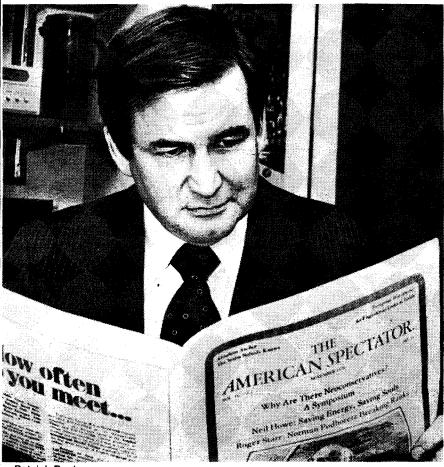
Who reads The American Spectator?



Patrick Buchanan.

ALSO: Ronald Reagan, Malcolm Muggeridge, Ben Wattenberg, Peregrine Worsthorne, S.I. Hayakawa, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Henry Kissinger, Clayton Fritchey, Milton Friedman, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Midge Decter, James Q. Wilson, David Brinkley, Woody Allen, Joseph Coors, Irving Kristol, Henry Fairlie, Alan Abelson, Charlton Heston, Senator Jake Garn, Gertrude Himmelfarb, James Hitchcock, Gen. Alexander Haig, Tom Wolfe, James Jackson Kilpatrick, George Gilder, Jack Paar, Donald H. Rumsfeld, George Will, J. Peter Grace, Maj. Gen. George S. Patton, III, Fred Iklé, Philip Crane, George W. Ball, Tom Stoppard, William F. Buckley, Jr., Joseph E. Coberly, Jr., Albert Shanker, Lewis Lapham, Rowland Evans, Robert Novak, Jude Wanniski, Jack Kemp, William Rusher, Richard M. Nixon, William E. Simon, Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., Thomas J. Lescher, Norman Mailer, Clare Boothe Luce, Gerald R. Ford, Melvin Lasky, Nelson Polsby, Roger Milliken, Randolph Richardson, Thomas Sowell, Sidney Hook, Jim Fallows, Edith Efron, Gen. A.C. Wedemeyer, James L. Buckley, Elliott Abrams, Lewis Lehrman, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Shmuel Moyal, Huntington Cairns, Eric Hoffer, Anne Armstrong, Norman Podhoretz, Jeff MacNelly, Doris Grumbach, Ernest van den Haag, Paul McCracken, Brock Yates, Ray Price, James Wechsler, James Glassman, John Roche, John Chamberlain, William Safire, Neal Kozodoy, Henry Salvatori, David Meiselman, Martin Peretz, Charles Horner, Edward Banfield, Victor Lasky, Raymond Aron, Roy Cohn, Joseph Hazan, Eugene V. Rostow, Michael Novak, Richard Perle, Hugh Kenner, Frank Shakespeare, William Proxmire, Patrick Cosgrave, Jean-François Revel, Luigi Barzini, Tom Charles Huston, Clay La Force, Fred Silverman, John Lofton, Larry Flynt, M. Stanton Evans, Dana Andrews, Richard Whalen, Richard Lugar, Henry Regnery, Charles Peters, John Lukacs, Leonard Garment, Michael Kinsley, Tom Winter, Nathan Glazer, Alan Reynolds, Antonio Martino, Colin Welch, Robert Bleiberg, Herb Stein, Roger Starr, Walter Goodman, Harry Jaffa, Jeffrey Hart, David Packard, Robert Nisbet, James R. Schlesinger, Thomas Murphy, Suzanne Garment, Roger Rosenblatt, Anthony Harrigan, Robert L. Bartley, David Stockman, Richard Allen, Ernest Lefever, Sen. Paul Laxalt, Joseph A. Califano, Garry Trudeau, and many others.

	_		X91
☐ Payment enclosed☐ Bill me later	State	Zip	
	City		
Please enter a ☐ new ☐ renewal subscription to The American Spectator for one year (12 issues) for only \$18.	Address		
	Please Print Name		
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR	, P.O. Box 1969, Bloc	omington, Indiana	4/402

integrated (though not always deftly) into a prose texture so rich and persuasive that Chandler's novels, flaws and all, have earned the standing of minor masterpieces. "As a writer," Miriam Gross has said, "he owes everything to his style; which is perhaps just another way of saying that he was a writer, not just an entertainer, and one whose work seems likely to outlast many a contemporary with apparently more serious pretensions."

handler's virtues as a writer are equally apparent in the letters Frank MacShane has chosen for his new collection, and they are joined by something not found in the novels: the literary opinions of a widely read, unusually perceptive correspondent. Sometimes the opinions come wrapped inside a patented Chandler simile; Edmund Wilson's Memoirs of Hecate County, for example, is dismissed as "indecent enough . . . and in exactly the most offensive way-without passion, like a phallus made of dough." More often, though, they are delivered straight, and are none the less impressive for it; writing to Charles Morton about the reason why Dashiell Hammett stopped writing, Chandler simply suggests that "he may have come to the end of his resources in a certain style and have lacked the intellectual

depth to compensate for that by trying something else." The letters tell us much about the life of a troubled, difficult, and uncertain man, and so they will interest anyone curious about the details of Raymond Chandler's career; but they also provide innumerable glimpses into the mind of an insightful author who knew his craft, and so they will also interest anyone who cares about literature.

Despite its formidable accumulation of detail, Frank MacShane's Chandler biography was oddly unsatisfying; so it is a pleasure to report that the present volume is first-rate, not as good a job of editing as (to cite a model example) Carl Bode's The New Mencken Letters, but infinitely better than, say, Carlos Baker's recent Hemingway collection. Correspondents and references are identified carefully, and the index is thorough. Whenever possible, MacShane has returned to the original letters instead of using the edited versions reprinted in Raymond Chandler Speaking—a commendable decision; the whole adds up to an outstanding piece of work and a highly readable volume in its own right. Those who, over the years, have had cause to regret the fact that Chandler wrote so little will want to add Selected Letters of Raymond Chandler to their shelves at once. It isn't another The Long Goodbye, but it will do.

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE OLD REGIME: EUROPE TO THE GREAT WAR Arno J. Mayer / Pantheon Books Inc. / \$16.95

T. John Jamieson

Professor Mayer wishes to establish that World War I, the "war of the masses," was not a venture in capitalist expansion, but an attempt by the ancient feudal aristocracy of Europe to recover its ebbing political and economic hold. To this end he furnishes 300 tedious, repetitious pages of generalizations and statistics showing how the ancien regime continued to own most of the land, thereby controlling the languishing agricultural economy; how successful businessmen were assimilated into the aristocracy, ostensibly to keep them from conspiring to overthrow it;

T. John Jamieson is a Paul Elmer More scholar residing in Livonia, Michigan. how "rotten boroughs" mitigated the effects of universal suffrage; how museums discriminated against avant-garde artists; how the Papacy 'feudalized'' religion; and how classical education kept down budding Marxist historians. Professor Mayer, who received his doctorate at Yale, and taught at Columbia, Brandeis, and Harvard before arriving at Princeton, is a Marxist historian. Bismarck's phrase for his kind was 'intellectual proletarian,'' what Paul Elmer More called "a nouveau intellectuel, bearing the same relation to the man of genuine education as the nouveau riche to the man of inherited manners." We understand too that Waugh spoke of "university-nurtured cultural barbarians." The book is dedicated to the evangel of sixties' campus anarchy, Herbert Marcuse. Professor Mayer's existence is evidence of the persistence of another regime.

His atrocities of language bear witness to the observation that history is no longer a literary discipline: "bourgeoisification," "denoblement,'' "monumentalization,'' "artisanal,'' "associational,'' "historial," "fin du siècle." Couched in his unreadable style is an account of prewar European society distorted to support his theory. Among his abounding absurdities are these: As evidence of the nobility's domination of agriculture through ownership of land, Mayer cites the Duke of Sutherland, whose million Scottish acres were fit for little more than a gigantic hunting preserve. Oscar Wilde, dandy manqué, appears in Mayer's book as an. "aristocratizing" champion of the old order, despite his authorship of an infuriating book called The Soul of Man Under Socialism. And, curiously, the Marxist who values art only as "social criticism" seems to take the side of modern abstract artists (decadent aestheticists condemned by Soviet academicians) against the taste of the ancien régime's academies. A royal academy condemning bad taste constitutes, in Mayer's view, a reactionary political conspiracy and leads to a world war. It is as though to say Lord Jeffrey's disgust with Wordsworth ("This will never do . . .") was a distant cause of the Napoleonic defeat.

Mayer fails even to render a picturesque account of the ancien régime's crepuscular splendor. Instead he provides a dry report on the process of annoblization (assumption into the nobility of worthy candidates from inferior classes) which he castigates as "co-optation" of the middle class. This means another reactionary conspiracy to keep bourgeois "class consciousness" from forming, which would lead automatically to the abolition of aristocracy. Never mind that annoblization has occurred for centuries, even before the existence of heraldry, since families do become extinct and are supplanted. Mayer at once pities and despises the men of wealth aspiring to the prestige of men of birth; social climbing is actually self-humiliation. Somehow, Mayer implies, kings and lords would have been more honest in their contempt of inferiors to have kept the upstarts down completely. These royal scoundrels even had the audacity to grant hereditary titles to Jews. Furthermore, for the sake of completeness, Mayer incorporates republican France into his theory of an enduring ancien régime, speaking of its society as though an invisible king continued to preside over it. But the assimilation of American heiresses into the Faubourg St. Germain was not a cause of World War I, indirect or otherwise.

I o the Marxist mind, classical education was also a reactionary

conspiracy, therefore a cause of the war. Mayer nods to the notion that studying Aristotle, Virgil, and Horace instilled ideals of *honor*; but such a word echoes meaninglessly in the hollow dark of Marxism. One might choose to consider the extent to which a system based on honors, honorifics, and codes of honorable behavior was actually a rule of honor; but the professor of dialectical mate-

rialism has decided in advance that any pretensions which would raise man above the primordial slime are a monstrous joke. Mayer maintains that the classics were really "a finely tuned screening mechanism," and a device for the "co-optative integration of the sons of magnates of business and the professions into the ruling class." Presumably this literary education, which often diverted



If you remember savoring and lingering over a fantastically mild and flavorful Cuban leaf cigar in the days before the Cuban embargo, you will be interested in this offer — and the story behind it.

CIGARS SHOWN ACTUAL SIZE

When the Cuban embargo hit, we and other small manufacturers of fine custom-made cigars faced ruin. Our very existence depended on maintaining the same incomparable quality we had staked our reputation on.

The solution was pure

One dark night a few

years ago a group of daring Cuban expatriates put to sea carrying a precious cargo of Cuban tobacco seeds. After running a gauntlet of Cuban gunboats they finally reached their destination — Honduras. Here under almost identical conditions of climate and soil, this prime tobacco flourishes to this day, far from its native land. This is the tobacco we use to make our superbly mild and flavorable cigars — cigars an expert can't tell from Havana.

• "Yours is the only decent cigar I have had in over 12 years," one new customer wrote me the other day.

 "Of all the cigars I have smoked, both cheap and expensive, yours is the best of the bunch," wrote another.

• "Outstanding! Best cigars I have had since returning from overseas," wrote H.E.O., of Columbia, S.C.

• "I am very impressed with the mildness and freshness of the cigar sampler you sent," said J.J.M., of Lincoln, Ill.



I will send you postpaid a variety of 50 factory fresh cigars. Smoke one or a half-dozen with my compliments. If these cigars aren't all you expect and a great deal more, return the remainder by parcel post within 30 days and I'll refund your money. No questions asked. Your delivered cost is only \$10.90 for 50 Factory-Fresh Cuban Seed Leaf Cigars.

To order, fill in and mail coupor THOMPSON CIGA Dept. A745, 200 N. Edison A		A745
O.K., TOM! Ship me the Thompson Victory Sampler under your money-back guarantee for only \$10.90	Credit Card No. (Print all digits)	
☐ Check for \$10.90 enclosed. (Fla. residents add 4% sales tax.) Make Mine with This Wrapper: ☐ Candela (Lt. Green)	Master Charge Also Enter 4 Digits Below Your Acct. No.	EXP. DATE
☐ Natural (Med. Brown) ☐ Charge \$10.90 to my	name	
☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge ☐ American Express	address	
Diners Club	CITY (OFFER GOOD IN U.S. ONLY) STATE	ZiD

CREDIT CARD USER SPEED DELIVERY BY PHONING TOLL-FREE 800-237-2559 IN FLORIDA CALL: 800-282-0646 the sons of the bourgeoisie into the academy or the arts, also impeded the formation of "a counterelite and counterhegemony" by keeping the scions from piling million upon million through the second generation.

Mayer sets out to prove that monarchy itself was the immediate cause of the Great War; then he destroys this thesis by stating that both world wars were really one war with the same cause. A more credible Princetonian, Paul Elmer More, wrote an essay in November 1914 called "The Philosophy of the War," in which he cited "Nietzscheism and Treitschkeism" as the paramount excuses for German aggression. The Will to Power, not Dieu et mon droit,

BRIGHT IDEA PUBLISHING introduces

THE 80 PROOF COOKBOOK

AN INTRODUCTON TO COOKING WITH HIGH SPIRITS

by Mary Anastasia & Frank Cullen

Every recipe features an 80 Proof Liquor, bringing "liquor to the larder"

Represented are SCOTCH, GIN, VODKA, BOURBON and other Liquors

A quality paperback, 8½ by 11 spiral-bound to lay flat for easy use in the kitchen. Original illustrations by Claudia Meyer

ORDER NOW FOR HOLIDAY CHEER!			
Name			
Address			
·	StateZip		
	Check Money Orde	er	
	plus \$1.55 shipping & handl residents add 6% sales tax (

BRIGHT IDEA PUBLISHING

2210 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 702 Santa Monica, California 90403 (213) 479-3044 justified the war to its promoters; Pius X refused to bless Franz Josef's cause. A romantic creed of nationalism which glorified strength for its own sake triumphed over traditional morality, which would have found the Central Powers on the unjust side. This romantic creed is the slender fiber which supported Nazism-an anti-aristocratic movement setting out to institute national socialism before conquest by international socialism. Mayer mentions the paradox of the aristocracy, which Nietzsche excoriated as "decadent," taking up Nietzscheism as a goad to drive the masses into fighting its war. But 20 years later a political establishment that was the ancien régime's antithesis harnessed the same doctrine for the same ends. The fault lies in individuals, not institutions.

In his 1914 essay, More notes that the nation which gave the world Nietzsche also gave it Marx. Both were the ugly spawn of the original romantic heresy which he and colleague Irving Babbitt found personified in Rousseau. The two clashing impulses of romanticism, egoism and humanitarian sympathy, ultimately divided into mutually exclusive philosophies, though both were equally relativistic and antinomian: Communism and the creed of the Superman. In the egregious Professor Mayer we observe the representative of one side of the heresy trying to analyze a situation induced by the school of the opposite extreme. The result? Utter irrelevance.

Burke observed that human vices are the cause of great public evils. Human ideals are only the pretexts. Monarchs may be the actors and instruments of evil, but "you would not cure the evil by resolving that there should be no more monarchs." Different ages have different names for the actors and different ideas for

the pretexts; the evils remain the same, as does their consequence. Only romantics believe that the evils can be eradicated, or else *revised* into virtues.

Few will care if Mayer's kind seek academic tenure by beating dead horses; but creators of havoc in the world of ideas must not be tolerated. We know that Communism is founded on a lie; we may say that monarchy is based on a myth. But the assumptions beneath democracy are historically, philosophically, and theologically, at best questionable. The voting machine perpetuates a far more pernicious superstition than the Holy Ampulla. The idealism of democracy is a poor thing beside the idealism of monarchy, and this fact should humble us. For the doctrine of divine right, as T.S. Eliot pointed out, is really a doctrine of divine responsibility. Christian kings have souls subject to damnation. Democratic

politicians, though they promise never to tell a lie, do not claim to have souls. This Eliot meant when he said they "are not men enough to be damned." They bear, therefore, no responsibility, only "accountability" before what Coriolanus called the beast of many heads. In the end, "making the world safe for democracy" is as absurd a pretext for war as the Will to Power.

What Mayer calls the "Thirty Years War of the twentieth century' resulted in the fall of nine European thrones; in their place are three socialist regimes and eight Communist dictatorships. Liberal American politicians, encouraging social democrats and dictating plebiscites in defeated countries, as well as acquiescing to the captivity of Eastern Europe, seem personally implicated. The world might be quite different today, had the place of Wilson and Roosevelt been filled by men who understood the latent virtue of prescriptive institutions.

JOURNEY TO NOWHERE: A NEW WORLD TRAGEDY
Shiva Naipaul / Simon & Schuster Inc. / \$13.95

Howard Kaplan

Three years after Jonestown the Monday morning quarterbacking continues. Journey to Nowhere makes its appearance among a fresh batch of "as told to" hack works and hard-core investigative accounts.

Howard Kaplan is a free-lance writer living in Minneapolis.

Compared with the competition, Naipaul's effort is a miracle of imagination. The first literary man to tackle Jonestown, he's turned this readymade horror tale into the occasion for a travel book heavy on the sarcasm. The journey to nowhere is Naipaul's journey. We begin with the apprehensive author zooming into Georgetown in late 1978; a London resident, he hadn't heard of People's Temple until the cyanide party two weeks before. His only plans are to see what

he can see.

Yet the Trinidadian-born Naipaul wasn't really starting from scratch. Over the years he and his big brother, V.S. Naipaul, have been bringing us the news from Third World hellholes in their fiction and nonfiction. And the Third World angle is what Shiva is pushing here part-time—another miracle, since everyone but Shiva seems to forget that the Jonestown folly occurred in Guyana. At first he feels like backing out, not because he has to "solve" 900 deaths, but because he has to set foot into the Cooperative Socialist Republic (Guyana's tag since 1970). Because he follows world politics like

There is opportunity in America!



Sarkes Tarzian Inc. Bloomington, Indiana