

deeply rooted causes that they are unsolvable, or have such far-reaching implications that only a drastic overhaul of the society or culture *as a whole* can fix them.” What we should have learned from the pessimists is that history is not preordained and that human beings are not helpless before historical forces. Societies of free individuals operating in fallible man-made institutions can alter their destiny for the better.

Progress is not inevitable, but what many people have done in recent years is give up on the idea that progress is possible. They could profit from Herman’s book, a chronicle of the many ways Westerners have deluded themselves that all is lost. Bork, Gore, and a host of others trumpet the bad news: Civilization is hurtling toward destruction. Herman offers the good news: It has been for a long time. ❁

run for president) provided they learned English, took pride in being Americans, and agreed to live by the precepts of the Protestant ethic—to be hardworking, upstanding, self-reliant citizens—the new multiculturalism explicitly rejects these requirements. English proficiency is no longer seen as the *sine qua non* of American citizenship, and the view that children of immigrants should be instructed in English as quickly as possible is regarded as hopelessly antiquated. Taking pride in one’s American identity is not considered possible, given that American history “is a story of oppression, racism and genocide aimed at American Indians, blacks and most immigrants other than northern Europeans.” And extolling the Protestant ethic is regarded as “blaming the victim,” since the only way that immigrant and native-born poor can realistically hope to overcome the racism and discrimination that are the root causes of their plight is through extensive government assistance.

How did ethnic federalism come to replace assimilation as the lens through

Multicultural Meltdown

Assimilation, American Style

Peter D. Salins
New Republic—Basic Books
259 pages / \$26

We Are All Multiculturalists Now

Nathan Glazer
Harvard University Press
179 pages / \$19.95

REVIEWED BY
Joseph Shattan

Although not exactly in vogue today, “American exceptionalism”—the belief that the United States is at heart different from the world’s other nations—is, in one respect at least, obviously true. Other countries are “ethnic nations” in which the main bond uniting the citizenry is a common ethnicity. The United States, however, is a “civic nation” that discounts ethnicity in favor of a common culture. Assimilating its vast immigrant population to this common culture has been one of America’s greatest success stories, and one measure of that success is that we have been largely exempt from the kinds of ethnic conflict that are tearing other nations apart.

Peter D. Salins, professor of urban affairs at New York’s Hunter College and former editor-in-chief of *City Journal*, believes this blissful state may not endure for long. His brilliant *Assimilation, American Style* argues that, over the past thirty

years, our “opinion and policy elites” have turned their backs on America’s historic commitment to assimilation in favor of a policy that aims at preserving and enhancing ethnic consciousness. Unless this approach is reversed, Salins warns, America will lose its exceptional character and “soon join the dismal ranks of the world’s other multiethnic nations as a battleground of perpetual ethnic discord.”

The ideology that displaced assimilation generally goes under the name of “multiculturalism,” but Salins claims that a better term would be “ethnic federalism.” Whereas the old paradigm saw America as a single nation composed of individuals who all subscribed to the truths contained in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Gettysburg Address, no matter what their ethnic background, the new ethnic federalism regards the United States as a multiethnic confederacy—a “salad bowl,” “kaleidoscope,” or “gorgeous mosaic”—made up of groups rather than individuals. These ethnic groups are endowed with certain inalienable rights—including the right to speak their “native” tongue at school and work, as well as at home; the right to proportional representation in every walk of American life; and the right to have their culture protected, and their self-esteem nurtured, in all public institutions, particularly educational ones. They are not, however, endowed with any overarching American loyalty that transcends their ethnic loyalty.

Moreover, whereas the older assimilationist dispensation accorded immigrants full rights as citizens (except the right to

JOSEPH SHATTAN is consulting editor of *The American Spectator*.

Learn Another Language on Your Own!



Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with the finest in-depth courses available. A typical course includes 10 to 12 audio cassettes, recorded by native speakers, plus a 250-page book. We have courses in 96 languages, including:

<input type="checkbox"/> Arabic, \$185	<input type="checkbox"/> Norwegian \$125
<input type="checkbox"/> Egyptian	<input type="checkbox"/> Polish \$185
<input type="checkbox"/> Czech \$125	<input type="checkbox"/> Portuguese \$185
<input type="checkbox"/> Dutch \$125	<input type="checkbox"/> Russian \$255
<input type="checkbox"/> French \$185	<input type="checkbox"/> Serbo-Croatian \$195
<input type="checkbox"/> German \$185	<input type="checkbox"/> Slovak \$185
<input type="checkbox"/> Greek \$185	<input type="checkbox"/> Spanish \$185
<input type="checkbox"/> Hebrew \$255	<input type="checkbox"/> Swahili \$225
<input type="checkbox"/> Hungarian \$195	<input type="checkbox"/> Swedish \$185
<input type="checkbox"/> Italian \$185	<input type="checkbox"/> Thai \$195
<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese \$185	<input type="checkbox"/> Ukrainian \$195
<input type="checkbox"/> Korean \$195	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese \$225
<input type="checkbox"/> Mandarin \$185	

You can order now with a full 3-week money-back guarantee. Call toll-free 1-800-243-1234, (203) 453-9794, fax (203) 453-9774, e-mail: RK511@audioforum.com, or write us at the address below. Ask for our free 56-page *Whole World Language Catalog*. Our 25th year.

AUDIO-FORUM, Room K511,
96 Broad St., Guilford, CT 06437

which America's political and intellectual leaders view their society? According to Salins:

There was never actually a moment of decision. What happened was that these leaders' faith in the validity, or even the necessity, of the [assimilation] paradigm eroded at the same time that some key social and political developments were at work. Policies of race-conscious preferences replaced those of color blindness ostensibly to speed up the economic progress of blacks. Bilingual education began as a poorly thought-out pedagogical response to the sudden influx of Spanish-speaking youngsters in the schools and then became a way of cutting Latinos into the game of ethnic federalism. Trashing American history...was the product of post-Vietnam war cynicism and a specious sophistication that viewed old-fashioned patriotism and American exceptionalism as dated and corny. The demise of the assimilation paradigm actually occurred, under cover of media darkness, in barely noticeable increments, as one assimilation-subverting policy was piled upon another.

As a result of these incremental initiatives, anti-assimilationism is now "hardwired," as Salins puts it, into a growing body of laws and regulations. Bilingual education is mandated by the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and a 1974 Supreme Court decision. School curricula that denigrate American history are the products of such governmental bodies as New York State's Social Studies Review and Development Commission. And quotas, preferences, and welfare policies are all solidly embedded in national, state, and local laws.

A radical departure from traditional American practice would be worrisome even under the best of circumstances. But at a time when the United States is experiencing a massive upsurge in immigration, mainly from non-Western countries, and when the need to assimilate these immigrants is a matter of considerable urgency, the anti-assimilation policies that go under the rubric of multiculturalism are a positive menace. Salins attributes much of the current antagonism toward new immigrants—and particularly the belief that, coming from Third World countries, they are inherently unassimil-

“
***Just as a computer
virus destroys its host's
memory, multicultural-
ism dissolves what
binds America together.***
”

able—to policies devised by America's liberal elite to obstruct assimilation. “Many neonativists,” he writes, “would oppose the admission of large numbers of immigrants, no matter how effectively or quickly they assimilated, but a revival of the assimilationist ethos might get a majority of ordinary Americans to smile on immigration again.”

Salins believes it is not only immigrants who are threatened by the new anti-assimilationism. For just as a computer virus gradually destroys its host's memory, leaving it unable to function, so multiculturalism dissolves what Lincoln called the “mystic chords of memory” that bind America together and enable it to function. Should our common culture finally crack under the hammer blows of a federally mandated multicultural regime, Salins foresees a huge upsurge in interethnic conflict, “the scourge of almost all other nations with ethnically diverse populations.”

But if there are serious dangers looming in America's not-too-distant future, the situation is not hopeless. Since multiculturalism is basically an elitist ideology that first took hold among liberal-minded academics and intellectuals, it follows that a change of opinion in academic precincts would eventually trickle down to the rest of society. “That academe may change its mind is not an entirely vain hope,” Salins writes. “Some of the leading promoters of an assimilationist perspective, like Lawrence Fuchs, Richard Alba, Stephen Thernstrom, Abigail Thernstrom and Arthur M.

Schlesinger, Jr., are prominent academics, and the mounting number of anti-ethnocentric articles and books suggests that their ranks are growing.”

Significantly, Nathan Glazer's name does not appear on Salins's list of pro-assimilation academics. This might strike readers as surprising, inasmuch as Salins calls Glazer, Emeritus Professor of Education and Sociology at Harvard, “America's leading scholar of ethnicity,” and quotes his writings extensively and approvingly. Glazer is also a leading neoconservative intellectual, and so might have been expected to serve as a rallying point for scholars opposed to the reigning anti-assimilationist orthodoxy. In fact, Glazer used to be an outspoken opponent of multiculturalism. But in *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, he has changed his mind. Glazer still dislikes multiculturalism, but now believes that further resistance is futile:

Multiculturalism in education—so strongly denounced by so many powerful voices in American life, by historians, publicists, labor leaders, the occasion for so many major battles in American education during the nineties, and so much at odds with the course of American culture, society, and education at least up until the 1960's—has, in a word, won.

Glazer's position derives in part from personal experience. He served on a New York State committee that was charged with developing a history curriculum acceptable to minorities, and his experience with some of his fellow committee-members—who strongly objected to what struck Glazer as the most innocuous statements about American history—alerted him to the abyss separating Americans over the most basic issues of national identity. The report that Glazer eventually helped draft, he readily admits, contained many ridiculous suggestions, and was roundly denounced by *Time* magazine, the *New Republic*, Gov. Mario Cuomo, and Arthur Schlesinger—none of them pillars of the conservative establishment. Nonetheless, Glazer feels that given the passions surrounding multiculturalism, and the political clout of its supporters, his committee's report was about as good a document as it is possible to get.

Whereas Salins lays much of the blame for this state of affairs on America's elites, Glazer emphasizes the role of blacks. Blacks are the storm troops in the battles over multiculturalism," he writes. They are by far the largest group involved, they feel the issues most urgent; their problems are the most severe, and their claim that they must play a larger role in the teaching of American literature and history, indeed should serve to reshape these subjects, has a far greater authority and weight than that of any other group." Any attempt to roll back multiculturalism's gains would encounter fierce resistance from blacks, who along with their Hispanic, feminist, gay, lesbian, and liberal allies constitute, in Glazer's view, an unbeatable political coalition.

Does this coalition pose a threat to American unity? Glazer refuses to say. If the emphasis [of multiculturalism] moves to oppression, discrimination, grievance, certainly the effects could well undermine national unity. One would have to see more examples of multicultural curricula, more examples of how they operate concretely in the schools, before one could make a judgment."

This is the oldest dodge in the world. Rather than come out unequivocally against multiculturalism, as Salins does, it's first appoint a commission to gather all the data. Then let's appoint a second commission to analyze the first commission's findings. Then, of course, we'll need a third commission to check the work of the second commission. By then, the situation in the schools may well have changed, so we'll need a fourth commission to update our data base, a fifth commission to look into the fourth commission's conclusions, and so on and so forth, *ad infinitum*. Meanwhile, until all the facts are in and everything is conclusive, we must carefully refrain from expressing any opinion, lest we—God forbid!—arrive at a simple judgment.

Glazer's exquisite non-judgmentalism, his firm refusal to say anything unkind about multiculturalism, pervades his book. It comes out most clearly in the following passage:

“
Glazer began his intellectual career on the left. Maybe, in his golden years, he is simply reverting to an earlier self.
”

soldiers as being among those who liberated the concentration camps. The movie was promoted as a way to improve black-Jewish relations. What should we have done about the assertions of historians who knew the details that the facts were not exactly as presented, that black soldiers were not among those who first reached the camps? In a larger sense, black soldiers were in the army that liberated the camps. Should the movie have been shown to children? I am not taking a stand on the matter, but one must respect the good will of those who made the movie.

To someone like me, who was an undergraduate in the late sixties and early seventies, this passage has a familiar ring to it. It recalls all those nice, well-meaning liberal academics who, confronted by some outrageous act of New Left hooliganism, always carefully avoided "taking a stand on the matter," but never refrained from pious expressions of "respect" for the vandals' "good will." To his great credit, Glazer was not among these academic appeasers; indeed, he was one of the New Left's fiercest critics. All the more reason, then, why his failure to take on the multiculturalists is so shocking today.

How to account for Glazer's about-face? Given his long and distinguished involvement in the wars that have rocked the American intellectual community over the past half century, Glazer has certainly earned the right to be tired intellectually—and perhaps that explains it. Then again, Glazer began his intellectual career on the left, and maybe, in his golden years, he is simply reverting to an earlier self.

MOVING?

TAS Address Changes Made Easy!

1. Please write your new address in the space provided.
2. Attach the mailing label from your most recent issue.
3. Return this form to us at the address listed below.

— That's all there is to it. —

Just be sure to allow six weeks for your change to take effect.

AmericanSpectator.

Subscriber Service
P.O. Box 655, Mt. Morris, IL
61054-8084
1-800-524-3469

ATTACH ADDRESS LABEL HERE

IMPORTANT:

Allow six weeks for address change.

- ☐ Renew my subscription for one year (twelve issues—\$35)
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ At various times TAS rents its subscriber list to other organizations. If you prefer that your name not be rented please check here.

Name: _____
(Please Print)

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

Date of change: _____

VCAFRM

A few years ago a controversy arose over the movie *The Liberators*, which depicted black

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Or perhaps the great student of American assimilation has himself become assimilated to a liberal culture that sharply disapproves of sustained political combat in a decidedly "incorrect" cause. Spokesmen for this culture tend to focus on the schools and universities, where multiculturalism is deeply entrenched, and to ignore, as Glazer does, institutions like the U.S. Army, where it is not. Partisans of this approach also like to portray themselves as hard-nosed realists who are merely acquiescing to the inevitable, and here again, Glazer runs true to form. But is it really inevitable that American blacks will increasingly come to reject the straightforward Americanism of a Benjamin O. Davis or a Colin Powell in favor of Kwanzaa, Ebonics, and the alleged cultural glories of Nubia and Kush? Somehow, I doubt it.

At any rate, the answer to the appeasers and defeatists is always the same: They may be right about the future—who can tell?—but so long as there is at least a glimmer of a chance that they are wrong, we are morally obliged to fight on. What makes *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* so pernicious is that it seeks to induce opponents of multiculturalism to lay down their arms and acquiesce in a state of affairs that, as Salins persuasively argues, can only bring ruin to America. ❀

Adams/Timmerman (Continued from page 35)

a pipeline to bring untapped Caspian Sea oil reserves to the West. Since the collapse of the Soviet empire, Central Asian oil has been the focus of much geopolitical wrangling. Caspian reserves could equal those of Kuwait or even Saudi Arabia—and four pipeline consortia are already exploring routes through the tricky terrain of Russia or Iran. On June 6, 1995, Tamraz announced his own plan: his New York-based Oil Capital Corporation wants to build a \$2 billion pipeline spanning the Caucasus and traversing Turkey. The Tamraz route would avoid Russia and Iran and eliminate the shipping bottleneck of the Bosphorus, but it requires the diplomatic feat of reconciling newly independent Armenia and Azerbaijan, whose ethnic rivalries span millennia.

Another problem is that the bulk of Tamraz's financing is pledged by the People's Republic of China. The China Petroleum Engineering and Construction Company, owned by the China National Petroleum Company, agreed to put up \$1.5 billion, and provide engineering, construction, and raw materials.

Shortly before announcing the project, Tamraz spelled it out to a National Security Council specialist on June 2. The meeting went badly. NSC official Sheila Heslin, who handles Central Asian and Caspian Sea affairs, later told the *Wall Street Journal* that she felt his pipeline proposal didn't have much chance and recommended against further meetings with him.

UNSAVORY FRIENDS

Tamraz had another possible agenda, soothing the tense relations between the United States and his friends Saddam Hussein and Muammar Qaddafi. In 1983, Tamraz bought a northern Italian chain of gas stations and a refinery from Chicago-based Amoco, calling it Tamoil. Two years later, some \$200 million in debt, he sold 70 percent to the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, rejecting a bid from Kuwait. After the United Nations slapped a partial embargo on Libya over the terrorist bombing of Pan Am flight 103, Libya turned over a controlling stake in Tamoil to private Italian investors. But the company still appears on the U.S. Treasury's list of blocked foreign assets under the name Gatoil Suisse, SA.

Proud of his name recognition, however, Tamraz brought the Tamoil label to the U.S. in 1995, incorporating an American version in Delaware. He denies there's a connection to Libya, and on the surface the U.S. hasn't let up on Qaddafi. In August 1996, Clinton signed a bill imposing unilateral sanctions on companies doing business with Iran and Libya. According to backers of the measure, however, the original administration version applied only to Iran; Congress added Libya. But the administration has been slow to enforce the law against Tripoli, and in October, Qaddafi even endorsed Clinton for president.

The Caspian pipeline and Libyan sanctions make a pretty full agenda by themselves, but there is still another area where

Tamraz might have wanted to exert influence. Both the Bush and Clinton administrations have shown a marked reluctance to get to the bottom of the BCCI case which is why the lead in unraveling the fraud has fallen to Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau. His complaints about the uncooperative Justice Department under Bush Attorney General Richard Thornburgh may have been a major factor in Thornburgh's failure to win Pennsylvania's special Senate election in 1991, an upse widely misread as a demand for health care reform. But curious things have happened under Clinton, too.

In July 1994, a key witness named Abbas Gokal decided to cooperate with Morgenthau's investigators; while en route to New York, police arrested him in Frankfurt in the name of Great Britain's Serious Fraud Office. The British had apparently been tipped off by the American State Department, and Gokal remains in British custody. That same month, the Justice Department sponsored a plea bargain with the BCCI's number two man, Swaleh Naqvi, provoking an unusual protest to the sentencing judge from Morgenthau. "Naqvi has consistently failed to proffer new information in a significant investigation or prosecution of unindicted individuals or anyone else in the United States," Morgenthau wrote. Privately other investigators say Naqvi was rewarded for not talking.

One of the cases that Naqvi could have helped reached into the White House. A former BCCI official named S.Z.A. Akbar left the bank in 1986 with about \$27 million in hush money to head a commodity trading firm called Capcom. (Its major shareholders included Kamal Adham.) Capcom had extremely close ties to the Chicago firm Refco, from which Hillary Clinton made her killing in cattle futures. (See "The Ties That Bind," TAS, August 1994.)

Naqvi was represented by the well-known former prosecutors Joseph DiGenova and Victoria Toensing, who were then partners in the law firm of Manatt, Phelps & Phillips. The head of the firm, Charles Manatt, was a former Democratic National Committee head; another partner was Clinton fundraiser and trade representative Mickey Kantor. Internal BCCI docu-

Manhattan firm to lobby the National Security Council in 1992 in an attempt to close down Morgenthau's Manhattan investigation.

AMILIAR FACES

noted above, the fatal blow to Anthony Carone's nomination was the discovery that Roger Tamraz had used the CIA to lobby the NSC. When NSC specialist Sheila Eslin recommended a cold shoulder for Tamraz, Democratic National Committee chairman Don Fowler produced a favorable memo on Tamraz from a CIA specialist (who later went to work for Tamraz) and paved his way to the White House. It wasn't the first time Fowler had crossed paths with Arab money. In 1978, when Fowler was Democratic Chairman of South Carolina, Jimmy Carter named him as ambassador to Saudi Arabia. Prominent Southern Democrats soon began to do big business in the Kingdom of Saudi, and one of these was Democrat-National Committeeman Charles Ward, who owned a school bus assembly plant in Conway, Arkansas. Ward Industries landed a big contract to provide buses for the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and received a \$3 million loan from the BCCI. Ward went to Saudi Arabia to drum up more business, and took along as his consultant none other than Donald Fowler. Now, we know, Fowler brought Tamraz to the White House. Tamraz brought Pharaon to Detroit. Pharaon brought the BCCI to the U.S. The BCCI brought a loan to Ward Industries, which brought Donald Fowler along for the ride. One suspects that the case of Roger Tamraz may soon become central to the investigations of troubled Democratic fundraising.

rock
(continued from page 45)

Howard kept the cash and gave the checks to Carone. But he didn't keep the envelopes or the notes that were enclosed. He threw them in the trash. So there were no records of who was giving what." Carone says he never handled any of the money. Howard says Payne is a liar who bears a grudge against him: "He

gave me any money. If he raised money in the gun clubs, those people ought to wonder what he did with it." (Others, including Carone himself, confirm that Payne was a volunteer fundraiser for the group.)

Fernandez, Dreher, Payne, and other activists in Roberti's district all say that, once the Carone group spent funds to collect signatures to get the recall effort on the ballot—which Carone says cost about \$60,000—they saw few signs of typical campaign activities such as advertising or the distribution of leaflets. They say they were forced to raise money on their own to air television commercials and print bumper stickers. "I had to pay one of my neighbors \$1,500 for flyers because when the bill came due," says Dreher, "Rick all of a sudden didn't have the money to pay for it." Both Carone and Howard say that all of the money raised—one partial disclosure the group filed with the FPPC reported \$141,000 in contributions—was properly spent on the recall. An FPPC spokesman says the agency still cannot confirm how much money was raised by the committee, nor can it verify how the money was spent.

Some NRA board members, including Sue King, allege that, among other motives in seeking control of NRA's finances, Carone wants the lobby to foot the bill for Howard's legal expenses in challenging the FPPC fine and even pay the \$800,000 due if an appeal in California Superior Court fails. A spokesman for the FPPC has promised to "wage a full court press to collect. Even if that means we have to garnish wages and attach property." Howard, who is not currently employed, has claimed he is "destitute."

Though he denies the motives that King imputes to him, Carone confirms that he believes NRA should cover the legal bills of Howard, whom many in the Knox camp—perhaps unaware of the dubious history of the recall effort—view as a hero for taking on Roberti and refusing to disclose his contributors to the state. NRA officials say that Knox asked Metaksa to issue a \$30,000 check from ILA's coffers for Howard's legal defense, and she refused without board approval. (Knox confirms the incident, saying that helping Howard is the "principled" thing for the NRA to do.)

a resolution sponsored by the Knox forces authorized the payment of \$30,000 in "consulting fees" to Howard in connection with the Carone audit, but board sources say the understanding is that the money is to be funneled to his legal defense. Sue King spoke against the payment at the meeting. "I asked him [Howard] if he broke the law in California and he said yes. I asked him if he knowingly broke the law in California and he said yes. We should have never elected someone to the board who has engaged in election misbehavior. And we should have never hired a director to do work for the NRA."

Like Carone, Colman became interested in gun politics in the late 1980's over the assault weapons issue and ran for the NRA board in 1994 as a Knox candidate. Even more of a political neophyte than Carone, Colman soon started throwing his weight around, according to NRA President Hammer. She recently complained in correspondence of Colman's "abusive behavior [and] threats to staff." When she told Knox and Carone of Colman's

BOY CLINTON
FOUR YEARS AGO

There is no health-care crisis. It's a myth. If millions of seriously ill Americans were being denied medical care, that would be a crisis. But that's not happening. Everyone gets health care in this country—the poor, the uninsured, everyone. No, our health-care system isn't perfect. There isn't enough primary care—regular doctor's visits—for many Americans. Emergency rooms are often swamped. The way hospitals and doctors are financed is sometimes bizarre. Health care may (or may not) be too costly. But it's the best health-care system in the world—not arguably the best, but the best. Its shortcomings can be remedied by tinkering, or at least by less-than-comprehensive changes. An overhaul of the sort Hillary Clinton envisions is not only unnecessary, it's certain to reduce, not expand, the amount of health care Americans receive (price controls always lead to less of the controlled commodity). Then we really will have a health-care crisis.

—Fred Barnes,
"What Health-Care Crisis?"
TAS, MAY 1993

overzealous but meant well," Hammer wrote. "The fact is, he didn't mean well. He is a bully and was on a witch hunt trying to force the EVP to resign and to get folks he didn't like fired."

Colman, whose candidacy for the board Sue King originally sponsored, "is our version of a jack-booted thug," she says now. She continues, "I called Colman to complain about his bullying tactics. I asked him if he told people on the staff if they didn't do what he said he would fire them and he said yes. And I asked him if it was true that he was saying that he and Neal were running NRA and he said yes." (Colman says he has had little contact with NRA staff but concedes he has been "tough" on occasion.)

Colman's bravado came in handy when it was time for the dissidents to make their move. In early 1996, Colman showed up at Wayne LaPierre's office at NRA headquarters and told LaPierre of plans to remove him as executive vice president and give him a new job with a higher salary—chairman of NRA Affairs—in which he would undertake various public relations efforts on behalf of the association. When LaPierre asked Colman who had authorized him to make such a proposal, Colman said that Knox had. Knox subsequently confirmed this to LaPierre, who still did not take seriously the challenge to his leadership. To LaPierre, this was another example of "Neal being Neal," his aides say. The disagreements, he thought, were all in the family.

But Carone and Colman were not really part of the family—and they would not be rebuffed. In June, the Knox forces called the first meeting in several years of the NRA executive committee, which is empowered to act for the board between its regular meetings. Before the meeting, Knox had prepared a resolution establishing a subcommittee of the Finance Committee "to advise, counsel and direct the EVP, on business, personnel and financial affairs of the association." This would have effectively removed LaPierre from power. Both Carone and Colman were to serve on the new committee, with Knox as chairman. Though Knox has been coy about his interest in the EVP slot, "I looked

him, do you want to be EVP?" Sue King recalls. "And he said 'Yes.'"

But Knox—who has a penchant for backroom deals—was foiled once again. The night before the executive committee met, Knox held a secret caucus of supporters at a hotel near NRA headquarters where he held forth on LaPierre's shortcomings. When Hammer caught wind of this, she and several other senior NRA executives (along with LaPierre and Metaksa) crashed the meeting and presented their side of the story. Knox discovered that his board was more independent-minded than he had planned. His votes on the executive committee evaporated the next day, and his resolution was never even introduced.

TRICKY MANEUVERS

In December, Carone called a meeting of the finance committee in Dallas. LaPierre's supporters believe that the meeting was held before the end of the year as a deliberate set-up: it was the last chance to convince members of the committee that the NRA was going to end the year with a deficit and take actions based on that false premise. On the basis of figures from NRA's third quarter, traditionally the worst quarter of the year for the association as fundraising inevitably falls off in the summer months, it appeared the organization would finish the year \$4 million in the red. By December, however, it was clear to LaPierre and his staff—and therefore to Knox and Carone—that the NRA would end the year with a surplus. (The group ended up \$9 million in the black.)

Behind closed doors, the finance committee, which was packed with Knox supporters such as Ronin Colman and Russ Howard, received a hysterical report on the financial state of the organization written by Carone, complete with an unintentionally hilarious section on "what it means to be a chief executive officer." The committee then moved to appoint an internal comptroller reporting to the board rather than to LaPierre and held a vote of no confidence in the EVP.

Now the dissidents were at the gates. Marion Hammer was outraged that the committee would misrepresent the finan-

ciary position—relying on a parliamentary distinction between recess and adjournment—Hammer declared that was illegal and its actions not binding. Carone then dared Hammer to fire him: chairman of the committee and stated his "irreversible" conviction that not only LaPierre but also Hammer herself should be axed. At this point, Hammer, LaPierre and Metaksa accepted a fact they had refused to face for months: They had woefully misjudged the intentions of the man who had put them in power. Neal Knox had loyalty to no one, and nothing, but himself. They returned to Washington determined to fight.

By the time the NRA board met in Washington suburb in February, the fight had spilled into the press for the first time. Though the Knox faction would later blame LaPierre for the cardinal sin of airing the NRA's dirty linen in public, Knox fired the first public salvo, announcing in the January 18 issue of the *National Journal* in a piece on the NRA's financial woes that he would seek "structural changes" in the NRA through an amendment to its bylaws that would make it easier for the board to remove LaPierre.

If the point was lost on LaPierre, it was vividly impressed upon him by the arrival of a hand-couriered package from NRA board member Howard Fezell, Maryland lawyer. The package contained a wooden box; burned into the wood was the wording of the bylaw amendment, written by Colman, that the Knox forces intended to introduce at the board meeting: it would have required to remove an officer from three-fourths to a simple majority.

Alerted to the split by the *National Journal* report, the *New York Times* requested an interview on the Knox challenge with LaPierre, who was quoted as saying, "We don't want to be about training for war in the woods or extremism or rhetoric. They represent the fringe, people who won't increase the NRA's clout but will diminish its clout. I don't intend to stand by and let the NRA be turned into the John Birch Society and made irrelevant. It must stay positioned in the mainstream if it's going to survive."

This was strong stuff, but it cut to the heart of what the fight for NRA's image was all about. The quote referred to the controversy in the wake of the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, when a fundraising appeal written by the NRA's direct-mail consultants that went out over LaPierre's signature referred to agents of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms as "jack-booted government thugs." The appeal, pitched to attracting new members after the Waco and Ruby Ridge incidents—in which U.S. government agents killed heavily armed people—seemed to link the NRA's rhetoric to the militia movement and bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh.

LaPierre, who had not seen the direct-mail piece before it went out, apologized for the use of "overblown" rhetoric. Knox, however, was furious—not with the direct-mail consultants, but with LaPierre. He recommended that, rather than apologize, LaPierre respond: "If the jackboot fits, wear it." (Indeed, the term was first used to describe the ATF, Knox says, by Democratic Rep. John Dingell, then an NRA board member, in an NRA promotional video that was produced during Knox's tenure at ILA in the early 1980's.)

Knox, in fact, appeared to defend the prospect of ties between the NRA and the militias in an April 1995 interview with the *Washington Post*: "Unless those people have committed a violation of the law, I'm not going to say we can't have anything to do with those people."

Unlike Knox, who panders to the extremes, LaPierre made the hard call, telling the NRA annual convention in May that the association would have nothing to do with anyone "who supports—or even fantasizes about—terrorism [or] insurrection." There is "a difference between 3.5 million united NRA members, and some scattered band of paranoid hatemongers. And if someone in this room doesn't know the difference, then here's the door!"

In a dramatic showdown at the board meeting a few months ago, LaPierre was saved by one of Marion Hammer's parliamentary maneuvers. Six Knox supporters deserted on the final vote. It was a devastating defeat, and it sent Knox's supporters into a tailspin.

Having stirred up the anti-LaPierre controversy, Knox is in danger of being washed away by it, losing the stature and reputation he had—or thought he had—with his own supporters. "Neal? He's last ditch," dissident David Gross told me. "He's not exactly the bottom of the barrel, but other people could do a better job."

Privately, Carone and Colman were making more derisive comments about Knox. In mid-March, fearing that he couldn't garner enough votes to be elected EVP in Seattle, Knox supporters pressured him to issue a statement withdrawing his candidacy. Long-time Knox observers weren't surprised: Knox has always betrayed an ambiguity about exercising real political power, and the withdrawal struck some as a recognition that he is more effective as a dissident on the outside than as a player at the table.

The dissidents now have no leader and agenda for the NRA's future other than jobs for themselves. To get control of the NRA, are Carone and Colman willing to sacrifice Knox? Or is this simply a tactical move designed to shift the focus off Knox and onto LaPierre? No one knows for sure, but the game plan is clear: forcing a vote in Seattle to remove LaPierre and replace him with an acting EVP until a committee of the board finds a replacement, either Knox himself or one of his lieutenants. (If LaPierre goes, Metaksa, his appointee, would probably go too.)

This outcome would almost surely spell disaster for the lobby, which could eventually cease to exist in anything like its current form. Not only would senior NRA staff and nervous legislators across the country jump ship; over time, the complexion of the NRA's membership would likely change, dwindling to the hard-core activists, as LaPierre's appeal to the center is abandoned and Knox's emphasis on political activism translates into fewer services for members. This outcome would not only drive policy in a more radical direction, but also spell financial ruin for the association. Knox's goal in Cincinnati—to make the NRA a political player—will have been defeated by Knox himself, a trick that not even Sarah Brady could have pulled off.

Even if the dissidents lose, of course, Knox is not going away. Though the cur-

rent battle has exposed his agenda and tactics, he is still in line for the NRA presidency in 1998, and he told me he may oppose Marion Hammer for the job this May. "EVP is just a staff job," he says. "NRA presidents are historical figures."

LaPierre's supporters thus want to do more than simply keep their man in power. They are mounting a vigorous campaign in the current board elections to defeat Knox, Carone, and six other Knox supporters, achieving what Harlon Carter had failed to do after all—executing the leader of the revolution. (One-third of the 76-member board stands for election each year to a three-year term. The mail balloting takes place until mid-April, and the results will be revealed at the Seattle convention in early May.) If these vocal dissidents are voted out, there is a good chance stability can be restored to the association. Knox and his supporters would still be agitating, but they would never again be allowed to run board slates without opposition, as they have done since the early 1990's.

LaPierre seems to have gotten the wake-up call. A man long dismissed by critics as too nice to lead, LaPierre seems to have come into his own in this trial by fire. He is buoyed by increasing signs of support. Senator Craig, who has stayed neutral in the fight so far, told me, "I've served on the board through three executive officers and I'm not committed to any one person or another, but to NRA. I'll be supporting Wayne LaPierre to save the association."

If LaPierre can be faulted for not standing up to Knox sooner, he won't make the same mistake twice. A last-ditch million-dollar secret offer being proffered by the jittery Carone and Colman—in which LaPierre is being offered a "promotion" out of his managerial responsibilities and into a spokesman's job, sweetened with a percentage of the money he raises for the association—is met only with derision. "This isn't about money," LaPierre declares. "This is about my soul. You don't deal away what's right for the cause and what's right for the issue. And I'll match my vision for the future against theirs any day." ❧

Visit *The American Spectator* Online
at www.spectator.org

Correspondence

(Continued from page 13)

"students" as young, brave, freedom-loving intellectuals who will either return to their homeland to spread the gospel of democracy or will remain here to rescue America from ruin. The Chinese are not young; many of the Chinese I have known were in their thirties or forties when they enrolled as first-year graduate students and most already held graduate physics degrees. They are not brave; living in another country during and after the Tiananmen crackdown does not bespeak bravery. They are not freedom-loving; like so many other recent immigrants they are money-loving and certainly have no loyalty to the United States. They are not intellectuals, unless Communist Party membership is considered equivalent to membership in MENSA.

As the flood of Chinese students and workers have served to displace Americans, America's ability to maintain research and development programs is being destroyed. It is to Peking's benefit that as few Americans as possible are educated in the high-tech disciplines, and that as many Chinese as possible gain positions of power regardless of whether they are dyed in the wool Maoists or politically disinterested. After all, should the United States find itself in open warfare against the Chinese, who will develop the new weapon systems to counter the technology they have stolen from us? Chinese workers?

— E.A. HORVATH
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

The Leave Us Alone Condition

I was disappointed (but not surprised) by the near silence of Stephen Glass (and by implication David Boaz) on the issue of the basis of law in a libertarian society (Books in Review, *TAS*, March 1997). Social conservatives contend that economic rights and prosperity rest on certain moral truths that extend beyond the economic realm; libertarianism's "skepticism of power" seems an inadequate base for a robust political philosophy. Furthermore, basing that skepticism on what happened to Israel after God gave them a king is to completely miss the point of Judges. Its last few chapters are devoted to driving home the central point of the entire book:

Israel rejected God as their king; the result is the horrific rape, murder, and dismembering of a young lady, followed by the near-annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin. The libertarian view of humanity seems utopian—if man is left alone, good will flower. History says otherwise. Ignoring this truth will assure the failure of libertarianism and undermine the principle of economic freedom that libertarians hold in common with social conservatives.

— W.R. SMITH
via the Internet

I enjoyed Stephen Glass's review of David Boaz's libertarian books, but Glass raises a couple of quibbles to which I take exception. First, he mentions that libertarians disagree on the line-item veto, some thinking that it confers too much power on the executive branch. It does, but I know of no libertarian who wouldn't support the idea as an interim measure on the way to "utopia." Many of us do little else but devise or disseminate such "halfway house" measures that, while ultimately not the final shape we would like to see, are certainly preferable to today's situation. The line-item veto looks like an effective tool against congressional pork-barreling, but it might not be necessary at all in a truly limited government.

My second point is more important. Mr. Glass mentions that Boaz spends no time discussing how the "taxless world" would function. Funding the government, that is, the courts, the police, and the army, is not a problem. A system of fees for the enforcement of contracts makes the best sense. Every time you make legal promises and rely on law and the courts to protect their integrity, you pay a fee. Since libertarians also want a world with a government monopoly on the initiation of force, an apparatus of guaranteeing contracts and paying for the privilege would generate more than enough money to fund the essential functions of government. Even as small an item as a warranty on a toaster would carry this payment in advance for enforcement.

I'm very surprised that Mr. Boaz did not explain this concept in the first place.

— DENNIS OWENS
The Prairie Centre
Winnipeg, Manitoba

What a Town With PETA Can Do

I have been an admirer of Ben Stein's *Diary* from the first day that good fortune smiled upon me and placed a copy of *TAS* into my hot little hands. Of late, however, reading of Mr. Stein's descent into the Hollywood abyss has caused me some discomfort. This was brought to a head by reading of his PETA pandering in the February '97 *TAS*.

Just to set the record straight for your readers and especially for Mr. Stein, whom I consider a remarkable individual, "rescuing animals" is most certainly not PETA's "job." Despite Mr. Stein's assertion, PETA funds only one very small animal shelter as of last year. Their money goes for lobbying, publicity, administration, parties (like the one attended by Mr. Stein), and general harassment of the public.

Another large expense is likely the large waterfront office building their headquarters occupy here in Norfolk, Virginia. Their most recent crusade is to turn the great unwashed away from that great moral debacle known as "fishing." No, it is not the idleness of fishing they resent, not the church-skipping it causes, not even the way it might lead some to utter moral decay and ruin should they turn to watching fishing shows on TV. It is simply that they don't like fishing. I guess we know what political advocacy group in Norfolk is made up of people who never spent any time with their fathers.

So let this be a lesson to those of you who don't take your kids fishing. And let this serve as a warning to Mr. Stein who seems to believe PETA is an organization of do-gooders. They are simply the "altruistic" people of whom P.J. O'Rourke spoke in his Oxford address: they don't actually want to help any animals, just hand out some literature, raise a little consciousness, and have parties for the glitterati.

— BARRY H. HELLMAN, JR.
Norfolk, Virginia

Groovy Cleveland

Re Benjamin Stein's article, "It's Raining in My Heart" (*TAS*, March 1997): I would think of any city I visited as being gray if I spent most of the time in my hotel room in bed. He spoke at a gathering of young businessmen and toured

e Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. I am not too keen on the R&RHF myself, but I did beat out New York for the privilege of hosting same. The dreary ship I called he referred to is our Cuyahoga River, which is quite famous and has its own place in history. We have the world's greatest symphony orchestra to name either of our claims to fame. Furthermore, if he tried biking on the all-purpose trail of our Cleveland Metroparks System, better known as the Emerald Necklace, I guarantee that he would throw rocks at the Santa Monica Boardwalk. As for Continental Airlines, I figure if you have seen one airline, you have seen them all. They do pay airport fees and help the local job market. Mr. Stein, come and spend more time outside of your hotel room. I do enjoy your contributions to TAS.

— ROBERT W. WELDON
Lakewood, Ohio

Off on Africa

John Corry needs to brush up on his geography. Nigeria is not the largest country in Africa ("Wole Soyinka Land," TAS, March 1997). It isn't even the largest in sub-Saharan Africa. Zaire is. Also much larger are Mauritania; Mali; Algeria; Chad; Libya; Sudan; Egypt; and Ethiopia.

— COLIN M. SMITH
Port Isabel, Texas

John Corry replies:

Mr. Smith is absolutely right. I meant to say "most populous."

Sign Off

Our quotation from a News Release by attorney Cecile C. Weich (Current Wisdom, TAS, March 1997) brings to mind an old lesson from Catholic canon law. Because a prenuptial agreement *per se* indicates a denial of the indissolubility of marriage, Catholics who sign such prior to marriage may be inadvertently setting up an annulment. I don't believe that is routinely asked about by priests preparing couples for marriage, so your readers of all faiths might be well advised to file it away for future reference when they hear about such contracts.

— PAT CUNNINGHAM
via the Internet

Hooked

Your new print style etc. is fine. But the masthead for Current Wisdom: Isn't anybody on your staff old enough or hip enough to remember? Bring back the old "fishwrap." Never was anything more apropos.

— WALTER R. MISECHOK
Buffalo, New York

Taken to Pre-School

Reading the March issue, I began to reconsider my decision to let my subscription expire. I would miss some excellent writing in TAS, particularly that of John Corry and Mark Steyn.

Then I came to Byron York's story about Alexis Herman ("The Alexis Nexus"). Mr. York ends a paragraph describing Herman's list of clients and the consulting fees she received from them with this incredible sentence: "It could have been far more." It reminded me of that favorite ploy of liberal crisis-mongers, beginning a sentence with "It is estimated that..." and then making any statement they please without fear of contradiction.

The disgraceful record of Mr. Clinton and his cronies stands on its own. It must be publicized vigorously, perhaps loudly, to be heard over the din of the mainstream media. But there is no need to embellish it with half-truths and innuendo. Nor are breathlessly gleeful personal attacks on the president necessary, as his official conduct is sufficient to illustrate his unfitness for public office. This style of reporting begins at the top and is unfortunately pervasive in your magazine. It may provide some personal gratification for both writer and reader, but it does little to advance the conservative cause and may be counterproductive. A man shouting on the street corner may be right, but all people remember about him is that he was obnoxious.

Perhaps you should build a very large playpen for Mr. R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. and invite little Mikey Kinsley over. Give them both big foam-rubber baseball bats and let them have at each other. Mr. Benjamin Stein could babysit. He seems comfortable with self-centered children of all ages.

— SCOTT CLOUSTON
Longmont, Colorado

No Apologies

I don't understand why in a previous editorial you apologized—even tongue in cheek—to BC and stated that he did nothing wrong. Very poor!

Now that the White House has let COSCO (Chinese shipping co.) take over the Navy facilities in Long Beach, you should stir up things again.

— THUAN VAN NGUYEN
via the Internet

Tuckered Out

Re: William Tucker's comments regarding soccer ("Soccer Dads & Single Moms," TAS, March 1997): What an awful, mean-spirited article. I have been a *Spectator* reader for over fifteen years and had it delivered to me for ten years in Europe at considerable cost. I now have it specially ordered for me in Canada by my local bookstore because I knew they would also have it displayed with the extra copies they ordered because of my order. This adds costs, too. After all, it is cheaper to subscribe. It also gives you exposure.

Mr. Tucker, I moved to Canada following a divorce in order to ensure that my children had a life that included aunts, uncles, great-aunts, great-uncles, and grandparents plus cousins by the dozens (i.e., family). Although my children's father faithfully sent (and sends) his child support, the only sport that was most conducive to our bank account was soccer—shorts, shoes, and a T-shirt with a manageable entry fee. And, yup, lots of single mothers. A very supportive group, I might add.

This year, because my son turned 12, he begged me to allow him to join league ice hockey—many married families. The cost—outrageous—and we have plenty of ice in this part of the world along with pedophiles, to boot. Happy families all shouting obscenities at the referees and the opposition, even at each other. This is something I did not encounter in soccer to the ridiculous extent I have in hockey. Equipment costs are horrendous—personally, I think that if the boys and girls played in skates and their regular clothing, the violence that is endemic to ice hockey would soon disappear. A slap shot to the unhelmeted head or a body check into the unprotected body would

undoubtedly inject some semblance of civilization to this brutal sport— well, okay, if not civilization, then at least “thoughts” about caution. After all, children will be brutes.

I sorely miss the soccer season and was delighted that my son reapplied. Do not misunderstand me. Soccer is a tough game—broken legs, ankles and hands abound but, at least in my neighborhood, it does not appear to be the point of the game as obviously as it does in ice hockey. Hockey is jock-a-block with married couples—and all I can say is big deal. If it were not for the support of my partner, I would have been a very lonely woman in this “family-as-man” defined sport.

Mr. Tucker, if you want to slam us single mothers or lesbian couples who take the time to ensure that our children are off the streets and engaged in more fruitful activities, do so using another venue. Please do not hide behind the skirts of single or lesbian mothers.

No, I am not canceling my order with the bookstore. I have a sense of humor in spite of yucky bits that sometimes appear in *The American Spectator*.

—PATRICIA MARKOWSKY
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

As a local soccer coach and soccer dad, I found William Tucker's observations quite interesting. I have seen many of the same strange events at my son's games. One distressing problem is the kid who goes to every other game. On mom's weekend, the child goes to the game. On dad's weekend, he goes somewhere else. I had two kids with the same problem one year. Luckily they missed alternate games.

One single mom gave her ex a partial copy of the team's schedule because she did not want him to attend games on “her” weekend. She gave no thought to the fact that junior might want to have dad watch him play.

—JOE BUCK
Moyock, North Carolina

Dearest Mr. Tucker: As long as there are men like you—there will always be single mothers.

—ANN HARRISON
Orange, California

Classifieds

HELP WANTED

\$200-\$500 WEEKLY Mailing phone cards. No experience necessary. For more information send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: Global Communication, P.O. Box 5679, Hollywood, FL 33083.

EDITORIAL INTERN. We are looking for an individual with literary and political interests to assist our editors with proofreading, editing, research and general correspondence. Liberal arts degree preferred for this entry level position. Send writing samples with resume.

The American Spectator

Send resume to: Attn: W. Arrington
P.O. Box 549, Arlington, VA 22216-0549

TRAVEL

ST. MAARTEN - Small, Private, Wonderful villas on the sea. Sweetwater pool, Pelicans, Sugar Birds, Sunsets and Tree Frogs! Maria 1-800-942-6725.

RELIGION

STUDY THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN FAITH (courses designed especially for laity): Correspondence Studies Division, St. Athanasius Academy of Orthodox Theology, 10519 E. Stockton Blvd., Suite 170, Elk Grove, CA 95624. Phone 916-686-6230. Fax 916-686-6232.

EDUCATION/INSTRUCTION

BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, DOCTORATE degrees by independent home study. Legal, economical. Book gives details on best universities and exposes fake. Free brochure: Bears' Guide, 6923-AM Stockton Ave., El Cerrito, CA 94530. 1-800-835-8535.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

EARN BIG \$\$ - NO HYPE!! #1 Internet Market. Use your PC, Be the BOSS. Low Startup, High Profit\$. 800-694-0389 Ext.505. **MONEY BACK GUARANTEE.**

\$8,000 YIELDS POTENTIAL \$350K+. Home-based. Not MLM. 1-800-432-0018 x2776.

“MILLIONS IN SCRAP GOLD” from old computers, circuit boards, jewelry. Free message: (603) 645-4776.

BOOKS

CATHOLIC BOOKS, TAPES, AND SOFTWARE Free Catalog! Call or write 1-800-859-8415, Canticale Communications, P.O. Box 711809, San Diego, CA 92171. SATISFACTION GUARANTEED Visit our website: <http://www.canticale.com>

THE ANGELS' WAR AGAINST GOD guaranteed to change your understanding of the Bible. \$16.95 includes S/H. Suwannee Valley Press, Box 2631, Lake City, FL 32056.

DEFRAUDING AMERICA, encyclopedia of CIA-government corruption. Excellent reviews. \$28. 1-800-247-7389.

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED. Subsidy Publisher with 75-year tradition. Call 1-800-695-9599.

BOOKS

ARKANSAS SUICIDES, COMPLETE LISTING Send \$4 to “The List,” 2111 W. 120th Terrace Leawood, KS 66209.

POLITICALLY INCORRECT, UNRESTRAINED HUMOR NAILS/SKEWERS CLINTON, liberal everyone! \$3.00. M. VanHorn, Box 13475, Pittsburgh, PA 15243.

NEW AUTHORS

PUBLISH YOUR WORK

ALL SUBJECTS CONSIDERED

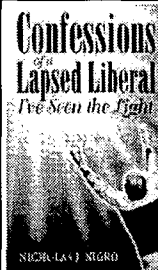
Fiction, Biography, Religious, Poetry, Children's.

AUTHORS WORLDWIDE INVITED.

WRITE OR SEND YOUR MANUSCRIPT TO

MINERVA PRESS

2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON SW7 3DQ, ENGLAND



Confessions of A Lapsed Liberal: I've Seen The Light by Nicholas J. Nigro

A Coming-of-Age, Coming-to-One's-Senses Political Memoir. Breezy, Biting, and Funny!!!

Available in Bookstores or:

Send check or m/o for \$11.00 plus \$2.50 s/h to:

Cryptic Press, Inc.

314 West 231st Street, Suite 452
Bronx, New York 10463

Credit card orders call BookWorld @ 800-444-2524

Distributed by BookWorld Services

ISBN 1-887775-41-2

MERCHANDISE

THE ORIGINAL WHITEWATER LAND PLAT very intriguing reproduction. Unframe \$95.00+4.95 S&H. Framed \$195.00+9.95 S&H 23x29. Send check to A.A., Inc., 1001-A Redmond Road, Jacksonville, AR 72076 or www.biz.arkansas.net/whitewaterestates

6 Hr. Talk Radio Recorder

AM/FM Radio & Recorder in one. Never miss programs. Only \$49.00+ S&H

VISA & MasterCharge F&S Enterprises

P.O. Box 1825 Camarillo CA 93010

Toll Free 1-888-CHATTER

BUMPER STICKERS

“SUPPORT OUR TROOPS - IMPEACH BILL CLINTON” 1/\$3, 2/\$5, 5/\$10. Write for complete list. P.I.B.S., Box 702105, Tulsa, OK 74170-2105.

Let the World Know Your Feelings About The Clintons' Reelection. **“50 STATES FOR SALE SEE BILL CLINTON,” “ARKANSAS-THE RASCAL STATE,”** and **“FORMER DEMOCRAT.”** Vinyl bumper stickers 1/\$3, 2/\$5. Bumper Sticker Company, P.O. Box 989, Eden, NC 27288.

Classifieds

BUMPER STICKERS

"ONLY IN AMERICA CAN A VETERAN SLEEP IN A CARDBOARD BOX WHILE A DRAFT DODGER SLEEPS IN THE WHITEHOUSE" \$2.00 each. Phone: 405-726-5514.

YOUR MESSAGE on Vinyl Bumper Sticker \$9.95 Additional \$2.00. RHA, Box 291, Piedra, CA 93649-0291.

The BEST Right-Wing bumper stickers. Write for catalog, or visit www.fix.net/~jsmith. Jeffrey A. Smith, P.O. Box 1172, Templeton, CA 93465.

HOT BUMPER STICKERS \$2 ea. 3 for \$5 8 for \$10	
YOU CAN'T SIMULTANEOUSLY BE POLITICALLY CORRECT AND INTELLECTUALLY HONEST!	THE REAL REASON FOR THE 2ND AMENDMENT IS BECOMING OBVIOUS!
I'M PRO - LIFE!	THE GOVERNMENT IS LYING!
WHAT? - ARE YOU PRO-DEATH?!	THE BANKS ARE LYING!
THE MEDIA IS LYING!	
ASK FOR OUR COMPLETE LIST WITH YOUR ORDER © 1995 RAPID PRESS , P.O. BOX 512-AS, COLUMBIA, MO 65205	

MISCELLANEOUS

LIBERIAN SOCIAL JUSTICE FOUNDATION, INC., P.O. BOX 31438, CINCINNATI, OHIO 45231. PHONE: 513-931-1872, FAX 513-931-1873. This is a very important organization dedicated to the restoration of a just and stable society in the war torn state of Liberia. They are working to improve the conditions for Liberians both home and overseas. They want to promote international cooperation, trade, investment, development and education for Liberia and the Liberian people. They are a very good contact organization for any firms seeking to do business or have any contacts with Liberia.

MEDICAL/HEALTH

20/20 WITHOUT GLASSES! Safe, rapid, *non-surgical*, permanent restoration 6-8 weeks. Airline pilot developed. Doctor approved. Free information by mail: (800) 422-7320 ext. 340 or (406) 961-5570. Fax (406) 961-5577. <http://www.visionfreedom.com> SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.

US patented relief for **ARTHRITIS AND JOINT PROBLEMS** (Double Blind Studies). Ground floor opportunity! Call: Gary Hayden 415.573.8088 (P&F)

AIDS EPIDEMIC IN TAMPA, FLORIDA!!! HPAF, see Health/Nt. at <http://www.srv.net/toc>

PERSONALS

AMERICA'S ALL NEW, ALL HOT, ALL NIGHT PARTY AND DATELINE IS TOTALLY FREE! Call 1-702-748-7800. Regular L.D. to AZ. 18+.

ASIAN WOMEN DESIRE ROMANCE! Established 1984! Free Details, Photos! **SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE**, Box 5500-HE, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. (808)325-7707 www.sunshine-girls.com

NICE SINGLES with Christian values wish to meet others. FREE magazine. Send age, interests. Singles, Box 310-AMS, Allardt, TN 38504.

BEAUTIFUL RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN ladies 18-40 seek marriage with men of all ages. **Free photo catalog!** ACWP, P.O. Box 220943, Chantilly VA 20153-0943. Internet: www.acw-i.com.

PERSONALS

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific #208-JX, San Francisco, CA 94111. (816)942-1668. www.pacificcentury.com

PRETTY LITTLE BLUE-EYED WIDOW, 60, with lakefront home, seeking gentleman to share happiness. Lorraine, P.O. Box 809, Osage Beach, Missouri 65065.

THAI ASIAN WORLDWIDE LADIES DESIRE romance, correspondence, marriage. Free Color Photo Brochure! TAWL, Box 937(AN), Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-0937. 1-808-329-5559.


BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & ELIGIBLE BRITISH GENTLEMEN seek friendship, romance and marriage with Americans! All ages! Free details: **ENGLISH ROSE** (Dept. ASP), Romance House, 20 Albion Street, Broadstairs, Kent CT10 1LU, England. TEL: 011 44 1843 863322 (24 hrs).

ASIAN BEAUTIES! WORLDWIDE! Romance, life-mates! Color photos! P.I.C., Box 461873-AS, L.A., CA 90046. 213-650-1994. www.pacisl.com

MEET WOMEN WORLD-WIDE

FREE 32 page photo catalog from America's most respected correspondence service since 1974.

CHERRY BLOSSOMS
190AN Rainbow Ridge
Kapaa, Hawaii 96755
(619) 262-6025 Ext. 42



LOVELY E. EUROPEAN LADIES!
(sincere, single ladies want to meet you)

FREE 36 page glossy magazine with 500 color photos.

CLUB PRIMA®
1101-D Thorpe Lane, Suite #110HU;
San Marcos, Texas 78666-7127
(512) 396-5522 24 hrs.!!!
internet <http://clubprima.com>



MEET LATIN AMERICAN LADIES!

Mexico - South America. Famous 500+ Photo Catalogues, Live-Videos & Vacation Tours! Photobrochure only \$1 (713) 896-9224

T.L.C. WORLDWIDE, INC.
P.O. BOX 924894-AS
HOUSTON, TX 77262-4894




RUSSIAN LADIES want to meet you!

Truly beautiful, educated, sincere. Selected from over 80,000 ladies.

FREE COLOR PHOTO CATALOG
Exciting Tours, Live Videos
23 successful Tours since 1992!

EUROPEAN CONNECTIONS, INC.
Dept. 282 • P.O. Box 888851 (24 HOURS)
Atlanta, GA 30356 (770) 458-0909



RUSSIANS, ASIANS

Sincere, traditional, educated overseas ladies seeking friendship & marriage. Free magazine with 250 photos & descriptions.

SPG Club Magazine
1964-AS Stewart Avenue
Kansas City KS 66104-4742
Tel.: 913 621-4022



CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: \$3.95 per word (10 word minimum) [+ \$15 extra per ad for TAS blindbox number if desired.],

classified display ads: 1 column wide (2-1/4") by length desired to purchase: \$195—1 inch; \$370—2 inch; \$520—3 inch (maximum 3").

•Pre-payment by check, money order, VISA, Master Card, or American Express is required for all ads.
(Other restrictions may apply.)

Special Discount Offer:

Pre-pay for 3 ads and get a 4th ad free!

Enclosed is: \$ _____ for _____ insertions.

Please Charge my:

☐ VISA ☐ Master Card ☐ American Express

Card #: _____

Expiration Date: _____

Signature: _____

Ad Classification: _____

(Please Print)

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone: _____

Send ad copy with payment and this form to:

The American Spectator

Attn: Classified Department

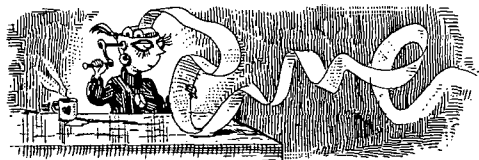
P.O. Box 549

Arlington, Virginia 22216-0549

If you have any questions about placing an advertisement, please call Nicky Roberts at:

(703) 243-3733 ext. 224

9705



White House Weekly

A venerated insider's report announces the latest effort at the Politics of Hope by our big lovable lug of a president, a.k.a. Boy Clinton:

Aides tell us that President Clinton's obsession with building a lasting legacy may include a breaking of the bread with the conservative press. One target: *The Washington Times*. Aides say that Clinton was pleased with the front-page play the newspaper gave to an exclusive preview of his inaugural address and is anxious to convince the newspaper's staff that he isn't a radical liberal. But the campaign to change the media's portrayal of him doesn't yet reach to *The New York Post* or *American Spectator*, they said.

[JANUARY 27, 1997]

Los Angeles Times Mirror

("Editorial Newsletter Published by Hiring and Development")

Fatuous confessions from a self-hating Caucasian male of the dope-fetcher variety:

George Cotliar has been a fixture at the Los Angeles Times for almost all of the 40 years he has worked here. Today marks his official farewell from the paper. Cotliar, a giant in the newspaper business, is one of the reasons this paper is as prominent in the industry as it is. We recently asked him about his career here. His comments follow. Good luck, George, you'll be missed.

Q. When did your career at *The Times* start and what was it like here then?

A. I started in 1957, the year after the paper was voted one of the nation's truly lousy newspapers. And it was. It was written by white men for white people. It was boring. It was very conservative. It was lifeless. The newsroom had no women, no blacks, no Asians. Everyone was named Smith and Jones, and it reflected that. It had no direction.

[JANUARY 16, 1997]

Publishers Weekly

The buzz about the *Best of Gay Erotica* 1997, selected by Doug Sadownick and edited by Richard Labonté:

For the second in Cleis's annual series, Sadownick (*Sex Between Men; Sacred Lips of the Bronx*) has chosen an eclectic, provocative selection of stories. There is no unifying theme or voice, which is what makes the collection so intriguing. What is considered erotic here has a multitude of shapes and forms. Several entries disappoint: Pansy Bradshaw's starts out well, but the introduction of a chainsaw is unnecessarily gory.

[FEBRUARY 24, 1997]

Chicago Tribune Magazine

Former *New York Times* columnist Anna Quindlen explains in her inimical style why she is the least-missed columnist in America since Eleanor Roosevelt:

"Write about what you and your friends are talking about on the telephone," an editor told me when I was given the assignment of writing a personal column a decade ago. That wasn't all I wrote about over the years, but I probably could have gotten a column out of nearly every phone conversation. On the other hand, if my husband had had to rely on his phone conversations with friends for column ideas—well, you finish the sentence. Whenever I've used that particular comparison, whether I was talking to female friends at lunch or speaking to a group of women in public, they've always burst out laughing before I got to the end of the subordinate clause. It was an immediate, visceral recognition of what seems to be a central fact of human attachment: that what men call friendship is often skin deep, while what we women make of it is something probing and intimate, an emotional undressing, something akin to an essay every time we sit down to lunch or pick up the phone. As Anais Nin wrote...

[MARCH 2, 1997]

Lecture

(John F. Kennedy School of Gov't. at Harvard University)

Dithyrambic excerpts from the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson's lecture to assembled students, street people, convicts on furlough, and other luminaries, pumping gas into the *Kultursmog* at Harvard Yard:

The history of America has been a gradual and uneven extension of democracy to all of its people. There were, and still are, starts and stops. In 1863, Lincoln had the Emancipation Proclamation, followed by the end of slavery and reconstruction.

By 1896, thirty-three years later, the first reconstruction was over, ended by Jim Crow and *Plessy v. Ferguson* and retreating conservative black leadership in 1895.

1896. White sheets, burning churches and defacing synagogues. Blue suits restricting and resisting reconstruction legislation. And black robes cutting back on representation. White sheets, blue suits, black robes, in lock step in ideology, distinguished by their uniforms.

1996. White sheets, burning churches, defacing synagogues. Blue suits, rejecting reconstruction legislation. Black robes restricting representation. This is a critical year, 1996, thirty-three years after the march on Washington....

Jesus was a liberal. A liberator, an emancipator. Feed the hungry just because they are hungry. Clothe the naked just because their bodies are exposed. Heal the sick without a medical card just because they are sick. Forgive sinners, redeem those who have been banished, let them back in, it's a liberal idea. Would an oppressed people look for a conservative emancipator? It's a contradiction in terms.... Jesus was a liberator, Herod was the conservative. Moses, the liberator, organized the union—

(Laughter)

Rev. Jackson:—an economic boycott and a demonstration at Canaan. Moses was the liberator, the Pharaoh the conservative. Which side are you on?

[NOVEMBER 14, 1996]