

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America: The Thankless Persuasion* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1962).
2. David Brooks, "Don't Worry, Be Happy!" *New York Times*, May 11, 2006.
3. See Robert A. Nisbet, "A Farewell to History" *National Review*, May 22, 1987, pp. 44–46; Richard Nixon's comments on *The Search for Historical Meaning* in "Book Choices of the Year," *American Spectator*, December 1987; and Paul Gottfried, "Richard Nixon: On Power and History: A Conversation with Paul Gottfried," *National Review*, July 14, 1989, pp. 41–42.
4. Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).
5. Nisbet, *Conservatism: Dream and Reality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

### CHAPTER 1

1. Alan Wolfe, "The Revolution That Never Was," *The New Republic*, June 7, 1999, pp. 37–38. The exchange between the author and Wolfe is in the same publication, July 12, 1999, pp. 4–5.
2. Correspondence between this author and Kuehnelt-Leddhin, May 14, 1998.
3. Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1995), 4–6, 26–30.
4. Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind, from Burke to T. S. Eliot*, 7th rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1986), 10–11.
5. *Ibid.*, 10, 59–60.
6. *Ibid.*, 9.
7. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
8. Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1951), VII–VIII.
9. Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*, 476.

10. John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York: Capricorn, 1963), 32, 90; and Paul Gottfried, *After Liberalism: Mass Democracy in the Managerial State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 55–60, 101–7.
11. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Vital Center*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), XII, 1–10.
12. *Ibid.*, IX.
13. Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*, 7, 40, 115, 194, 217, 222, 263.
14. James T. Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972); James McClelland and Kirk, *The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft* (New York: Fleet Press, 1967); Ronald Radosh, “A Noninterventionist Faces War,” in *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism* (New York: Simon Schuster, 1975), 119–45.
15. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1955), 20.
16. *Ibid.*, 10–11, 253–54.
17. Adam L. Tate, *Conservatism and Southern Intellectuals 1789–1861: Liberty and the Good Society* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), esp. 324–31.
18. Barry A. Shain’s *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995) would seem to challenge this picture of a liberal American founding, but the book offers conclusions that are compatible with my argument. While Shain stresses the Calvinist character of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America, he also looks at the modernizing features of early American Protestantism. Individual religious experience and a bourgeois work ethic both belonged to the morally conformist social culture that Shain contrasts to later godless American “individualism.”
19. For a polemical but highly informative account of the anti–New Deal Right, see Justin Raimondo, *Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement* (Burlingame, CA: Center for Libertarian Studies, 1994); see also Gregory L. Schneider, ed., *Conservatism in America Since 1930* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 5–68; Gottfried and Thomas Fleming, *The Conservative Movement* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988); and Gregory P. Pavlik, ed., *Selected Essays of John T. Flynn* (Irvington-on-Hudson, NY: Foundation for Economic Education, 1995).
20. See Sandro Chignola, *Società e costituzione. Teologia e politica nel sistema di Bonald* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1993), 125; Robert Nisbet, “De Bonald and the Concept of the Social Group,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1944): 315–31; and Robert Spaemann, *Der Ursprung der Soziologie aus dem Geist der Restauration. Studien über L.G.A. de Bonald* (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1959), 64.

21. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement Since 1945*, expanded ed. (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 30–73.
22. *Ibid.*, 87–117.
23. John A. Andrew, ed., *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 222.
24. *Ibid.*; see also Robert J. Bresler's introductory essay to his anthology, *Us vs. Them: American Political and Cultural Conflict from World War II to Watergate* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 3–93; and Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).
25. William F. Buckley, "The Party and the Deep Blue Sea," *Commonweal* 55 (January 24, 1952): 393.
26. Buckley, "Murray Rothbard, RIP," *National Review*, February 6, 1995; Jerome Tucille, "A Split in the Right Wing," *New York Times*, January 28, 1971; and Murray N. Rothbard, "The Transformation of the American Right," *Continuum* (Summer 1964): 220–31.
27. Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America, 1950–1985* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
28. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, 166–67.
29. Buckley, "Footnote to Brown v. Board of Education," *National Review*, March 11, 1961, p. 137; and in the same publication, F. S. Meyer, "Liberalism Runs Riot," March 26, 1968, p. 283; and F. S. Meyer, "The Negro Revolution," June 18, 1963, p. 496.
30. Henry Regnery, *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1979), 155.
31. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, 67.
32. Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*, 32.
33. *Ibid.*, 63.
34. For an emotionally charged but instructive response to this charge against Kirk, see Taki, "The Fifth Columnist," *The American Conservative*, November 4, 2005, p. 35.
35. See Peter Viereck, *Conservatism: From John Adams to Churchill* (Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand, 1950); and Viereck, *Conservatism Revisited: The Revolt Against Revolt* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 145–51.
36. Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America: The Thankless Persuasion* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 220–23.
37. Kirk, *Sword of Imagination: Memoirs of a Half Century of Literary Conflict* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995).
38. W. Wesley McDonald, *Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 11–12, 71; see also Gerald J. Russello, "Profile of a Pioneer," *Crisis*, October 21, 2004; and the exchange between McDonald and Russello in letters column, *Crisis*, February 3, 2005. My comments do not exclude the possibility of

reading Catholic elements into Kirk's later work, a hermeneutic possibility that McDonald readily concedes. More problematic, however, is the reading of these elements into Kirk's formative writings, a tendency that, according to McDonald, would not prevail if cultural conservatism had not become allied to the Catholic Right and, more specifically, neo-Thomism.

39. Kirk, *The Conservative Movement: From Burke to Santayana* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953), 8.
40. *Ibid.*, 9; and Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke: A Study of American Politics* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 1970).
41. This quotation from Rothbard came from an unpublished letter of his from February 9, 1960, which his biographer David Gordon made available to me.
42. *Ibid.*; see also the essay "Commentator on Our Time: A Quest for the Historical Rothbard" by Sheldon L. Richman that quotes from this letter in *Man, Economy, and Liberty: Essays in Honor of Murray N. Rothbard*, ed. Walter Block and L. H. Rockwell Jr. (Auburn, AL: Mises Institute, 1988), 371.
43. Among works on the relatively recent origin of the state are Ettore Rotelli and Pierangelo Schiera, ed., *Lo stato moderno*, 3 vols. (Bologna: Mulino, 1971–1974); Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of Nation States in Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); and Wolfgang Reinhard, *Geschichte der Staatsgewalt. Eine vergleichende Verfassungsgeschichte Europas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1999), see especially the bibliography for further relevant readings.
44. Frank S. Meyers, *In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1962), 40.
45. *Ibid.*, 41; and Meyers, ed., *What Is Conservatism?* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964).
46. See the comments on Meyer in Gottfried's *The Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the Postwar American Right* (DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois Press, 1986), XII–XV, 83–87, 88–91.
47. Karl Marx, *Die Frühschriften*, ed. Siegfried Landshut (Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag, 1953), 117, 143–45.
48. Harry V. Jaffa, "Lincoln and the Cause of Freedom," *National Review*, September 21, 1965, pp. 827–28; and also by Jaffa, *Crisis of a House Divided* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
49. Jaffa, *A New Birth of Freedom* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 6.
50. Jaffa, *American Conservatism and the American Founding* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1984), 255.
51. Walter Berns, "Congress Is Saying, Give Peace a Grant," *Wall Street Journal*, August 2, 1982, p. 14.
52. *Ibid.*, 148–56.

53. Jaffa, *How to Think About the American Revolution* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1978), 142.
54. *Ibid.* and 13–48. See also Jaffa's "Equality, Justice and the American Revolution," *Modern Age* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 114–26, written in response to the Southern Agrarian critic of Lincoln, M. E. Bradford. Rendering the arguments of Jaffa's now deceased adversary (see, e.g., "The Heresy of Equality," *Modern Age* 20, no. 1 [Winter 1976]: 62–77), especially noteworthy was Bradford's affinity for the mindset of European counterrevolutionaries. His statements are reminiscent of a classical conservative, appealing to unwritten custom, social deference, and the moral qualities of landed aristocracy. Attacks on his "bigotry" reflected either bewildered shock on the part of his critics or attempts to neutralize his appeal to "the reactionary imperative." See M. E. Bradford, *The Reactionary Imperative* (Peru, IL: Sherwood Sugden, 1980).
55. Jaffa, *How to Think About the American Revolution*, 13.
56. Buckley and Charles R. Kesler, ed., *Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought* (New York: Harper Collins, 1988).
57. See Jaffa, *American Conservatism*, XIV and passim XI–XIV; and Kesler's essay that follows, 1–17, which had been originally published as "The Special Meaning of the Declaration of Independence," *National Review*, July 6, 1979.
58. Jaffa, "On the Nature of Religion and Civil Liberty," in *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking? American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Buckley, 221–38 (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968).
59. Kirk, "The Conservative Movement Then and Now," in *Reclaiming a Patrimony: A Collection of Lectures*, Lecture 1 (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 1982).
60. Peter J. Stanlis, *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958); Stanlis, *The Relevance of Edmund Burke* (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1964); and Stanlis, *Edmund Burke: The Enlightenment and Revolution*, introduction by Kirk (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1991).
61. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, 60–61.
62. Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950–1985* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).
63. For works that contextualize this German "Basic Law conservatism," see Martin Kriele, *Einführung in die Staatslehre. Die geschichtlichen Legitimitätsgrundlagen des demokratischen Verfassungsstaates*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003); Joachim Ritter, *Metaphysik und Politik. Studien zu Aristoteles und Hegel*, exp. ed. with an afterword by Odo Marquard (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2003); and Frank Bösch, *Die Adenauer-CDU. Gründung, Aufstieg und Krisen einer Erfolgspartei, 1945–1969* (Munich: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2001).

64. Robert Spaemann, *Zur Kritik der politischen Utopie. Zehn Kapitel politischer Philosophie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977).
65. See Gottfried, "How European Nations End," *Orbis* 49, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 259–69.
66. Bosbach's comments on *Leitkultur*, December 2, 2004, are available at CDU/CSU Fraktion, <http://www.cducsu.de/section>.
67. For the nitpicking that attended this debate on *Leitkultur*, December 2, 2004, see FDP-site, <http://www.michael.goldmann.de/rede>. A resourceful social researcher for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Stefan Eisel devotes one issue of the institute's monthly *Die Politische Meinung* (December) to documenting the erosion of electoral support for the CDU-CSU Union since 2002. According to Eisel, this dwindling vote was related to the decision to play down traditional social positions "at a time of rapid change, when men are looking for stability and orientation." Both waffling on social issues lest it give offense and "reducing family politics to mere economics" actually cost the union many votes. What disguised this downward trend in 2005, however, was that the Socialists did even worse in the federal elections.
68. On the centrality of Middle Eastern policy as a determinant of political identity, see Philip Weiss's "George Soros's Right-Wing Twin," *New York* (August 1–8, 2005): 26–31, 88.
69. See National Review Online, posted January 21, 2002, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/goldberg/goldberg>; and on the same Web site, the earlier comments on Maistre, posted July 26, 2000.
70. Jaffa, *New Birth of Freedom*, 117–21.
71. See Jaffa, "The False Prophets of American Conservatism," delivered at the Claremont Institute's Lincoln Day Conference on February 12, 1998, available at Claremont Institute Writings, <http://www.claremont.org/writings>; and Vincent J. Cannato's "Culture vs. Creed," *Claremont Review of Books* 4, no. 4 (Fall 2004); Patrick Garrity's "Wilson's World," *Claremont Review of Books* 3, no. 2 (Spring 2003); and Dennis J. Mahoney's "Un-American Activities," *Claremont Review of Books* 4, no. 4 (Fall 2004).
72. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 153.
73. *Ibid.*, 27.
74. Claes G. Ryn, *America the Virtuous: The Crisis of Democracy and the Quest for Empire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003).
75. See Ernst van den Haag's "The War Between Paleos and Neos," *National Review*, February 24, 1989, pp. 21–23; and the subsequent exchange between van den Haag and S. T. Francis in letters column, *National Review*, April 7, 1989, pp. 43–45.

76. Schwartz on Trotsky, June 11, 2003, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/comment>; and Gottfried, "Mussolini and the Mideast," *American Conservative*, July 4, 2005, pp. 3–25.
77. Michael Massing, "Trotsky's Orphans," *New Republic*, January 22, 1987, pp. 18–20.
78. Claes Ryn, conversation with the author, July 1987. The connection between cultural conservatives and the Republican Party, and particularly Ronald Reagan and his entourage, should be clear from Lee Edwards's authorized history of America's most visible promoter of cultural conservatism, Intercollegiate Studies Institute. See Lee Edwards, *Educating for Liberty: The First Half Century of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2003). For full disclosure, the reader is referred to a symposium in Intercollegiate Studies Institute's publication "The State of Conservatism," *Intercollegiate Review* (Spring 1986), in which I participated with Russell Kirk and others mentioned in this chapter concerning changes on the American Right. My commentary on pages 19–21, which Edwards discusses (see *Educating for Liberty*, 181–84), suggests that the "Old Right" will take back the conservative movement because it stands for the conservative rank and file. At that time I was still leaning toward the conservatism that was present in the original *National Review*, before its transitory character had become fully apparent.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Michael Oakeshott (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 39–40; and André Robinet, "Pensée et langage chez Hobbes," *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 33, no. 129 (1979): 443–51.
2. Karl Mannheim, *Konservatismus: Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des Wissens* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1984), 137–84.
3. *Ibid.*, 146–54, 120–27, 218–20.
4. *Ibid.*, 133–53, 220–23; and Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, 8th ed. (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1995), 134–43.
5. See Christoph Groffy's introductory essay to Mannheim, *Konservatismus*, 11–37.
6. Mannheim, *Konservatismus*, 169.
7. See Paul Gottfried, *The Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the Postwar American Right* (DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois Press, 1986), 104–34; and the review essay for this work by Robert Nisbet, *National Review*, May 22, 1987, pp. 39–44.
8. See Henry Regnery, "Russell Kirk and the Making of the Conservative Mind," *Modern Age* 21 (Fall 1977): 338–53; W. Wesley

- McDonald, "Russell Kirk of Piety Hill," *The Alternative*, February 1971, pp. 9–11; and Russell Kirk, *The Surly Sunken Bell* (New York: Fleet Publishing, 1962).
9. See two illustrations of latter-day American historical conservatism: Donald Livingston, *Philosophical Melancholy and Delirium: Hume's Pathology of Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and Clyde N. Wilson, ed., *A Defense of Southern Conservatism: M. E. Bradford and His Achievement* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999).
  10. Mannheim, *Konservatismus*, 158–59 and 195–97; and Klaus Epstein, *The Genesis of German Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 1–70.
  11. Eugene Genovese, *The Southern Tradition: The Achievement and Limitation of an American Conservatism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994). Genovese combines sympathy for his subject with a residual social determinism, traceable to his Gramscian-Marxist background.
  12. See Richard M. Weaver, *Ideas Have Consequences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947); Joseph Scotchie's biography *Barbarians in the Saddle: An Intellectual Biography of Richard Weaver* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1995) and the anthology of Weaver essays, Scotchie, *The Vision of Richard Weaver* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996); and Ted J. Smith, ed., *Collected Shorter Writings of Richard M. Weaver* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 2001). The construction of a comprehensive biography for Weaver remains a project waiting to be done. Two scholars who undertook this work with the assistance of University of Missouri Press, Ted Smith and John Attarian, both friends of this author, died suddenly at relatively young ages. Scotchie, who produced a monograph on Weaver, celebrates him for his Southern conservative thinking and as someone whose hometown, Weaverville, is adjacent to Scotchie's native city, Asheville.
  13. Frank S. Meyer, "Richard M. Weaver: An Appreciation," *Modern Age* 14 (Summer 1970): 243.
  14. See Carlo Galli, *I Controrivoluzionari. Antologia di scritti politici* (Bologna: Il Molino, 1981), esp. intro.; Panajotis Kondylis, *Konervativismus. Geschichtler Gehalt und Untergang* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1986); and Nisbet, *Conservatism: Dream and Reality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
  15. Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, 208–9; Mannheim, *Konservatismus*, 142–46, 184–85; and Mannheim, "Historismus," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 52 (1924): 1–60.
  16. Kondylis, *Konervativismus. Geschichtlicher Gehalt und Untergang*, (Stuttgart: Klett, 1988), 51, 387–441. See also Gottfried, "Panajotis Kondylis and the Obsolescence of Conservatism," *Modern Age* 39, no. 4 (Fall 1987): 403–10.



17. Carl Schmitt, *Politische Romantik*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1968). For more nuanced formulations of Schmitt's attack on Müller and the political romantics in general, see Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, 8th edition, ed. Hans Herzfeld (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1962), esp. 113–42; and Gottfried, "Kunst und Politik bei Burke und Novalis," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 19, no. 2 (1974): 240–51.
18. Mannheim, *Konservatismus*, 25–36, 187–97, 200–205, 213–23; Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, 202–4; the short sketch of Savigny in Carpar Schrenck-Notzing, ed., *Lexikon des Konservatismus* (Graz: Stocker Verlag, 1996), 476–77; and Gottfried, "German Romanticism and Natural Law," *Studies in Romanticism* 4 (Summer 1968): 231–42.
19. Adam Müller, *Über König Friedrich II und die Natur, Würde und Bestimmung der preussischen Monarchie* (Berlin: n.p., 1810), 49.
20. Mannheim, *Konservatismus*, 216–20.
21. A shorter version of Mark C. Henrie's "Understanding Traditionalist Conservatism" is available in Peter Berkowitz, ed., *Varieties of Conservatism in America* (Palo Alto, CA: Hoover Press, 2004); the citations are from the longer Web site text, August 5, 2005, available at "The New Pantagruel," [http://www.newpantagruel.com/issues/2.2/understanding\\_traditionalist\\_c.php](http://www.newpantagruel.com/issues/2.2/understanding_traditionalist_c.php).
22. *Ibid.*, 13.
23. Marist Poll, released on August, 12, 2005, showing growing Republican support for Hillary Clinton; see "Presidential Election of 2008," *New York Times*, February 22, 2005, p. F22.
24. Kevin P. Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1969); and Gottfried, *The Conservative Movement*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan-Twayne, 1993), 30–50.
25. Murray Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 200.
26. *Ibid.*, 225.
27. *Ibid.*; and William F. Buckley, "Toast to Tomorrow," *National Review*, December 22, 1997, pp. 46–49.
28. For references to this now largely forgotten incident, see Gottfried, "Looking Back," *The World and I* 8 (August 1986): 460–64.
29. John B. Judis, "The Conservative Crackup," *American Prospect* 3 (Fall 1990): 30–39; I. L. Horowitz, conversation with the author, May 7, 1989; and John B. Judis, "The Conservative Wars," *New Republic*, August 11, 1987, pp. 15–16.
30. Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution*, 7, 196–204. Like other proponents of neoconservatism, particularly Mark Gerson (*The Neoconservative Vision: From the Cold War to the Culture Wars* [Lanham: Madison Books, 1996]), who speaks vaguely about "Catholic

neoconservatives,” Friedman treats as “neoconservatives” writers who may have received neoconservative patronage and those who are in some way affiliated with neoconservative-funded organizations. By this inclusive definition, I too could fall into Friedman’s category by virtue of having taken funding, unbeknownst to myself, from one of his confreres. Friedman repeatedly credits his movement with intellectual enterprises that they have funded. Still, it is hard in the end to connect projects like Charles Murray’s work on the genetic basis of intelligence or anti-abortion Catholic magazines to recognizable neoconservative interests.

31. See *American Conservative*, November 8, 2004, for the comment by editor Scott McConnell endorsing John Kerry in the presidential race; P. C. Roberts’s vitriolic invectives directed against Bush and his “brownshirt” administration is available at <http://www.lewrockwell.com/roberts/roberts-arch.html>; <http://www.counterpunch.org/roberts>; and <http://www.antiwar.com/roberts>; and still growing followings, which are as fierce as any group on the American Left in their attacks on Bush and the Republican Party.
32. Gary Dorrien, *The Neoconservative Mind: Politics, Culture, and the War of Ideology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 369.
33. Richard J. Neuhaus, “Will Herberg Pluralist,” *National Review*, January 22, 1988, p. 54.
34. Victor S. Navasky, *A Matter of Opinion* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 2005), 419.
35. See Eliso Vivas’s *The Moral Life and the Ethical Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 49–74; and just about every issue of *Modern Age* from 1956 on.
36. An exploration by Murray Rothbard of ethical values within the framework of a liberty-maximizing society can be found in *Man, Economy, and the State: a Treatise on Economic Principle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand, 1962); and Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982). See also the essays on liberty and morality in Rothbard, *Man, Economy, and Liberty*, 195–268.
37. See Dorrien, *The Neoconservative Mind*, 180–82; and Norman Podhoretz, “The Culture of Appeasement,” *Harper’s* 255, no. 1529 (October 1977): 32.
38. Friedman (*The Neoconservative Revolution*, 196–97) highlights the NAS’s commitment to neoconservative activists and neoconservative goals. See also David Horowitz’s related Web site publication <http://www.frontpagemag.com>, particularly its revealing “War Room” series. The neoconservative daily the *New York Sun* produced an editorial (February 27, 2006, pp. 1, 7) expressing enthusiastic approval that the controversial historian David Irving, who in Austria was

accused and found guilty of “Holocaust denial,” was sentenced to three years imprisonment. Whether the 67-year-old historian was actually guilty as charged was not clear from the contemptuous coverage, nor could one discern from reading the report any questioning of a judicial process whereby a British visitor to Austria was seized upon arrival and imprisoned for having taken an interpretive position, however ill conceived, that the Austrian government had decided to criminalize. The *New York Sun* defended Austria’s action as “a kind of atonement by a country starting to recognize that its great error of the twentieth century was not only the authoritarianism [of its past] but the anti-Semitism itself.” This came from a neo-conservative publication that steadily upholds intellectual freedom when defending those who hold its views on the war in Iraq or Israeli-Palestinian relations.

39. Peter Steinfels, *The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 55.
40. Podhoretz’s books are mostly autobiographical and, despite their distribution as inspirational reading to members of the onetime Old Right Young Americans for Freedom, focus on nothing more important than their subject’s spats with other New York Jewish intellectuals. See Podhoretz’s *Making It* (1969), *Breaking Ranks: A Political Memoir* (1979), *Bloody Crossroads: Where Literature and Politics Meet* (1996), and *Ex-Friends* (1999). The interpretation of such name-calling as high literature raises doubts about the claim that American conservatism has elevated its intellectual horizons since the 1980s.
41. A now largely forgotten study of neoconservatives dealing with the narrowly restricted social world of their beginnings is Alexander Bloom’s *Prodigal Sons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
42. Dr. Samuel T. Francis, conversation with the author, July 5, 1986; and Christopher Hitchens, “A Modern Medieval Family,” *Mother Jones* (July 1986): 52–56 (first installment); (August 1986): 74–76(second installment).
43. Steinfels, *The Neoconservatives*, 39–46; Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology* (New York: Free Press, 1962); and Chaim Waxman, *The End of Ideology Debate* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), an anthology.
44. Buckley, ed., *Did You Ever See A Dream Walking? American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 228.
45. For a devastating critique of Jaffa’s hortatory rhetoric masked as moral reasoning, see David Gordon’s review of *New Birth of Freedom* in *Mises Review* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 16–22; and for the still unpublished source of this critique, see David Gordon, “Jaffa on Equality, Democracy, Morality,” lewrockwell.com, available at <http://www.lewrockwell.com/gordon/gordon5.html>. Gordon provides a devastating response in the *Mises Review* (Winter 1995) to Dinesh

- D'Souza's *The End of Racism* (New York: Free Press, 1995), the work of a self-identified neoconservative reprising Jaffa's attacks on "cultural relativism." Gordon explains that D'Souza misunderstands the nature and implications of the relativism that he condemns. According to Gordon, neoconservatives, including D'Souza, equate Max Weber's "fact-value distinction" with a relativist ethic. They thereby misrepresent what Weber understood as facts and values and betray how little of his work they have read.
46. See Irving Kristol, "'Family Values'—Not a Political Issue," *Wall Street Journal*, December 7, 1992, p. 14; and Gerson, *The Neoconservative Vision*, 328–33.
  47. See the yearly report *Jewish Political Studies* published by Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, ed. Daniel J. Elazar 11, no. 11 (Spring 1999); and for an informative but partisan study of the same issue, *International Religious Report* (2000).
  48. Kristol, "The Coming Conservative Century," *Wall Street Journal*, February 1, 1993, p. 18.
  49. See Kristol, *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 386.
  50. Willmoore Kendall, "Do We Want An 'Open Society'?" *National Review*, January 31, 1959, p. 493; and *The Conservative Affirmation* (Chicago: Regnery, 1963), 108–16.
  51. Linda C. Raeder, *John Stuart Mill and the Religion of Humanity* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 234–67; Joseph Hamburger, *John Stuart Mill on Liberty and Control* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); and Maurice Cowling, *Mill and Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).
  52. William A. Donahue, *Twilight of Liberty: The Legacy of the ACLU* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994).
  53. Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, 70–76.
  54. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 202.
  55. Barry Shain, conversation with the author, July 15, 2005; and Shain's review of M. J. Zuckert in *Modern Age* 45, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 366–68.
  56. Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*, 142.
  57. Kristol, *Neoconservatism*, 163–64.
  58. *Ibid.*, 165–78.
  59. See Benjamin Hart, *The Third Generation: Young Conservative Leaders Look Toward the Future* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1987), introductory note by President Reagan and 11–28.
  60. *Ibid.*, 255–70.
  61. George Will, "Silliness on Stem Cell Research," *Washington Post*, August 7, 2005.
  62. William Bennett, *The Broken Hearth: Reversing the Collapse of the Family* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 47–66.

63. In “Der lange Marsch der CDU nach links,” German political historian Karlheinz Weissmann presents an argument about “value conservatism” similar to mine in explaining the “leftward lurch” of the Christian Democrats on social and national questions under Helmut Kohl and even more under Merkel. According to Weissmann, in the 1970s the center-right CDU decided to exchange the defense of “structural conservatism,” identified with the family, church, army, and nation, for a less confrontational “Wertekonservatismus,” a position that signified a “dwindling of its conservative content.” Instead of rising to the defense of German refugees from Eastern Europe, upholding the honor of its nation and the traditional concept of marriage, Christian Democratic leaders could leave behind divisive issues, which were likely to draw charges of flirting with fascism from the left, and to focus on inoffensive electoral slogans. In Germany, Weissmann insists that this substitution was deliberate and took place for opportunistic reasons. See the *Junge Freiheit* Web site for August 18, 2000, at <http://www.jf.de/archiv00/340yy46.htm>.

### CHAPTER 3

1. Philip Weiss, “The George Soros of the Right,” *New York* (August 1–8, 2005): 88.
2. *Ibid.*, 89.
3. Paul Gottfried, *The Conservative Movement*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1993), 118–41; Roger Williams, “Capital Clout,” *Foundation News* 30, no. 4 (July/August 1989): 40; George Archibald’s report on Heritage funding in *Washington Times*, December 2, 1991, p. A7.
4. Gottfried, *The Conservative Movement*, 124–36.
5. Weiss, conversation with the author, April 6, 2005.
6. For a particularly spirited attack on his neoconservative opponents, see Murray Rothbard’s presidential speech to the John Randolph Club, “A Strategy for the Right,” January 18, 1992, cited from the original manuscript; and William McGurn, “Pat Buchanan and the Intellectuals,” *National Review*, February 17, 1992, pp. 41–42.
7. See Suzanne Garment’s comments in “There’s Nothing Like a Liberal Trial for an Education,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 11, 1985, p. 28; and James Nuechterlein’s review of John Judis’s biography of William F. Buckley in *Commentary* 85, no. 6 (June 1988): 31.
8. See Stephen Schwartz, “What Is Islamo-Fascism?” *Weekly Standard*, August 17, 2006, available at <http://www.weeklystandard.com/Contest/Public/Articles>.
9. Irving Kristol, “The Neoconservative Persuasion: What It Was and What It Is,” *The Weekly Standard*, August 25, 2003, p. 2.

10. *Ibid.*, 2, 3.
11. See “Conservative Lament Movement’s Founders Win a Few but Not the Big One,” *Washington Times*, August 24, 2003, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/commentary/archive/long>.
12. An Evangelical opponent of the war in Iraq, Lawrence M. Vance has documented the Religious Right’s attitude of submissiveness toward the Bush administration in his article “Christianity and the War,” available at <http://www.levrockwell.com/vance/vance81.html>. Vance also wrote a book on the same topic, *Christianity and War* (Pensacola, FL: Vance Publications, 2005); Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics: The Secret Alliance Between Israel and the U.S. Christian Right* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1989); the same tendency can be found in Jerry Falwell’s weekly “Newsletter to the Moral Majority Coalition and the Liberty Alliance,” particularly the August 25, 2005, issue, which equates opposition to the Iraqi war with “hate-Bush, hate-America, hate-capitalism.”
13. Samuel T. Francis, *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993); and an essay on the same themes, Samuel T. Francis, monthly column, *Chronicles* 15 (May 1990): 14–17. Because of his deadly wit and no-holds-barred style, Francis became one of the more penetrating but hated critics of the postwar Right. His literary brilliance and analytic power have never been equaled among commentators on the postwar conservative movement; nonetheless, Francis suffered for his merits by being driven out of the later conservative movement as an “extremist.”
14. This now ritualistic emphasis on the profundity of neoconservative scholarship is evident in, among other works, William A. Rusher’s *The Rise of the Right*, rev. ed. (New York: National Review, 1993), 165–68.
15. See Charles Krauthammer, “Neoconservatism and Foreign Policy,” originally delivered at a banquet to honor I. Kristol, in *The National Interest*, October 2004, available at <http://www.inthenationalinterest.com/Articles/october2004/october2004/Krauthammer>.
16. Joel Mowbray, “General Zinni, What a Ninny!” *Townhall.com*, December 31, 2003, available at [http://townhall.com/columnists/JoelMowbray/2003/12/31/general\\_zinni\\_what\\_a\\_ninny](http://townhall.com/columnists/JoelMowbray/2003/12/31/general_zinni_what_a_ninny); and Michael Lind, “A Tragedy of Errors,” *The Nation*, February 23, 2004, pp. 2–7.
17. Lee Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution* (New York: Free Press, 1999); and Jerome L. Himmelstein, *To the Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). Himmelstein’s work may not really deserve its title, since it ignores significant “transformations” of the movement that it sets out to treat.
18. Mark Gerson, *The Neoconservative Vision: From the Cold War to the Culture Wars* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1996), 309–20; and Gottfried,

- "The Conservative Crackup," *Society* (January/February 1994): 23–24.
19. Peter Brimelow, conversation with the author, July 24, 2002; and Brimelow's *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Random House, 1995).
  20. M. E. Bradford, interview with the author, July 10, 1987; and Bradford, *The Neoconservative Vision*, 313.
  21. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 329–41.
  22. See Gottfried, "Toward a New Fusionism," *Policy Review* 42 (Fall 1987): 64–71; Paul Piccone, "The Crisis of Conservatism," *Telos* 74 (Winter 1987–1988): 3–29; and S. Churcher, "Radical Transformation," *New York Times Magazine*, July 6, 1989, 30–31.
  23. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, 159–66.
  24. See Jonathan M. Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing: The Rise of Modern American Conservatism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), esp. 190–265. The omission from this generally reliable survey of all references to conservative wars or splits on the Right since the 1980s may be the result of the outcome of these struggles. Since neoconservative power over the movement is no longer in doubt, Schoenwald assumes that it represented a natural progression from whatever came before.
  25. Friedrich Julius von Stahl, *Die gegenwärtigen Parteien im Staat und Kirche* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1863), 2.
  26. See F. Carolyn Graglia's *Domestic Tranquility: A Brief Against Feminism* (Dallas: Spence, 1998), esp. 40–41, 140–43, for a critique of moderate or "classical liberal feminists." Graglia poses the question whether or not the neoconservative model of restrained feminism, represented by Christine Hoff Sommers, which seeks to return selectively to the ideas of Betty Friedan, has departed significantly from the current feminism. The feminism that precedes its present radicalized form, according to Graglia, is its precondition and not its bourgeois alternative.
  27. For Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's remarks on March 8, 2006 on the occasion of International Women's Day, available at <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/62735.htm>.
  28. See, for this neoconservative reconstruction of Martin Luther King Jr., David Horowitz's columns on *FrontPage Magazine.com*, August 19, 2002, and January 20, 2003, available at <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/index.asp>. The latter begins by explaining (without really proving) that "Martin Luther King was a great man and a conservative one, which is why the Left turned its back on him." A work that inter alia refutes such assertions while focusing on King's unacknowledged use of borrowed texts for his dissertation is Theodore Pappas's *Plagiarism and the Cultural War: The Writings*

- of *Martin Luther King Jr. and Other Prominent Americans*, expanded edition with introduction by Eugene Genovese (Tampa, FL: Hallberg, 1998).
29. Ralph Peters, *New Glory: Expanding America's Global Supremacy* (Denville, NJ: Dimension Books, 2005).
  30. Rich Lowry "Rice on Tour," *National Review Online*, February 11, 2005, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/lowry/lowry200502110734.asp>.
  31. Peter Steinfels, *The Rise of the Neoconservatives: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1994* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 55–58, 65–67, 172–73, 260–63.
  32. Jurgen Habermas, *The New Conservatives*, trans. and ed. Shierry Weber Nicholsen (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1991); and Thomas Fleming's incisive review of this book in *Society* 28, no. 3 (March/April 1991): 92–94.
  33. David Brooks, "The Power of Marriage," *New York Times*, November 22, 2003, p. A15; and Brooks, "America Is Being More Virtuous," *New York Times*, August 7, 2005, p. A15.
  34. I. Kristol, "The Neoconservative Persuasion," 2, 3.
  35. See the dossier on Adler and other French journalists who identify criticism of the United States or of Israel and opposition to free trade with "judéophobie" in: Alain de Benoît, "Revue de la nouvelle judéophilie," *Elements* 117 (Summer 2005): 40–49; Pierre-André Taguieff, *La nouvelle judéophobie* (Paris: Mille et une nuit Presse, Paris, 2002); J.-F. Revel, *Antiamericanism*, trans. Diarmid Cammel (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2003); and Gottfried, "Les tentations du pouvoir," *Catholica* (Fall 2003): 32–38.
  36. I. Kristol, "The Neoconservative Persuasion."
  37. Wanniski (until his death in 2005) and Roberts both distrusted the neoconservatives because of their perceived Jewish nationalism, which they alleged had taken over the conservative movement and the Republican Party. See the columns of Roberts and Wanniski, condemning the Iraqi war as an unwise neoconservative adventure, on <http://www.antiwar.com>.
  38. Gottfried, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt: Toward a Secular Theocracy* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 81–84.
  39. See Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1996): 25–34.
  40. Two books addressing the transitions in the development of the welfare state with special reference to Germany are Meinhard Miegel's *Die deformierte Gesellschaft: Wie die Deutschen ihre Wirklichkeit verdrängen* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2005); and Miegel, *Epochenwende: Gewinnt der Westen die Zukunft* (Berlin: Propyläen, 2005); also Gottfried, *After Liberalism: Mass Democracy in the Administrative State* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); and Gottfried, *The*



*Strange Death of Marxism: The European Left in the New Millennium* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005).

41. See Norman Podhoretz, "My Negro Problem and Ours," *Commentary* 35, no. 2 (February 1963): 93; and Podhoretz, *Breaking Ranks* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 53. A far more interesting turn-around on race relations, though the volte-face was never made explicit, related to Ernst van den Haag (1914–2005), who spent the fifties and sixties as a "scientific" expert testifying in court cases, most notably *Stell v. Savannah-Chatham Board of Education* (1963), on black cognitive inferiority and the merits of segregation. By the eighties, however, van den Haag, originally a Dutch Jew who later became a Catholic, threw in his lot with the neoconservatives, vigorously taking their side at *National Review*. See John P. Jackson, *Science for Segregation: Race, Law, and the Case against Brown v. Board of Education* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 131–37.
42. Ronald Radosh, "Why Conservatives Are So Upset with Thomas Woods's Politically Incorrect History," History News Network, available at <http://hnn.us/articles/10493.html>. See also the Joseph Bishop, "The End of Senator McCarty," *American Spectator* 16 (December 1983): 16–20, which includes invectives against McCarthy, together with a drawing on the cover that shows him plunged into a garbage can and covered with litter. One might wonder whether *Commentary* would have featured the same denunciations ten years earlier that its associates later put into the neoconservative *American Spectator*.
43. I. Kristol, "The New York Intellectuals," *Commentary* 47, no. 6 (July 1969): 14.
44. I. Kristol, "Civil Liberties 1952: A Study in Confusion," *Commentary* (March 1952): 233–34.
45. For comments on the neoconservatives' uses of the Religious Right by someone who obviously supports this practice, see Murray Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 214–22. Illustrating how Christianity was treated in *Commentary* prior to its strategic turn in the late eighties are Norman Ravitch, "The Problem of Christian Anti-Semitism," *Commentary*, April 1982; Ruth Wisse, "The Delegitimation of Israel," *Commentary*, July 1982; Henryk Grynberg, "Appropriating the Holocaust," *Commentary*, November 1982; and Hyam Maccoby, "Christianity's Break with Judaism," *Commentary*, August 1984. Almost all of these articles trace the roots of the Holocaust to Christian anti-Semitism going back to the Gospels. According to the most uncompromising of these critics of the Christian tradition, Wisse, Israel has suffered delegitimation because of Christian anti-Semitism, which has now spread to the pro-Palestinian Left. Although the Religious Right's pro-Zionist politics had been apparent for years, the neoconservatives

may not have immediately noticed it. It is also possible that anti-Christian members of the neoconservatives' older generation needed time to adjust psychologically to a changed political situation. Thus it took several years after the Christian Right's Zionist enthusiasms had become clear before *Commentary* ceased to attack the New Testament as a source of anti-Semitism. For a well documented treatment of *Commentary's* attacks on Christianity, see Thomas Piatak's "Ecrasez l'infame" in *Chronicles* (April 2007), 14–16.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. See John Lukacs, *The Last European War, September 1939/December 1941* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976); and Lee Congdon, "Reactionary Loyalties," *Modern Age* 45, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 232–34. A discussion of Italian fascism's appeal to the American democratic Left well into the 1930s is available in John P. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Entfernte Verwandtschaft: Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus, New Deal 1933–1939* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2005), esp. 23–52. Schivelbusch's study might have been better if it were less discursive (much of it centers on city planning under the vigorous governments of the Depression years) and if it were less full of disclaimers about not wishing to compare such progressive Democrats as FDR to European dictators. Either the author should point out the programmatic and characterological similarities between the governments, as James Burnham does in *The Managerial Revolution*, repr. ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972) or he should pick another theme that he can treat with fewer inhibitions. In the early thirties FDR and his Braintrusts (*ibid.*, 31–36) admired Mussolini as a reformer, contrasting him to Hitler, whom they considered a Teutonic brute. Less clear is whether the New Dealers, who had been mostly Wilsonians, disliked the Nazi regime because it was German or because they foresaw the ugly German version of fascism.
2. Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista: L'organizzazione dello stato fascista 1925–1929* (Turin: Einaudi, 1968), 243–96.
3. Ernst Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917–1945: Nationalismus und Bolschewismus* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1987), 46–106; and Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Jüdischer Bolschewismus: Mythos und Realität*, intro. by Ernst Nolte (Dresden: Edition Antaios, 2002).
4. De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista*, 223–43; and Franklin H. Adler, *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism: The Political Development of the Italian Bourgeoisie, 1906–34* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Two worthwhile studies of the Italian Fascist

- attempt to look back to the rural past as well as forward to the urban, industrial future are by Danilo Breschi; “Il regime fascista: Tra ruralismo e industrialismo,” *Mondo Operaio* 1 (January-February, 2006), 109–18; and “Nuova ricognizione sul fascismo,” in *Annali della Fondazione Ugo Spirito* 14 and 15 (2002-2003), 123–76; see also the thematic issue on Fascism, edited by Frank H. Adler, of the journal *Telos*, 133 (Winter 2006).
5. See Alistair Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism: A Study of Intellectuals and Fascism, 1919–1944* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); and Pareto’s letter to Mussolini from July 1923 in the appendix to *Le trasformazioni della democrazia*, ed. Mario Missiroli (Milan: Cappelli Editore, 1964), 169–70.
  6. W. Etschmann, *Die Kämpfe in österreich im Juli 1934* (Vienna: österreich Lexikon, 1984); and L. Reichhold, *Die Vaterländische Front und ihr Widerstand gegen den Anschluss, 1933–38: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: österreich Lexikon 1984). A uniquely interesting study of the transition from traditional conservatism to various Rightist movements in Austro-German society is Arnim Mohler and Karlheinz Weissmann, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932: Ein Handbuch* (Graz: Leopold Stocker Verlag, 2005). The authors show how thoroughly “conservative revolutionary” groupings of the interwar years disappeared or were suppressed after the Nazis came to power.
  7. Francois Furet and Ernst Nolte, *Fascisme et communisme* (Paris: Hachette, 1998).
  8. *Ibid.*, 33–41, 129–41; Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche*, 10th ed. (Munich: Piper, 2000); and Nolte, *Marxismus und industrielle Revolution* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1983).
  9. De Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei sotto il fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2005).
  10. Furet and Nolte, *Fascisme et communisme*, 83–84; see also the interview with Furet on De Felice’s accomplishment in *Ideazione* 3, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 19–28.
  11. Carl Schmitt, *Positionen und Begriffe im Kampf mit Weimar-Genf-Versailles: Die Dreigliederung der politischen Einheit*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1935), esp. 58–62; and Paul Gottfried, *Carl Schmitt: Politics and Theory* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990), 101–22.
  12. Furet and Nolte, *Fascisme et communisme*, 61–67.
  13. Jean Ranger, “L’évolution du vote communiste en France depuis 1945,” *Le communisme en France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1969), 211–54; and Stéphane Courtois and Marc Lazare, *Histoire du parti communiste*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000).
  14. For a defense of this Leftist politics of nostalgia and “anti-fascist” militancy by a longtime German Communist spokesman, see Gregor Gysi, *Ein Blick zurück: Ein Schritt vorn* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe Verlag, 2001); and Gottfried, *The Strange Death of European*

- Marxism: The European Left in the New Millennium* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 1–26.
15. German public health expert Jost Bauch has written about multicultural indoctrination as a form of managed health care in “Freiheit und Solidarität,” in *Festschrift für Horst Baier* (Konstanz: Harung-Gorre Verlag, 1998), 241–73; Bauch, “Erlaubt ist nur noch, was erlaubt ist,” *Junge Freiheit*, August 12, 2005, p. 18; and Bauch, “Gesundheit im Wandel,” in *Gesundes Österreich* 7, no. 2 (June 2005): 16, 17; and Bauch, “Wer bringt die Verhältnisse zum Tanzen,” *Sezession Heft* 12 (2006): 14–20. The last text, which had been previously given as a lecture at the Institut für Staatspolitik, incorporates the arguments of the German edition of my book *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt* (*Multiculturalismus und die Politik der Schuld*) (Graz: Leopold Stocker Verlag, 2005). Although leading racial nationalists Jared Taylor and Michael Levin stress the importance of cognitive differences between blacks and other races and endorse restrictions on immigration, their political views are for the most part libertarian bordering on anarchist. Taylor’s *Paved with Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1992) and Levin’s *Feminism and Freedom* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1987) are polemics against social engineering combined, in Levin’s case, with data about biologically rooted gender differences. Levin’s other sociobiological opus, *Why Race Matters* (New York: Praeger, 1997), which is a painfully researched study on IQ differences among the races, includes nothing that contradicts his declared libertarian-atheist beliefs.
  16. Leon P. Baradat, *Political Ideologies: Their Origin and Their Impact*, 9th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005), 234–35.
  17. Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 271–304.
  18. *Ibid.*, 12–17.
  19. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 214–35; and Willmoore Kendall, *Contra Mundum*, ed. Nellie D. Kendall (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1971), 360.
  20. David Brooks, “The Power of Marriage,” *New York Times*, November 22, 2003, p. A25; and Brooks, “Americans Have Become More Virtuous,” *New York Times*, August 7, 2005, Section 4, p. 12.
  21. Margot Hentoff, “Unbuckled,” *New York Review of Books*, December 10, 1970, p. 19.
  22. John B. Judis, *William F. Buckley, Jr.: Patron Saint of the Conservatives*, 2nd ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 324–27.
  23. “Merkel: Weichenstellung wie 1949,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 28, 2005, p. 1; *Junge Freiheit*, September 3, 2005, p. 4.

24. Editorial, *Junge Freiheit*, September 3, 2005, p. 5; “Merkel mess 45 Prozentholen,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, August 28, 2005, pp. 1, 2; Bauch, “Die sozialdemokratisierte CDU,” in *Zahnärzteblatt Schleswig-Holstein* 11 (2005): 35.
25. For an exhaustive critique of this banning of rightwing rivals instigated by union politicians, see Josef Schüsslburner’s *Demokratie-Sonderweg Bundesrepublik: Analyse der Herrschaftsordnung in Deutschland* (Fulda: Lindenblatt Media Verlag, 2004), esp. 127–218; and Gottfried, “How European Nations End,” *Orbis* (Spring 2005): 559–69.
26. See Samuel T. Francis, *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993); two issues of a decidedly rightwing periodical, *Occidental Quarterly* (Spring/Summer 2005), were devoted to Francis’s work of redefining the American Right as a social movement for dispossessed “Middle Americans” and marginalized, self-conscious “Euro-Americans.”

## CHAPTER 5

1. See Robert A. Nisbet, “Moral Values and Community,” *International Review of Community Development* 5 (1960).
2. Noam Scheiber, “Spent Force,” *The New Republic*, October 10, 2005, p. 6.
3. Rick Santorum, *It Takes A Family: Conservatism and the Common Ground* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2005), esp. 189–94.
4. *Ibid.*, 7, 193, 213–14, 300–301.
5. See Jack Fowler, “The Specter of Defeat,” March 23, 2004, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/fowler200403231002.asp>; and Joe Feuerherd, “Conservatives Haunted by Specter of Santorum’s Leftwing Drift,” *National Catholic Reporter*, May 14, 2004, p. 5.
6. Paul Gottfried, “What Santorum Really Said,” *Insight*, May 27, 2003.
7. *Ibid.*, 213–14. Curiously, one of the recent fervent advocates of King’s values, Harry Jaffa, bitterly inveighed against him during his lifetime in *National Review*, September 10, 1968, pp. 911–12.
8. John Hallowell, “Modern Liberalism: An Invitation to Suicide,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 46 (October 1947): 460.
9. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 35–45.
10. See Hallowell, “Politics and Ethics,” *American Political Science Review* 38 (August 1944): 651–52.

11. See, for example, John Courtney Murray, *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960).
12. Heinrich Rommen, *Der Staat in der katholischen Gedankenwelt: Die Lehre vom Naturrecht* (Paderborn: n.p., 1935), 69.
13. Eliso Vivas, *The Moral Life and the Ethical Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), IX, 126–29; and A. Campbell Garnett, “A Search Remembered,” *Christian Century* 68 (February 7, 1951): 175.
14. Rommen, *Der Staat in der katholischen Gedankenwelt*, 101–02; and my essay on Savigny and historicism in the forthcoming jurisprudence volume edited by Bruce Frohnen for University of Missouri Press, 2008.
15. Max Scheler, *Schriften zur Anthropologie* (Stuttgart: Reklam, 1994), 263–86; Claes G. Ryn, *Will, Imagination and Reason* (Chicago: Regnery, 1986); and J. N. Findlay, *Language, Mind and Value* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963).
16. See Herbert J. Muller, “The Revival of the Absolute,” *Antioch Review* 9 (March 1949): 99–110.
17. Pascal Bruckner, *Le sanglot de l’homme blanc: Tiers-monde, culpabilité, haine de soi* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), 1–16, 178–180; and Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale, II* (Paris: Plon, 1973), 410.
18. Harry V. Jaffa, “The False Prophets of American Conservatism,” Claremont Institute, February 12, 1998, available at [http://www.claremont.org/publications/pubid.670/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.claremont.org/publications/pubid.670/pub_detail.asp).
19. *Ibid.*, 5–7.
20. See the Web site for Larry P. Arnn, who is the president of Hillsdale College and vice chairman of the Claremont Institute, and his institute projects at <http://www.claremont.org/projects>.
21. One of the few studies I have encountered that investigates this overlap between Jaffa’s and the once mainstream Left-liberal interpretations of the American past is Clyde N. Wilson’s “American Historians and Their History,” *Continuity* 6 (Spring 1983): 1–16.
22. Pope Benedict XVI’s passionate concern about the spread of “relativism” can be seen in his pastoral work *Ohne Wurzeln. Der Relativismus und die Krise der europäischen Kulturen* (Augsburg: Sankt Ulrich Verlag, 2005).
23. See Michael Novak’s syndicated column “Human Rights at Christmas,” *Washington Times*, December 24, 1988; and Gottfried, “At Sea with the Global Democrats,” *Wall Street Journal*, January 19, 1989.
24. Nisbet, *The Twilight of Authority* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); and Nisbet, *The Present Age: Progress and Anarchy in Modern America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); and Brad Lowell Stone, *Robert Nisbet: Communitarian Traditionalist* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2000). For a thematically

- related study written from a similar perspective, see Bertrand de Jouvenel, *On Power: The Natural History of Its Growth*, trans. J. F. Huntington and introduction by D. W. Brogan (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1993).
25. Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, 7th ed., ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988), 508.
  26. *Ibid.*, 531–34, 536–37.
  27. *Ibid.*, 574.
  28. *Ibid.*, 582–613; and “Science on Calling” and “Politics on Calling,” *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, in the same series, 505–60; Max Weber, *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Birgitt Morgenbrod (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
  29. Carl Schmitt, “Die Tyrannei der Werte” in *Die Tyrannei der Werte*, ed. Carl Schmitt, Eberhard Jüngel, and Sepp Schelz (Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1979), 40; and Nicolai Hartmann, *Ethik*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1949), 546–50.
  30. Schmitt, “Die Tyrannei der Werte,” 31–32.
  31. Charles R. Kesler, “Democracy and the Bush Doctrine,” Claremont Institute, January 26, 2005, available at <http://www.claremont.org/writings/crb/winter2004/kesler.html>.
  32. *Ibid.*, 7.
  33. Qtd. in *ibid.*, 3.
  34. *Ibid.*, 7.
  35. *Ibid.*, 7–8; also Gottfried, “Armies of the Right?” *The American Conservative*, February 27, 2006, pp. 26–27.
  36. The author was present at this address by David Brooks on August 25, 2005 at the Omni Shoreham Hotel in Washington, DC.
  37. See Jonah Goldberg’s commentary “Golden Days,” *National Review Online*, October 27, 2005, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/goldberg/goldberg200510270832.asp>; and Larry Auster’s observation “McCain: A Danger More Reflecting the Triumph of Clintonism,” *Newsmax*, March 6, 2000, available at <http://www.newsmax.com/articles/?a=2000/3/5/121256>. Typical of the journalistic establishment’s attempt to create a light version of neo-conservatism, if the present neoconservative leadership falls into disrepute over the war in Iraq, is the space that the *Sunday New York Times* (“After Neoconservatism,” excerpted from Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006]) February 19, 2006, Section 6, p. 62, gave to the mildly dissident neoconservative, and self-declared Straussian, Francis Fukuyama. Except for the question of whether the current American military presence in Iraq fits the “neo-Wilsonian” and democratic missionary aims that Fukuyama shares with other neoconservatives, it is hard to tell their views apart. The publication of this tepid dissent may be the closest to a rightwing debate that the *New York Times* editors are willing to bestow on their readers. But more likely, the space

accorded to Fukuyama's apparent break is intended to bring to the fore a tolerable opposition to the liberal media that may please the Left-Center even more than the neoconservatives identified with the *Weekly Standard*. See Paul Gottfried, "The Invincible Wilsonian Matrix," *Orbis* 51.2 (Spring 2007), 239–250; and "Lunging Leftward," *National Observer* 71 (Summer 2006), 57–66.

## CHAPTER 6

1. E. J. Dionne, "The Right's Practical Intellectual," *Washington Post*, October 11, 2005, p. A17.
2. Jonah Goldberg, "Golden Days," National Review Online, October 27, 2005, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/goldberg/goldberg200510270832.asp>.
3. *Ibid.*, 3.
4. Paul Gottfried, *The Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the Postwar American Right* (DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois Press, 1986), esp. 105–34.
5. Goldberg, "Golden Days," 4.
6. A highly polemical work that sets out to refute this view of the Old Right is Justin Raimondo's *Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement* (Burlingame, CA: Center for Libertarian Studies, 1994).
7. For investigations of the lost feminist legacy, see Allan C. Carlson, *Family Questions: Reflections* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1988); and Ken Myers's interview with Carlson in "The American Way: Family and Community in the Shaping of American Identity," *Mars Hill Audio Journal* (June 2004): 67.
8. For a characteristically neoconservative statement of "moderate feminism," see Daphne Patai, *Heterophobia: Sexual Harassment and the Future of Feminism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998); and for two critical reviews of this book, see mine in book review section of *Society* 37, no. 2 (January/February 2000): 78–80; and Carol Iannone's incisive commentary in *Academic Questions* 14, no. 1 (Winter 2000/2001): 27.
9. See William F. Buckley, James Burnham, and Frank S. Meyer, "The John Birch Society and the Conservative Movement," *National Review*, October 19, 1965, pp. 914–20, 925–29.
10. For informative but partisan comments on this phase of the postwar conservative revival, see Murray Rothbard, "Requiem for the Old Right," *Inquiry*, October 17, 1980; and Marcus Epstein, "Buckley Fiction," *LewRockwell.com*, March 25, 2003, available at <http://www.lewrockwell.com/orig/epstein11.html>.
11. See Buckley, "Thoughts on Eichmann," *National Review*, April 22, 1961, pp. 238–39; and even more compromising, Buckley, "Let's All



- Hate Germany, Comrade,” *National Review*, March 25, 1961, p. 172. Peter Novick, in *The Holocaust in American Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 130–31, is correct to point out that Buckley’s comments “represented the sort of backlash Jewish organizations feared.” Although Buckley’s statements are certainly defensible, they are stated with shocking tactlessness. Moreover, they came from a magazine—and possibly the pen—of someone who was later hailed as an embattled enemy of the anti-Semitic Right.
12. Walter Karp, review of *The Jeweler’s Eye* in “Book World,” II, *Washington Post*, June 30, 1968, p. 14.
  13. John Patrick Diggins, *Up From Communism: Conservative Odysseys in American Intellectual History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), esp. 405–13.
  14. Meyer, *The Moulding of Communists: The Training of the Communist Cadre* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961); and Kevin J. Smant, *Principles and Heresies: Frank S. Meyer and the Shaping of the American Conservative Movement*, foreword by M. Stanton Evans (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2002).
  15. Andrea Ragusa, *I comunisti e la società italiana* (Rome: Editore Lacaita, 2003); Annie Kriegel, *The French Communists: Profile of a People*, trans. Elaine P. Halperin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), esp. 60–64; and Aileen S. Kraditor, “Jimmy Higgins”: *The Mental World of the American Rank-and-File Communist, 1930–1958* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988).
  16. Kraditor, “Jimmy Higgins,” 80–87.
  17. Maie-Claire Lavabre and Francois Platone, *Que reste-t-il du Parti Communiste* (Paris: Autrement CEVIPOF, 2003), 53–54, 81–82.
  18. Kraditor, “Jimmy Higgins,” 222–32.
  19. Ragusa, *I comunisti e la società italiana*, 45, 95–98; Kraditor, “Jimmy Higgins,” 80. The PCI never went as far as their Soviet patrons in trying to isolate the non-Communist Left. Despite their break with the Italian Socialists over taking sides in the cold war, Italian Communists cultivated the PSI in order to form parliamentary coalitions.
  20. See Murray Rothbard, “Pat Buchanan: Accused of Anti-Semitism,” *Conservative Review* 1, no. 7 (November 1990): 10–14; and Allan Brownfeld, “False Anti-Semitism Charge Inhibits Free Discussion,” *Washington Inquirer*, October 20, 1990, p. 5; and for an unsympathetic presentation of the targets of this recrimination, see Martin Durham, *The Christian Right, the Far Right, and the Boundaries of American Conservatism* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001), 147–68.
  21. See George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 329–41; and James Lobe, Inter Press Service correspondent in Washington, “Pentagon Office Home to Neocon Network,”

- August 7, 2003, available at <http://www.antiwar.com/ipr/lobe080703.html>.
22. See, for example, Max Boot, "Incorrect History," *Weekly Standard*, February 15, 2005, a scathing review of Thomas E. Woods's *Politically Incorrect Guide to American History* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2004); and Woods's response in "A Factually Correct Guide to Max Boot," *The American Conservative*, March 28, 2005.
  23. See Jeffrey Hart, "Buckley at the Beginning," *New Criterion*, November 24, 2005; and Hart's celebratory book *The Making of the American Conservative Mind: National Review and Its Times* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2005).
  24. On the deliberately misleading term "Islamofascism," see my essay "Mussolini in the Middle East," *The American Conservative*, July 5, 2005, pp. 23–25.
  25. See Ragusa, *I comunisti e la società italiana*, 215–20; and Gottfried, *The Strange Death of Marxism: The European Left in the New Millennium* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 60–66.
  26. A proper discussion of neoconservative self-enrichment since the early nineties has yet to be written. My own detailed analysis, which can be found in Gottfried, *The Conservative Movement*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1993), esp. 118–41, is probably outdated, mostly because it understates the now likely higher figures for the accumulation of neoconservative philanthropic wealth. In *A Gift of Freedom: How the John M. Olin Foundation Changed America* (San Francisco: Encounter, 2006), John J. Miller mentions that huge sums of money have passed from "conservative foundations" to neoconservative beneficiaries. A current *National Review* editor, Miller seeks to justify this distribution of grants, but despite his statements to the contrary, he fails to refute my characterization of the grant recipients as "neoconservative."
  27. See *National Review*, July 14, 1989, pp. 4–8; Richard J. Neuhaus, "Neuhaus on Rockford"; and Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America*, 328–41.
  28. Pat Buchanan, "Crackup of the Conservatives," *Washington Times*, May 1, 1991, commentary page; and the angry responses by David Frum, "Conservative Bully Boy," *American Spectator* 24, no. 7 (July 1991): 2, 3, 12; and Norman Podhoretz, "Buchanan and the Conservative Crackup," *Commentary* 93 (May 1992): 30–34.
  29. See Joshua Muravchik, "Patrick J. Buchanan and the Jews," *Commentary* 91 (January 1989): 12–14.
  30. Cited from the original manuscript, which Rothbard showed me, of his speech "Strategy for the Right"; see also the response in William McGurn, "Pat Buchanan and the Intellectuals," *National Review*, February 17, 1992, pp. 41–42.

31. See the editorial note in "Four More Years," *National Review*, February 17, 1992, p. 12; and Buckley's comments in "Score One for Buchanan," *National Review*, March 16, 1992, p. 55.
32. Daniel Lazare, "Thunder on the Right," *Present Tense* (December 1989): 30; Sara Diamond, "Rumble on the Right," *Z Magazine* (December 1990): 24–25; and S. Churcher, "Radical Transformations," *New York Magazine* (July 6, 1989): 30–31; Daniel McCarthy, "The Failure of Fusionism," *American Conservative*, January 29, 2007, revisits this long lost hour when it seemed that the anti-neoconservative forces on the American Right might rally to gain national prominence. According to McCarthy, it was the role of Murray Rothbard, as a bridge between the libertarians and the Old Right, even more than the presidential run of Buchanan, that made this resurgence possible.
33. See Ralph Z. Hallow, "Conservatives Split into Warring Camps," *Washington Times*, June 2, 1987, pp. A1, A2.
34. The revised edition of *The Conservative Movement*, esp. 132–38, provides a discussion of the degree to which the Unification Church, which owns the *Washington Times*, has supported neoconservative projects. The Unification Church-owned newspaper began to purge columnists from its commentary section in the nineties. Among those who suffered in this purge were Samuel T. Francis, Joseph Sobran, Pat Buchanan, and more recently, Paul Craig Roberts, all of whom offended the overwhelmingly neoconservative editorial and advisory boards. The likelihood of such a purge was already evident when I worked for the Washington Times Corporation between 1986 and 1989. The newspaper's editor-in-chief, Arnaud de Borchgrave, was so deferential to the son of Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, who then served as an editor, that the younger Podhoretz was given the sobriquet "Normanson." Despite the efforts of well-placed neoconservative editors to limit my influence and, if possible, have me sacked, I then enjoyed the protection of Unification Church officials. I was also insulated by virtue of my post as an editor of another one of the corporation's publications, *The World and I*.
35. A recent Italian anthology, James J. Lobe and A. Olivieri, ed., *I nuovi rivoluzionari: il pensiero dei neoconservatori americani* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2003), provides further evidence of the aggressive Wilsonian tendencies now dominating the movement. See also Victor Davis Hanson, "What the President Might Say," *National Review Online*, April 30, 2004, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/hanson/hanson200404300833.asp>; Larry Auster's response, "Liberal Universalist With a Gun," *View from the Right*, available at <http://www.amnation.com/vfr/archives/002266.html>; and Gary Dorrien, *Imperial Designs: Neoconservatism and the New Pax Americana* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

36. Ramesh Ponnuru, "A Conservative No More," *National Review Online*, October 11, 1999, available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/11oct99/ponnuru101199.html>.

## CONCLUSION

1. Russell Kirk, *Decadence and Renewal in Higher Learning: An Episodic history of American University and College since 1953* (South Bend, IN: Gateway Edition, 1978), 253.
2. Kirk, *The Politics of Prudence*, intro. by Mark C. Henrie (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2004), 191–203.
3. See, for example, Charles Krauthammer's invective, "Trent Lott Must Resign," directed against the Mississippi Senator for being overly indulgent toward the ex-segregationist centenarian senator Strom Thurmond in *Townhall.com*, December 12, 2002, available at [http://www.townhall.com/columnists/CharlesKrauthammer/2002/12/12/trent\\_lott\\_must\\_resign](http://www.townhall.com/columnists/CharlesKrauthammer/2002/12/12/trent_lott_must_resign).
4. See Irving Kristol, *On the Democratic Idea in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972) and I. Kristol, "A Conservative Welfare State," *Wall Street Journal*, June 14, 1993, p. 14; and William Kristol, "The Future of Conservatism in the U.S.," *The American Enterprise* (July/August 1994): 32–37.
5. See the two thick volumes of D. L. O'Huallachain and J. Forrest Sharpe, eds., *Neoconned: Just War Principle: A Condemnation of War in Iraq* (Vienna, VA: HIS Press, 2005), edited and mostly written by conservative Catholic opponents of the American invasion of Iraq.
6. James Kurth, "The Protestant Deformation," feature article in *The American Interest* 1, no. 2 (December 2005).
7. See Robert Nisbet's "A Farewell to History," *National Review*, May 22, 1987, pp. 137–38; and Nisbet, *The Present Age: Progress and Anarchy in America* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2003). The fact that Nisbet's blurb for Kristol's book *On the Democratic Idea in America* speaks of a "modern classic" did not prevent him from eventually turning away from neoconservatism, a change of stance that is evident in his review of my book.
8. See "Books, Arts, and Manners," *National Review*, December 19, 2005, pp. 102–11.
9. See "The 'Conservative' Legacy of Martin Luther King," National Policy Institute, January 17, 2006, available at <http://www.nationalpolicyinstitute.org/article.php?PortID=59>; and "Why a King Holiday?" *Human Events*, October 15, 1983, p. 1; Jesse Helms, "The Radical Record of Martin Luther King," *Human Events* supplement, October 15, 1983.

10. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996), 100. It is not necessarily the case that blacks who consider themselves to be “conservatives,” are uniformly on the side of the well-heeled, supposedly problack neoconservatives. A highly literate, black social commentator and *American Conservative* contributor, Elizabeth Wright, who edits the Web site monthly *Issues and Views*, leans strongly toward the paleos. The same is true of other black contributors to her publication. Wright herself is openly opposed to the war in Iraq as an exercise in neo-Wilsonian politics. In 2000 Pat Buchanan’s running mate in the presidential race on the Reform Party ticket was a black California public school teacher Ezola Foster (1938– ), who, like George Schuyler, had been associated with the John Birch Society.
11. James Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), 174–75, 280–82.
12. See Harry Jaffa, “The Limits of Dissent,” *National Review*, September 10, 1968, pp. 911–12; and Will Herberg, “A Religious ‘Right’ to Violate the Law,” *National Review*, July 14, 1964, pp. 579–80. Professor Herberg’s remarks about the favorable responses he had elicited from later neoconservatives to his criticism of King came in conversation with and letters to me. A chapter of my memoirs, which I have contracted to write, will discuss Herberg’s posthumous reconstruction as a neoconservative precursor.
13. Works that show this militant pro-democracy tropism are Norman Podhoretz, *Breaking Ranks: A Political Memoir* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979); Michael Novak, *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982); Ronald Radosh, *Divided They Fall: The Demise of the Democratic Party 1964–1996* (New York: Free Press, 1998); and Joshua Muravchik, *Exporting Democracy: Fulfilling America’s Destiny* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1992).
14. Theodor W. Adorno (with Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford), *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), esp. 36–57, 442–84. Indicating the connection between social engineering and mainstream cold war liberalism, according to Christopher Lasch’s *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and its Critics* (New York: Norton, 1991), 449–54, was the support for the study on anti-Semitism from the American Jewish Committee, which also became the sponsor of *Commentary*. Two later neoconservative spokesmen, S. M. Lipset and Daniel Bell, both expressed high regard for this 1950 study of rightwing prejudice in America.
15. See Paul Gottfried, *After Liberalism: Mass Democracy in the Managerial State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), esp.

- 30–49, for a survey of nineteenth-century bourgeois liberal fears about the coming of mass democracy.
16. For a recent, dispassionate assessment of McCarthy and his effects, see Arthur Herman, *McCarthy: Reexamining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator* (New York: Free Press, 2000); and the comments by Robert Weissberg in *Political Tolerance: Balancing Community and Diversity* (Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage, 1998), 96–109, which also deal with the overall effects of the Smith Act, which was passed in 1940 and which addressed the threat of violence and subversion against the American government. Weissberg goes into the often-inflated claims about academic persecution in the early fifties. He points to two aspects of the war against subversion that are routinely overlooked, its almost entirely rightwing and Trotskyist targets until well after the Second World War; and the fact that the Communist Party and its supporters did not complain about governmental restrictions on political speech until they were directly affected during the cold war. See also Daniel Bell, *The Radical Right: The New American Right*, exp. ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963); Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York: Knopf, 1965); and for a more sympathetic treatment of Hofstadter's concern, see David S. Brown's exhaustive biography of the Columbia University historian, *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
  17. See Jonathan M. Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing: The Rise of Modern American Conservatism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 147–61. Schoenwald understates the sharp transformation of the movement after 1964 when he explains: "Conservatives did not drop their ideological tenets; they merely subverted them to more pragmatic politics, which would draw people into their vision for America" (161).
  18. George Will, *Statecraft as Soulcraft: What Government Does* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 86–87.
  19. Gertrude Himmelfarb, *One Nation: Two Cultures: The De-moralization of Society* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 78.
  20. See the incisive review essay of W. Wesley McDonald's *Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology* by James E. Pierson Jr. in *Modern Age* 47, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 344–48.
  21. Rick Perlstein, "I Don't like Nixon Until Watergate: The Conservative Movement Until Now," *The Huffington*, December 19, 2005, 4.
  22. See John Lukacs, "The Stirrings of History," *Harper's Magazine* 281, no. 1683 (August 1990): 41. Lukacs's comment that "we're all social democrats now" was meant to expose both the futility and dishonesty of the pretended revival of free market capitalism as the result of certain governmental economic policies.

## INDEX

- Abrams, Elliot, 44, 67  
 Adler, Alexandre, 71  
*After Liberalism* (Gottfried), 1  
 Allitt, Patrick, 10, 23  
*America the Virtuous* (Ryn), 27  
*American Conservation of the American Founding, The* (Jaffa), 19, 21  
*American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia*, xi  
*American Conservative, The*, 45, 59, 68  
*American Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945, The* (Nash), x, 67  
*American Conservative Movement, The* (Gottfried), 60  
 American Enterprise Institute (AEI), xvii, 59, 63, 68–69, 124  
*American Interest*, 137  
*American Opinion*, 119  
*American Renaissance*, 86  
 Ames, Fisher, 2  
 Arendt, Hannah, 11  
 Aristotle, 16, 36, 76, 99, 102, 148–49  
 Arnn, Larry P., 104  
*Authoritarian Personality, The*, (Adorno), 145–46
- Babbitt, Irvin, xvi, 38  
 Bagehot, Walter, 3  
 Balch, Steve, 47  
 Banfield, Edward, 65  
 Baradat, Leon P., 86–87, 89
- Barres, Maurice, 13  
 Bell, Daniel, 49, 145, 147  
 Benedict XVI. *See* Ratzinger, Joseph  
 Bennett, William, 44, 57, 66–67, 69–70, 95, 104  
 Berns, Walter, 19–20  
*Beyond Good and Evil* (Nietzsche), 54  
 Bismarck, Otto von, 82  
 Blackstone, William, 103  
 Bloom, Allen, viii, 26–27, 35, 43, 48, 53–55, 139  
 Bonald, Louis de, 8, 32, 41  
 Bork, Robert, 102, 104  
 Bosbach, Wolfgang, 24  
 Bottai, Giovanni, 78  
 Bradford, M. E., xvi, 19, 36, 44, 62; and William F. Buckley's betrayal of, 66–67, 142  
 Brimelow, Peter, 66  
*Broken Hearth* (Bennett), 57  
 Brooks, Cleanth, 38  
 Brooks, David, x, 70–71, 89–90, 94–96, 112, 139  
 Brown, Pat, 148  
 Bruckner, Pascal, 101  
 Buchanan, Pat, 45, 50–51, 65–66, 88, 89, 124, 128–32  
 Buckley, William F., xviii, 9–10, 16, 20–21, 52, 90–91, 143, 147; and Buckley's betrayal of M. E. Bradford, 66–67, 142; and neoconservatives, 44, 62, 66–67, 130; and the Right, his

- redefining of, xiii, 9, 30,  
115–21, 123–24, 130, 140,  
142, 144
- Burke, Edmund, xii, xiv, 8, 23,  
32–33, 40–41, 77, 96, 148;  
and Russell Kirk, 2–4, 12–14,  
17, 22, 25, 95
- Burnham, James, xvi, 9–10, 63,  
119, 122
- Burns, James MacGregor, 105
- Bush, George W., 44–45, 48, 59,  
70, 89, 94, 110–11, 128, 137,  
147–48
- Carey, George, 19
- Castells, Manuel, xv
- Catholics, xv, 9–11, 15–16,  
22–23, 37, 79–80, 97–99
- Ceasar, James W., 110–11
- Chamberlain, John, 8
- Cheney, Lynne, 44, 69–70, 95
- Churchill, Winston, 104
- Cicero, 102
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, xii, 134,  
148
- Claremont Review of Books*, 26,  
110
- Clinton, Bill, 94
- Clinton, Hillary, x, 43, 112, 135
- Closing of the American Mind, The*  
(Bloom), 26, 48, 53
- Commentaries* (Blackstone), 103
- Commentary*, 48, 62, 65, 74–76,  
125, 129, 141
- Commonweal*, 10
- Communism/Communists, 9–12,  
22–23, 46, 52, 116–22,  
138–40, 142–43, 146; move-  
ment conservatives compared  
to, 122–32, 138
- Comte, Auguste, 4
- conservatism/conservatives: and  
Catholics, xv, 9–11, 15–16,  
22–23, 37, 79–80, 97–99;  
changes in meaning of, xiv,  
31–58 *passim*, 113, 115–49  
*passim*; and Communism,  
9–12, 16, 22–23, 52, 61,  
116–32 *passim*, 138–40,  
142–43; cultural, 29–30, 37,  
39, 64, 134, 149; duplicity of,  
xi, xiii, 31, 66–67; and equality,  
16, 18–21, 50, 64, 69, 91,  
118–19, 140; European  
antecedents of, xiii, 13–14;  
European distinct from Ameri-  
can, 1–8, 35–43, 71, 132, 137;  
and feminism, 119, 136; in  
German, 23–25, 91–92; inven-  
tion of American form of,  
1–30, 132; label adopted in  
U.S., 8–9; and the Left, ix–xi,  
xiii, 43–46, 69–73, 89–101,  
113; and liberalism, 1–2, 4–8;  
mode of thought of  
(Mannheim), 33–35; move-  
ment conservatives, 93–101;  
and “new conservatism,”  
16–17, 20, 43, 91; and the  
New Deal, 7–9, 49, 62–143,  
147; and the Republican Party,  
x, xiv–xv, 29–30, 60, 67,  
93–95, 106, 110–13, 118, 124,  
127, 132, 136–37, 149; and  
the Right, distinction between,  
77, 89, 92; Southern, 35–36,  
41, 66, 75, 134; and the tradi-  
tional, 37–38, 41; and values,  
ix–xi, xiv–xv, 10, 14, 22–30,  
50–58, 93–113 *passim*,  
133–34, 137, 149. *See also* neo-  
conservatives; Right, the  
*Conservatism in American Since*  
*1930* (Schneider), xi  
*Conservatism in England* (Hearn-  
shaw), 3  
*Conservatism Revisited: The Revolt*  
*Against Revolt* (Viereck), 14



- Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945, The* (Nash), x, 67
- Conservative Mind, from Burke to T. S. Eliot, The* (Kirk), 2–8, 13–15, 22, 38, 40, 112, 139
- Conservative Revolution, The* (Edwards), 66
- Coolidge, Calvin, 63
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 7
- Coulter, Ann, 126, 136
- Cowling, Maurice, 52
- Crisis of the House Divided, The* (Jaffa), 18
- Critchlow, Donald T., 87–88
- Critique of Practical Reason* (Kant), 109
- Croce, Benedetto, 79
- culture war, 50–51
- De Felice, Renzo, 78, 79
- De Leon, Daniel, 7
- Decadence and Renewal in Higher Education* (Kirk), 133
- Decter, Midge, 14, 61
- Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo, In* (Meyer), 17
- democratic equality: its promotion overseas as a “conservative” value, 21, 25, 104–6, 110–12, 140
- designated minorities, ix, 69
- Dewey, John, 5
- Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?* (Buckley), 21, 50
- Diggings, John P., 121
- Dionne, E. J., 115, 117, 120
- DiSalvo, Daniel, 110–11
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 82, 148
- Dolfuss, Engelbert, 79, 81
- Donahue, William, 52
- Donne, John 38
- Dorrien, Gary, 45, 47
- Dostoyevski, Feodor, 39
- Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* (Stanlis), 22
- Edwards, Lee, 66
- Eichmann, Adolph, 120
- Eisenhower, Dwight, 63
- Eliot, T. S., 2–3, 29, 138, 147
- Engles, Friedrich, 39, 122
- equality, 16, 18–21; as a conservative principle, alleged, 20–21, 50, 64, 69, 91, 102–6, 110, 118–19, 140
- Falwell, Jerry, 64
- fascism, 77–84; and democratic *homonoia*, 83
- Federalist Society, 140
- Feith, Douglas, 44
- Feulner, Edwin Jr., 66–67
- Findlay, J. N., 99
- Finnis, John, 98
- Flynn, John T., 7
- foundations, conservative. *See* American Enterprise Institute; Heritage Foundation; Manhattan Institute
- Francis, Samuel T., 49, 64, 92
- Franco, Francisco, 55
- Franklin, John Hope, 102
- Freedom and Equality* (Jaffa), 18
- Freeman, The*, 9
- Friedan, Betty, 88
- Frum, David, 111, 134
- Fukuyama, Francis, 65
- Furet, François, 80, 82, 86
- Galli, Carlo, 37
- Garrett, Gareth, 7
- Garvey, Marcus, 81
- Genealogy of Morals* (Nietzsche), 54
- Gentz, Friedrich, 34, 35
- George, Robert, 98
- German connection, viii, 26–27, 35, 55
- Germany, 23–25, 91–92, 144

- Gerson, Mark, 51  
 Gilson, Etienne, 97  
 Giuliani, Rudolph, x  
 Goldberg, Jonah, 25–26, 95,  
 115–17, 120, 139  
 Goldwater, Barry, 63, 115, 145,  
 147–48  
 Goodall, Grace, 57  
 Gordon, David, 50  
*Governor Listeth, The* (Buckley),  
 90  
 Guardini, Romano, 46–47  
 Gurian, Waldemar, 11
- Haag, Ernst van den, 10, 27  
 Habbermas, Jürgen, 70  
 Haller, Karl Albrecht von, 33  
 Hallowell, John, 96–97  
 Hamburger, Joseph, 52  
 Hamowy, Ronald, 119  
 Hannity, Sean, 93–94, 126, 136,  
 139  
 Hanson, Victor Davis, 111  
 Hart, Benjamin, 56  
 Hartmann, Nicolai, 107  
 Hartz, Louis, 5–6  
 Hazlitt, Henry, 8  
 Hearnshaw, F. J. C., 3  
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich,  
 6, 18, 116–17  
 Heidegger, Martin, 26, 55, 57  
 Henrie, Mark, 41–43  
 Hentoff, Margot, 90  
 Herberg, Will, 9, 10, 63, 75, 141  
 Herder, Johann Gottfried, 40  
 Heritage Foundation, xvii, 25, 56,  
 63, 66, 68–69, 104, 124, 135,  
 139  
 Herrenstein, Richard, 126  
 Himmelfarb, Gertrude, 43, 66,  
 69, 141, 148–49  
 Historicism, 6  
 Hitchens, Christopher, 137  
 Hitler, Adolph, 80–81, 87, 103,  
 124, 144, 148
- Hobbes, Thomas, 32, 98  
 Hofstadter, Richard, 145, 147  
 Hoover, Herbert, 63  
 Horowitz, David, 47, 70, 95, 141  
 Horowitz, I. L., 44  
 Horthy, Admiral Miklos, 81  
*How to Think about the American  
 Revolution* (Jaffa), 20  
 Human Events, 9, 139  
 Hume, Brit, 126
- Ideas Have Consequences* (Weaver),  
 36–37  
*Intercollegiate Review*, 19  
 Intercollegiate Studies Institute,  
 xi, xvi, 41  
 Iraq: American involvement in, ix,  
 111–12, 137  
 Islamofascism, 27–28, 126  
*It Takes a Family* (Santorum), 94
- Jabotinsky, Zev, 81  
 Jackson, Scoop, 31  
 Jaffa, Harry V., 18–21, 25–26, 50,  
 91, 102–6, 139, 141  
 Jagger, Mick, 45  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 5, 19, 103  
 Jeffersonians, 7  
*Jeweler's Eye, The* (Buckley), 121  
 John Birch Society, 140  
 John Paul II, Pope, 102  
 Judis, John B., 44
- Kagan, Robert, 111  
 Kant, Immanuel, 109  
 Karp, Walter, 121  
 Keats, John, 38  
 Kedourie, Elie, 65  
*Keeping the Tablets* (Buckley and  
 Jaffa, ed.), 21  
 Kendall, Willmore, 19, 52–53, 88  
 Kennan, George, 55  
 Kesler, Charles R., 20, 104,  
 110–11

- King, Martin Luther, Jr., 12, 64, 70, 74, 94–95, 102, 106, 118, 125, 130–42 *passim*, 148
- Kirk, Russell, xvi, xviii, 10, 27, 37, 63, 71, 102, 138–39; and Edmund Burke, 2–4, 12–14, 17, 25, 95; and conservatism, his formulation of, 2–8, 12–19, 25, 112, 149; and conservatives, decline of his reputation among, 21; and European continental conservatives, 35–36; iconic function of, 133; his societal relevance, minimal, 40–41; and value conservatism, 14, 16, 22, 29–30, 133–34
- Kirkpatrick, Jeanne, 44, 65
- Kissinger, Henry, 72
- Kohl, Helmut, 90
- Konservative Denken, Das* (Mannheim), 33, 40
- Kors, Allan, 47–48
- Kovner, Bruce, 59–60
- Kraditor, Aileen S., 122, 123
- Krauthammer, Charles, 65, 111, 135
- Kriegel, Annie, 122
- Kristol, Bill, 60, 62, 111, 148
- Kristol, Irving, 49, 51, 55–56, 61–62, 66, 68, 75, 90, 141, 146; mutating thought of, 70–73
- Kuehnelt-Leddhin, Erik von, 1, 11
- Kurth, James, 137
- Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 88
- Ledeer, Michael, 111
- Lee, Robert E., 130
- Left, the, ix, xi, xiii, 12, 23, 26–27, 51; European, postwar changes in, 85–86, 88; and fascism, 77–85; and neoconservatives, 43–46, 69–73; and the Right, changed, 84–89; its values become “conservative” ones, 89–101, 113
- Lenin, Vladimir, 123
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 101
- Lewis, C. S., 98
- Liberal Imagination, The* (Trilling), 4–5
- Liberalism and Social Action* (Dewey), 5
- Lieberman, Joe, 137
- Limbaugh, Rush, ix, 94, 127, 136, 139
- Lincoln, Abraham, 18, 21, 67, 102–4, 106, 130
- Lipset, S. M., 49, 145
- Livingston, Donald, 36
- Locke, John, 7, 16, 102–4
- London, Herbert, 47
- Lott, Trent, 135
- Lowry, Richard, 46, 70, 139
- Ludwig von Mises Institute, 68
- Lukacs, John, 77, 149
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 55
- Madison, James, 102
- Maistre, Joseph de, 26, 32–33, 41–42
- Manhattan, Institute, 59, 124
- Mannheim, Karl, 33–35, 37, 40–41, 53, 96
- Maritain, Jacques, 97
- Marshall, Thurgood, 102
- Marx, Karl, 4, 18, 39, 122
- Massing, Michael, 28
- McCain, John, x
- McCarthy, Eugene, 15
- McCarthy, Joseph, 9, 32, 64, 75–76, 125, 130, 147
- McConnell, Scott, 59–60, 65
- McDonald, Forrest, xvi
- McDonald, W. Wesley, 15–16, 21
- Mencken, H. L., 8
- Merkel, Angela, 24, 91
- Metternich, Count Clemens van, 87

- Meyer, Frank, xvi, 9–11, 16–19, 63, 97, 119, 121–23, 139
- Mill, John Stuart, 52
- Mises, Ludwig von, 47
- Modern Age*, 39, 44
- Molnar, Thomas, 11
- Moral Life and the Ethical Life, The* (Vivas), 46
- Moral Majority, 43
- More, Paul Elmer, 38
- Morley, Felix, 8
- Möser, Justus, 36
- Moyniha, Patrick, 65
- Müller, Adam, 33–34, 40–41
- Muller, Herbert J., 99
- Muravchik, Joshua, 129
- Murdoch, Rupert, 59–61
- Murray, Charles, 65, 126
- Murray, John Courtney, 97
- Mussolini, Benito, 73, 78–82, 87
- Namier, Lewis, 49
- Napoleon, Louis, 82
- Nash, George H., x, 9, 12, 67, 97, 121, 139
- Nation*, 46
- National Interest*, 65
- National Review*, xi, xiii, 9–13 *passim*, 18, 25–28 *passim*, 44–46 *passim*, 52, 66–67, 115–21, *passim*, 125, 129, 131, 138–42 *passim*, 147
- natural rights, 16–17, 26, 33, 64, 102
- Navasky, Victor, 46
- Nenni, Pietro, 123
- Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (Kristol), 51
- Neoconservative Mind: Politics, Culture and the War of Ideology, The* (Dorrien), 45
- Neoconservative Revolution, The* (Friedman), 43
- neoconservatives, xii, 15, 21, 25, 31–32, 94, 137–45 *passim*, 149; and the American Right, their takeover of, 43–50, 59–76, 113, 134, 137, 140; and the “end of ideology,” 49–50; generational rift among, 73–76; institutional support for, 43–46, 59–76 *passim*, 124–30, 146; Jewish influence on, 43–47, 60, 65–66, 119–20, 125, 140–41; proliferating government programs accepted by, 72–73; and racism, 134–35; and Republicans, 60, 76; vs. value relativists, 50–58, 106; as values, 43–50, 93, 106; welfare state Democrats, 142
- Neuhaus, Richard John, 128
- new conservatism, 16–17, 20
- New Birth of Freedom, A* (Jaffa), 19, 26
- New Deal, 7–10, 49, 62, 143, 147
- New Glory: Expanding America’s Global Supremacy* (Peters), 70
- New Republic, The*, 28, 44
- New York*, 59
- New York Post*, 60, 70
- New York Sun*, 59, 60
- New York Times*, 43, 45, 90
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 26, 54–55, 57
- Nisbet, Robert, xii, xviii, 34, 37, 41, 92, 106, 134, 145
- Nixon, Richard, xii, 15, 43, 72, 124
- Nock, Albert J., xvi, 7, 15
- Nolte, Ernst, 78, 80, 82, 83–84
- Novak, Michael, 106
- Occidental Quarterly, The*, 86
- Ockham, William of, 36–37, 58
- Oliver, Revilo P., 120–41
- Olivetti, Emilio, 79
- One Nation, Two Cultures* (Himmelfarb), 148
- O’Reilly, Bill, 126

- Origins of Totalitarianism, The* (Arendt), 11
- Ortega y Gasset, Jo\_e, viii
- Orwell, George, 47
- O'Sullivan, John, 66
- Panichas, George, 38–39
- Pareto, Vilfredo, 79
- Paterson, Isabel, 8
- Paul, Ron, xvii
- Perkins, Frances, 119
- Perlstein, Rich, 149
- Peters, Ralph, 70
- Phillips, Kevin, 43
- Philosophy of Right* (Hegel), 18
- Pius XII, Pope, 11
- Plato, 17, 36, 83, 102, 103
- Podhoretz, Norman, 47–48, 61, 70, 74–75, 90, 95, 141
- Political Ideologies* (Baradat), 86
- Political Romanticism* (Schmitt), 40
- Ponnuru, Ramesh, 131–32
- Popenoe, David, 57
- Possony, Stephan, 11
- Poujade, Pierre, 88
- Present Age, The* (Nisbet), 106, 145
- Public Interest, 65, 110
- Radosh, Ronald, 75
- Raeder, Linda, 52
- Ragusa, Andrea, 122
- Rand, Ayn, 119
- Randolph, Edmund, 3
- Randolph, John, 7, 12
- Ratzinger, Joseph, 106
- Rawles, John, 104
- Reagan, Ronald, 21, 28, 44, 54, 63, 67, 72, 87, 102, 118, 130, 147–48
- Reagan revolution, xi
- Reed, Ralph, 64
- Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Burke), 4, 13, 22, 96
- Regnery, Henry, xvi, 12, 46
- Rehnquist, William, 102, 104
- relativism/relativists, 22, 27, 50–58, 102–3, 105–6; tendentious criticism of, 97–101
- relativists, historical, viii
- Republican Party, x, xiv–xv, 24, 29–30, 32, 46, 60, 67, 93–95, 106, 110–13, 118, 124, 127, 132, 136–37, 149
- Revel, Jean-François, 71
- Rice, Condoleezza, 44, 69
- Rich, Frank, 45
- Right, the xii–xviii, 7, 9–11, 22–23, 27–30; alternative, hypothetical, 143–46; anti-New Deal, 9–11, 13, 30–32, 45, 63, 87, 118, 145; Catholic, xv, 79–80, 98; and Catholic Intellectuals, 9, 11, 22–23, 97–99; and conservatism, distinguished from, 77, 89, 92; European, xiii–xiv, 8, 11, 85, 88; and fascism, 77–84; German, 23–25, 91–92; and the Left, opposition to defines the Right, 84–89; Left's values taken by, 94–96, 135–38, 142; libertarian American, contemporary, 86–89; neoconservative takeover of, 43–50, 59–76, 116; older Right ostracized, 66–68, 113, 115–32, 140; Religious, 51, 64, 76; vs. value conservatism, 89–92
- Ritter, Joachim, 23
- Roberts, Paul Craig, 45, 72
- Robertson, Pat, 64
- Rocco, Mossimo, 78
- Rohrmoser, Günter, 23
- Rommen, Heinrich, 97–99
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 119
- Rosenthal, Abe, 90
- Rossiter, Clinton, ix, 15

- Rothbard, Murray, 10, 16–17, 47, 119, 124, 129
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 4, 83
- Rusher, William, 146
- Ryn, Claes, 27, 29, 99
- Sade, comte de, 55
- Santayana, George, 3, 38
- Santorium, Rick, 94–96
- Savigny, Friedrich Carl von, 40, 71, 98
- Scalia, Antonin, 102, 104
- Schafly, Phyllis, 87–88, 89
- Scheler, Max, 99
- Schieber, Noam, 94
- Schlamm, Willi, 9, 10
- Schleicher, Kurt von, 81
- Schlesinger, Arthur, 5, 8, 10, 105
- Schmitt, Carl, 40, 83, 107, 109
- Schneider, Gregory L., xi
- Schoenwald, Jonathan M., 68
- Schuyler, George, 140
- Schwartz, Stephen, 27–28
- Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the Postwar Right, The* (Gottfried), xii
- Shain, Barry, 54
- Sharon Statement, 9–10
- Sociological Tradition, The* (Nisbet), 93
- Socrates, 102
- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, 39
- Soros, George, 59
- South, the American, 2, 7, 11, 36
- Southern Agrarians, 38, 44, 50, 56, 62
- Southern conservatives, 35–36, 41, 66, 75, 134
- Spaemann, Robert, 23
- Specter, Arlen, 94–95
- Stahl, Friedrich, 33–34, 69, 71
- State in the Catholic World of Thought, The* (Rommen), 97
- Stalin, Joseph, 103, 122, 123
- Stanlis, Peter, 22
- Steinfels, Peter, 48, 70
- Stern, Isaac, 65
- Stevenson, Adlai, 14
- Stoiber, Edmund, 91–92
- Stout, Jeffrey, 104
- Strauss, Leo, 16–19, 46, 55, 102
- Sword of Imagination* (Kirk), 15
- Taft, Robert, xvii, 6, 8, 29, 55, 130, 141, 143
- Tate, Adam L., 7
- Third Generation, The* (Hart), 56
- Thomas, Clarence, 102
- Thomas, Norman, 15
- Three Faces of Fascism* (Nolte), 80
- Thurmond, Strom, 135
- Time for Choosing: The Rise of Neo-conservatism, A* (Schoenwald), 68
- Toomey, Pat, 95
- Trilling, Lionel, 4–5, 48, 70
- Trotsky, Leon, 27–28, 62, 123
- Truman, Harry, 31, 75, 125, 130, 147
- Turati, Augusto, 78
- Twilight of Authority, The* (Nisbet), 106, 145
- value conservatism: values, ix–xi, xiv–xvi, 10, 14, 22–23, 39; “drifting,” 25–31; in Germany, 23–25, 91–92; highest as transitory, 110–13; and movement conservatives, 93–101, 133–34, 149; and neoconservatives, 43–58, 68–74, 137; and relativism, 50–58; tyranny of, 107–9; universality ascribed to Leftist “conservative” ones, 101–6
- Viereck, Peter, 14, 149
- Viguerie, Richard, 64
- Vital Center, The* (Schlesinger), 5, 10
- Vivas, Eliseo, 46, 96, 99

- Voegelin, Eric, 12, 122
- Wall Street Journal*, 64
- Wallace, George, 88
- Walzer, Michael, 45, 104
- Wanniski, Jude, 72
- Washington Post*, 45, 115
- Washington Times*, 130
- Weaver, Richard, 36–37, 97, 99, 139
- Weber, Max, 107–9
- Weekly Standard*, x, 60, 62, 125
- Weil, Simon, 39
- Weiss, Phil, 59–61
- Weyrich, Paul, 64, 129
- Will, George, 57, 65, 148–49
- Wilson, Clyde, 36, 62
- Wilson, James Q., 43, 65, 126
- Wolfe, Alan, 1–2
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 44
- Xenophon, 83