

democratic claims should have led to the decline of those institutions closest to the people—the parties and the state and local governments—and to the strengthening of two institutions very remote from them—the courts and the bureaucracy.

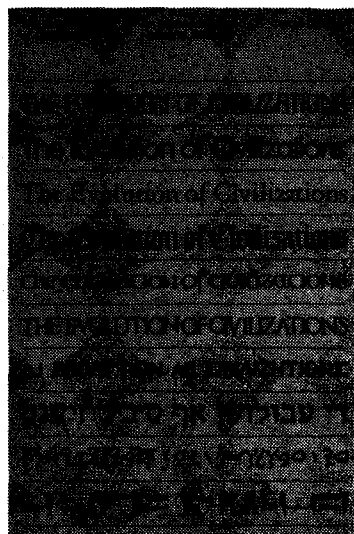
If all this poses a threat to our political institutions, and Wilson implies that it does, the remedy must come in the way we think about gov-

ernment. This remedy, it is clear, must be a fundamental one, and it will require a deeper understanding than the one that is generally offered of what is necessary to preserve a liberal regime. Liberalism is a difficult discipline, and we have seen in the modern era that the unreflective pursuit of liberal ends can undermine those institutions that are necessary to achieve them. The attempt to

secure through the Supreme Court what cannot be secured through the legislative process leads directly to a contempt for public opinion and for those institutions which have traditionally represented it. Wilson does not provide the remedy, but he clearly diagnoses the problem, and he forthrightly attacks in both speech and deed the idea that ideas do not matter. In a society in which public

sentiment ultimately governs, nothing could be more disastrous than the triumph of the belief that interest alone rules, because here the belief will make it so. The experiment in representative government, which is Wilson's subject, began out of an attempt to prove the doctrine false, but the nature of the enterprise presumes that it may eventually be proven true. □

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The Evolution of Civilizations An Introduction to Historical Analysis

By Carroll Quigley

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ZEBRA

Clark Howard

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Mike Parrish

Zebra tells the story of 23 random, cold-blooded murders and attempted murders—chosen from an estimated total of 250—committed in San Francisco during the period 1973-1974 by a group of Black Muslims. It is not a pleasant book, and, suffering as it does from both a slight touch of sensationalism and the liabilities inherent in its "nonfiction novel" style, it is not even a particularly good book; but it ought to be read, mainly by those who may still have misgivings about capital punishment.

It is incredible that the acts of savagery described in this book could happen anywhere in the civilized world, but less so that they took place in San Francisco, where American liberalism reigns triumphant. Here, where the genius of Jim Jones and "General Field Marshal" Cinque reached fruition, the so-called Zebra murderers found their perfect milieu. The murderers were largely veterans of the California prison system, where the "there is no such thing as a bad boy" principle has been the dominant philosophy for a number of years. Although habitual criminals, they had been released after short terms in various correctional institutions. During one of these sojourns they discovered the glories of Islam, in particular, the variety of Islam inspired by the teachings of Malcolm X. Taking the precepts of Malcolm X to their logical conclusion, the Zebra group decided to embark on a campaign of killing "blue-eyed devils" and rewarding individual killers with high scores

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with admission into a fraternity of "Death Angels." In adding up scores, high marks were given for killing women and children.

Despite the killers' fervent avowals, their religious commitment is somewhat suspect. Although Islam certainly believes in murder for correct reasons, it takes a less sanguine view of rape and robbery, in which the criminals, in their more lenient moods, also indulged. It seems that their secular inspiration must have come from the Black Panthers across the Bay, whose leader had shortly before been anointed by Jane Fonda as the only man who could be trusted in America.

The San Francisco police attempted to apprehend the criminals, of course, but groups like the American Civil Liberties Union continually frustrated them. Waving the Constitution and hurling about charges of "racism," the ACLU and its allies managed to bring to a halt a police search program which might have led to an early apprehension of the criminals. In the end, only the conscientious efforts of two detectives, and an unfounded fear of imminent capture on the part of one of the criminals, led to the group's arrest and conviction. Their crimes notwithstanding, they will be up for parole in 1981. According to Powell, the prisoners have shown no repentance and like many of their kind probably view themselves as "freedom fighters."

There is hope, however. By using the latest techniques of Synanon and *est* or by employing a new method of behavior modification, the mental health people so prevalent in San Francisco's psychobabble culture may well succeed in restoring the criminals to model citizens by the time of their release. If not, the outcome raises several questions, not least important of which is: Can our society deal effectively with terrorists when powerful voices try to justify crimes—no matter how heinous—as long as they are committed by a "repressed minority"? □

WHO'S ON FIRST

William F. Buckley, Jr. / Doubleday / \$9.95

Joseph Shattan

Reviewers of mysteries and spy novels are apt to find themselves in an uncomfortable bind. They are not permitted to divulge the book's plot, since that would relieve the suspense novel of its *raison d'être*; they cannot say much about its characters, since these, in all but the best novels, are little more than what Ian Fleming once called "cardboard boobies"; and they are unable to analyze its argument, since a thriller usually has none. Thus, they fall back on generalities. They discuss the book's

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atmosphere and the author's style, pronounce the plot plausible or implausible, and, should they wish to bestow the highest accolade, declare that they read the entire work "in a single sitting," so enthralled were they by it.

As it happens, I read William Buckley's latest spy novel in a single sitting. This declaration, however, is not as laudatory as it might otherwise appear, inasmuch as I always read thrillers in a single sitting. Otherwise, I find that I lose track of the plot. Having qualified my enthusiasm somewhat, I can safely proceed to assert that Mr. Buckley's novel, though not quite up to his highest

standards, is still an entertainment of the first rank. Its characters are credible, its plot is ingenious, and, though its tone is anything but didactic, it has a serious point to make.

A good part of the novel's attractiveness derives from its protagonist, CIA operative Blackford Oakes. A "perfectly proportioned young American male" with an "inviting informality of manner" that women (not unnaturally) find irresistible, the Yale-educated Mr. Oakes is no mere fop. On the contrary, he was trained as a nuclear physicist, he gained renown as a fighter-pilot during World War II, and he reads the geopolitical works of James Burnham for relaxation. Fluent in many tongues and related to—among other luminaries—the Queen of England, the young Oakes is at once effortlessly cosmopolitan and deeply patriotic. One is at a loss to imagine who on earth such an accomplished character might be modelled after.

Pitted against Oakes is the wily KGB Colonel, Boris Andreyevich Bolgin. A quondam victim of Stalin's purges, Bolgin is a man of regular



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