

looking for our holed-up hero. And it's just a matter of time until frantic agents converge on little Miss Dubber's doorstep.

The problems with this book exist, like Pym, on many levels. The plot unrolls as predictably as an old carpet, raising a cloud of dusty detail in its path. Most of the action takes place in memory alone; the rest doesn't matter much because all the characters are obviously doomed from the start. And by creating a central character who has no standards at all, who will betray everybody in order to be loved by everybody, le Carré ultimately devalues Pym's deceit.

The equation between hucksterism and espionage also breaks down. Spies may employ the tricks of the confidence man, but then, both writers and forgers use ink. That doesn't mean they're in the same business. For Pym, unlike Smiley, there is no duty that

must be done. He is a confidence man for whom spying is just another con, a way to scam a little love before highailing it out of town. In fact, as the book opens Pym already accepts that his espionage medicine show is over. He doesn't really care how the British, Americans, and Czechs go about cleaning up his mess.

What remains is the portrait of a ruined man. This is sad not least because the character of Pym's father, Rick, is modeled somewhat on le Carré's own father, while le Carré himself once worked for British Intelligence. But though the implied parallels between Pym and the author may be poignant, they don't redeem this book. *A Perfect Spy* is currently a best-seller, no doubt on the strength of George Smiley's worthy reputation. But if le Carré writes more books on the order of *A Perfect Spy* his readers would do well to defect. □

CHURCHES ON THE WRONG ROAD

Edited by Stanley Atkins and Theodore McConnell
Regnery Gateway/\$7.95 paper

T. John Jamieson

Roman Catholicism used to be the religion of dramatic conversions, like John Henry Newman's. To the young Protestant looking for a living, authoritative tradition and a piety rooted in dignified liturgy, Rome was the place to go. But Rome no longer stands, in many minds, for the Universal Faith; according to James Schall S.J., it's now widely perceived as standing for universal leftism. He hears that young fundamentalists and evangelicals, yearning for a reasoned faith and formal worship, are turning to Anglicanism, with C. S. Lewis and the Book of Common Prayer as their guides.

To Anglicanism maybe, but not to official modern Episcopalianism. The Episcopal Church elected a new primate last year, one who could be described as a classical McGovernite. The editors of *Churches on the Wrong Road* are High Church Episcopalians, sick of their communion's political manias; their book makes a clear, well-moderated attack on the political perversion of Christianity in all denominations.

A symposium with such standard conservative authors as Schall, Kirk, Niemeyer, Tonsor, and John Howard, and several less well-known Anglican authors, *Churches on the Wrong Road* makes a timeless, largely apolitical condemnation of political religion—that is, without referring specifically to topical heresies such as Sandinista worship, or typical partisans such as Bishop Gumbleton. Instead, it attacks the generic heresy of millennialism, well represented by William Blake's famous gnostic hymn:

I will not cease from Mental Fight
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

Churches answers, like that old parody of the liberal Protestant hymn, "Stand Up, O Men of God":

Sit down, O men of God:
His Kingdom He will bring

T. John Jamieson is a writer living in Evanston, Illinois.

Exactly when it pleases Him—
You cannot do a thing.

One of the two most remarkable essays is Father Schall's, which frankly asserts that radical leftism in the Church, and the blatant contempt of dogma that goes with it, are no longer mere aberrations. Radical leftism is not just a strain of humanitarian sympathy anymore; the rejection of supernatural doctrines such as the Resurrection is not just amateurish skepticism among self-indulgent biblical scholars. Radicalism and anti-supernaturalism are now one enterprise. Many clerics and theologians hide their atheism in a linguistic blind taken from German Idealism (Hegel), but the fact remains that they do not believe in a transcendent, real, personal God. That leaves only the socialist utopia to believe in, and they are rewriting Christian dogma, to read as revolutionary allegory. "The whole corpus of Catholic doctrine is being refashioned"—and one sees the new doctrine, again and again, "at the very heart of the Church." "Orthodoxy is on the defensive throughout the Church."

Anyone who has looked at "liberation theology" knows it to be a theology without God about a liberation without freedom. Yet Schall doesn't single out "liberation theology," because the radical anti-orthodox enterprise is much bigger than the Brazilian school of Friar Boff. John Paul II is a voice crying in the wilderness: hierarchy and clergy in Europe and the Americas generally tolerate the anti-religious left and fail to assert sound doctrine strikingly or effectively. The irony is that "basic Christian theses never seemed more intellectually valid. The trouble with the Church seems to be that there is no one about who can think about them." In fact, radical theologians desire the suppression of orthodox supernaturalism, because it distracts people from revolutionary "praxis." And, as Stephen Tonsor notes of the obsession with "praxis,"

It is odd indeed that 475 years after the Reformation and the condemnation by both Luther and the council of Trent of a religion of works, that a religion of works

Faculty, students, administrators, business and governmental leaders are cordially invited to become members of the
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY,
a non-profit educational corporation chartered
by the Board of Regents of the State of New York.

JOIN CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

The first national public policy research center with its primary focus on the American Presidency. With historical and analytical perspective, the Center examines both domestic and foreign policy, decision-making, relationships with the Congress, and organization.

Membership includes: invitations to Annual Leadership Conference, National Student Symposium, and Lincoln Center Lecture Series, Regional Conferences, and the following publications:

Presidential Studies Quarterly.

Distinguished board of editors including Harry A. Bailey, Jr., Thomas E. Cronin, Kenneth E. Davison, Hedley W. Donovan, Fred I. Greenstein, Erwin C. Hargrove, Dorothy B. James, Richard S. Kirkendall, Louis W. Koenig, Seymour Martin Lipset, Harvey C. Mansfield, Ruth P. Morgan, Richard E. Neustadt, C. Dwight Waldo, and Aaron Wildavsky.

Center House Bulletin Proceedings Volumes.

Name _____
Mailing Address _____
Zip _____

This is an application for membership. Upon receipt of this form, the center will mail you a membership card and begin a year's membership. Membership is tax deductible in whatever category you elect. Add \$5 for foreign postage.

- ☐ Student \$20 ☐ Faculty \$25 ☐ Contributing \$30
☐ Supporting \$50 ☐ Friend \$100

Please send with remittance to:
Membership Secretary

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY
208 East 75th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021

should reappear so strongly in Western Christianity. Moreover, the works in this new Pelagianism are not even the constructive works of culture, of charity and religion, but the works of violence, hatred, class warfare and Promethean pride.

The other truly remarkable essay here is Gerhart Niemeyer's, which sums up the whole history and theory of Christian politics with Chestertonian speed and Voegelinian accuracy. Starting with the medieval contest between Pope and Emperor, he notes that both sides essentially agreed on the ends of Christian government: "During all those centuries of struggle . . . neither the nature of the order of human existence, nor the necessity of authority and power, nor the principles of justice were disputed." Both civil and ecclesiastical powers agreed to seek the best possible solution to inherently flawed conditions. What modern radicals rebel against is that very inherence—reality itself. Social distinctions of class, race, and sex have often given rise to social evils; but radicals dream of eradicating "difference." They do not work to reform individual men and women, as Christ did; they dream of reforming the cosmos—a cosmos within which the only abiding intelligence arises from the human mind.

According to this volume's conser-

vative contributors, the Church performs the useful social function of maintaining contact with the transcendent realm of truth, particularly that of true justice. By giving itself over to revolutionary politics the Church transforms itself from a social resource to a mere ideological cadre among other cadres and leaves the soul and human society naked to their spiritual enemies.

Except for Niemeyer, however, the Anglican contributors are disinclined towards any comprehensive diagnosis of leftist alienation as a spiritual disease. They only lament the fact that political dogmas divide and distract us from being good Churchmen together. They exhibit a kind of bouncy optimism about a Church of political latitude—although this has less to do with the Anglican faith and more to do with the Anglo-Saxon temperament, its love of consensus, and its distrust of metaphysics. Nevertheless, while this book provides little evidence of one, there is a coherent Anglican orthodoxy—emerging from Hooker and the Caroline divines, and continuing through the Oxford Movement—by which to distinguish between healthy varieties of Christian politics, and the morbid and patently heretical ones.

Most of the essays are highly commendable. In one of them, Russell Kirk pungently describes the 1976 Catholic activist congress, "A Call to Action,"

which shall ever stand for all self-convened assemblies of sanctimonious churchmice, world without end. Like the Estates General of revolutionary France, such jamborees attempt to legislate the world's ills out of existence through pious resolutions. (I shall never forget the pious resolution brought before the Episcopal Church's 1985 General Convention, to better the wretched lot of left-handed persons in this world, by abolishing all liturgical references to the right hand of God. In a rare display of mature judgment, the bishops and deputies shoved this folly aside.)

Churches on the Wrong Road will not matter greatly to committed radicals; nor to conservatives who are well read in the growing conservative literature on the modern Church, promoted by journals such as *This World* and the *Religion and Society Report*. But such conservatives ought to circulate this book on their own, especially among their pastors and Church councils. It would also serve extremely well in college and seminary courses on religion and social issues. It is a "conservative" work, not in any partisan sense, but rather in the more broadly benign sense of a normative attitude—conceding (1) that reality imposes certain limits on politics, and (2) that sanity imposes limits on political passion. This book could explain to the majori-

ty of sane, orthodox Christians why they should repudiate the ideological pirates in their Churches, and how they would succeed if they stood up together. □

CORRESPONDENCE (continued from page 9)

liberal mugged by reality." While I think most can agree that Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932) is a benchmark in the emergence of Niebuhr's Christian realism, and that for the period after his crippling stroke and toward the end of his life we must exercise caution, Lefever's presentation of the vintage Niebuhr studiously ignores Niebuhr's continuing affinity with the left in American politics and radically contracts the issues that would-be Niebuhrians have to grapple with today. To put it sharply, Lefever's review is fair neither to Niebuhr's life nor to the current questions of American politics.

As a matter of historical record it will not do to suggest that Niebuhr abandoned socialism after the twenties, or to minimize the vintage Niebuhr's leftist orientation in terms of "lingering socialist postulates" or "not fully examined assumptions" from Niebuhr's Marxist past. Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932)



A Summer "Spectator" Sport

Join the Crowd

Call
1-800-341-1522

Subscribe to
The American Spectator
Only \$14 for 8 trial issues

Please allow 6-8 weeks for your subscription to begin.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free, illustrated 40-page brochure H-80 Vantage Press, 516 W. 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001

THIS YEAR, WE'RE VACATIONING IN THE U.S.A.!

Proudly wear this full color (red/white/blue) T-shirt to let everyone know that this year you are vacationing in the U.S.A. Deliver a message to our so-called European allies by flaunting your "America First" vacation sentiment.

Order your **THIS YEAR, SPEND IT HERE!** top quality, Hanes® 50% cotton, 50% polyester T-shirt. Designed and made in the USA, naturally! Collar and sleeves trimmed in red.

Front View



Back View



★★★★★★★★★★★★★
Please send me — T-shirt(s)
@ \$10.00 each (includes
postage and handling).
M — L — XL —
Send your check/money
order for \$ — to:

B.L. TEES
22 Apple Tree Hill
POB 2095
New Britain, CT 06050
(Allow 1-2 wks for delivery).
★★★★★★★★★★★★★

and *Reflections on the End of an Era* (1934) (by far Niebuhr's most uncritically Marxian book) criticized liberalism from the left, not the right, and scandalized many of his associates by acceptance of the Marxian vision of class struggle. Niebuhr did not resign from Norman Thomas's Socialist party until the spring of 1940, and only then because of its pacifist stance toward the struggle in Europe. His own organization, the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, sponsor of *Christianity and Society*, did not change its name until 1948, again to avoid pacifist overtones. And at that time Niebuhr wrote an article specifically defending the continuing relevance of Marx for criticizing capitalist society and individualistic Christianity. Although Niebuhr ultimately rejected doctrinaire socialism in favor of a pragmatically balanced, mixed economic system, he continued to champion democratic socialism abroad at least through the early fifties. Nothing evoked his prophetic wrath like conservatives who conflated Communism and socialism, or those who believed they could export American economic philosophy to developing countries abroad.

In a similar vein, Lefever is one-sided in speaking of Niebuhr's "running criticism of the mainline Protestant churches for their perfectionism and neutralism." This was true enough, especially before America became fully committed to the Allied cause in World War II. But both before and after the war Niebuhr's favorite target was the Protestant laity's Republican "armor of social complacency." His choicest invective was directed against the union of Christian businessmen and the National Association of Manufacturers. He complained bitterly about the way such Protestants identified Christianity and laissez-faire economics, and about the tendency of such individualistic Christianity toward hysterical anti-Communism. How one longs to hear what the sharp-tongued Niebuhr would say today about Michael Novak and his chair at the American Enterprise Institute. Evidence of these points could be made abundant, but convenient examples may be found in Niebuhr's editorials in the January 1952 issue of *Christianity and Society*—a time near the heart of Lefever's essential Niebuhr, and in the midst of Niebuhr's much vaunted "turn to the right."

Lefever is right of course that Niebuhr was never in doubt on the moral superiority of freedom as compared to tyranny. But as one may have gathered, Niebuhr was quite careful to avoid identifying freedom with "the American way of life" and careful to balance the value of freedom with justice. His *The Children of Light and*

the Children of Darkness (1944), for example, announces in the first chapter that its explicit purpose is to defend a concept of democracy suitable for rebuilding Europe after the war, separate from the "bourgeois ideology" of America. As a realist Niebuhr knew that justice required political power to counterbalance economic power, and he expressed continuing sympathy for the socialization of wealth as one among several ways of keeping economic power socially responsible. Neoconservatives today would surely choke if they read that book's chapter on property, in which Niebuhr concludes that in America, the "primary requirement for justice is that the dominant dogma" of laissez-faire capitalism "be discredited."

The ideological problem behind Lefever's review—like so much of contemporary political discourse in America—is that he sees no alternative between naive pacifist liberalism and realist conservatism, no alternative between sentimentality about Communism and an unqualified endorsement of American military might. If we follow the former confusion all hope for social change is in danger of being dismissed as utopian. This is the sort of conservatism Niebuhr found anathema to the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament—the fountainhead of his Christian realism. If we follow the latter confusion all criticism of American adventurism is dismissed as naive or disloyal. Lefever forgets that Niebuhr opposed aid to Chiang and argued for early recognition of Red China (and later opposed the war in Vietnam, which still perplexes Lefever), precisely because he saw limits to American power, wisdom, and virtue. These limits were the central theme of Niebuhr's *The Irony of American History* (1952), also a classic statement of his liberal anti-Communism. Hans Morgenthau, the other "father of realism," took similar stands for the same realist reasons.

Niebuhr's thought did undergo considerable change during his life. It is not as easy to identify the "essential" Niebuhr as Brown's anthology suggests and Lefever avers. Leftists tend to cite the radical Niebuhr of the thirties. Neoconservatives are especially enamored of the "mature" Niebuhr, the vigorous anti-Communist of the postwar years. On this matter, at least, the left has history on its side—the radical Niebuhr was truly a radical. But the mature Niebuhr is better described as a pragmatic liberal—realistic about power and the ruthlessness of nations, ready to make compromises, but still committed to an egalitarian conception of justice and critical of capitalist ideology as well as Communism. This liberalism may be too tepid or

pessimistic about social change for the current left, as represented by Brown, and too deluded by "lingering socialist postulates" for conservatives, like Lefever, but the historical evidence for this as the locus of Niebuhr's postwar political loyalties is unassailable. Fox's biography, the most recent and in many ways the best account since Niebuhr's death, makes this plain.

Reinhold Niebuhr was fond of saying that Communism was a false answer to America's own unsolved problem of economic justice. The vital, fascinating question, raised by the current revival of interest in Niebuhr, is why this liberal, morally vigorous realism is so scarce today. Unfortunately, within Lefever's review, the question does not exist.

—Russell Sizemore
Brighton, Massachusetts

Ernest W. Lefever replies:

Space does not permit an adequate response to Russell Sizemore's thoughtful critique of my review article on Reinhold Niebuhr. Both he and I wrote Ph.D. dissertations on Niebuhr; his at Harvard focuses on Niebuhr's later years and mine at Yale focuses on the 1925-1955 period.

The discerning reader will recognize that we are both looking at the same man, though through different but overlapping lenses. Sizemore accuses me of selectivity and one-sidedness. I plead guilty to the former but not to the latter. He, too, is rightfully selective, but I fear a bit one-sided, or—perhaps more seriously—he fails to see the "essential Niebuhr" because of his captivity to ideology. Niebuhr repeatedly warned against ideology and insisted on "the triumph of experience over dogma."

Perhaps my attraction to Niebuhr arose from his capacity to adjust or discard his "dogma" in the face of the tragic realities of Hitler and Stalin and, yes, the injustice and inhumanity in the authoritarian and democratic states as well.

On May 27, 1949, when I finished reading Niebuhr's *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (1935) in a special one-student reading course under his brother, H. Richard Niebuhr, and after spending two years in war-ravaged Germany, I wrote in the book: "Why didn't someone give me this book ten years ago and save me from the ineffective action, irrelevant speech, and beclouded thinking in which I indulged?"

Sizemore says I ignore "Niebuhr's continuing affinity with the left in American politics," but Sizemore ignores Niebuhr's increasing distrust of code words like *left* and *right* and his growing affirmation of seminal concepts that have moved men and nations, concepts rooted in the Old Testa-

ment, Saint Paul, the great philosophers and theologians—freedom, order, justice, human dignity.

Niebuhr's fundamental contribution was a powerful restatement of biblical realism that rejected cynicism on one hand and utopianism on the other. Both the cynic and the utopian are irresponsible because they remove themselves from the battle. He affirmed the moral ambiguity of man, recognizing his "original sin" and "original righteousness." He asserted that world politics was a large-scale manifestation of this internal struggle within the human breast. He insisted, however, that the ultimate meaning lay beyond history.

This is the "essential Niebuhr" that I saw, felt, and portrayed. His wisdom gave meaning to my own spiritual and political pilgrimage. His singular contribution lay in pointing to the "relevance of the impossible ideal" in political, economic, and international life.

This may seem quite abstract to the citizen and politician caught up in the hurly-burly of everyday life, but to Niebuhr these biblical beliefs impelled him to work for proximate freedom, order, and justice in a sinful world.

Sizemore asserts that the early Niebuhr accepted "the Marxist vision of class struggle." Perhaps, but he never advocated revolutionary violence. Niebuhr freely acknowledged that he thoughtlessly repeated certain socialist slogans long after they had lost any meaning they might have had. True, he noted the imperfection in the American economy, but he did not call for the nationalization of agriculture or industry. The American system did not achieve perfect justice. Even Irving Kristol gives only two cheers for capitalism.

Of course Niebuhr criticized those who advocated exporting the U.S. economic or political system to the Third World. He was not a fool. Rigid transplants to alien cultures never work unless they are sustained by force. Witness Cuba. At the same time, he realized that American pragmatism, know-how, and enterprise could be adapted to certain countries that were sufficiently developed.

Niebuhr did not pretend to expertise on the "economic question," and should not be taken seriously in this area. Though he recognized the inevitable interrelationship of economics and politics, he asserted that Marxism, Soviet style, led to tyranny in both spheres. His writing on economic issues was superficial and unsophisticated. He gave little thought to questions of the market system vs. controlled, regulated, or administered economies. There is no evidence that he ever consulted serious economic writing of any kind.

He did occasionally refer to Adam Smith, hardly a practitioner of the dismal science, but rather a moral philosopher. In *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), which Sizemore says was written during Niebuhr's Marxist phase, there are three references to Smith, one neutral and two favorable, e.g., "Even when economic self-seeking is approved, as in the political morality of Adam Smith, the criterion of judgment is the good of the whole."

Sizemore's attribution of views to me that I do not hold reflects either ignorance or his own bondage to slogans. I strongly endorse the thrust of Niebuhr's *The Irony of American History* (1952) that emphasizes the severe "limits to American power, wisdom and virtue," but recognize, as does he, that other governments may be, and many indeed are, less powerful, less wise, and less virtuous. It is the art of both politics and ethics to distinguish between the lesser of two evils or the greater of two goods and act accordingly in personal and corporate life. Were Niebuhr with us today, he would know which side the U.S. should support in Nicaragua.

I am accused of seeing no alternative between "sentimentality about Communism and an unqualified endorsement of American military might." This is ridiculous. U.S. military power should be used only when the case is just, when the means are just and proportionate, and when the chances for justice and freedom would probably be enhanced if the contemplated use of U.S. power were successful.

Fundamentally, Niebuhr warned against "absolutizing the relative," overclaiming virtue for one's government, and every form of secular and religious utopianism. He was, as I am, against idolatry of any sort. All human works stand under the judgment of God; we are all sinners, but in the world of politics, it does make a difference which side prevails.

On this vital difference Niebuhr was compelling. An Axis victory in World War II would have been a disaster. Military resistance in Korea led to a stalemate that preserved the independence and chance for freedom and justice in half of that beleaguered peninsula. Our political-military defeat in Vietnam has been disastrous because Communist tyranny has filled the vacuum left by the failure of American power.

Niebuhr knew that using too little military power in a just cause can be even more dangerous and more irresponsible than using too much. (See Luke 14:31-32.) Too little would surrender the field to the adversary. Too much would give justice and freedom a fighting chance. □

Staunton Hill

A Historic Setting For
SEMINARS•HOLIDAYS•RETREATS



Staunton Hill is no ordinary conference center. Designed in the Gothic Revival style by architect-builder John Evans Johnson for Charles Bruce in 1848, it has been in the Bruce family for 140 years. Guest wings designed by William Adams Delano were added by Ambassador David K.E. Bruce in 1933.

Guests at Staunton Hill—from the Confederate Cabinet during the Civil War to Secretary of State Dean Acheson in the Truman Administration—have enjoyed traditional Virginia hospitality in the rural peace of Charlotte County. The estate has 275 acres of grounds, an outdoor swimming pool and jacuzzi, tennis and racquetball courts; shooting is available on the property and golf and horseback riding are a few minutes' drive away.

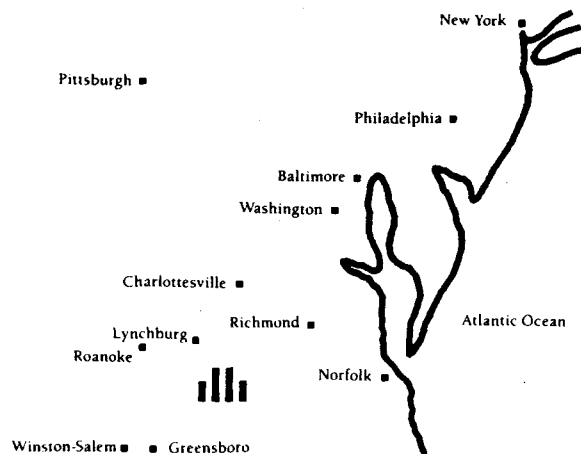
The main house is furnished in a rich combination of European, American and Oriental styles. Together with its wings and estate cottages, it has twenty-five guest rooms, most with private baths. Also on the property are five spacious meeting rooms, suitable either for small informal conferences, or more elaborate group presentations.



Staunton Hill features a full commercial kitchen; our cooks and staff will be glad to assist in menu planning and preparation.

We pride ourselves on our flexibility, and will do our utmost to meet your needs—whether for a single night's stay for a small gathering, or an extended visit for a group of twenty-five.

Please call us at 804/376-2718 for further information, (video cassettes and brochures) or write to: Gary J. Lescak, manager, Staunton Hill Farm, Rte. 2 Box 44, Brookneal, VA 24528.



CLASSIFIEDS

POSITIONS WANTED

PHILANTHROPIC MANAGMENT. Jesuit-educated, PhD, 20 years up through the ranks to campus CEO. Objective: employment by a foundation, corporate giving program, or individual donor committed to investing prudently in American institutions. Northeast location preferred, organizational size and staff irrelevant, seriousness of purpose essential. Reply to Box CB, c/o The American Spectator, P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210.

BOOKS

MR. REAGAN, MR. WEINBERGER: How much time do we have to deploy SDI? Find out with, "How To Predict The Next War," an analysis of the pattern of 300 years of major wars. Includes fourteen tables and charts and a prediction of the probabilities of war during the next 40 years. Loose leaf binder. \$12 ppd. Send check or money order to:

Felix A. Spies
Route 1, Box 82
Louisburg, KS 66053

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. AS, 11 West 32 Street, New York 10001.

136 BIBLE "CONTRADICTIONS" ANSWERED. Scholarly booklet \$1.50. Box 78513-A, Shreveport, LA 71137.

REAL LINCOLN—little known facts, religion, slavery, POWs. Box 458, Roscoe, N.Y. 12776.

THREE FRESH UNPUBLISHED short stories by conservative college student. Over 2,500 words each. \$16.95. Tod Miller, P.O. Box 1735, Piqua, OH 45356.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out of print books. Write Greenmantle, POB 1324 AS, Culpeper, VA 22701.

PERIODICALS

MAGAZINE SAMPLES. Free listing of over 100 publications offering a sample copy—\$.50 a sample. Send stamped self-addressed #10 envelope to: PUBLISHERS EXCHANGE, P.O. Box 220, Dept. A., Dunellen, NJ 08812.

EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

EXTERNAL DEGREE PROGRAM
Complete BS, MA, PhD, Calif-Bar, JD year-round. No classroom attendance.

CITY UNIVERSITY LOS ANGELES
3960 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 501
Los Angeles, CA 90010-3306
(213) 382-3801

EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

SAT SELF-STUDY COURSE. Help your high school student earn top scores on Scholastic Aptitude test. 2 tutoring cassettes plus 380-page book, \$30.00 postpaid. Money-back guarantee. Audio-Forum, Dept. 261, Guilford, CT 06437.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES! Economical home study for Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorate. Prestigious faculty counsels for independent study and life experience credits. Free information—Richard Crews, M.D. (Harvard), President, Columbia Pacific University, 1415 Third St., Dept. 2E99, San Rafael, CA 94901; Toll Free: 800-227-1617, Ext. 480; California: 800-772-3545, Ext. 480.

BOOKS



WANTED

A Free Service to our Readers

List two books you would like to buy. Our readers will send you a post card if they have a copy of the book. This service is free to subscribers. Just send your *American Spectator* mailing label along with your listing to Book Service, c/o *The American Spectator*, P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210.

Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Volume IV. I have two Volume V's, will trade. Ken Feinstein, 19841 Meridyl St., Chatsworth, CA 91311.

Folk Beliefs of the American Negro, by Newell Nikes Puckett. Dr. J.F. Puckett, Rt. 17, P.O. Box 1240, Hattiesburg, MS 39401.

Looking for books by Winston Spencer Churchill: Pre-1920, first editions. G. Lechter, 1 Horizon Rd., Fort Lee, N.J. 07024.

A Legacy of Historical Gleanings, compiled by Mrs. Catharina V.R. Bonney. Volume II. (Albany, 1875). **The Reluctant Vestal,** by Edward Lucas White. (any edition). R. Bretnor, P.O. Box 1481, Medford, OR 97501.

History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, by Maxwell. **From Caesar to the Mafia,** by Luigi Barzini. R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., The American Spectator, P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210.

The Socialist Phenomenon, by Igor Shafarevich. (Harper & Row, 1980).

The Great Terror, by Robert Conquest. (1971 Revised edition by Penguin Books). John Lundstrom, 800 W. Wells St., Milwaukee, WI 53233.

BUMPERSTICKERS & BUTTONS

NICARAGUA
—the westernmost island
of the Gulag Archipelago.

Give aid to the contras.
Give AIDS to the Sandinistas!

CUBA, NICARAGUA
—THE CANCER SPREADS.

Order @ \$1.50 ea.
(+ 15¢ ea. post. & handl.).
StanMark Prints

Dept. TAS-9
P.O. Box 876, Denver, CO 80201
(allow 4 weeks delivery.)

MERCHANDISE

GET VALUABLE SELF-HELP ADVICE together with a fearless look at our society from a right-wing viewpoint by buying the tape "What It Takes." For \$9.99. Julian Productions, 2144, So. 1100 East, Suite 150, Salt Lake City, UT 84106.

Suspenders/Braces

More and more well-dressed men wear them! The largest selection anywhere of fine, hard-to-find suspenders/braces. Free brochure. **BERNARDI**, 2400 Westheimer, Suite 108W(T), Houston, Texas 77098. (713) 526-2686.



MISCELLANEOUS

BRAINBEAU—"The trouble with the country is that there are too many people going about saying, 'The trouble with this country is...'—Sinclair Lewis, American author (1885-1951). The trouble with the country is that we don't listen to the only one worldwide who knows what he is talking about and that's Brainbeau. Send SASE to war, inflation, unemployment and death-ending Brainbeausim, Box 2243, Youngstown, OH 44504.

TAS Subscribers— Changing Your Address?

Please attach the address label from the *most recent* issue of your *American Spectator* in the space provided. Print your new address and mail this form to *The American Spectator*. When writing to us about your subscription, always attach your address label or print your name and address exactly as they appear on your address label. Be sure to include the line of information above your name.

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
Circulation Department
P.O. Box 10448
Arlington, VA 22210

(Please attach address label here.)

IMPORTANT

Allow six weeks for address change

- ☐ Please renew my subscription for one year (twelve issues—\$21)
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Please bill me

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Date of change _____

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

_____ (number of words)
x.90 _____ (price per word)
= _____ Cost for one issue
x _____ (number of issues
ad is to appear)
= _____ Total cost (payment
must accompany order)

Ad Classification: _____

PLEASE PRINT

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please type or print your ad on a separate sheet of paper, attach and send to:

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

Classified Department

P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210

CURRENT WISDOM

Great Books Series

Mrs. Alicia Suskin Ostriker takes time out from her career as a check-out girl at the Lavonia, New Jersey Safeway to pen a book about her girlfriends' pretty verse:

During the last two decades, American women poets have been writing about their bodies with decreasing embarrassment and increasing enthusiasm. They write about the sensations of making love. They write about eating and sitting on the toilet. They write about their faces and hands, their arms, their breasts, their wombs, their menstrual periods. Necks and throats, knees and teeth. They write about giving birth, giving suck, growing old.

[from *Stealing the Language: The Emergence of Women's Poetry in America*, by Alicia Suskin Ostriker, Beacon Press, 1986.]

Philadelphia Daily News

With the winds blowing through his ears Edward John Hudak explicates the mysteries of ideology:

[Senator John] East found comfort in the conservative philosophy, because it provided easy and simplified answers to complex and difficult problems. His standing in the right-wing community provided him with a sense of security which his physical disability threatened each day to take away from him.

So one might ask why this strong and intelligent polition [sic] decided to check-out. The reason is no mystery for me. Men like John East do not want to lose control of their lives after struggling long and hard to adjust to a physical disability. He perhaps believed that his thyroid condition would plummet him from the summit of power and prestige to the depths of helplessness. His rigid conservative beliefs did not allow him to integrate a sense of flexibility into his consciousness.

[July 8, 1986]

New Criterion

The inscrutable Leon Wieseltier trips headlong into the immensities:

In New York there is simply too much to have positions about. And positions, in New York, are required. And I have watched too many brilliant people squander their minds on position-taking. (I mean position-taking about culture; in politics, position-taking is a more legitimate and primary activity.) What New York most threatens me with, in the end, is what I can only call a crippling feeling of contemporaneity. Serious work has always been done precisely in the opposite feeling, by writers and artists who felt out of their time and out of their place, and it is not Romantic sentimentality to say so. (I have no alienation envy; I am alienated quite enough.) If I do serious work, it will be slowly, softly, according to my intention only, for the pleasure of those with the same intention and for a glimpse

at things that do not pass, and alone. Those are not the traits of a New Yorker.

[Summer 1986]

New York Post

Even in the hallowed precincts of rock 'n' roll, Reaganism stirs and rears its ugly head:

Amnesty International's benefit concert may have been "another proud day for rock 'n' roll" (Brian Chin, June 16), but it was a considerably less lofty occasion for rock 'n' roll fans.

Let me tell you what I, a member of the unwashed audience, witnessed at Giants Stadium. . . .

As the purpose of the concert was to publicize and raise money for the work of Amnesty International, most of the performers made speeches about the importance of freeing political prisoners.

During one such speech, a brute drinking a Budweiser big boy screamed out, "Shut up and play!" Another teen yelled, "Shut the f--- up!"

At one point, as a large screen monitor showed scenes of blacks being beaten in South Africa, a boy on my right looked over and exclaimed, "Go get 'em."

His crew got a good laugh out of that. . . .

Yoko Ono was soundly booed for her rendition of "Imagine."

Whether one believes she deserves such a response or not, it isn't exactly good form to come down so hard on John Lennon's widow.

Joni Mitchell, who heroically tried to play a nice, if mellow, set, wasn't afforded any applause. During a final song, a bright fellow in back of me said, "Kill the bitch."

And two young men in front who weren't yet born when Peter, Paul and Mary wrote "Puff, the Magic Dragon" had a grand time referring to Mary Travers as "an old sow."

Sure. I could have been in a bad section. Maybe these kids weren't representative of most of the others.

I gotta tell you though, that my view was a lot better than the one Brian Chin had from his press box.

—Martin Nisenholtz
Manhattan

[June 23, 1986]

Nation

Ramsey Clark, ideological *frotteur*, makes that one bold proposal that is the hallmark of the left-wing rigorist: Reagan's raid, called a surgical strike, killed at least twice as many Libyans in one night as all Americans killed by terrorists worldwide in 1985. The President seems to be proud of what he ordered and of the "heroes" who carried it out. His one-liners are vintage Hollywood: "We didn't aim to kill anybody." He should tell that to a judge.

Unless it is lawful for the President to use military bombers in an attempt to assassinate a foreign leader and to kill and mutilate scores of human beings sleeping innocently in their homes thousands of miles and many days from any claimed act

of provocation, of which they probably were never aware, then Ronald Reagan must be impeached and tried for high crimes and misdemeanors. It will be interesting to see whether the elected representatives of the American people, all of whom will proclaim the virtues of our Constitution during its bicentennial year, will dare to do their duty.

[July 5/12, 1986]

Catholic Review (Baltimore)

Epic events at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue while the godless Reagan snoozed in the Oval Office:

After a time of study and prayer, we paraded 24 blocks to the White House. We prayed, we sang, we gave out leaflets and held signs. Fifteen separated from the rest and sat down on the hot sidewalk. When the police told them they would not be arrested unless they held a sign they had a long discussion about what to do. Here are some of their comments: . . .

Barbara Chutroo, of the Catholic Worker, "Arrest would be a learning experience, but there will be other times." . . .

Jack Seery, SJ, of Boston, "St. Ignatius tells us, in the discernment of spirits, not to act when confused. That is our situation now."

One of the Jesuit Volunteers, "Dan Berigan told us that getting arrested was like a spiritual enema. It clears your mind and spirit. To continue his analogy, I don't feel constipated. From our experience so far, I feel all cleared out."

Clearly, there was no consensus on whether to hold a sign or not. After an hour and a quarter of a "good session of discernment," the whole group accepted the suggestion of Peter Cicchino, SJ, "Let's just pray, sing and leave. We have done what we planned to do."

[June 25, 1986]

New Woman

Treason:

Well, I, for one, am tired of being nothing more than a cheap intellectual object! I want to be a sex object, at least *some* of the time . . . and so do my fast friends. I'm ready for a man who has not been and never hopes to be Rolfed, Reiched, EST-blessed, or rebirthed. How about a man who does not quiz me on Andre Gide or my stance on Central America; someone who sends me totally tasteless bunches of flowers with obscene cards that make me blush; someone who drops me off *before* he parks the car; in short, someone who thinks I'd look terrific in a string bikini.

[May 1986]

Washington Post

Columnist Courtland Milloy testifies that he, for one, was not fooled by the Fourth of July brainwash:

It is not easy to fight a patriotic tingling, but if you're black in America you get more than your share of help. For example, when I saw the Washington Monument illuminated by fireworks, the last thing that came to mind was George Washington. To me, it

looked like a hooded Ku Klux Klansman with blinking red eyes.

This is not paranoia.

[July 6, 1986]

Esquire

From contributing editor Guy Martin, another analytical rubato for the modern dolt:

Martin was a young cadet in a southern military school when he first listened to the music of Ray Charles: "For many of us, Ray and the other bluesmen were a sudden left turn—hip black musicians who we listened to in a futile attempt to be cool ourselves. But at least we were on the right track. . . . R&B is as much a part of American heritage as our Founding Fathers. The ideas in that music are just as strong, and just as American as those you find in the Constitution."

[May 1986]

New Republic

In the lachrymose manner of the neoliberal, whiz kid Dr. Michael Kinsley sings the blues:

The right to pursue happiness is held to be "self-evident." Equally self-evident—as every member of the Supreme Court surely knows from personal experience—is that the pursuit of happiness is not an easy one. It's hard to be happy. That's why if a person, or two people, or three people and a billy goat find a way to be happy that strikes most other people as peculiar, or even revolting, that's hardly reason enough for the government to thwart them. They're only trying to find an answer to the question we're all trying to answer in our own ways.

[July 28, 1986]

Maine Sunday Telegram

A family of New Age patriots takes drastic measures:

When my husband and I moved to Cape Elizabeth from New York, we sought a more pastoral existence, free from the turmoil and squalor of the city and the industry surrounding it. We are now terribly troubled by the proposed nuclear disposal site.

We believe, however, that we are part of the problem and, as a family, we have decided to confront the situation by conserving our own use of energy. We urge all Maine people to do the same.

We purchased an entirely new set of energy-efficient appliances: stove, refrigerator, freezer, microwave oven, VCR, washer and dryer. In addition, we have each agreed—our teen-age daughters included—to limit the use of hair dryers to five minutes per day (with some exceptions for special occasions). We already rely principally on solar and wood heat but we will no longer use our swimming pool other than in the summer months.

—Lottie Dahr
Cape Elizabeth

[March 16, 1986]