago, when Western intellectuals reflected on the long-term achievements of their culture, they explained it in terms of its own evolution: the inheritance of ancient Greece, Rome and Christianity, tempered by the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the scientific and industrial revolutions. Even a radical critique like Marxism was primarily an internal affair, intent on fulfilling what it imagined to be the destiny of the West, taking its history to what it thought would be a higher level.

Though commonly known as multiculturalism, its supporters with a series of post prefixes define this position: postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism. However, it is best understood as an anti-phenomenon because it defines itself not by what it is for but by what it is against. It is entirely a negation of Western culture and values: whatever the West supports, this anti-West rejects.

The aftermath to September 11 provided a stark illustration of its values. Within days of the terrorist assault, a number of influential Western intellectuals, including Noam Chomsky, Susan Sontag and youthful counterparts such as Naomi Klein of the anti-globalisation protest movement, responded in ways that, morally and symbolically, were no different to the celebrations of the crowds on the streets of Palestine and Islamabad who cheered as they

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26 Keith Windschuttle, The cultural war on Western civilization, New Criterion, January 2002  
<<http://www.sydneyline.com/War%20on%20Western%20civilization.htm>>

watched the towers of the World Trade Center come crashing down. Stripped of its obligatory jargon, their argument was straightforward: America deserved what it got.

This intellectual response was not couched in terms of Western humanist values. Instead, it represented a descent into the kind of relativism not seen since the days of Lenin and Hitler when class-based and race-based hatreds were morally sanctioned by radical politics. The major difference today is that this time it is not class or race but the whole of Western society that has been relativised.

This anti-Western, multicultural, postcolonial intellectual edifice constitutes a true ideology: it sees the world as an arena of conflict and has a political program to change the world for its own ends. It is formidable in its comprehensiveness and in the number of intellectual fields it encompasses. They include history, literature, the arts, the social sciences, the physical sciences, and the law. It is also formidable in the number of professional and public institutions it has successfully captured and whose agenda it now controls. With the demise of Marxism since the 1980s, it has emerged as its major ideological successor. What follows is a summary of the creed, coupled with some of the more obvious objections to it.

**Western culture was founded on aggression towards others:** Despite being employed for the purpose of transmitting culture, most of the writers, editors and teachers who advocate this cause are united in their hostility to the cultural traditions that have nurtured them from birth. They see the whole of Western culture since the ancient Greeks as something to be disowned.

The person who did most to establish this interpretation was Edward Said, the Arab-American literary critic employed by Columbia University, New York, and a long-time activist for the Palestinian cause. His influential 1978 book, *Orientalism*, claimed that, from its classical origins, Western culture had been defined not by its own internal development, but by its long history of antagonism to "the Other", that is, to non-Western cultures.

This motif persists, Said claims, from its origins in Homer right down to the modern period. The desire to rule distant peoples has had a "privileged status" in the West. There has been "something systematic" about its imperial culture that was not evident in other empires. Moreover, while Europe's ability to take over and rule distant colonies might now be a thing of the past, the imperialist imperative lives on today in American foreign and economic policy, where it is validated by Western culture and ideology. Said claims it is still driven, as it was in the nineteenth century, by the West's "untrammelled rapacity, greed and immorality".

Anyone who heard Edward Said speak in recent years could not but be mesmerized by the breadth of his vision, the depth of his learning, the way his compassion for Palestine was actively helping to universalize its struggle, his anger at the rulers of the world. Here was this very frail man, who for the last 12 years knew that he was dying from leukemia, speaking in sober, almost subdued tones. Never a hint of demagoguery, he had just an obvious, moral compunction to tell the truth. He might illustrate his talk with a quote from a Jane Austen novel, or with a passage from the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, or, quite remarkably, at Westminster Central Hall in

London a couple of years ago, to an audience of nearly 1,500 people, with a series of huge maps to demolish the fraud behind the Oslo 'peace' agreement (laced with a stinging indictment of the Palestinian leadership who had allowed the Israeli map makers to outmaneuver them).

Palestine's most accomplished and brilliant spokesperson, then, should also be remembered for his exposure of the roots of the west's Islamophobia. The worldwide anti-war movement that has begun to forge an extraordinary coalition between Muslims and the reviving secular left is itself an unintended tribute to him. The Palestinian flag helps bind together this unlikely coalition. Edward Said knew more than anyone else that the Palestinians could not defeat Zionism and its US backers by themselves. The more that the global anti-war movement rallies to Palestine, the greater the prospect of unleashing the wider forces necessary to bring Zionism crashing down.<sup>27</sup>

In particular, he argues, Western oriental scholarship led Europeans to see Islamic culture as static in both time and place, as "eternal, uniform and incapable of defining itself". This gave Europe a sense of its own cultural and intellectual superiority. It consequently saw itself as a dynamic, innovative, expanding culture and rationalized its imperial ambition not as a form of conquest but as the redemption of a degenerate world.

Said has spawned a school of followers from a variety of intellectual disciplines. One of them is Richard Waswo, who, in his 1997 book, *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization*, traces the story of the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome by the Trojan survivors to show how it has been represented in Western literature ever since. He calls the story a "legend of perpetual colonization" that "became the rationale for imperialist attitudes from ancient Rome to Vietnam". He examines the legend from its first expression in *The Aeneid*, to the *Faerie Queene*, to the fiction of Joseph Conrad and E. M. Forster, and to its manifestations in the films of John Ford, in the defoliation of Vietnam and in the current policies of the World Bank.

Waswo is not an historian but is Professor of English at the University of Geneva. This has not, however, prevented him from receiving the endorsement of some of America's most celebrated academic historians such as Hayden White, who praises him for having written "a counter-history to the official version, a complete re-reading of the Western canon", and "an indictment of the whole of Western civilization". This last phrase summarizes the appeal of the book, not only for aging radicals like White but also for a younger generation of middle-class student protestors. The most prominent among the student rioters against globalization in Seattle, Washington and Genoa in the past two years were those who learnt their version of Western cultural history at the feet of teachers inspired by authors like Said, Waswo and White.

Edward Said in his book *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures* praises Theodor W. Adorno one of leaders of the Frankfurt School. Not surprisingly, one of Said's "heroes" has been Theodor W. Adorno, who he calls that "forbidding but endlessly fascinating man...for me the dominating intellectual conscience of the middle twentieth century." Though the sensitive, erudite Adorno clearly lived a relatively privileged and mobile existence, Said admires the "paradoxical, ironic, mercilessly critical" Adorno for "hating all systems...with equal distaste." Said's lengthy, unintentionally hilarious description make Adorno sound like a colossal, wailing, self-hating, wildly-projecting infant for whom personal

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<sup>27</sup> John Rose, Edward Said: A Culture of Resistance Feature Article Socialist Review November 2003 <<http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=8653>>

responsibility and basic humility were fundamentally unknown qualities. The role that parental- and power- complexes may have played in Adorno's chronically neurotic existence goes untouched upon. Said seems to be suggesting that Adorno was an intrinsically helpless adult and not at the mercy of callous, inhuman Dame Nature, but of endless rancid social institutions and mercenary political machines. Said clearly has romantic admiration only for those who have nobly suffered in accordance with his own peculiar aesthetic of justifiable misery. Said's general perspective is sadly earthbound, materialistic, and victim - oriented.<sup>28</sup>

**Western knowledge is culturally relative:** Despite the overwhelming success of the scientific methods developed in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the critics of Western culture still insist that truth is relative. Western knowledge is only one kind of knowledge and Western methodologies are only one of the "ways of knowing".

There are a number of sources of this cognitive relativism but the most popular is that of the French Nietzschean theorist, Michael Foucault, who argues that truth and objectivity are Western conceits. All knowledge is bound by culture, he claims. Within each culture, knowledge is generated for political purposes. Hence, Western knowledge is politically beholden to the powerful. To signify this interconnectivity, Foucault calls it "power/knowledge".

This is a congenial argument for postcolonial historians. They believe that Western empirical methods were among the forces that subjugated the Orient, so they regard empiricism and its quest for objective knowledge as a form of imperialism. This is why they are so enamored of the subjective hermeneutics, or literary interpretations, that prevail in postmodernism and cultural studies. Objectivity equals domination; subjectivism equals intercultural equality and respect.

If taken seriously, this means that science can no longer be regarded as a universal method for discovering truths. Moreover, it means that any reasonably coherent doctrine or body of beliefs can produce "truths" of its own. Science is thus reduced to one belief system among many. This view is especially popular within the fields of cultural studies and the sociology of knowledge where science is invariably termed "Western science", in order to differentiate it from its ostensible competitors. As one of Australia's leading academic sociologists, R. W. Connell, has put it:

*The idea that Western rationality must produce universally valid knowledge increasingly appears doubtful. It is, on the face of it, ethnocentric. Certain Muslim philosophers point to the possibility of grounding science in different assumptions about the world, specifically those made by Islam, and thus develop the concept of Islamic science.*

This claim, however, is no different from some of the more grotesque historical examples of relativism in science: for instance, the conflict between "Aryan" and "Jewish physics", which set back German science under the Nazi regime, and the claims by the Marxist plant geneticist, T. D. Lysenko, to have developed a "proletarian" approach to science, in opposition to "bourgeois" science. The application of Lysenko's methods to agriculture not only produced a series of disastrous crop failures in the USSR in the 1930s and 1940s, but was partly responsible for the

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28 Edward W. Said, "Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures" Vintage Books (1996)



Chinese famine of 1958-62, the worst in human history, which caused the deaths of between thirty and forty million people during the so-called Great Leap Forward.

One can only wish that, instead of deploying armaments produced by Western technology, the present armed forces and terrorist cells of some Islamic countries heed the advice of the postcolonial theorists and adopt the inventions of Muslim science instead. The most recent Muslim innovation in armaments was the Mameluke curved saber of the fourteenth century.

The truth is that the scientific method developed by the West is a universal method and its success is sufficient to refute any theory about the relativism of truth. Western science makes genuine discoveries. Western knowledge works, and none of the others do with remotely the same effectiveness. To say this, however, is not to be ethnocentric. Western knowledge has nothing whatever to do with racism, or the elevation of one segment of humanity over another. It endorses a style of knowledge and its implementation, not any particular race of people or ethnic group. This style of knowledge did, of course, have to emerge somewhere and at some time, and to this extent it certainly has links with the Western intellectual tradition. It emerged in this social context, but it is clearly accessible to people of any background. Far from being bound by Western culture, Western science belongs to the whole of humanity.

Second, as I'll also show, radical academics uncritically embrace other (non-Western) cultures and indeed turn a blind eye to those cultures' faults.

And, third, I will single out radical postmodernism, which denies the possibility of objective reason and accurate knowledge. According to postmodern nihilists, concepts such as these merely mask the power and oppression of the dominant American-Western culture.

Just what is the source of the radical animus against America and the West?

In part it is the legacy of so-called "cultural" Marxists – revolutionaries such as Gramsci and Marcuse (1898-1979), who from the 1930s on sought to replace Western institutions with Communism. When the proletariat did not oblige by rising up against capitalism, these radicals set about undermining Western social institutions from within. Marcuse in particular targeted the American student population.

### **The Frankfurt School**

The Frankfurt School of philosophical thought was started from The Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute of Social Research). In the beginning, the School and the Institute were indistinguishable. The Institute was started as part of the University of Frankfurt in Germany. The Institute was established German Communist Party in 1923 by Felix Weil, and was able to function with considerable autonomy. Carl Grünberg was director of the Institute from 1923-1929. Grünberg was an avowed Marxist and made Marxism the theoretical basis of the Institute's program. The Institute did not have any official party affiliations, however. Grünberg stressed the importance of the historical context of meaning and results to research. Max Horkheimer assumed control of the Institute in 1930. Horkheimer emphasized the relationship between social

philosophy and science. His main focus was interdisciplinary study. Like Grünberg, Horkheimer believed that Marx's theory should be the basis of the Institute's research.<sup>29 30 31</sup>

**Max Horkheimer, decided that Karl Marx's idea of gaining power by violent revolution was off base: Marx went for the throat, Horkheimer went for the mind and heart.** These philosophies became known as 'Critical Theory' or 'Cultural Marxism'.

Following the teaching of 'Critical Theory' espoused by the Frankfurt School; Muslim intellectual 'reformers' are taking the lead in a global project of producing a new tradition of progressive Islam 'Critical Islam' to gain acceptance of Islam broadly in the West.<sup>32</sup>

*"Whoever controls the media, controls the culture." Dr. Ted Baehr*

*"Whoever defines the word, defines the world." John Locke*

*"The pen is mightier than the sword." William Shakespeare*

The Frankfurt tour de force was called 'Critical Theory', which maintained that Western Culture was rampant with destructive elements such as, authority, capitalism, family, loyalty, patriotism, tradition, heritage, etc. And as such, were repositories of racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, anti-Semitism, and all other isms. How one leads to another, they never say. The Frankfurt School taught that the most important lesson students could learn was to "graduate conditioned to display the correct attitudes." Translation: Sweep young minds of old morals and values and fill them with the idea that the West is guilty of crimes against every civilization it has ever encountered; and that these crimes flow from the Western character, shaped by Christianity.<sup>33</sup>

A cultural vacuum was created in North America in the 1960s that would be filled in the 1970s by French poststructuralism and **German critical theory of the Frankfurt School**. Those approaches would dominate American literature departments for the next quarter century, devastating the humanities and reducing their prestige and power in the world at large.

Prominent members include Max Horkheimer (philosopher, sociologist), Theodor Wieselgrund Adorno (philosopher, sociologist and musicologist), Walter Benjamin (essayist and literary critic), Herbert Marcuse (philosopher), Eric Fromm, and , Jurgen Habermas. Each of these philosophers believed, and shared Karl Marx's theory of Historical Materialism. Each of these individuals observed the beginning of Communism in Russia, and the resulting fascism in Italy. They lived through the First World War, the rise and fall of Hitler, and of course the devastation of the Holocaust. They formed reactions that were attempts to reconcile Marxist theory with the

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<sup>29</sup> *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (Continuum, 1982)

<sup>30</sup> Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950* (California, 1996)

<sup>31</sup> Rolf Wiggerhaus, *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance*, tr. by Michael Robertson (MIT, 1995)

<sup>32</sup> Dr. Peter Mandaville "Exporting Critical Islam? The Transnational Influence Of Muslim Intellectuals In The West" Paper Presented at The AMSS 32nd Annual Conference Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana Sept. 26-28, 2003 <[http://www.amss.net/Abstract\\_32ndConference/PeterMandaville28.htm](http://www.amss.net/Abstract_32ndConference/PeterMandaville28.htm)>

<sup>33</sup> Jim Moore The Frankfurt School's first nail in the coffin  
<<http://www.americanreformation.org/articles/JimMoore/Frankfurt.htm>>

reality of what the people and governments of the world were going through. Each member of the Frankfurt school adjusted Marxism with his additions, or "fix" if you will. They then used the "fixed" Marxist theory as a measure modern society needed to meet. These ideas came to be known as "Critical Theory." <sup>34</sup>

### **Herbert Marcuse The Professor Behind The 1960's Rebellion**

Herbert Marcuse was the professor behind the 1960's rebellion in our colleges and a leader in the Anti-Vietnam War activities that followed.

Marcuse was fairly linked with the so-called "student revolutionaries" because he provided a philosophical justification for almost everything they chose to do, from violent street confrontations with the authorities, through support for the Vietcong, to the suppression of points of view they find objectionable. In what is perhaps the most dangerous of his writings, an essay on "Repressive Tolerance" (1965), Marcuse attempted to justify the denial of freedom of speech, the press, assembly and organization to "groups and movements which promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race or religion, or which oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care, etc."

It is from this thinking that much of the 'hate crime' legislation is being formulated in the U.S. and worldwide. It is the hate crime laws in Canada that made it illegal to even quote a verse from the Holy Bible in a newspaper advertisement.

The views he lists are objectionable and should be opposed but Marcuse is saying more than this: that they should not be allowed to be expressed. Although he does at least concede that this would be "undemocratic" he justifies this censorship as necessary in order to establish genuine democracy. Nor does he deny that it is an accurate result when the overwhelming majority votes for capitalism in elections. What he claims is that a genuine political democracy can only be said to exist when those who vote are free agents and that the workers who vote for capitalism are not free agents because they have unknowingly been brainwashed.

Marcuse's conclusion that the enlightened minority are therefore justified in acting in an undemocratic manner is highly dangerous. In fact it has led him to toy with the idea that the minority should even try to seize power and impose a temporary dictatorship during which the working class could be "unbrainwashed" so as to become capable of establishing socialism.

In "An Essay on Liberation" (1969) he writes:

"True, such government, initially, would not have the endorsement of the majority 'inherited' from the previous government - but once the chain of the past governments is broken, the majority would be in a state of flux and, released from the past management, free to judge the new government in terms of the new common interest." and, in a talk given to Berlin students in 1967 (published in Five Lectures):

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34 Frankfurt School, Critical Theory <<http://home.cwru.edu/~ngb2/Pages/Intro.html>>

"You can of course say, and I say it to myself often enough, if this is all true, how can we imagine these new concepts even arising here and now in living human beings if the entire society is against such an emergence of new needs. This is the question with which we have to deal. At the same time it amounts to the question of whether the emergence of these new needs can be conceived at all as a radical development out of existing ones, or whether instead, in order to set free these needs, a dictatorship appears necessary, which in any case would be very different from the Marxian dictatorship of the proletariat: namely, a dictatorship, a counter-administration, that eliminates the horrors spread by the established administration. This is one of the things that most disquiets me and that we should seriously discuss."

Although Marcuse has never specifically advocated such a dictatorship he has never repudiated it either. Such a view rejects the Marxist proposition that "the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself". It revives an old-fashioned revolutionary idea which when tried, as in Russia after 1917, has led to the self-styled enlightened minority becoming a new ruling class. But then Marcuse's views on Russia are ambiguous too. It is possible to detect in "Soviet Marxism" (1958) sympathy with the Bolsheviks' policy of seizing power first without majority support for socialism and then trying to educate the people to socialism. Though he is quite clear that Russia is not socialist. He writes in a footnote, "Use of the term 'socialist' nowhere implies that this society is socialist in the sense envisaged by Marx and Engels."

Though he was not a Trotskyist, like Trotsky however, Marcuse thought that the existence in Soviet Russia of nationalization and planning meant that its economy had a "socialist basis" and that to establish socialism, only a "political revolution" displacing bureaucracy was required, rather than a "full social revolution" as in the West.

Marcuse also believed that the industrial development of Russia would be one of the factors that would help undermine the Western capitalist economy. In view of this position on Russia it is not surprising that he supported movements such as the Vietcong, calling them "anti-capitalist forces" and "elemental socialism in action". When he was not toying with the idea of a minority anti-repressive dictatorship, his vision of the establishment of world socialism involved western capitalism being undermined both from outside by the success of "anti-imperialist" guerrillas and the growing strength of the Soviet bloc and also from within by movements such as those of black people, students and hippies. The socialist revolution in the West would then allow a political revolution to put Russia back on the socialist road.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Life Of Marcuse (1898-1979)**

He was the son of Carl Marcuse, a prosperous Jewish merchant, and Gertrud Kreslawsky, the daughter of a wealthy German factory owner. Marcuse studied at the Mommsen Gymnasium in Berlin before World War I and served with the German army in the war. Transferred to Berlin early in 1918, he observed and sympathized with the German revolution that drove Kaiser Wilhelm II out of Germany and established a Social Democratic government.

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<sup>35</sup>A, Buick *Marcuse: professor behind 1960s rebellion* <<http://www.worldsocialism.org/marcuse.htm>> See also: <[http://carbon.cudenver.edu/~mryder/itc\\_data/postmodern.html#marcuse](http://carbon.cudenver.edu/~mryder/itc_data/postmodern.html#marcuse)>

After demobilization, Marcuse went to Freiburg to pursue his studies and received a Ph.D. in literature in 1922 for a dissertation on the German artist-novel ("Der deutsche Kunstlerroman"). In 1923 he married Sophie Wertheim, with whom he was to have one child, and for a time he worked in Berlin as a bookseller. But by 1928 he was back in Freiburg, enrolled as a student of Martin Heidegger, whose influence in German philosophical circles was on the rise.

Marcuse soon began drawing together strands from different lines of thought, resulting in a type of Marxism colored by existential and phenomenological themes, which anticipated the work of the main exponents of existentialism and phenomenology of the post-World War II era. According to Marcuse, Marxist dogma regarding economics and the political sphere had led to a theory-laden paralysis that could only be alleviated by relating Marxism to contemporary cultural and social phenomena and to the existential needs of individuals. While socialist principles were meant to free society from the grip of capitalist exploitation, they also ought—in Marcuse's view—to liberate individuals from the narrow conventions of bourgeois life.

When Marcuse reviewed an edition of Karl Marx's previously unpublished "1844 Manuscripts" in 1932, he was one of the first to stress the importance of Marx's early philosophical perspectives on labor, human nature, and alienation, which were in line with Marcuse's own thinking at the time. For his Habilitationsschrift (qualifying publication for university employment), Marcuse turned to Hegel, in whom there was increasing interest among European philosophers, and wrote a study of the Hegelian categories of life and history, *Hegels Ontologie und die Grundlegung einer Theorie der Geschichtlichkeit* (1932; published in English as *Hegel's Ontology and the Theory of Historicity*).

In 1933, the year that Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, the Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research) in Frankfurt-am-Main offered Marcuse an appointment. The institute's aim was to develop a model of "critical theory" to counter more descriptive, empirical "traditional theory." A haven for interdisciplinary studies, the institute was well suited to Marcuse's outlook and interests, and he felt at home there. Several of his colleagues, including Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, Leo Lowenthal, and Franz Neumann, were to remain lifelong friends of his.

Of Jewish birth and openly leftist in his politics, Marcuse was compelled to flee Nazism; his move to the United States in 1934 proved to be permanent. To his good fortune, however, Columbia University was able to house the Institute for Social Research, thus allowing Marcuse and other emigres to sustain their intellectual projects begun in Europe. With *Reason and Revolution* (1941), the first significant treatise of his to appear in English, Marcuse carried forward his study of Hegel and Marx, demonstrating affinities in their thinking, and challenged the notion that Hegel's philosophy of state provided a rationale for German fascism, seeing it instead as part of a liberal constitutional tradition.

Marcuse, a naturalized citizen since 1940, joined the U.S. Office of War Information as a senior analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence in December 1942 and prepared a report on ways that the mass media of the Allied countries could present images of German

fascism. In March 1943 Marcuse transferred to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), working until the end of the war in the Research and Analysis division of the Central European Branch. He and his colleagues wrote reports attempting to identify Nazi and anti-Nazi groups and individuals in Germany and drafted a civil affairs handbook that dealt with denazification. In September 1945, after the dissolution of the OSS, he moved to the State Department and was head of the Central European bureau until 1951, when he left government service following the death of his wife.

Marcuse received a Rockefeller Foundation grant to study Soviet Marxism, lecturing on the topic at Columbia in 1952-1953 and at Harvard in 1954-1955. Meanwhile, he undertook an intensive study of Sigmund Freud's writings, which lead him to propose a philosophical nexus where Marxist and Freudian theories seemed to intersect logically. Using Freud's categories to provide a critique of bourgeois society, Marcuse attempted to adumbrate in *Eros and Civilization* (1955) a society in which repressive tendencies are held in check and the possibilities for self-fulfillment are enhanced. Critics generally thought well of the book, and it was to become an intellectual touchstone of sorts in the latter half of the 1960s, when the revolt against establishment culture was animated by utopian visions of individual liberation.

In 1955 Marcuse married Inge Werner, the widow of his friend Franz Neumann, who had died in an automobile crash the year before; this second marriage did not result in children. Marcuse's appointment to a faculty position at Brandeis University in 1958 coincided with the publication of his *Soviet Marxism*, which was notable for being a leftist's sharply critical examination of the USSR. Although he did not consider the Soviet Union incapable of reform, he saw much in the country's bureaucracy and culture that was at odds with his conception of Marxist theory. His view of how the USSR might evolve was borne out by the introduction of structural and organizational changes (perestroika) that caused Soviet Marxism to wither thirty years later.

In *One-Dimensional Man* (1964), perhaps his most important work, Marcuse turned his attention to the "ideology of advanced industrial society," in both its capitalist and socialist manifestations. As new forms of social control were being developed, so Marcuse argued, a "society without opposition" was emerging. Against the conformism engendered by mass media, ceaseless commercialization, and the constantly stimulated addiction to consumer goods of little intrinsic value Marcuse counterpoised critical and dialectical thinking that could suggest a freer and happier form of culture and society. In *One-Dimensional Man* he also analyzed the integration of the industrial working class into capitalist society and new forms of capitalist stabilization, thus questioning the Marxist postulates for the revolutionary proletariat and the inevitability of capitalist crisis. Marcuse perceived in the struggles of the U.S. civil rights movement an exemplary form of oppositional thought and struggle. In response to all modes of repression and domination, he advocated a "great refusal." While U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War during the mid-1960s was radicalizing many younger people and abetting the growth of the counterculture, *One-Dimensional Man* gave expression to widespread feelings of social alienation and cultural discontent as well as to desires for a more liberated society and culture.

Having provoked fierce intellectual controversy over his views, Marcuse was forced to depart from Brandeis in 1965. He spent the remainder of his teaching career on the faculty of the

University of California at San Diego. In a series of influential books and articles, including "Repressive Tolerance" (1965), *An Essay on Liberation* (1969), *Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Utopia* (1970), and *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (1972), Marcuse contributed to the ideological underpinnings of New Left policies and expanded his critique of capitalist societies. A charismatic teacher, he nurtured students who rose in the academic world and further disseminated his ideas. During this time Marcuse became an international icon--in the words of *Time* magazine, the 'guru of the New Left'--although the notoriety that he gained was ironic in light of his scathing assessment of the mass media as a corrosive agent of uncritical thought.

Following the decline of the New Left in the mid-1970s, Marcuse concerned himself to a large extent with questions of aesthetics. In *The Aesthetic Dimension* (1979), the last of his books, he argued for an "authentic art" that has the power to unshackle thought and feeling. He criticized, however, both Marxist aesthetics that celebrated "proletarian culture" and the "anti-art" movement of the time, which renounced the exigencies of aesthetic form. Within bourgeois art, Marcuse saw an admirable critical tradition that used aesthetic form to expose what was false or destructive in society and to envision a less repressed and repressive existence. He believed that the "aesthetic dimension" was a crucial component of an emancipated life.

Marcuse's second wife died in 1974, and two years later he married Erica Sherover. She was with him on his last trip to Germany when he died in Starnberg.

Primarily a philosopher, rather than an analyst of empirical data, Marcuse possessed a highly developed dialectical imagination that exemplified the kind of critical thinking espoused at the Institute for Social Research. Like others in the Frankfurt school of cultural criticism, such as Adorno and Horkheimer, he tended to conceptualize the world from the perspective of the social sciences; indeed, hostile critics denounced Marcuse's writing style as a morass of dense, obscure sociologese. Nonetheless, he was often prescient in his ruminations on social and cultural trends, and he provided a philosophical language for identifying the dynamics of both repression and emancipation. More than any other thinker in the tradition of critical theory, Marcuse had a direct impact on American culture. To the youth-oriented New Left during the 1960s, he was the exceptional elder whose views could be taken seriously; to political and social conservatives, he was anathema. Although he vanished from the popular American scene, Marcuse left an intellectual legacy of lasting import, having articulated the cultural pathologies of a "society without opposition."<sup>36 37</sup>

## **Who is Antonio Gramsci? You Better Learn!!!**

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<sup>36</sup> Douglas Kellner. "Marcuse, Herbert"; <<http://www.anb.org/articles/20/20-01202.html>>

<sup>37</sup> Bibliography: The Stadtsbibliothek in Frankfurt, Germany, holds Marcuse's papers. For analysis of his thought and influence, see Paul A. Robinson, *The Freudian Left: Wilhelm Reich, Geza Roheim, Herbert Marcuse* (1969; repr. 1990); Paul Breines, ed., *Critical Interpretations: New Left Perspectives on Herbert Marcuse* (1970); Vincent Geoghegan, *Reason and Eros: The Social Theory of Herbert Marcuse* (1981); Barry Katz, *Herbert Marcuse and the Art of Liberation: An Intellectual Biography* (1982); Douglas Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism* (1984); and John Bokina and Timothy J. Lukes, eds., *Marcuse: From the New Left to the Next Left* (1994). *The New York Times*

As we know, political events do not happen in a vacuum. There are always causes. Ideas that were deemed a failure decades ago can be successfully implemented today. In the world of ideas, decades are often only an incubation period and today Gramsci's ideas are very much alive in the political arena.

Born at Ales, Italy on January 1891, Antonio Gramsci was the fourth son of Francesco Gramsci, a clerk in the local registrar's office. He suffered through a difficult childhood, eventually received a scholarship, and graduated from the University of Turin. In 1921 he became a founding member of the Italian Communist party. In 1922 he traveled to Moscow as a member of the Communist International and remained in Moscow for a year. It was the beginning of the Stalinist period.

Gramsci, a bright man, thought that Stalinist methods would not work in western societies. Violence and revolution, in his opinion, would generate a fatal reaction against the communist movement. He returned to Italy with more subtle and long term ideas and began to develop them. Shortly upon his return, Mussolini jailed Gramsci. The fascist regime saw his ideas as a danger to the State. It was from prison (where he died in 1937) that Gramsci wrote his 33 books. They contain very shrewd insights on how a "capitalist, bourgeois society" works and how it can be taken over peacefully and dominated through a systematic change of its ideas.

His methods became in fact, the "field manual" for the many that followed. If you understand Gramsci, you will understand the "peculiar" and "weird" theories that are in vogue today. And you will understand that they are not the work of "weird crazy people" but rather of calculating and quite intelligent operatives.

Marxists realized that the only way to impose Marxist socialism on America was by way of the strategy outlined by Antonio Gramsci (pronounced "gram-shee"), the Italian communist, who had much time to think about such things while imprisoned for many years in Italy. His "Prison Notebooks" were widely read and studied by communists in the West. Gramsci analyzed Western culture and concluded that the only way that communists could finally impose their totalitarian will over the West was by first taking over its educational, cultural and religious institutions. This would require years of stealthful infiltration. The report quotes a passage from a book about Gramsci:

Antonio Gramsci ... argued that power is best attained in developed, industrialized countries through a gradual process of radicalization of the cultural institutions (the "superstructure") of bourgeois society, a process that would in turn transform the values and morals of the society. Gramsci believed that as society's morals were softened, so its political and economic foundation would be more easily smashed and reconstructed.<sup>38</sup>

Gramsci understood what Marx did not understand: Economic crises by themselves would not subvert capitalism, because capitalism always managed to overcome the crises and emerged stronger. Another theory was necessary for a different reality. One that recognized the importance of culture and ideology, and methods that went beyond the coarser forms of Marxist

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38 Dr. Samuel L. Blumenfeld, The Gramscian commie in the White House, WorldnetDaily 2000  
<[http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE\\_ID=12833](http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=12833)>



class struggle. Methods that would be efficient in capturing power in a western society. Methods that would fit the use of mass media because they were subtle and persuasive. If you gain the minds you gain the bodies. Even a partial victory is useful, because it weakens and diminishes your opposition.

Gramsci perceived that in a western society, the bond between the ruler and the ruled was what kept it together and this bond was what created "hegemony." And where was that bond? How was it cemented?

In the classical institutions, and through them of course. The family, the church, the schools, the civil society and its organizations, none other than the building blocks of the State.

The revolutionaries who wished to break the "hegemony" had to build up a "counter hegemony" to that of the ruling class. It was necessary to change the minds, to change the popular consensus, to change the way institutions work. In sum, to make the people question the right of their leaders to rule in the accepted way.

Success would consist in permeating throughout society a whole new system of values, beliefs and morality. A system that would become accepted by all in a way that would appear to be the normal thing to do.

How is it done? Besides the traditional intellectuals (those who see themselves as such) there must exist the "organic intellectual", i.e. the one that grows with a social group, and becomes its thinking and organizing element. The role of informal "educators" in local communities becomes essential. The educator must not be seen as a distant "brainy" figure but as "one of us", one of the neighborhood, another one of the group.

The same applies to the schools which Gramsci sees as a means used by social groups "to perpetuate a function, [namely] to rule or to be subordinate". Ergo, schools and curriculums must be controlled either directly or indirectly.

Once organized these groups would engage in incessant political activity and use massive means of communication. No armed conspiracies, just unrelenting propaganda. The introduction of Gramscian methodology in society, produces a constant clash for supremacy of ideas and a patient but persistent subversion of the building blocks of that society. Subversion is a many faced endeavor played by different people with different objectives but the modern method has a substantial Gramscian content.

Take a case in point. Why it is that we must often suffer a way of thinking that attempts to coerce us intellectually? Look around. How many times have you heard: You must not be "judgmental" or "intolerant." What does that mean in Gramscian terms? It means: You must accept our values and not argue. If you do not you are out the mainstream. Remember the Gramscian objective of turning their ideas into "common sense"?

Do you now understand, why we have political correctness?

Why we have neighborhood groups that look more like agitation and propaganda entities than neighborhood associations?

Why we have schools that push a peculiar curriculum and ignore parents, school budgets that make available funds for incredible courses, and teachers unions that often do not appear to represent teachers true interests?

Why we have churches that have become political discourse centers?

Why we have a myriad civil associations with goals that appear to be destructive and divisive?

Why we have mass media that often operate as propaganda machines rather than reporters of events?

The Wall Street Journal article continues: "Mr. Fonte<sup>39</sup> says the Gramscian view has special currency in higher intellectual circles, particularly on elite college campuses. The plight of women, minorities, gays and other victims of cultural hegemony is a favorite subject of student indoctrinations, not to mention speech and thought control, in such places. The federal Violence Against Women Act produced a Supreme Court case in which a 10-year-old boy was charged with harassing a fifth-grade female classmate. It is no accident that the Gramscian New York Times editorial page thought that the most important thing Al Gore said in his eloquent concession speech was that he would continue to fight for people "who need burdens lifted and barriers removed." How he might have conducted his fight if he had been elected has never been clear; certainly not by cutting their taxes."

The only way to gain absolute power in the United States is through long range Gramscian tactics. There is hope however, if we don't take for granted what we now enjoy and fight to maintain power divided. The true strength of the American Republic is the division of power. This is why the would be revolutionaries so hate the Electoral College, States Rights, local self government, etc. The system devised by the Founding Fathers complicates their life tremendously. As the quoted article notes:

"Over and above these structural features, there are the multiplicity of interests and interest groups, the immense diversity of American society and the excessive rhetoric that characterizes the conflict of those separated in fact by minor differences." Underlying it all, however, "is the

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<sup>39</sup> John Fonte Liberal Democracy vs. Transnational Progressivism: The Ideological Civil War Within the West, Hudson Institute, October 26, 2001 <<http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/news/805656/posts>> John Fonte is a Senior Fellow and Director of Hudson's Center for American Common Culture.

sheer power of the idea of freedom an idea so powerful that not even those opposed to freedom condemn it . . . ."

The last sentence is crucial. Even those that seek to destroy the system must pay lip service, at least, to the idea of liberty. They must talk about the people's right to vote while they work against it and seek to discredit the process.

The Gramscians in the United States cannot wage a war of conquest. They must wage a war of attrition and position. If we understand their tactics we can stop them and win. But it won't happen by staying at home and watching the game. We must all become involved. In the same way they become involved. To use a Gramscian term, each one of us must become an "organic intellectual" of sorts, one that explains and convinces. Gramsci was right when he said that all men have intellectual concerns outside their field of activity. The problem is that most citizens are so busy with their lives that they do not have the time to think things through. They need help and those who understand must help, each in his own way.

While economic Marxism appears to be dead, the Hegelian variety articulated by Gramsci and others has not only survived the fall of the Berlin Wall, but also gone on to challenge the American republic at the level of its most cherished ideas. For more than two centuries America has been an "exceptional" nation, one whose restless entrepreneurial dynamism has been tempered by patriotism and a strong religious-cultural core. The ultimate triumph of Gramscianism would mean the end of this very "exceptionalism." America would at last become Europeanized: statist, thoroughly secular, post-patriotic, and concerned with group hierarchies and group rights in which the idea of equality before the law as traditionally understood by Americans would finally be abandoned. Beneath the surface of our seemingly placid times, the ideological, political, and historical stakes are enormous.

We have in our favor truth and true common sense. If they succeed it is only because we allowed the party with the harmful product to sell it to an unsuspecting public.<sup>40</sup>

### **The Bolsheviks and Islam<sup>41</sup>**

The Russian Revolution of 1917 took place in an empire that was home to 16 million Muslims - some 10 percent of the population. The collapse of Tsarism radicalized Muslims, who demanded religious freedom and national rights denied them by the tsars.

On 1 May 1917 the First All-Russian Congress of Muslims took place in Moscow. After heated debates the congress voted for women's rights, making Russia's Muslims the first in the world to free women from the restrictions typical of Islamic societies of that period. At the same time, conservative Muslim leaders were hostile to revolutionary change. So how did the Russian Marxists, the Bolsheviks, respond?

### **Atheism**

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40 See: John Fonte, Why There Is A Culture War, <<http://www.policyreview.org/dec00/Fonte.html>>

41 Dave Crouch, "Bolsheviks and Islam: Religious Rights" Feature Article Socialist Review December 2003 <<http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=8689>>

Marxism is a materialist worldview and so is thoroughly atheist. But because it understands religion to have roots in oppression and alienation, Marxist political parties don't demand that their members or supporters are atheists too. So atheism was never included in the Bolsheviks' programme. Indeed, they welcomed left wing Muslims into the communist parties (CPs). The Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky noted in 1923 that in some former colonies as many as 15 percent of CP members were believers in Islam. He called them the 'raw revolutionary recruits who come knocking on our door'. In parts of Central Asia, Muslim membership was as high as 70 percent.

The Bolsheviks took a very different approach to Orthodox Christianity, the religion of the brutal Russian colonists and missionaries. Party policy in Central Asia, endorsed by Moscow, stated that 'freedom from religious prejudice' was a requirement for Russians only. So in 1922 over 1,500 Russians were kicked out of the Turkestan CP because of their religious convictions, but not a single Turkestanian.

This was part of Bolshevik policy to try to make amends for the crimes of Tsarism in the former colonies. Bolshevik leaders such as Lenin and Trotsky understood that this was not only basic justice, but it was also necessary to clear the ground and enable class divisions in Muslim society to come to the fore.

After the revolution in 1917 of Russian colonists in Central Asia had gone over to the Bolsheviks, but had usurped the slogan of 'workers' power' and turned it against the mainly peasant local population. For two years the region was cut off from Moscow by the civil war, so these self styled 'Bolsheviks' had a free hand to carry on persecuting the indigenous peoples. As a result, the Basmachi movement - an armed Islamic revolt - broke out.

Lenin talked about the 'gigantic, all-historical' importance of setting things right. In 1920 he ordered 'sending to concentration camps in Russia all former members of the police, military, security forces, administration etc, who were products of the Tsarist era and who swarmed around Soviet power [in Central Asia] because they saw in it the perpetuation of Russian domination'.

Sacred Islamic monuments, books and objects looted by the tsars were returned to the mosques. Friday - the day of Muslim celebration - was declared to be the legal day of rest throughout Central Asia. A parallel court system was created in 1921, with Islamic courts administering justice in accordance with sharia laws. The aim was for people to have a choice between religious and revolutionary justice. A special Sharia Commission was established in the Soviet Commissariat of Justice.

Some sharia sentences that contravened Soviet law, such as stoning or the cutting off of hands, were forbidden. Decisions of the sharia courts that concerned these matters had to be confirmed by higher organs of justice.

Some sharia courts flouted the Soviet law, refusing to award divorces on the petition of a wife, or equating the testimony of two women to that of a man. So in December 1922 a decree introduced

retrials in Soviet courts if one of the parties requested it. All the same, sharia courts resolved some 30 to 50 percent of all court cases, and in Chechnya the figure was 80 percent.

A parallel education system was also established. In 1922 rights to certain waqf (Islamic) properties were restored to Muslim administration, with the proviso that they were used for education. As a result, the system of madrassahs - religious schools - was extensive. In 1925 there were 1,500 madrassahs with 45,000 students in the Caucasus state of Dagestan, as opposed to just 183 state schools. In contrast, by November 1921 over 1,000 soviet schools had some 85,000 pupils in Central Asia - a modest number relative to the potential enrolment.

The Muslim Commissariat in Moscow oversaw Russia's policy towards Islam. Muslims with few communist credentials were granted leading positions in the commissariat. The effect was to split the Islamic movement. Historians agree that a majority of Muslim leaders supported the soviets, convinced that Soviet power meant religious liberty. There was serious discussion among Muslims of the similarity of Islamic values to socialist principles. Popular slogans of the time included: 'Long live Soviet power, long live the sharia!'; 'Religion, freedom and national independence!' Supporters of 'Islamic socialism' appealed to Muslims to set up soviets.

## **Alliances**

The Bolsheviks made alliances with the Kazakh pan-Islamic group the Ush-Zhuz (which joined the CP in 1920), the Persian pan-Islamist guerrillas in the Jengelis, and the Vaisites, a Sufi brotherhood. In Dagestan, Soviet power was established largely thanks to the partisans of the Muslim leader Ali-Hadji Akushinskii.

In Chechnya the Bolsheviks won over Ali Mataev, the head of a powerful Sufi order, who led the Chechen Revolutionary Committee. In the Red Army the 'sharia squadrons' of the mullah Katkakhonov numbered tens of thousands.

At the Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East in September 1920, Russian Bolshevik leaders issued a call for a 'holy war' against Western imperialism. Two years later the Fourth Congress of the Communist International endorsed alliances with pan-Islamism against imperialism.

Moscow deliberately employed non-Russian troops to fight in Central Asia - Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Uzbek and Turkmen detachments were pitted against the anti-Bolshevik invaders. Tatar soldiers in the Red Army exceeded 50 percent of the troops on the Eastern and Turkestan fronts of the civil war.

The Red Army was only one aspect of thoroughgoing efforts to ensure indigenous peoples themselves controlled the new autonomous republics in the former colonies.

Firstly this meant kicking out the Russian and Cossack colonists - in the Caucasus and Central Asia colonists were encouraged to return to Russia, and in some places forcibly evicted. The Russian language ceased to dominate, and native languages returned to schools, government and publishing.

A massive program of what would now be called 'affirmative action' was introduced. Indigenous people were promoted to leading positions in the state and communist parties, and given

preference for employment over Russians. Universities were established to train a new generation of non-Russian national leaders.

However, efforts to guarantee religious freedom and national rights were constantly undermined by the weak economy. The isolation of the Russian Revolution meant that desperate poverty dragged the regime down. Already in 1922 Moscow's subsidy to Central Asia had to be cut and many state schools had to close. Teachers abandoned their jobs because of failure to pay salaries. This meant Muslim schools were the only alternative. 'When you can't provide bread, you don't dare take away the substitute,' said commissar for education Lunacharsky.

Sharia courts had all their funding removed in late 1923 to early 1924. But economic factors already obstructed Muslims from bringing their grievances to court. If a young woman refused to enter an arranged or polygamous marriage, for example, she had a slim chance of being able to feed herself because there were no jobs and nowhere else to live.

On top of this, the Stalinist bureaucracy was gaining a stranglehold on the revolution. Increasingly it attacked so called 'nationalist deviations' in the non-Russian republics and encouraged a rebirth of Russian chauvinism. From the mid-1920s the Stalinists began planning an all-out attack on Islam under the banner of women's rights. The slogan of the campaign was *khudzhum* - which means storming or assault.

The *khudzhum* entered its mass action phase on 8 March 1927 - international women's day. At mass meetings women were called upon to unveil. Small groups of native women came to the podium and threw their veils on bonfires. This grotesque plan turned Marxism on its head. It was far from the days when Bolshevik women activists veiled themselves to conduct political work in the mosques. It was a million miles from Lenin's instruction that 'we are absolutely opposed to giving offence to religious conviction'.

Inevitably there was a backlash against the *khudzhum*. Thousands of Muslim children, especially girls, were withdrawn from Soviet schools and resigned from the Young Communist League. Unveiled women were attacked in the street, including ferocious rapes and thousands of killings.

The assault on Islam marked the beginning of a sharp break with the socialist policies of October 1917. As the Soviet Union launched a programme of forced industrialisation, Muslim national and religious leaders were physically eliminated and Islam was driven underground. The dream of religious freedom was buried in the Great Terror of the 1930s.

*Socialist Review* stands in a tradition that totally rejects the Stalinist approach to Islam. But in the early years of the revolution the Bolsheviks were successful at winning Muslims to fight for socialism. We can learn from and be inspired by their achievements.

### **The Frankfurters In The Office of Strategic Services (OSS)**

The team from the Frankfurt School working for OSS included Herbert Marcuse, Franz Neumann, Otto Kirchheimer, Arkady Gurland, Leo Lowenthal and Friedrich Pollack. Along with these Frankfurters was Captain Alfred M. Hubbard. His friends called him "Cappy," and he was

known as the "Johnny Appleseed of LSD." His prestigious government and business connections read like a Who's Who of the power elite in North America. Equally importantly he was Executive Director of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) in which John Kerry was a leader. There are hence implications for the Presidential election of 2004 – John Kerry.

Al Hubbard – the Black Panther<sup>42</sup> was executive director of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) when he appeared with Kerry on NBC's "Meet the Press" on April 18, 1971. Host Lawrence Spivak introduced Hubbard as a former decorated Air Force captain who had spent two years in Vietnam and was wounded there. Hubbard brought John Kerry into the VVAW as a Director. But just days after the program was televised on NBC News, acting on an anonymous tip, Spivak began investigating Hubbard and found his military background to be fraudulent.

NBC News Washington bureau chief Frank Jordan confronted Hubbard and obtained a confession from him that he had lied about his rank and his service record. Hubbard then went on the network's "Today" show admitting that he had lied about his rank because "he was convinced no one would listen to a black man who was also an enlisted man." According to military documents, Hubbard never achieved a military rank higher than staff sergeant.

Though many former Vietnam veterans support the candidacy of Democrat presidential candidate John Kerry, there is no sign of the man who appeared with Kerry on a nationally televised news program in 1971 to allege widespread atrocities by U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. That man, Al Hubbard, remains out of the spotlight, perhaps because the war record he touted in directing a prominent anti-war group that included Kerry was fabricated. Hubbard's deceit, which he later admitted, continues to cast doubt about the truthfulness of the anti-war group's allegations more than three decades after they were leveled. Kerry has yet to either defend or criticize Hubbard during the campaign. But he continues to stand behind the allegations lodged by Vietnam Veterans Against the War, many of which were included in a book Kerry wrote in 1971.

Jane Fonda – Hanoi Jane the financial backer of VVAW studied under Herbert Marcuse and actively promoted his philosophy.

And why are so many films so vulgar and crude? Studies have found that typically less than 7% of people curse on the job and only 12% curse in their leisure time. Yet many Hollywood scriptwriters would have us believe that normal people use profanity and obscenity in regular conversation. The famous Marxist professor Marcuse, of Sorbonne, advocated the use of foul language as a weapon with which to attack bourgeois society. Marcuse inspired many of the most renowned communist revolutionaries of the Twentieth Century. Even Jane Fonda studied under him. (Media-Wise Family) Similarly actress Jane Fonda (Agnes of God) and director Costa-Gravras (Betrayed and The Music Box) design their films to attack Christianity and/or to promote atheism or even communism<sup>43</sup>

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42 Kerrys Mentor Black Panther And Phony Vietnam Vet Al Hubbard <<http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1080094/posts>> from the VVAW website

43 Peter Hammond *MINDS, MORALS & MOVIES* <[http://www.frontline.org.za/articles/morals\\_movies.htm](http://www.frontline.org.za/articles/morals_movies.htm)>

Following in the teaching of the Frankfurter - The famous Marxist professor Marcuse, who advocated the use of foul language as a weapon with which to attack bourgeois society John Kerry and his wife Teresa both promote profane language. They are so proud of using profane language that it is used on their official Kerry For President site quoting both the Presidential candidate and his wife.<sup>44</sup>

Granted, local standards still apply, and often keep a tighter rein on profanity. But increasingly, saucy adjectives are sanctioned from drive time to prime-time. In an age when "the bird" is nearly as ubiquitous as pigeons, even some who would be president don't see it as a liability to swear like a sailor: John Kerry has refused to apologize for his epithetical censure of President Bush's policies in an interview in Rolling Stone.

Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci was a co-founder of the Italian Communist Party. Gramsci declared that to capture the Christian West one needed to "Marxise the inner man . . . to alter the Christian mind to turn it into its opposite in all its details so that it would become not merely a non-Christian mind but an anti-Christian mind." This meant getting individuals to think about life's problems without reference to Christianity and the laws of God. Gramsci advocated a quiet revolution: "Everything must be done in the name of man's dignity and rights, and in the name of his autonomy and freedom from outside restraint. From the claims and constraints of Christianity above all." Gramsci's slogan was "Capture the Culture!" And many Marxists in Hollywood continue their "long march through the institutions of the West" using art to influence politics. (Capturing the Culture: Film, Art and Politics by Richard Grenier)<sup>45</sup>

### **The Role Of The Frankfurt School In Destruction Of Traditions**

Who in America today is at work destroying our traditions, our family bonds, our religious beginnings, our reinforcing institutions, indeed, our entire culture? What is it that is changing our American civilization?..<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, a thoughtful person should ask himself or herself whether or not all this 'change' from America's traditional culture is simply a random set of events played out by a random set of players, all independent of each other -- all disconnected from any central premise or guidance. It is entirely possible that chance is at work here and all of these 'threads' of American culture are the random workings of the human intellect (the pursuit of what is possible, vice what is appropriate) in a free, democratic society.

But suppose you were to learn that nearly all of the observations are completely consistent with a 'design' -- that is a concept, a way of thinking, and a process for bringing it about. And suppose one could identify a small core group of people who designed just such a concept and thought through the process of infusing it into a culture. Wouldn't you be interested in at least learning about such a core group? Wouldn't you want to know who they were, what they thought, and

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44 Patrik Jonsson, "Swearing swearers and FCC's new rulebook" The Christian Science Monitor December 17, 2003 edition <<http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/1217/p03s02-ussc.html>>

45 Peter Hammond, Ibid

46 Dr. Gerald L. Atkinson CDR USN (Ret.), What is the Frankfurt School? 1 August 1999  
<<http://www.newtotalitarians.com/FrankfurtSchool.html>>



how they conjured up a process for bringing their thoughts into action? For Americans with even a smidgeon of curiosity, the answer should be a resounding yes!

If you believe, instead, that nature has a 'design,' and that all events can be connected and we humans can make sense out of many of them if we will only 'connect all of the dots,' then you may believe that this small core group has great influence, even today, in American Culture. If this is your worldview, you may (but not necessarily) even believe in a 'conspiracy', and 'conspirators' which and who aim to alter our culture on a vast scale.

It is clear; however, that irrespective of one's 'worldview,' it is informative to at least know of such a core group (if it, indeed, existed), what it believed, what it set out to accomplish, and what methods it followed to take action on its beliefs.

Just such a core group did, indeed, exist. That is, history identifies a small group of German intellectuals who devised concepts, processes, and action plans which conform very closely to what Americans presently observe every day in their culture.

Observations, such as those made in this series of essays, can be directly traced to the work of this core group of intellectuals. They were members of the Frankfurt School, formed in Germany in 1923. They were the forebears of what some proclaim as 'cultural Marxism,' a radical social movement that has transformed American culture. It is more commonly known today as 'political correctness'.

'Cultural Marxism' and 'critical theory' are concepts developed by a group of German intellectuals, who, in 1923 in Germany, founded the Institute of Social Research at Frankfurt University. The Institute, modeled after the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, became known as the Frankfurt School <sup>47</sup>. In 1933, when the Nazis came to power in Germany, the members of the Frankfurt School fled to the United States. While here, they migrated to major U.S. universities (Columbia, Princeton, Brandeis, and University of California at Berkeley and San Diego). These intellectual Marxists included Herbert Marcuse, who coined the phrase, '*make love, not war*,' during the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations led by John Kerry and the VVAW.

By promoting the dialectic of 'negative' criticism, that is, pointing out the rational contradictions in a society's belief system, the Frankfurt School 'revolutionaries' dreamed of a utopia where their rules governed <sup>48</sup>. "*Their Critical Theory had to contain a strongly imaginative, even utopian strain, which transcends the limits of reality.*" Its tenets would never be subject to experimental evidence. The pure logic of their thoughts would be incontrovertible. As a precursor to today's 'postmodernism' in the intellectual academic community, <sup>49</sup> "*...it recognized that disinterested scientific research was impossible in a society in which men were themselves not yet autonomous...the researcher was always part of the social object he was attempting to study.*" This, of course, is the concept which led to the current fetish for the rewriting of history,

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<sup>47</sup> Raehn, Raymond V., "*The Historical Roots of 'Political Correctness'*" Free Congress Foundation, Number 44, June 1997

<sup>48</sup> Jay, Martin, "*The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950*," pp. 77, University of California Press, 1973.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, pp. 81.

and the vogue for our universities' law, English literature, and humanities disciplines -- deconstruction.

Critical theory rejected the ideal of Western Civilization in the age of modern science, that is, the verification or falsifying <sup>50</sup> of theory by experimental evidence. Only the superior mind was able to fashion the 'truths' from observation of the evidence. There would be no need to test these hypotheses against everyday experience.

The Frankfurt school studied the 'authoritarian personality' which became synonymous with the male, the patriarchal head of the American family. These idealistic intellectuals would construct a modern utopia by 'turning Western civilization' upside down. This utopia would be a product of their imagination, a product not susceptible to criticism on the basis of the examination of evidence. This 'revolution' would be accomplished by fomenting a very quiet, subtle and slowly spreading 'cultural Marxism' which would apply to culture the principles of Karl Marx bolstered by the modern psychological tools of Sigmund Freud. Thus, 'cultural Marxism' became a marriage of Marx and Freud aimed at producing a 'quiet' revolution in the United States of America. This 'quiet' revolution has occurred in America over the past 30 years. While America slept!

At the same time the forces of 'Critical Islam' has instituted their quite revolution, many time in concert, in the media, in universities and on the campuses of K-12 schools.

What is 'cultural Marxism?' Why should it even be considered when the world's vast experiment with the economic theory of Karl Marx has recently gone down to defeat with the disintegration of Soviet communism? Didn't America win the Cold War against the spread of communism? The answer is a resounding 'yes, BUT. We won the 55-year Cold War but, while winning it abroad, we have failed to understand that an intellectual elite has subtly but systematically and surely converted the economic theory of Marx to culture in American society. And they did it while we were busy winning the Cold War abroad. They introduced 'cultural Marxism' into the mainstream of American life over a period of thirty years, while our attention was diverted elsewhere.

The vehicle for this introduction was the idealistic Boomer elite, those young middle-class and well-to-do college students who became the vanguard of America's counter-culture revolution of the mid-1960s -- those draft-dodging, pot-smoking, hippies who demonstrated against the Vietnam War and who fomented the destructive (to women) 'women's liberation' movement. These New Totalitarians <sup>51</sup> are now in power as they have come to middle-age and control every public institution in our nation. But that is getting ahead of the story.

The cauldron for implementing this witches brew were the elites of the Boomer generation. They are the current 'foot soldiers' of the original Frankfurt School gurus. The counter-culture revolution of the 1960s was set in motion and guided intellectually by the 'cultural Marxists' of the Frankfurt School -- Herbert Marcuse, Eric Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer,

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid, pp. 82.

<sup>51</sup> Atkinson, Gerald L., "The New Totalitarians: Bosnia as a Mirror of America's Future," Atkinson Associates Press, 1996.

Wilhelm Reich, and others<sup>52 53</sup> Its influence is now felt in nearly every institution in the United States. The elite Boomers, throwbacks to the dangerous idealist Transcendental generation of the mid-1800s, are the 'agents of change,' who have introduced 'cultural Marxism' into American life.

William S. Lind relates<sup>54</sup> that 'cultural Marxism' is an ideology with deep roots. It did not begin with the counter-culture revolution in the mid-1960s. Its roots go back at least to the 1920s and the writings of the Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci<sup>55</sup>. These roots, over time, spread to the writings of Herbert Marcuse.

Herbert Marcuse was one of the most prominent Frankfurt School promoters of Critical Theory's social revolution among college and university students in the 1960s. It is instructive to review what he has written on the subject:

"One can rightfully speak of a cultural revolution, since the protest is directed toward the whole cultural establishment, including the morality of existing society ... there is one thing we can say with complete assurance. The traditional idea of revolution and the traditional strategy of revolution have ended. These ideas are old-fashioned ... what we must undertake is a type of diffuse and dispersed disintegration of the system."

This sentiment was first expressed by the early 20th century Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci.

Gramsci, a young communist who died in one of Mussolini's prisons in 1937 at the age of 46, conjured up the notion of a 'quiet' revolution that could be diffused throughout a culture -- over a period of time -- to destroy it from within. He was the first to suggest that the application of psychology to break the traditions, beliefs, morals, and will of a people could be accomplished quietly and without the possibility of resistance. He deduced that "*The civilized world had been thoroughly saturated with Christianity for 2,000 years...*" and a culture based on this religion could only be captured from within.

Gramsci insisted that alliances with non-Communist leftist groups would be essential to Communist victory. In our time, these would include radical feminist groups, extremist environmental organizations, so-called civil rights movements, anti-police associations, internationalist-minded groups, liberal church denominations, and others. Working together, these groups could create a united front working for the destructive transformation of the old Judeo-Christian culture of the West.

By winning 'cultural hegemony,' Gramsci pointed out that they could control the deepest wellsprings of human thought -- through the medium of mass psychology. Indeed, men could be made to 'love their servitude.' In terms of the gospel of the Frankfurt School, resistance to

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<sup>52</sup> Jay, Martin, "The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950," University of California Press, 1973.

<sup>53</sup> Wiggershaus, Rolf, "The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance," The MIT Press, 1994.

<sup>54</sup> Lind, William S., "What is 'Political Correctness?'," Essays on our Times, Free Congress Foundation, Number 43, March 1997

<sup>55</sup> Ibid

'cultural Marxism' could be completely negated by placing the resister in a psychic 'iron cage.' The tools of mass psychology could be applied to produce this result.

The essential nature of Antonio Gramsci's revolutionary strategy is reflected in a 1990s book<sup>56</sup> by the American Boomer author, Charles A. Reich, 'The Greening of America.' "*There is a revolution coming. It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and the culture, and it will change the political structure as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. This is the revolution of the New Generation.*" Of course this New Generation would be Reich's elite Boomer generation. And the mantra for these New Age 'foot soldiers' of the Frankfurt School prophets, would be 'have the courage to change'<sup>57</sup>

The Frankfurt School theorized that the 'authoritarian personality' is a product of the patriarchal family. This idea is in turn directly connected to Frederick Engels' 'The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State,' which promotes matriarchy. Furthermore, it was Karl Marx who wrote about the radical notion of a 'community of women' in the Communist manifesto. And it was Karl Marx who wrote disparagingly about the idea that the family was the basic unit of society in 'The German Ideology' of 1845.

'The Authoritarian personality,' studied by the Frankfurt School in the 1940s and 1950s in America, prepared the way for the subsequent warfare against the masculine gender promoted by Herbert Marcuse and his band of social revolutionaries under the guise of 'women's liberation' and the New Left movement in the 1960s. The evidence that psychological techniques for changing personality is intended to mean emasculation of the American male is provided by Abraham Maslow, founder of Third Force Humanist Psychology and a promoter of the psychotherapeutic classroom, who wrote that, '...the next step in personal evolution is a transcendence of both masculinity and femininity to general humanness.' The Marxist revolutionaries knew exactly what they wanted to do and how to do it. They have succeeded in accomplishing much of their agenda.

As an example, postmodern reconstruction of the history of Western Civilization (now prevalent in our universities) has its roots in the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School. This rewriting of history by the postmodern scholars in America has only recently come under attack. Keith Windschuttle, in his book, 'Killing of History,' has severely criticized the rush to 'relativism' by historiographers. What is truly astonishing, however, is that 'relativism' has largely supplanted the pursuit of truth as a goal in historical study.<sup>58</sup>

George G. Iggers' recently published book, 'Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge,' reminds us of the now famous line by Hayden White, a postmodernist, "*Historical narratives...are verbal fictions, the contents of which are more invented than found.*" He quotes other postmodernists, mostly non- historians, who<sup>59</sup> "...reinforce the proposition that truth and reality are primarily authoritarian weapons of

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<sup>56</sup> Reich, Charles A., "The Greening of America," Crown Trade Paperbacks, 1995.

<sup>57</sup> A phrase commonly heard during the 1992 Presidential campaign.

<sup>58</sup> London, Herbert, "Discipline of history under assault," The Washington Times, 26 October 1997.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid

*our times.*" We now recognize the source of this postmodern assault -- the cultural Marxists of the Frankfurt School who became experts in criticizing the 'authoritarian personality' in American culture.

Herbert London refutes White's proposition by observing, "*...if history is largely invention, who can say with authority that the American Revolution came before the French Revolution?*" He observes that evidence has taken a back seat to inventiveness. He thus cuts right to the chase -- the inventions of postmodernism, which are cutting successive generations of Americans off from their culture and their history, evolved directly from the 'cultural Marxist' scholars of the Frankfurt School.

How did this situation come about in America's universities? Gertrude Himmelfarb has observed<sup>60</sup> that it slipped past those traditional academics almost unobserved until it was too late. It occurred so 'quietly' that when they 'looked up,' postmodernism was upon them with a vengeance. "*They were surrounded by a tidal wave of faddish multicultural subjects such as radical feminism, deconstructed relativism as history and other courses*" which undermine the perpetuation of Western Civilization. Indeed, this tidal wave slipped by just as Antonio Gramsci and the Frankfurt School had envisioned -- a 'quiet' revolution. A revolution that cannot be resisted by force!

It is of interest to note that the 'sensitivity training' techniques used in our public schools over the past 30 years and which are now employed by the U.S. military to educate the troops about 'sexual harassment' were developed during World War II and thereafter by Kurt Lewin<sup>61</sup> and his proteges. One of them, Abraham Maslow, was a member of the Frankfurt school and the author<sup>62</sup> of 'The Art of Facilitation' which is a manual used during such 'sensitivity' training. Thereby teachers were indoctrinated not to teach but to 'facilitate.' This manual describes the techniques developed by Kurt Lewin and others to change a person's worldview via participation in small-group encounter sessions. Teachers were to become amateur group therapists. The classroom became the center of self-examination, therapeutic circles where children (and later on, military<sup>63</sup> personnel) talked about their own subjective feelings. This technique was designed to convince children they were the sole authority in their own lives.

It is important to realize that this movement, 'cultural Marxism,' exists, understand where it came from, and what its objectives were -- the complete destruction of Western Civilization in America. That is, these 'cultural Marxists' aimed to destroy, slowly but surely from the bottom

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<sup>60</sup> Himmelfarb, Gertrude, Panel on 'Academic Reform: Internal Sources,' National Association of Scholars, NAS Sixth General Conference, 3-5 May 1996.

<sup>61</sup> ) Marrow, Alfred Jay, "The Practical Theorist: The Life and Work of Kurt Lewin," Teachers College Press, New York, 1977. Kurt Lewin was a primary figure in the wartime research that was later translated into the techniques used today in 'sensitivity training.'

<sup>62</sup> Raehn, Raymond V., "Critical Theory: A Special Research Report, 1 April 1996

<sup>63</sup> Editorial, "The crying of the admirals," The Washington Times, 3 November 1995. The U.S. Naval Academy has added female 'role models' to the faculty. In August 1994, the Academy placed a new emphasis on conflict resolution and consciousness-raising. "*As 'Lean On Me' started playing, Master Chief Liz Johns gave the plebes her final orders: stand in a circle, sway to the music, sing along, and hug. From the circle came the sharp snuffle of sobs. The future admirals of America were crying.*"

up, the entire fabric of American Civilization.

By the end of World War II, almost all the original Frankfurt School members had become American citizens. This meant the beginning of a new English-speaking audience for the school. Now the focus was on American forms of authoritarianism. With this shift in subject matter came a subtle change in the center of the Institute's work. In America, authoritarianism appeared in different forms than its European counterpart. Instead of terror or coercion, more gentle forms of enforced conformism had been developed. According to Martin Jay, <sup>64</sup> *"Perhaps the most effective of these were to be found in the cultural field. American mass culture thus became one of the central concerns of the Frankfurt School in the 1940s."*

Since the 1940s, subtle changes appeared in the Frankfurt School's descriptions of their work. For example, the opposite of the 'authoritarian personality' was no longer the 'revolutionary,' as it had been in previous studies aimed at Europeans. In America, it was now the 'democratic' who opposed the 'authoritarian personality.' Thus, their language matched more closely the liberal <sup>65</sup> *"...New Deal rather than Marxist or radical.."* language. Education for tolerance, rather than *praxis* for revolutionary change, was the ostensible goal of their research. They were cleverly merging their language with the mainstream of liberal left thought in America while maintaining their 'cultural Marxist' objectives.

Toleration had never been an end in itself for the Frankfurt School, and yet the non-authoritarian (utopian) personality, insofar as it was defined, was posited as a person with a non-dogmatic tolerance for diversity <sup>66</sup>. This thought is dominant in today's power elite of the Boomer generation, the New Totalitarians.

One of the basic tenets of Critical Theory was the necessity to break down the contemporary family. The Institute scholars preached that <sup>67</sup> *"...Even a partial breakdown of parental authority in the family might tend to increase the readiness of a coming generation to accept social change."* The 'generation gap' of the 1960s and the 'gender gap' of the 1990s are two aspects of the attempt by the elite Boomers (taking a page out of 'cultural Marxism') to transform American culture into their 'Marxist' utopia.

The transformation of American culture envisioned by the 'cultural Marxists' is based on matriarchal theory. That is, they propose transforming American culture into a female-dominated one. This is a direct throwback to Wilhelm Reich, a Frankfurt School member who considered matriarchal theory in psychoanalytic terms. In 1933, he wrote in *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* that matriarchy was the only genuine family type of 'natural society.'

Eric Fromm, another charter member of the Institute, was also one of the most active advocates of matriarchal theory. Fromm was especially taken with the idea that all love and altruistic feelings were ultimately derived from the maternal love necessitated by the extended period of human pregnancy and postnatal care. "Love was thus not dependent on sexuality, as Freud had

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, Jay, Martin, pp. 172.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, Jay, Martin, pp. 227.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, Jay, Martin, pp. 248.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, Jay, Martin, pp. 135.

supposed. *In fact, sex was more often tied to hatred and destruction. Masculinity and femininity*<sup>68</sup> *were not reflections of 'essential' sexual differences, as the romantics had thought. They were derived instead from differences in life functions, which were in part socially determined.*" This dogma was the precedent for today's radical feminist pronouncements appearing in nearly every major newspaper and TV program, including the television newscasts. For these current day radicals, male and female roles result from cultural indoctrination in America -- an indoctrination carried out by the male patriarchy to the detriment of women. Nature plays no role in this matter.

But in terms of destruction and disintegration, Critical Theory absorbed by the 'change agents' and other social revolutionaries has led them to declare their intent to restructure America. As they proclaim, this means their activities have been directed toward the disintegration of the traditional white male power structure. As anyone with eyes to view present-day television and motion pictures can confirm, this has been largely achieved. In other words, Critical Theory, as applied mass psychology, brought forth a 'quiet' psychic revolution which facilitated an actual physical revolution that has become visible everywhere in the United States of America.

It was the destructive criticism of the primary elements of American culture that inspired the 1960s counter-culture revolution. As the name implies, this false 'spiritual awakening' by the idealist Boomers in their coming-of-age years was an effort to transform the prevailing culture into an inverted or opposite kind of culture that is a necessary prelude to social revolution. Now that these elite Boomers are in positions of power in the United States, they are completing their work of destroying every institution that has been built up over 200 years of American history. Their aim is to destroy any vestige of the Anglo-American path<sup>69</sup> taken by Western Civilization in forming the unique American culture.

Most Americans do not yet realize that they are being led by social revolutionaries who think in terms of the destruction of the existing social order in order to create a new social order in the world. These revolutionaries are the New Age elite Boomers, the New Totalitarians<sup>70</sup> - The Radical Center. They now control every public institution in the United States of America. Their 'quiet' revolution, beginning with the counter-culture revolution of their youth, is nearly complete. It was based on the intellectual foundation of the 'cultural Marxists' of the Frankfurt School. Its completion depends on keeping the American male in his psychic 'iron cage.'

The confluence of radical feminism and 'cultural Marxism' and now 'Islamic Theory' within the span of a single generation, that of the elite Boomers (possibly the most dangerous<sup>71</sup> generation in America's history) has imposed this yoke on the West. It remains to be seen whether or not we will continue our 'voluntary submission' to a future of slavery in a new America, the precursor to a state of complete anarchy.

If we allow this subversion of American values and interests to continue, we will (in future generations) lose all that our ancestors suffered and died for. We are forewarned. A reading of

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, Jay, Martin, pp. 95.

<sup>69</sup> Vazsonyi, Balint, "America's Thirty Years War: Who is Winning?," Regnery, 1998.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, Atkinson, Gerald L.

<sup>71</sup> Strauss, William and Howe, Neil, "Generations: The History of America's Future -- 1584 to 2069," pp.

history -- it is all in mainstream historical accounts -- tells us that we are about to lose the most precious thing we have -- our individual freedoms.

Then there is the ideology of multiculturalism, now the umbrella doctrine for all other campus radicalism. As historian Diane Ravitch<sup>72</sup> points out, multiculturalism “has its roots in the ideology of ethnic separatism and in the black nationalist movement.” These ideologues deny the idea of the United States as an integrated society with a common culture – a “melting pot.” They teach obsessively about what divides us – be it gender, race or class.

"Multiculturalism, as it is taught in the United States, is dangerous for a democratic, multiethnic society because it encourages people to think of themselves not as individuals, but primarily in terms of their membership in groups."<sup>73</sup>

Diane Ravitch in her article “Now Is the time to Teach Democracy” begs to differ. She has long urged that American students need to learn more world history (and American history that includes accurate accounts of the experience of our diverse people). In the late 1980s, She helped to draft the California history/social science curriculum, which is the only one in the nation that requires three years of world history. That curriculum includes the study of Western, Islamic, Indian, African, Asian, and Latin American civilizations. Certainly our students need a solid grounding in world history. This kind of knowledge is invaluable for everyone, but she rejects the view that the murderous behavior of terrorists in World Trade Tower disaster was linked in any way to what our students did not know about the terrorists’ culture or worldview. It would be a major improvement in all our schools if curriculum reformers agreed on more time for the study of world history. However, what they have in mind is not more world history but more “multiculturalism,” as defined by the Radical Center - more attention to our own racial, gender, religious and ethnic differences.

"If we value a free society, we must know about its origins and its evolution. If we value our rights and freedoms, we must understand how we got them and what it would mean to live in a society that did not have them."

No one addressed this issue more forcefully than the late Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers. When in 1995 in Prague, he discussed multiculturalism with educators from Eastern and Western Europe. Shanker warned that multiculturalism, as it is taught in the United States, is dangerous for a democratic, multiethnic society because it encourages people "to think of themselves not as individuals, but primarily in terms of their membership in groups." By focusing on differences instead of commonalities, Shanker said, this kind of education does not increase tolerance; on the contrary, it feeds racial and ethnic tensions and erodes civil society, which requires a sense of the common good, a recognition that we are all members of the human race. Shanker noted that multicultural education teaches cultural relativism because it implies that "no group may make a judgment on any other." Yet all societies must establish basic values and guidelines for behavior. Now, in the wake of the terrorist attacks, we hear expressions of cultural relativism when avant-garde thinkers tell us that we must try to understand why the terrorists chose to kill thousands of innocent people and that

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<sup>72</sup> Diane Ravitch, “Now Is the time to Teach Democracy” Hoover Digest, 2002 No. 1

<sup>73</sup> Diane Ravitch, Ibid



we must try to understand why others in the world hate America. Perhaps if we understood why they hate us, then we could accept the blame for their actions.

As for the Islamic community, they seek integration – not assimilation. Seeking more special garments, special classrooms, and even sharia courts. In December 2003 the Canadian government approved sharia (Islamic law) courts.

I suggest that we reject this blame-the-victim approach. I suggest that what our schools must do is to teach young people the virtues and blessings of our democratic system of government. Our ability to defend what we hold dear depends on our knowledge and understanding of it. If we value a free society, we must know about its origins and its evolution. If we value our rights and freedoms, we must understand how we got them and what it would mean to live in a society that did not have them. To be sure, our democratic practices are not universal, even though almost all of them were clearly articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was endorsed by the United Nations in 1948. It is true that there are many societies that treat women as beasts of burden, many societies that do not choose their leaders, and many societies where the government and religious authorities decide who is allowed to speak and write. There are societies where free public education does not exist, where homosexuals are rounded up and imprisoned, and where our Western legal concepts of due process are unknown.

Some of these societies hate us because they hate our way of life. They think it is decadent. They think we are decadent because we protect freedom of speech, allowing people to read, say, and write whatever they want; because we protect freedom of religion, allowing "truth" and "untruth" to be taught without any regulation; because we grant equal rights to men and women, allowing women to be educated to the same extent as men and to advance in the same professions. Certainly other generations of Americans understood that these rights and freedoms were part of the American way of life. The members of the "greatest generation," which saved the world from fascism and Nazism, knew that they were defending these rights and freedoms. The Cold War generation that helped to bring down Soviet totalitarianism understood the importance of these rights and freedoms. We do not know what sacrifices will be required of us in the months and years ahead. What we should know is the importance of teaching our children about democracy, freedom, human rights, the principle that every person is equal before the law, and the value of the individual. These are ideas with a long history. Our children need to know them.<sup>74</sup>

Campus radicalism is now so entrenched that it is the norm to slight the study of both Western civilization and the American experiment in self-government. Not a single Ivy League university makes a course in American history a graduation requirement. When our history and culture are taught, they are more likely to be retold as a litany of sins against humanity – thus great "dead white male" figures such as Columbus and Aristotle are cast as imperialists and racists, Shakespeare's *Tempest* as a Third World allegory, Milton's *Paradise Lost* as a feminist tragedy, and on and on and on. Moreover, students are often encouraged to study not great but lesser non-Western works – not to mention popular culture, such as rap music, soap opera, and even pornography.

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<sup>74</sup> Diane Ravitch, *Ibid*

Should we then be surprised that knowledge of our common heritage has greatly declined? That, for instance, as a survey of elite universities shows, nearly all college seniors could identify Beavis and Butthead, but 40% could not place the Civil War in the right half-century? <sup>75</sup>

It is also now the norm on campuses to reject this nation's historic "assimilation compact," or what was known in the early part of the last century as "Americanization." A book by SUNY Provost Peter Salins, *Assimilation, American Style*, describes our long-standing national consensus on this principle – this common-sense recognition that immigrants, for the good of all, must be integrated into American society. And note: from colonial times until the 1960s, the professorate itself taught about, and favored, assimilation. <sup>76</sup>

By the mid-1990s, however, support for our common heritage had drastically eroded. So deep in fact was this animus that an influential sociologist here at NYU, Richard Sennett, could confidently denounce the "evil of a shared national identity." <sup>77</sup>

Perhaps the most stunning rejection of our national identity is a doctrine called "transnational progressivism," which is now popular in some of our most prominent law schools. Transnational progressivism explicitly discards an American identity and sovereignty. It advocates rule by international bodies, that is, a post-American, post-democratic, and post-constitutional world order. <sup>78</sup>

Can we doubt that such radical teachings stoke the flames of Fourth Generation Warfare? That they sap the national unity we need to combat it? Clearly they fly in the face of what military experts say will be required – and I repeat: To prevail in the shadowy struggle before us, it will be more important than ever that Americans know who they are and why their country is worth fighting for. <sup>79</sup>

This pattern of denial applies particularly to the events of 9/11 and the War on Terror. In the 1980s and 1990s, for example, prominent professors of Middle Eastern studies excused away the growing threat of militant Islamism and terrorist attacks on American soil. In his book *Ivory Towers on Sand*, Martin Kramer demonstrates that almost all of these scholars simply refused to study militant Islam – or even Islam itself! Academics such as John L. Esposito of Georgetown dismissed Bin Laden's many threatening statements and actions. Sarah Lawrence professor Fawaz Gerges accused "the terror industry" of fomenting an "irrational fear of terrorism by focusing...on far-fetched horrible scenarios." A Harvard professor teaches innocuously that jihad is "a struggle without arms," while another, from Haverford College, has written a study guide to the Qur'an that omits the passages used by terrorists to justify their attacks. And on many campuses, academics one-sidedly portray the Arab-Israeli conflict: a SUNY-Binghamton professor, for instance, turned his classroom into an anti-Zionist round-table. <sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

<sup>76</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

<sup>77</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

<sup>78</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

<sup>79</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

<sup>80</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

But Middle Eastern scholars are not alone in their perversity. Just after the attacks, numerous administrators and students in an orgy of America-bashing joined professors in myriad disciplines.

For instance, in a commencement address, radical feminist Bell Hooks (sic), a professor at Southwestern University, equated terrorism with “life-threatening conservatism.” She excoriated “white, capitalist” men for their “imperialist aggression enacted in the name of bringing an end to terrorism....”

Noam Chomsky, the M.I.T. linguist, Islamist apologist and icon of the left, shares Professor Hooks’s twisted views. In his widely read book titled 9/11, Chomsky asserts that the United States is “a leading terrorist state.”

Here is what administrators did at San Diego University. An immigrant from Ethiopia took some Arab students to task after overhearing them praise – in Arabic – the 9/11 attacks. And the verdict? He was threatened with criminal charges and expulsion, and university public relations officers vilified his name.

And hear the words of one Joshua Greene, a student at West Virginia University: “In light of the destructive nationalism calling for war, the sight of the flag burning would be preferable to its display.”

Such reactions among students were, thankfully, the exception after 9/11. Most students responded patriotically to the attacks. Nonetheless, despite this hopeful sign, it is sobering to learn the results of a survey by a group called Americans for Victory over Terrorism. Their work revealed that 60% of college students believe that “understanding ...cultures and nations that dislike us” is a better approach to preventing terrorism than investing in strong defense capabilities, and 58% said they would evade the draft if called upon to fight against Saddam Hussein (although 79% believe the U.S. has the right to overthrow him).<sup>81</sup>

Now as I mentioned earlier, there is a third subset of campus radicalism that bears on the current crisis, postmodern nihilism, and it has captivated many of the best and brightest minds of this generation. Gertrude Himmelfarb, in her book *On Looking into the Abyss: Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society*, explains how postmodernists deny the possibility of accurately gathering evidence, impartially weighing facts, and acquiring objective knowledge. All such notions, postmodernists say, are mere tools – tools by which power-hungry Eurocentric elites exercise “hegemony” over oppressed peoples. Postmodernism, then, like the other forms of radicalism, reinforces animosity against America and the West. But it is also fatal to any realistic consideration of terrorism, war, and defense. That is, if we cannot know anything with any certainty – cannot distinguish fact from perception, or good from evil – why bother our heads with talk of threat, national identity, and the like?

That the single truth of manifold truthlessness had already been expressed so often and so well would probably silence historians in a world in which postmodernism had triumphed. Before that day of triumph, however, postmodernism offers historians rewarding opportunities to shock and

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<sup>81</sup> Candace de Russy, *Ibid*

offend (without risking the usual consequences of shocking and offending) by presenting the histories of blasphemy, horror, insanity, silence, censorship, murder, oppression, rape the darkness and the meanness that was always, for our sins, present in the world. An interest in these histories is the origin of the common cause made with postmodernism by feminist historians, who at least (whatever one thinks of their political aims and historical techniques) believe they have a moral responsibility to reclaim the neglected memory of women oppressed in the past.

Postmodernist historians can claim no such responsibility; at last, they can only exploit the history of the neglected and oppressed in order to disrupt any claim to historical understanding.<sup>82</sup>

When Nietzsche looked into the abyss, he saw not only real beasts but the beast in himself. "He who fights with monsters," he warned his reader, "should be careful lest he thereby become a monster. And if thou gaze long into an abyss, the abyss will also gaze into thee." This was all too prophetic, for a few years later the abyss did gaze back at him and drew him down into the depths of insanity. Our professors look down into the abyss secure in their tenured positions, risking nothing and seeking nothing save another learned article.

Nietzsche is now a darling of the academy. I have seen T-shirts emblazoned with the slogan "Nietzsche is Peachy." Nietzsche, who had no high regard for the academy but did have a highly developed sense of irony, would have enjoyed that sight.<sup>83</sup>

Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot. Religion ... is more needed in democratic republics than in any others. How is it possible that society could escape destruction if the moral tie is not strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed? And what can be done with a people who are their own masters if they are not submissive to the deity?<sup>84</sup> (de Tocqueville, quoted in Himmelfarb *op. cit.*)

The exact influence of postmodernism – and the other ideologies I've described – cannot be measured. But is it too much to infer that radical animosity toward this nation inspires fresh new recruits of Islamic terrorist Warriors? That it hardens their murderous resolve? And that it strengthens their worldwide intellectual support?

I think not. And neither does Professor Judea Pearl, the father of Daniel Pearl, the Wall Street Journal reporter who was tortured and murdered by terrorists – who then circulated a video of his slaying on the Internet. Professor Pearl explicitly links radical teachings in European universities to the rise of terrorism. And he does not shrink from calling these teachings by their true names: anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism. Here are Professor Pearl's words: These universities have "been supporting an ideology of hate, anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism...[They must take responsibility for] cultivating this culture of hate that threatens the world." "Bin Laden-

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<sup>82</sup> J. Bottum, Book review of **On Looking into the Abyss: Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society**. By **Gertrude Himmelfarb**. *Knopf First Things* 45 (August/September 1994) <http://www.firstthings.com/ftissues/ft9408/reviews/bottum.html>

<sup>83</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb, *On Looking into the Abyss*. The inner quotation is from *Beyond Good and Evil*

<sup>84</sup> de Tocqueville, quoted in Himmelfarb *op. cit.*

ism,” he adds, “has received a good deal of moral support from this ideology...If you saw the anti-American slogans that were displayed in Danny’s murder video, you [see]...a striking similarity between those and slogans displayed in campuses all over Europe.”

The words and actions of campus ideologues in this country should be similarly criticized – not silenced by the hand of government, but subjected to rigorous scholarly criticism in the public arena.

One manifestation of intellectual anti-Americanism is the lack of support for our military on many campuses. At the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, for example, faculty and administrators shouted down Marine Captain Felix Rodriguez as he attempted to make a pitch for military recruitment. At Washington University in St. Louis, the faculty voted to drop military men and women from a loan-assistance program for graduates who go into public service.

Journalist Stanley Kurtz cites a related example. Networks of influential multiculturalist ideologues, such as David Wiley, head of the African Studies Center at Michigan State University, are trying to do away with the National Security Education Program. The NSEP requires grantees to work for a security-related federal agency after graduation. Those boycotting it, Kurtz states, believe “scholarly cooperation with the American government to be a form of immoral collusion with imperialism.”

Words and deeds such as these have consequences. Campus radicalism spreads, like an infection, to all our institutions: the popular culture and media, our schools and churches, and government.

This domestic malaise also causes our enemies to multiply – enemies set upon attacking more innocent civilians. Militant Islamists and their supporters feed not only on religious fanaticism but also on campus political ideology. Both terrorists and campus radicals share the deep, quasi-Marxist view that the United States and the West are the chief causes of evil in the world. Radical teachings fuel our enemies’ hatred of us.

In a different time, when American shores were immune from such attacks, we perhaps could afford to treat campus radicalism as an irritant. But no longer. In the post-9/11 era – in this Fourth Generation – we know what can happen when mass-murder weaponry falls into the hands of terrorists.

In short, we can no longer afford to indulge campus radicals who erode our national identity and unity, or, as historian Donald Kagan bluntly puts it, who are “subversive of our safety.”

I will not dwell again, by way of conclusion, on the urgent need to defend ourselves in this Fourth Generation War. I will add, however, that its outcome will determine the course of freedom in the world. “We fight,” President Bush said on the first anniversary of 9/11, “not to impose our will but to defend ourselves and extend the blessings of freedom.”

## **Fourth Generation Warfare<sup>85</sup>**

Roughly speaking, "fourth generation warfare" includes all forms of conflict where the other side refuses to stand up and fight fair.

What distinguishes 4GW from earlier generations is that typically at least one side is something other than a military force organized and operating under the control of a national government, and one that often transcends national boundaries

If we look at the development of warfare in the modern era, we see three distinct generations ... Third generation warfare was conceptually developed by the German offensive in the spring of 1918 ... Is it not about time for the fourth generation to appear?

Entrusted as we in higher education are with passing on the American and Western democratic heritage, it is no small part of our mission to extend its blessings as well

## **Postmodern Society**

The concept of truth has always been bittersweet in the mouths of humans ever since the Fall into sin (Gen 3). Man cannot live with it or without it. Aristotle opened his book *Metaphysics* by stating, "man by nature desires to know." Much later the poet and play write T. S. Eliot noted, "Humankind cannot bear much reality."<sup>86</sup> Pilate demonstrated the attitude of fallen men toward truth when Jesus stood on trial before him: "Therefore Pilate said to Him, 'So You are a king?' Jesus answered, 'You say correctly that I am a king. For this I have been born, and for this I have come into the world, to testify to the truth. Everyone who is of the truth hears My voice.' Pilate said to Him, 'What is truth?' "(John 18:37-38a).<sup>87</sup> And with that, Pilate apparently walked away not waiting for an answer.

The Apostle Paul declared that all men have an awareness of God from the creation (Rom 1:20) and innately know right from wrong (Rom 2:14-15). But in spite of this fact, men continue to "suppress the truth in unrighteousness" (Rom 1:18). This suppression of the truth is clearly evident in the currently predominant worldview of postmodernism.

The current culture has experienced a paradigm shift from modernism to postmodernism. Postmodern thought is a rejection of absolute, objective truth. One author described the changes this way: "Permanence and solidity in social structures are now bygone commodities, not to mention abiding values and the concept of truth. Opposition to epistemology, realism, essentialism, all forms of foundationalism, transcendental arguments and standpoints, truth as correspondence, canonical descriptions, final vocabularies, and meta-narratives characterizes the new colossus. The new cognitive atmosphere is charged with pessimism regarding the possibility

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<sup>85</sup> [http://www.d-n-i.net/second\\_level/fourth\\_generation\\_warfare.htm](http://www.d-n-i.net/second_level/fourth_generation_warfare.htm)

<sup>86</sup> . S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), 69; quoted in Douglas Groothuis, *Truth Decay: Defending Christianity Against the Challenges of Postmodernism* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 9.

<sup>87</sup> Scripture taken from The New American Standard Bible, 1995 Update, (La Habra, Calif.: The Lockman Foundation, 1996).

of modernity's Holy Grail, *scientia* and *veritas*."<sup>88</sup>

Postmodernism is the term used by sociologists and others to describe a way of thinking that has become very pervasive in the Western world over the last generation. It is an approach to reality that is having a significant effect on literature, theatre, art, education, psychotherapy, law, science, architecture, the study of history and people's view of religion. Some significant writers who have promoted postmodernism are de Man, Geoffrey Hartman, Harold Bloom, J. Hillis Miller, Jean-Francois Lytard, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Richard Rorty. Its origins are found in the philosophies of Nietzsche, Heidegger, Marx and Freud. The Frankfurt School and their 'Critical Theory' influenced the college campuses and lead the Anti-War movements to this day. On some points, particularly its attitude to truth, it is similar to New Age thinking. As a way of thinking it can hardly be described as a "worldview", as one of its tenets is that there is no longer any one big story that is able to make sense of our little stories. In other words, "worldviews" are out!

### **Reality**

We all create our own reality. God tends to be ignored. Should he (she, it?) exist, he certainly has nothing to say about what we should believe or how we should behave.

### **Truth and reason**

There is no absolute truth. New Age guru Shirley MacLaine holds a typical postmodern perspective. In *Out on a Limb* she asks David, her spiritual guide, if he believes in reincarnation. He replies, "It's true if you believe it and that goes for anything." As Wheaton College professor Roger Lundin explains in *The Culture of Interpretation*, in postmodernism "all principles are preferences - and only preferences." As a result, "they are nothing but masks for the will to power." Postmodernism is distrustful of all authority and dogmatism. It often recasts the Enlightenment's sacred cows of reason and science as tools of oppression. Feminist scholar Sandra Harding complains that science embodies a male-centered view that is "culturally coercive".

Emotions, feelings, intuition, reflection, magic, myth, and mystical experience are now center stage. "I know" has been replaced by "I feel". There is a blurring of the difference between ourselves and the real world out there.

The postmodern aversion to truth is well expressed by Allan Bloom in *The Closing of the American Mind*:

*The danger...is not error but intolerance. Relativism is necessary to openness; and this is the virtue, the only virtue, which all primary education for more than fifty years has dedicated itself to [teaching]. Openness - and the relativism that makes it the only plausible stance in the face of various claims to truth and the various ways of life and kinds of human beings - is the great insight of our times. The true believer is the real danger. The study of history and of culture teaches that all the world was mad in the past; men always thought they were right, and that led*

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<sup>88</sup> Ted Cabal, "An Introduction to Postmodernity: Where Are We, How Did We Get Here, and Can We Get Home?," *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 5:2 (Summer 2001): 4.

*to wars, persecutions, slavery, xenophobia, racism and chauvinism. The point is not to correct the mistakes and really be right; rather it is not to think that you are right at all.*

Sigmund Freud had described this outcome with glaring precision nearly one hundred years ago:

*Fundamentally, we only find what we need and only see what we want to see. We have no other possibility. Since the criterion for truth - correspondence with the external world - is absent, it is entirely a matter of indifference what opinions we adopt. All of them are equally true and equally false. And no one has the right to accuse anyone else of error.*

Someone has said that we have now moved from the conviction that everyone has a right to his own opinions, to the notion that every opinion is equally right!

Postmodernism is pessimistic with regard to the concept of truth, Bible-believing Christians lay claim to possession of true truth. Indeed, the entire message and hope of the gospel lies in its truthfulness. If the gospel is not true, or as Paul stated, if there is no resurrection, "we are of all men most to be pitied" (1 Cor 15:19).

The question, therefore, is whether or not postmodernism's concept of truth is valid in light of the claims of God's Word, the Bible and what is the biblical concept of truth. After surveying the rise of postmodernism, an understanding of the biblical concept of truth will be presented.

### **Religion**

Postmodernism does not rule out religion, as did modernism, with its emphasis on human reason. However, the religions that are approved are very different from Christianity. You may believe what you want to. Go for what makes you feel good. Religion is cafeteria style. You choose what you like from what is spread in front of you, and put a meal together that suits your taste. There are strong links with paganism.

### **Morality**

All moral values are relative. Each person or culture develops their own moral values. The important question is not "Is it right?" but "What will it do for me?" There is a strong emphasis on the fact that we are shaped by our culture, and a consequent diminishing of personal responsibility.

### **Tolerance**

Tolerance of other views is one of the pillars of postmodernism. However, there is one group of people to whom this tolerance is not extended, those who believe truth to be important! This intolerance is especially directed to those who think others might be wrong. Postmodern analyst Frederick Turner, for instance, in *The Future of the Gods: Notes Towards a Postmodern Religion*, calls for tolerance and syncretism (mixing different religions together). Yet, in the same article he calls evangelical Christianity a "junk religion"!

### **Individualism**

There is a strong emphasis on individualism. In the American court case *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, in justifying the abortion license, the court declared that it is up to each individual to



determine "the concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life."

## **History**

There is much rewriting of history. What really happened is either unknowable or unimportant. A sad symptom of this is seen in a survey indicating that 33% of Americans subscribed to the view that the Holocaust, the killing of six million Jews by the Nazis during World War II, may never have happened.

Os Guinness in *Fit Bodies, Fat Minds*, gives a good summary of postmodern thinking:

*Where modernism was a manifesto of human self-confidence and self-congratulation, postmodernism is a confession of modesty, if not despair. There is no truth, only truths. There are no principles, only preferences. There is no grand reason, only reasons. There is no privileged civilization, only a multiple of cultures, beliefs, periods, and styles. There is no grand narrative of human progress, only countless stories of where people and their cultures are now. There is no simple reality or any grand objectivity of universal, detached knowledge, only a ceaseless representation of everything in terms of everything else. In sum, postmodernism...is an extreme form of relativism.*

William Dever, in an excellent article in *Near Eastern Archeology* on some writer's approach to history, and archeology in particular, says:

*Such "post modern" thinking has affected nearly all disciplines since [about] 1950, both in the natural and social sciences, to such an extent that it is now taken for granted as the reigning paradigm.*

## **The Rise And Influence Of Postmodernism**

"Wither is God," he [the madman] cried. "I shall tell you. *We have killed him*--you and I. All of us are his murderers. But how have we done this? How were we able to drink up the sea? Who gave us the sponge to wipe away the entire horizon?...Are we not straying through an infinite nothing? Do we not feel the breathe of an empty space? ...Do we not smell anything yet of God's decomposition? Gods too decompose. God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him. How shall we, the murderers of all murderers, comfort ourselves? ...I come too early," he said then; "my time has not come yet. This tremendous event is still on its way, still wandering--it has not yet reached the ears of man."<sup>89</sup>

The strangely prophetic words of Friedrich Nietzsche, written over a hundred years ago, have now reached the "ears of man." In the words of James Sire, "The acknowledgment of the death of God is the beginning of postmodern wisdom."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Madman," *Gay Science* 125, in *The Portable Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Viking, 1954), 95-96.

<sup>90</sup> James W. Sire, *The Universe Next Door: A Basic World View Catalog*, 3d ed. (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 173.

But the beginning of postmodern wisdom is the end of wisdom. Defining postmodernism is difficult; to do so will require some background.

Five major philosophical ontologies or worldviews exist. Ontology answers the question: What is reality? Before the modern era the three major ontologies were idealism, naturalism, and realism. Proponents of these three ontologies believe that there is an essential reality. That is, reality can be defined as to its essence and thus objective truth exists. Idealists such as Plato, Augustine, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, and Brightman believed that the essence of reality is immaterial ideas, forms, essences, that transcend the material world, which is, but a copy or a transient shadow of the really real. Naturalists such as Thales, Hobbes, Newton, Marx, and Sagan believed reality is defined by the natural, sensible world. Realists such as Aristotle and Aquinas believed reality is both material (physical) and immaterial (spiritual).

The modern era witnessed the development of the next two ontologies, pragmatism and existentialism, which believe that no essential reality exists (more specifically that ontology is unnecessary and misguided, respectively) and thus no objective truth. Pragmatists such as James and Dewey believed that reality is what works in empirical (physical) experience. Existentialists such as Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Sartre believed that reality is chosen by the individual. That means, basically, that reality is whatever the individual wants it to be. Individuals must create their own meaning because life does not come with any meaning in itself.

Premodern thought, governed largely by theism (the worldview centered on God as defining reality), addressed what is there (ontology). Modern thought, governed by Enlightenment naturalism; addressed how to know what is there (epistemology).

Postmodern thought, governed by pragmatism and existentialism, addresses how language functions to construct meaning itself. In other words, a shift has taken place in "first things" from being to knowing to constructing meaning.<sup>91</sup>

James Sire shed additional light on the shift from premodern to modern to postmodern thinking:

Two major shifts in perspective have occurred over the past centuries: one is the move from the "premodern" (characteristic of the Western world prior to the seventeenth century) to the "modern" (beginning with Descartes [1596-1650]); the second is the move from the "modern" to the "postmodern" (whose first major exponent was Friedrich Nietzsche in the last quarter of the nineteenth century). Take the following as an example of these shifts. . . . There has been a movement from (1) a "premodern" concern for a just society based on revelation from a just God to (2) a "modern" attempt to use universal reason as the guide to justice to (3) a "postmodern" despair of any universal standard for justice. Society then moves from medieval hierarchy to Enlightenment democracy to postmodern anarchy.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> James W. Sire, *Ibid* 175

<sup>92</sup> Gene Edward Veith Jr., *Postmodern Times: A Christian Guide to Contemporary Thought and Culture*, (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1995), 32-33.

Postmodernism has its roots in modernism that began in the 1700s with the Enlightenment. Rene Descartes is seen as the first modern philosopher. Gene Edward Veith observed,

So with the Enlightenment man became the center of the universe rather than God. The modern era left little or no meaning in life. In order to overcome this Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) developed his philosophy of existentialism. He called for living by faith, not reason. David Breese summarized, "He [Kierkegaard] had the problem of involvement in dead religion. He went to the Danish Church in Denmark, a cold brownstone place, but he wasn't satisfied. So he began to think -- 'Reality is not something outside ourselves. Truth is not something objective. Reality is within ourselves. Reality is an encounter, reality is involvement, reality, is what happens to you, and if it doesn't happen to you, forget it. It's not true.' He is what we call a subjectivist, actually a super-subjectivist."<sup>93</sup>

On the heels of Kierkegaard came Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), the philosopher whose words began this chapter. Nietzsche realized that the people of Europe lived as though God were dead, so he made atheism the cornerstone of his existential philosophy. The news that "God is dead" has now reached the "ears of man."

James Sire characterized postmodernism as follows:

(1) There has been a shift in "first things" from being to knowing to constructing meaning. . . . (2) The truth about the reality is forever hidden from us. All we can do is tell stories [narratives]. . . . (3) All narratives mask a play for power. Any one narrative used as a metanarrative is oppressive. . . . (4) Human beings make themselves who they are by the languages they construct about themselves. . . . (5) Ethics, like knowledge, is a linguistic construct. Social good is whatever society takes it to be. . . . (6) The cutting edge of culture is literary theory.<sup>94</sup>

Postmodern thought has greatly influenced contemporary culture. The hallmark of postmodern thought is the death of truth. Don Matzat noted, "The only absolute truth that exists in the postmodern mentality is that there is no such thing as absolute truth, and as far as the postmodern scholar is concerned, *that is absolutely true*."<sup>95</sup>

The self-contradiction is obvious but the postmodernist is not concerned with logic or truth. Everyone has his or her own "truth" and the height of arrogance is to say that one's "truth" is actually *the* truth. Nothing frightens the postmodernists more than a "fundamentalist" claim to absolute truth which they view as nothing more than an attempt to oppress those who disagree. So with the rise of postmodernism came ideas such as political correctness, tolerance, moral relativism, multiculturalism, new age spirituality, religious syncretism, empowerment of minorities, denigration of white European males, and homosexual rights. Every area of society

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93 David Breese, *Seven Men Who Rule the World From the Grave* (Oklahoma City: The Southwest Radio Church, 1980), 20-21

94 Sire, *Ibid* 175-84.

95 Don Matzat, "Apologetics in a Postmodern Age," *Issues, Etc. Journal* 2, no. 5 (Fall 1997): 7.

has been touched by postmodernism. Health care, literature, education, history, psychotherapy, law, science, and religion are all mutating under the influence of postmodernism.<sup>96</sup>

Because of their claim to an exclusive metanarrative (worldview), conservative, Bible- believing Christians are frequently exempted from society's tolerance. Christians are not only ignored by the popular culture, they are increasingly singled out for ridicule and outright bashing by the kinder, gentler postmodernists. The postmodernist's "tolerance" masks the reality of an underhanded power play.

The postmodern era is a dangerous time because of the loss faith in the concept of objective truth, especially in the realm of ideologies. Civilization is shaped by ideas, and the loss of truth as the fixed reference point by which civilization can be guided leads to moral chaos. One can only imagine what kinds of evil moral relativism will lead to in the years to come.

So much for postmodernism; what concept of truth does the Bible present and what hope does that truth hold for society?

The basic principles concerning the nature of truth in the Bible can be reduced to the following two over-arching propositions: (1) Truth is Theo-centric and absolute. (2) Truth is correspondence to reality.<sup>97</sup> From these two propositions, a number of logical deductions (philosophical implications) can be made.

### CONCLUSION

The following conclusions may be made concerning the biblical concept of truth: (1) God is truth. Truth is ontologically rooted in God. Truth is an unchanging, fixed, absolute attribute of God. *Truth* is thus unchanging, fixed, and absolute. (2) Truth is correspondence to reality. Truth is what is true as opposed to falsehood and lies. (3) Truth is verifiable. (4) Truth is revealed and therefore objective, knowable, and subject to systematization. Because God's Word was spoken and written, it may be taught and learned. (5) Truth may be personally practiced inasmuch as truth determines what is right and wrong, moral and immoral, righteous and unrighteous, real and unreal. The person who is faithful to God is so because he or she is "true to God," that is, ideologically and morally aligned to the true God, the God of truth.

The biblical concept of truth may thus be summarized by two overarching propositions: (1) Truth is Theo centric and therefore absolute. (2) Truth is correspondence to God-interpreted reality.<sup>98</sup>

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96 Postmodernism's influence in these areas is superbly treated in Dennis McCallum, ed., *The Death of Truth* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House Publishers, 1996).

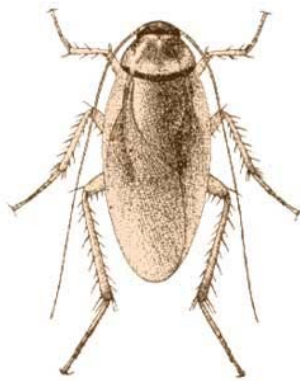
97 One survey of American Evangelical theories of truth revealed that the correspondence theory is most prevalent. See James Emery White, *What is Truth: A Comparative Study of the Positions of Cornelius Van Til, Francis Schaeffer, Carl F. H. Henry, Donald Bloesch, and Millard Erickson* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman and Holman, 1994), 33. Two other recent authors who advocate the correspondence theory of truth are Douglas Groothuis, *Truth Decay: Defending Christianity Against the Challenges of Postmodernism* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2000), 60-63; and Millard Erickson, *Truth or Consequences: The Promises and Perils of Postmodernism* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2001), 234.

98 D. Massimo Lorenzini, *Postmodern Truth Versus Biblical Truth* < <http://www.frontlinemin.org>>

There is not that much of a difference between the metamorphosis of a person into an insect and that of a group of states into a caliphate.

Franz Kafka, who described the transformation of a human into a vermin, could also have written the plot for the mutation of the Christian nations into the coming new caliphate – one world under Islam – a world without borders. After all, Gregor Samsa found himself transformed into an insect one morning. Thus, this Gregor Samsa lies in a room, examines his new physical state, and considers how he will be able to explain being late for work. Samsa does not waste any time thinking about why he is now an insect and how to escape this situation. Instead, there is only apathy, quiet resignation—the man accepts the undeniability of the surreal situation. He lies quietly with shallow breath, thinking, feeling, and acting as if he were unchanged.

A similar fate is befalling the West – European countries and North America. They question nothing, they do nothing, and they observe their metamorphosis with little discernible recognition, much less appropriate agitation. Once the smoke clears from the stage and the new caliphate shows its true colors, they will catch sight of an ugly creature—and that creature is themselves.



American Cockroach (*Periplaneta americana*)

History clearly indicates that Islamic barbarism against Jews and Christians dates back to the 7th Century. According to Islam, the word Christian is not a valid word, as there is no religion of Christianity according to Islam.<sup>99</sup>

Yet today we increasingly hear and read that Christianity and Islam ‘share’ Jesus that he belongs to both religions. So also with Abraham: there is talk of the West’s ‘Abrahamic civilization’ where once people spoke of ‘Judeo-Christian civilization’. This shift of thinking reflects the metamorphosis of Christians and the growing influence of Inter-religions organizations, postmodernism, Marxism and of Islam.

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<sup>99</sup> [www.answering-christianity.com](http://www.answering-christianity.com)