

bailing out before his Washington ego trip ends in moral disaster. He resigns and, in the closing line of the book, we are told that, "The next day he flew home—to Louisville." Literature would have been none the poorer if Cardwell never left Louisville in the first place; but one of his fictional colleagues at least gives us a succinct description of how the White House syndrome tends to corrupt so many bright young men, not to mention dim-witted old ones:

We're hooked. We've all had a taste of the White House. I don't mean the cars, the trips, all that. I mean the chance to play President.... We all play President, every day. When I brief the press—why I'm the President. When Andy

Martin tells a senator the President can't possibly see him until next month, or when he calls up some middle-level bureaucrat and chews his ass, he's the President! And you speechwriters...I think you've got it worst of all!...It's true with every guy I know, everyone who's ever gotten close to a President. Their egos get all screwed up, all tied up with his—and they call it loyalty, call it a sense of public duty, call it everything except what it really is.

As one who has served as an aide, writer, or consultant to two presidents, two vice presidents, several congressmen and senators, two party chairmen, and a Secretary of the Treasury, I have had all too many opportunities to watch this sinister psychological process in its various

degrees of fermentation. It is not a pretty sight, and the only sure way to avoid it is to come to the job mature—a matter of character, not years—and with a keen eye for the ridiculous in one's self and one's colleagues. Ervin Duggan and Ben Wattenberg both seem to have done so, and *Against All Enemies* just may help to vaccinate a few new arrivals against Potomac Fever in the years ahead. If it does, then it will have served a worthwhile purpose after all. But don't count on it. Like any really strong virus, Potomac Fever has a way of building up resistance to medication. Long after they've cured the common cold, it will probably still be with us. □

BOOK REVIEW

Facing up to Modernity: Excursions in Society, Politics, and Religion

Peter L. Berger / Basic Books / \$11.50

David Levy

Peter L. Berger, a professor of sociology at Rutgers, is one of the most distinguished representatives of the phenomenological approach to social science. He is also, by his own description, a conservative and, as he puts it, "a rather heretical" Christian. The combination of sociology, conservatism, and Christianity is unusual enough in itself, but when the man in whom they combine is as intelligent and humane a social scientist as Peter Berger the result is fascinating. *Facing up to Modernity* is a collection of 18 essays whose subject matter ranges from a sociological understanding of the reasons for the popularity of psychoanalysis to the significance of the Calley and Manson trials. Professor Berger examines, among other things, paradoxes in intellectual conservatism, the socialist myth, the trend of American foreign policy, and (in several essays) the nature and limits of secularization.

At a time when sociology is often popularly regarded as a synonym for either radicalism or statistic-mania, a conservative humanist in the field will sometimes feel the need for an *apologia pro sua professione*. In a sense this is what Berger provides in his introduction. He admits that sociology is, as the radicals claim, subversive of established patterns of thought because it brings to consciousness the roots of much that is normally taken for granted in social life. But it is also conservative in its implications: "Society, in its essence, is the imposition of order upon the flux of human experience [and] order is the primary imperative of social life." Even the left

David Levy teaches sociology at Middlesex Polytechnic, in England.

understands that all social order is precarious. It generally fails to understand that, *just because of this precariousness*, societies will react with almost instinctive violence to any fundamental or long-lasting threat to their order. The idea of "permanent revolution" is an anthropologically absurd fantasy. Indeed, revolutionary movements can be successful only if they succeed fairly rapidly in establishing new structures of order within which people can settle down with some semblance of social and psychic safety.

By ordering experience, then, society attempts to make sense of its existence in space and time. Like Eric Voegelin, Berger maintains that any meaningful interpretation of reality must take account of the religious experience of transcendence. He is fully aware of the present disarray of organized religion—indeed, secularization, the denial of transcendence, is a major component of modernization—and he provides acute criticism of the ultramodernist "death-of-God" theology:

...a world view without transcendence must eventually collapse, because it denies ineradicable aspects of human experience.... Transcendence is the experience that human life touches on boundaries. On this side of the boundaries is the world of everyday events, practical activity, and reason, a world in which one is at home in a self evident way. On the other side of the boundaries is the world of the uncanny, of the "totally other," in which the assumptions of ordinary life no longer hold.

Religion is man's way of coming to terms with this realm of experience. Phenomenologically, it is an integral part of man's effort to make sense of his existence. Of course from the religious point of view it is much more—a revelation of transcendent truth which Berger as a Christian accepts

in the knowledge that as a sociologist of religion he can say nothing touching upon its validity. What he can say, and does with great force, is that no account of reality which dogmatically excludes the religious dimension can hope to be true to the full range of man's experience.

In his account of modernization and its discontents Professor Berger emphasizes not only secularization but also the primary importance of industrialization and bureaucratization. His picture of modern social life, dichotomized between powerful social institutions and an underinstitutionalized private sphere, draws on a long tradition of sociological work; and his emphasis on the importance of institutions which mediate between the individual and the state (family, church, etc.) echoes Robert Nisbet, the great anti-Rousseau of present sociology.

Berger regards the critique of modernity as a "task...of human and moral urgency," not because the work of modernization can be or ought to be undone, but because by understanding its nature we can mitigate its effects and build a humanly satisfying order in the midst of the modern rush of events. According to Berger, the myth of socialism has exerted such a strong appeal in our modern age precisely because it promises all the benefits of modernization with none of its alienating costs. And yet he helps us to understand that behind the call for socialization lies, ultimately, a totalitarian social reality.

Modernization is a complex process, and "facing up to modernity" is something we all have to do. Fortunately, Peter Berger is not the sort to offer simple and fraudulent answers. □

WHY WE'RE INTRODUCING AUTOMATIC SAFETY BELTS NOW

WILL YOU LIKE THEM? WILL YOU CHOOSE THEM? WE NEED TO KNOW.

In May we will make automatic safety belts available as an option on the Chevrolet Chevette. We're doing this now because we need to know how well you like them and whether you'll choose them.

Not enough people use the safety belts that are now standard equipment in every car. So the government has directed that some form of passive restraint, such as air cushions or automatic safety belts, be built into every car by 1984.

The automatic safety belt is very easy to use. When the door is opened, the safety belt automatically moves out of the way so that the passenger has room to

sit down. As the door is closed, the safety belt automatically fits around the passenger. Knee bolsters are built into the instrument panel to help limit forward movement during an accident. In addition, regular lap belts can be fastened to supplement the automatic safety belts.

We also have plans to offer air cushions in some of our future cars, because they have advantages in convenience and appearance. And we are working hard to improve them.

On the other hand, automatic safety belts have these advantages: they are lighter, which helps gas mileage; their cost is relatively low, and they would be easy to replace.

We'd like you to try the new automatic belts and judge them for yourself. How many people order automatic safety belts, and what

they think of them, will help us plan our cars for the 1980's.

That's why we're offering the option of automatic safety belts now, so you can tell us how to design these cars the way you want them.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

General Motors

People building transportation
to serve people

what rabidly, much the way he was then pursuing Mailer. Gore's struggles continue, and the beatings inflicted on him have been fearful. Buckley merely outwits him, while Mailer actually does him violence, often pausing during cocktail parties to paste him a good one. Before a TV appearance back in the early seventies, Norman spotted him backstage, butted him smartly in the coco, and sent him spinning onto the stage looking queasy and confounded.

This passion for altercation and abuse has marked Gore's entire career. Sometimes he carries the day: Thrown in with some fundamentalist Christian or some dull-witted congressman, he bludgeons his prey as the audience marvels, if not at his compassion, then at his urbanity and intelligence. But thrown in with someone who knows what's what, he either falls sullen and silent or makes the fur fly and retreats furless. It is during these butcherings that Gore gives himself away, betraying the source of all his assorted varieties of moonshine. Poor Gore is emotionally frozen into early adolescence and a particularly turbulent adolescence at that. He is boyish. He is girlish. And when under pressure he is feverish. During his concession speech after the Les Crane Show a woebegone Gore admitted that with Buckley he had become "emotionally involved." Buckley must have had some uneasy moments digesting that revelation, and Howard Austen must have been in despair.

Yet if one considers the whole of Gore's public life, all those years of preposterous pronouncements and fantastic poses, one gets the impression that he has become "emotionally involved" more often than might be expected of a middle-aged writer. Many of the things he claims to believe are purely idiotic: "...we never talk about anything very important....We don't say that 4 percent of the people own the country..."; "One of every five people in the U.S. is mentally disturbed..."; and

the first and second world wars destroyed the old European empires, and created ours. In 1945 we were the world's greatest power.... Unfortunately those industries that had become rich during the war combined with the military [creating] a vast military establishment.

Officially this was to protect us from the evil Commies. Actually it was to continue pumping federal money into companies like Boeing and Lockheed and keep the Pentagon full of generals and admirals while filling the pork barrels of congressmen....

Nobody in particular was to blame. It just happened. To justify our having become a garrison state, gallant Harry Truman set about deliberately alarming the American people. The Soviet was dangerous. We must have new and expensive weapon systems. To defend the free world. The cold war began. The irony is that the Soviet was not dangerous to us *at that time*.

Other testimonials reveal an intellect that simply does not operate very well:

"The true end of a democratic society is economic equality; that's an idea whose time has not come. But it's implicit in the idea of democracy, and when our system collapses and gas and food and everything has to be rationed we'll realize that was our goal anyway"; or "Sirhan grew up in Pasadena, a center of the John Birch Society, a center of radical right reactionaries, a despicable blot on this earth. The people of Pasadena are well off. They hate the Jews, they hate the Negroes, the poor, the foreign. I find these to be really terrible people. Sirhan grew up in this atmosphere and I do not doubt that he heard many anti-Kennedy speeches. He simply accepted the way people in Pasadena think. He decided that Bobby Kennedy was evil and he killed him...." Clear as mud!

His lack of, shall we say, fixity is legendary. Vidal, August 25, 1968: "Well, it is the greater wisdom, finally to trust the people." Vidal, spring 1963: "One must never underestimate the collective ignorance of that informed electorate for whom Thomas Jefferson had such high hopes." Vidal, November 1968: "I have always felt that we must never underestimate the essential bigotry of the white majority in the United States." Vidal, December 1974: "Most Americans are liars or crooks if they can get away with it." On August 5, 1968, he informed a national television audience that thirty million Americans were living in poverty; two nights later the figure inexplicably dropped to twenty-two million; but then in the *New York Review of Books* he spoke of "forty million poor." It was in this same year that he solemnly declared: "For myself, should the war continue after the 1968 election a change of nationality will be the only moral response." The change, of course, was never consummated, but it would have been a swell show had Gore become a Cambodian. Think of the frantic calls that would have gone out from some fashionable neighborhood in Phnom Penh during that tragic April in 1975, desperate calls to the "last empire on earth."

That his political mentor was Eleanor Roosevelt has long been known. He speaks of her often and fondly: the time he caught her arranging flowers in a toilet bowl, the "thorny Puritan American conscience" (which he admires!), the "stoic serenity," the "conscience to the world." To Gore she was an American Socrates, and we shall be hearing of her wisdom for years. When he stifles his polemical oratory long enough to lay forth a political program it becomes clear that his is the most authentic projection of the mind of Eleanor now operating in America. National health care is a must, and Gore will not rest until America has an educational system and a mass-transit system the equal of those serving some unnamed European paradise. As visionaries go Gore can be lumped in with the League of Women Voters, circa 1960.

Gore is the grandson of Senator Thomas Gore, an Oklahoma populist whose memory time has obscured for all save Gore, who makes the cranky old gasbag out to be the Daniel Webster of this century. It is apparent that for years he has been given to sojourning into a fantasy world in which he, Gore, is a statesman of moment. In 1960 the fantasy took life, and he ran for Congress in New York's 29th district. Now all the profligacy of his youth was decorously shoved behind the arras. His homosexual novels, his carousals with Tennessee Williams and other such louts, his mawkish interludes with Anaïs Nin, his proud pilgrimage to André Gide, his Hollywood years. In pursuit of the congressman's gaud no indignity was beneath him. He even composed a slogan, "You'll Get More With Gore." Twenty-five thousand votes were the thin margin between defeat and a rebirth of the American Republic. Still, the political fantasy lingers. In 1974 he declared to an astonished interviewer that he had moved to Italy in the early 1960s "because I was giving up practical politics and trying to avoid being drafted to run again for the House in 1964. I knew that if I went on living up the Hudson, I'd be a full-time politician and never write again." And so Gore returned to his Art.

How fine are The Novels? The trashiness of American literary tastes is one of Gore's favorite and most persuasive propositions. That his ardor against American readers is never complicated by his popularity with them is another colossal example of his talent for self-deception. Gore is of course a frequent author of best-sellers, nonetheless he places himself "at the top of the heap," while disparaging Faulkner, Hemingway, and practically all his more gifted forebears. Precisely whom he does admire is not easy to establish, his penchant for contradiction being as active in literary judgments as in political asseverations. In the fall 1974 issue of the *Paris Review* he notified the literary world that "There's only one living writer in English that I entirely admire...William Golding." In November 1974, when Gore placed himself "at the top of the heap," he did not even include Golding in the heap. We know that he does admire the late critic Edmund Wilson, because he has compared Wilson to himself. Still almost no other writer is ever allowed such unqualified praise.

Actually, Gore's life as a novelist is only a little less illusory than his life as a politician. He does, of course, write novels, but no critic worth his salt has ever taken one of them seriously. His first novels, full of savorless prose and cardboard characters, were unappealing imitations of the works of his superiors. In 1954 he retired from *belles lettres* to write for TV and the movies. When he finally returned to the novel he brought with him a professionalism that can only be learned in the clever company of Hollywood hacks. His recent



"I have made this letter longer than usual because I lacked the time to make it short."

BLAISE PASCAL (1623-1662), one of the colorful men appearing in the fourth, enlarged edition of

A HISTORY OF π (PI)

The fascinating story of the circle ratio from pre-historic times to the computer age, by Prof. Petr Beckmann (University of Colorado), an enthralling, profusely illustrated account loaded with historical anecdotes and oddities.

DID YOU KNOW...

... that a verse in the Bible implies $\pi = 3$?
 ... that Archimedes of Syracuse in the 3rd century B.C. found a method of calculating π that defied improvement for over 1900 years?

... that poems coding the decimal digits of π have been written?

... that in 1897 the Indiana House of Representatives passed a bill legislating the (wrong) value of π ?

... that the value of π is now known by computer evaluation to half a million decimal digits? (The first 10,000 of them are imprinted on the colored endsheets of this book!)

This book is not a dry account of the hunt for the true value of π ; it gives the background of the times when π made progress, and also of the times when science was stifled by dogmatism and religious fanaticism. It is not written only for the student of the exact sciences; there is plenty left for those who wish to skip the more difficult mathematical places.

The first edition of this book (1970) was sold out in less than a year. Since then, the text has been revised, updated and enlarged, and many thousands of copies have been sold. We are now offering the fourth, enlarged edition.

We believe that this is an unusually enjoyable book. The author was overwhelmed with unsolicited readers' letters. The Japanese translation is now in its third, large printing. It is widely acclaimed as an excellent and entertaining book:

"A pure delight — stimulating, irreverent of many long-accepted notions... A fascinating story of human efforts to advance knowledge in spite of the brutalizing preoccupations with war and the religious persecution of scholars... Entirely offbeat, which gives it its charm" —THE DENVER POST

"A cheerful work" —SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

"A very readable account" —SCIENCE

"For those seriously concerned with the history of mathematics, yet written in easy style" —CHOICE

"It is as if the author guided us through a mathematical museum... A pretty book, interesting and full of wit"

ZENTRALBLATT FÜR MATHEMATIK (Berlin)

"Thoroughly fascinating... A rewarding experience for the reader"

—APPLIED MECHANICS REVIEW

202 pp. 92 ill. 6 by 9 clothbound
 Endsheets imprinted with the first 10,000 decimal digits of π

\$9.95 postpaid

from

THE GOLEM PRESS

Address and order form on right

The health hazards of NOT going nuclear

Sure, nuclear energy is dangerous. ANY energy is dangerous.

But none is as safe as nuclear.

Even in waste disposal? Even in vulnerability to terrorism and sabotage? And in major disasters?

Yes!

That is the message of the book by Dr Petr Beckmann, professor of electrical engineering at the University of Colorado, Fellow of the IEEE, and editor of the monthly *Access to Energy*. He is unconnected with the nuclear industry and electric utilities, and has no axe to grind except that of scientific truth.

His book does not compare the risks of nuclear power to its benefits. (How many dollars to a human life?)

It compares nuclear power to the other energy sources per unit generated energy, death for death, injury for injury, disease incidence for disease incidence, environmental impact for environmental impact.

The comparisons are fully documented.

The nuclear critics have never disputed these comparisons.

They have merely ignored them.

Witty, highly informative, thoroughly documented, caustic Nat.synd.column. John Lofton

Ralph Nader and his "Critical Mass" Opponents have been blown out of the water... I challenge Nader to debate Beckmann across the country. Nat.synd.col. John Chamberlain

Easily one of the most important books of our times... Nat.synd.col. R. de Toledano.

Establishes a more rational framework for assessing the dangers of nuclear power. SUNDAY TIMES (London)

One of the most extraordinary books to emerge from the nuclear debate AGE (Melbourne, Australia)

An instructive, entertaining book that deserves the widest possible audience NATIONAL REVIEW

A remarkable new book... a passionate defence of nuclear energy and a well-reasoned exposure of its opponents. DAILY TELEGRAPH (London)

Incisively, always based on hard data, Beckmann punctures one slogan of the nuclear opponents after another... His arguments are presented in a most original and refreshing manner.

NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG (Switzerland)

Technically informed, lively and polemical analysis SCIENCE NEWS

This book is designed for laymen who can think... It could well start a trend back to public sanity REVIEW OF THE NEWS

This delightful and highly informative work is important reading in this day of primitivism and anti-technological propaganda.

CHALCEDON REPORT (Vallecito, Calif.)

Be sure to read the review on our back page today... As Dr Beckmann concludes, "When a group of anti-nuclear fanatics hold a meeting, they get more radioactivity from each other than they would from a nuclear reactor." MANCHESTER UNION LEADER

The extraordinary message of this extraordinary man in this extraordinary book is that "nuclear power is safer than any other form of large-scale energy conversion yet invented." AMERICAN OPINION

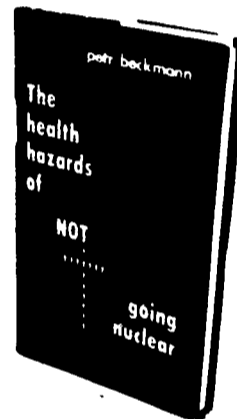
Tens of thousands of copies sold!

(Not counting foreign editions)

Translated into
**German
 Danish
 Swedish**

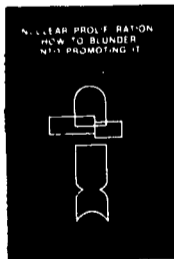
To be published in
**French
 Italian**

**\$5.95 softbound
 \$10.95 hardbound
 postpaid**



Golem's DIFFERENT DRUMMER Booklets

Illustrated, 16pp., \$2 each (postpaid)



NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: How to Blunder Into It. Why the Carter Policy is a violation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, why it must fail in the Western world, and why it may encourage Third World countries to build bombs.



PAGES FROM US ENERGY HISTORY. A 17th century energy crisis; When the iron industry ran out of fuel; the first American oil crisis; Scaring the ignorant; a Ralph Nader of the 1880's; the interests vested in energy.



SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL? Economics As If Only SOME People Mattered. Brief refutation of the Schmacher-Lovins litany. How small is beautiful? Small and large systems in Nature; Feudal energy; Vulnerability; Who benefits?

To: **THE GOLEM PRESS**, Box 1342, Boulder, Colorado 80306

Rush the books marked below. My check is enclosed.

(All prices postpaid, but we accept prepaid orders only!)

SHIP TO:

- Health Haz., hardb. \$10.95
- Health Haz., softb. \$5.95
- Nucl. Proliferation \$2.00
- Pages US Energy Hist. \$2.00
- Small is Beautiful? \$2.00
- History of π \$9.95

Total remittance enclosed: \$

books all show the Hollywood touch, with their cast of morons, their faked emotions, their utterly idiotic portrayals of reality. They are all best-sellers and all provide irrefutable support for his criticism of the best-seller list.

Whether Gore is really pleased with his performance I have no way of knowing, but his success has not been without heartache. In 1975 the rascal Buckley struck out at him. While skiing in Switzerland Buckley threw off a novel of his own, *Saving the Queen*. By 1976 the book had made the best-seller list, right up there with Gore's *1876*. This must have been a grim time back in Ravello. There they were together, the Great Novelist and William F. Buckley, Jr. I have read all Gore's ambitious works plus *Saving the Queen*; alas, the amateur Buckley stands close to the top of the heap.

Through the years Gore has learned to write fluent and amusing essays, but here too he lives a life of fantasy. He has come to think himself an intellectual of the uppermost rung. He knows the arcana of the ancients, world literature, the quiddities of enlightened policy. So far as I am able to ascertain, it is all humbug. Reflecting on his first novel he once admitted "I was easily the cleverest young fox ever to disguise his ignorance and make a virtue of his limitations." The fox slinks on.

Gore's portrayal of homosexuality's place in the ancient world is either ignorant or dissembling. His sense of history is erratic. At times he sounds like the brightest graduate student ever to take a Masters of Teaching degree at Cleveland State University. Other times he is either being a tease or making heavy weather of it with the knowledge that any moderately intelligent college freshman has grasped

after an elementary course. He has no serious ideas about history, though he has written several historical novels. In fact it is doubtful that he has any serious ideas at all. He is a man of turbulent passions and irrational prejudices.

Gore makes a very big thing out of the derisible character of a middle-class American burgher, who in Gore's composite has large elements of George Babbitt and George Wallace along with just a vague suggestion of Nelson Rockefeller. Doubtless a sizeable minority of Americans are just as bigoted, intolerant, smug, and stupid as Gore insists; but what is really riveting is the frequency of his own lapses into these deficiencies. The creed of many of his villains, their traits, and the nature of his complaint against Mailer betray a congeries of prejudices which look like nothing so much as anti-Semitism. Violence and cruelty inhere through many of his novels, notably *Myra Breckenridge*, and his humanitarian protest that Mailer and Henry Miller celebrate violence and "harred of women" is the campaign oratory of a popinjay fighting to maintain his status as TV sage.

Whether Mailer is more taken up with violence than Vidal I leave to other minds, but certainly to speak of Miller in this way is to mislead. As a novelist Miller towers over Vidal. With intellectual courage and emotional sincerity, Miller wrote some of the finest American novels of the century. His is, in the words of George Orwell, "...a friendly American voice, with no humbug in it...." How different from Vidal, and it is fitting that Miller should live his last days in a quiet California neighborhood, confident in his authorship of many fine books and utterly remote from the fantasies of Ravello.

And back in the villa the great work continues. Novels are sketched, bad books reviewed, and more and more conspiracy theories of American life are hatched. Through the years Gore's conspiracy theories have grown increasingly outlandish, as they approximate ever more closely those of the lunatic right. It is a wonderful symmetry.

On summer nights the villa fills with the most renowned left-wing intellectuals of what the reactionaries persist in calling the Free World. In the soft light of the great vaulted living room sit Claire Bloom, Mick and Bianca Jagger, Princess Margaret, and the scholarly Newmans, Joanne and Paul. The talk turns to health care, and Gore laments that our system compares unfavorably with the barber shops of the last Persian empire, one of the few cultures he still admires (he finds it "subtle"). Princess Margaret speaks of Chile, and Howard Austen turns the discussion to Gore's shoes: "He had three pairs made in London twenty years ago. They're falling apart....What *can* you do with him?" Paul Newman launches into a discourse on a new econometric model that might bring the whole world up to the nutritional standards of Beverly Hills. And Howard opines that Gore's diets are "dangerous." He goes "from gluttony to starvation. It's voluptuous and maybe auto-sexually satisfying, and his diets might be a sort of rebirth, but I think they're too traumatic for the body." Far into the Mediterranean night the colloquy goes. Let the Rockefellers, the generals, and the other rulers of the heterosexual dictatorship work their wicked wills. In Ravello, the flame of idealism still burns, and if Gore has his way, by God, it will become a general conflagration. I am sure of it. □

There is opportunity in America!



Sarkes Tarzian Inc. Bloomington, Indiana

Catholic & Conservative . . .

The Wanderer



Yes, there is a Catholic voice in America that speaks with a conservative accent. Edited by Catholic laymen and fiercely independent, THE WANDERER has been characterized by one of its liberal-modernist critics as having "a passion for being right" — one of the very few passions liberals deplore!

In 1933, THE WANDERER's "passion for being right" prompted Adolph Hitler's Nazi government to forbid this journal's circulation in Germany; and in 1945, induced PRAVDA, the mouthpiece of Stalin's bloody Communist regime, to demand that the U.S. government suppress THE WANDERER. Today this journal's critics use more subtle tactics to weaken its voice, but THE WANDERER's growing company of readers will not allow it to be stilled.

Readers of THE WANDERER, America's oldest National Catholic weekly journal, are well informed about issues affecting the Catholic Church and American society. Why? Because THE WANDERER does more than bring its readers the news — it provides them with the kind of vital analysis and commentary that for 110 years has enabled Wanderer readers to be among the best informed persons in America.

What do some of our friends say about THE WANDERER?

"The Wanderer is surpassed by none and equalled by few other lay voices in the American Church today. Firm, fearless, and outspoken, The Wanderer has insured that orthodox Catholic views remain widely heard in the American press, thereby performing a great service for the whole Church." — (Warren H. Carroll, Ph.D., President, Christendom College, Triangle, Va.)

"In a time of herd mentality and going with the tide, independent thought is a rare coin and The Wanderer and its forums have honored that principle with grit and substance." — (George W. Cornell, Religion Editor, Associated Press, New York, N.Y.)

"The Wanderer has carried out its very special mission with an honesty, integrity, and adherence to Christian values that serves as an example to all of us in the field of journalism. In recent years especially, when the movement toward secular humanism has invaded all of our institutions, The Wanderer has served as a beacon reminding us of the true ideals and virtues toward which we must strive. Its dedication to individual freedom as well as individual responsibility is reassuring to its readers, Catholic and non-Catholic alike." — (Thomas S. Winter, Editor, "Human Events," Washington, D.C.)

"First The Wanderer states its opinions clearly and fearlessly. While some persons may not agree with all of those opinions, it can never be said that the opinions have been obscure or equivocal or evasive, nor have they been presented in a timid or hesitating way.

"Second, your newspaper's intense faithfulness to the Magisterium and its tenacious loyalty to the Vicar of Christ merit the gratitude of all of us." — (Humberto Cardinal Medeiros, Archbishop of Boston, Boston, Mass.)

"One of the finest chapters in the long history of The Wanderer has been its continuing and valiant defense of the unborn." — (Robert L. Mauro, Long Branch, N.J.)

"In a time of much weakness and timidity, The Wanderer has forthrightly defended the venerable teachings of the Church. No newspaper has done more to inform Americans about both Vatican Councils, or to repel the assaults of modernism and latitudinarianism." — (Russell Kirk, Editor, "The University Bookman," Mecosta, Mich.)

"Were I a judge in a court of appropriate jurisdiction, I would sentence every dreamy-eyed cleric and nun in the land to read The Wanderer completely each and every week of his or her life." — (Charles E. Rice, Professor of Law, Notre Dame Law School, Notre Dame, Ind.)

"Without ever compromising the truth, The Wanderer has been a powerful and effective force, in these troubled times, to bear witness to the Faith and the unchanging eternal truths taught by the Catholic Church." — (Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher, D.D., Bishop of Little Rock, Retired, Little Rock, Ark.)

"It seems to me that you have your finger on the pulse of the people. Consistently you point out the true concerns of the ordinary people in the pews and unmask the hypocrisy and arrogance of those who would dare to contradict the Vicar of Christ on Earth and set themselves up in his place." — (Kenneth Baker, S.J., Editor, "Homiletic and Pastoral Review," New York, N.Y.)

"The Wanderer's role in the Church has been and is to witness a conservative viewpoint. It does this, I judge, in a way that makes this paper unique in a good sense of the word." — (Joseph V. Sullivan, S.T.D., Bishop of Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, La.)

"The Wanderer has long supported the Church — usually against the enemy without. Its role as a leader of traditional outlook and thought since the Second Vatican Council is as important as anything else it has ever done." — (Msgr. Edward J. O'Donnell, Editor, "St. Louis Review," St. Louis, Mo.)

WHY NOT BECOME A READER OF "THE WANDERER"!

YOU'LL ALSO SAVE MONEY IF YOU SUBSCRIBE NOW!

As a reader of *The American Spectator* you may obtain a full year's subscription (52 issues) to *THE WANDERER* now for only \$10.00 (regular price \$11.00) — a savings of almost 10%

— OR —

You can save over 20% by ordering, in addition to an annual subscription to *THE WANDERER*, a copy of Christopher Dawson's comprehensive and penetrating *Dynamics of World History* (regular price \$7.95). Order both for only \$14.95 (regular price, \$18.95).

• • •

(The *Dynamics of World History* by Christopher Dawson, who is considered a peer of such historical philosophers as Toynbee and Spengler, should be read and reread by anyone who wishes to have a deeper understanding of civilization, its dynamics, and its meaning.)

THE WANDERER PRESS
128 E. 10th St. — St. Paul, Mn. 55101

Please enter my name for a full year's subscription to *The Wanderer*. Enclosed find my check in the amount of \$10.00

Please enter my name for a full year's subscription to *The Wanderer*, and also send me a copy of the *Dynamics of World History*. Enclosed find my check in the amount of \$14.95

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

Setting the Record Straight

I think if Mr. Kenner was trying to say in your November issue that higher education, and I have the impression that he was, had a higher degree of sustainment under other administrations or that mine was not keenly aware of what Mr. Kenner seems to think in terms of intellectual attainment, then he was wrong.

What he did not address himself to, as any faculty man with the possible resources should consider, is that at Columbia University under my guidance there had been and I think the record proves that it was a move in the directions indicated by those who like Mr. Kenner see as a genuine educational impulse.

Your magazine has done a disservice in the sense that the truth is or up to now has been prevented from fostering the principles of democracy as it sustains its own intellectual community.

Your retraction, should it be construed in the spirit of what I have always contrived, may be sent to my library here where the disposition of it among my papers may be appropriately filed.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
Abilene, Kansas

Mr. Kenner replies:

Since no literate nor quasi-literate reader will have trouble ascertaining the drift, if not the thrust, of the communication purporting to be from the late President D.D. Eisenhower; since for that matter the entire first paragraph yields parsable if not elegant syntax provided only that the clause between commas be moved forward nine words, I have no hesitation in dismissing it as a forgery.

It may be suggested that this document illustrates the phenomenon of rhetorical enhancement attendant on residence in the post-mortem world, as reported by P.V. Maro, D. Alighieri, and others. But no thinking person will fail to object that these were naive pre-scientific observations, conducted in the total absence of controls. Surely decisive in this connection were the NIH-funded experiments of Schlumpf, Scherz, and Kapow (1969), who repeatedly observed that when experimental animals were dispatched into the world in question with the aid of cyanide, they manifested a marked diminution of their already limited ability to frame English sentences. No exceptions were noted in repeated trials.

I trust this disposes of the matter.

Overwhelming Cynicism

I am not renewing my subscription, but I thought I would try to send some constructive criticism. I really do like articles by

James Q. Wilson, Irving Kristol, Robert Asahina. I really do not like the "Continuing Crisis" and "Current Wisdom." I honestly find these sickening in much the same way that the *Realist* bothered me when I saw it ten years ago.

I'm known as a cynical person by all my friends and my students—freshmen are especially disturbed by it. But I just cannot take the cynicism of those two departments in your magazine. They are simply gross. What I am trying to say is that even a person of relatively coarse sensibilities finds those sections too coarse. To top it off, the February issue had really offensive remarks about Bella Abzug—a person I would happily cross the street to avoid—in the "Bootblack Stand."

You do a valuable job in most of the magazine, but your overwhelming cynicism and your anti-feminist stance have finally gotten to me. I can't support you any longer in a direct way, though I do wish you continued publication.

Charles A. Lave
University of California
Irvine, California

The Constitution and Moral Philosophy

In "Bakke: The Legal Profession in Crisis" (February 1978), Hadley Arkes justly objects to reducing the "ends of the law...to the measure of material outcomes" and properly insists that "the question of material outcomes can never override a question of principle." But he swims upstream, against the current attachment to a result-oriented jurisprudence, the product of the Warren Court's revolutionary innovations, itself an offshoot of Pragmatism: a conception is to be measured by its consequences. In the realm of constitutional law, however, Chief Justice Marshall cautioned that because a given result is more or less desirable does not mean that it is more or less constitutional.

For his "moral principles" Arkes looks to "propositions that are true as a matter of necessity, now and for all time," among them the proposition that racial discrimination is immoral, a conviction that I share. There is no general philosophic consensus about what is moral. Of the moral one may say what Justice James Iredell said of natural justice: "the ideas of natural justice are regulated by no fixed standard: the ablest and purest men have differed upon the subject." Said Justice Holmes, "Nothing but confusion of thought can result from assuming that the rights of man in a moral sense are equally rights in the sense of the Constitution and the law." Then too there is John Stuart Mill's disquieting admonition:

The disposition of mankind...to impose their own opinions and inclinations as a rule of conduct on others, is so energetically supported by some of the best and some of the worst feelings incident to human nature, that it is hardly ever kept under restraint by anything but want of power.

One need only recall how the Holy Inquisition burned men at the stake because heresy threatened the souls of the faithful.

It is surprising that in an article about a major constitutional issue by a teacher of constitutional law there is not a single reference to the Constitution. The Founders were not promulgating a system of morals but were erecting a structure of government that would curb greed for ever more power. In Jefferson's words, they sought to bind down their delegates from mischief "by the chains of the Constitution." That they did not look to their delegates as preceptors of morals may be gathered from the ban on meddling with religion. By Arkes' test the Constitution was profoundly immoral, for it sanctioned the institution of slavery. And when the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment grappled with the problem of the emancipated blacks, they did not go beyond securing to them the barest minimum of rights essential to protection from violence and oppression, unmistakably excluding suffrage and segregation.* Arkes left unanswered how to engraft his "moral principle" upon a Constitution from which it was excluded.

Ours is a government "by consent of the governed." As Iredell, a leader in the struggle for adoption of the Constitution, declared, "The people have chosen to be governed under such and such principles. They have not chosen to be governed or promised to submit upon any other." No principle, moral or otherwise, not drawn from the Constitution, can alter the terms of that consent.

Those whom Arkes repudiates are well content to leave to the Supreme Court the imposition of moral goals that range beyond the Constitution. But no such power was conferred on the Court; and though usurpation may have a benign purpose, it spells, as Cardozo stated, "the end of the rule of law."

Raoul Berger
Concord, Massachusetts

Mr. Arkes replies:

I esteem that sense of engagement which leads Raoul Berger to write, but I fear that he has merely borne out, with his own, celebrated example, that "distance" (as I said in my article) which "now

* R. Berger, *Government by Judiciary: The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment* (1977).