

he word soul does not appear even once in either *The Prince* or the *Discourses*, the two books in which he said he wrote everything he knew. He knew about politics in a world where men have no souls to speak of; and however one might admire his daring and force of mind, one does so with a shudder. In the world of our own time, when the gravest threats to democracy and freedom come either

from nations that have abolished the soul or from those that have perverted an estimable faith, it is essential that we preserve such souls as we have left. They are ultimately what we are fighting for. Ledeer knows this, and one understands readily enough his need to make an intellectual and spiritual hero of so great a figure as Machiavelli, who believed otherwise all the same. ❧

# A Textbook Performance

## Architects of Victory: Six Heroes of the Cold War

Joseph Shattan  
The Heritage Foundation  
343 pages / \$24.95; \$14.95 paper

REVIEWED BY  
Fred Barnes

The most appalling thing about the political heroes that Bill Bradley cited in the Democratic presidential debate in New Hampshire last October was that he was serious about them. Not half-serious, not sarcastic, not ironic—nope, he was deadly serious. Two of his heroes, Jimmy Carter and Mikhail Gorbachev, were players in the Cold War, and this was significant, too. The great story of the second half of the twentieth century was the defeat of Soviet Communism by the United States and its allies, and neither of Bradley's heroes stood tall in that struggle. During Carter's four years in the White House, Communism not only gained enormous ground but also picked up political momentum. And Gorbachev's goal was not to transform the Soviet Union into a democracy, but to prevent exactly that from happening. Fortunately, he turned out to be one of history's great bumblerers, and thus helped bring about what he desperately wanted to avert. Yet Bradley praises Gorbachev for courage and Carter for honesty.

I belabor the point about Bradley only because his musing about heroes is so representative of the thinking that dominates

mainstream journalism, much of the political community, nearly all of academia, and most of book publishing. People in that world are in a state of denial. It's going on a decade now since Communism collapsed, and they still don't know why it happened or who caused it. And they don't want to know. They'd rather pretend the accommodationist policies of Carter and others—not the rejection of those policies—and Gorbachev's reforms brought the Cold War to a peaceful end.

Which is why Joseph Shattan's wonderful rendering of the real masterminds of victory in the Cold War couldn't find a conventional publisher and was instead published by the Heritage Foundation. Shattan got lots of excuses, such as his book was about too many people (six). But the truth is his thesis (hard-line anti-Communism prevailed) and his heroes (Ronald Reagan, Alexander Solzhenitsyn etc.) didn't pass muster in the liberal world of mainstream publishing.

True, there have been other books that gave some credit to anti-Communists for the demise of Soviet Communism. Don Oberdorfer's *The Turn* comes to mind. But there haven't been many, and certainly not one quite like Shattan's. "I wrote this book because I thought it very much needed writing," he says, "and because I felt I could do it right." He's correct on both counts.

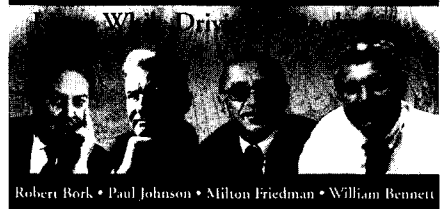
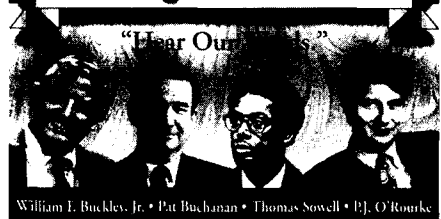
*Architects of Victory* is not a scholarly account. Shattan has not done original research. His line of work is speechwriting, and he's one of the best in the business, having written for Vice President Dan Quayle, Jeane Kirkpatrick, William Bennett, and Elliott Abrams. But he's read everything written about the Cold War

and about the men he designates as architects, and worked with many of the participants. And what he's produced is terrific journalism, a highly readable book that should be as accessible to a mass audience ten or twenty years from now as it is today.

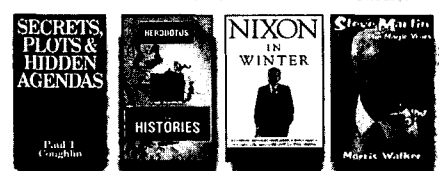
So who, besides Ronald Reagan, are Shattan's heroes? Harry Truman, Winston Churchill, Konrad Adenauer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and Pope John Paul II. Truman, Solzhenitsyn, the Pope, and Reagan are obvious choices, and I don't quibble with them. But Churchill and Adenauer aren't, which makes Shattan's treatment of them so compelling.

Churchill is one leader who had the Soviets—and Lenin—pegged from the start. Maybe it's common knowledge that he tried to drive out the new Bolshevik government in Russia in 1919, but it wasn't to me. Even back then, Churchill was a voice in the wilderness, Shattan notes. "With the rest of the British Cabinet preoccupied with other pressing postwar issues, Churchill (as minister of war) single-mindedly sought to overthrow the Bolshevik regime by lending support and encouragement to a suc-

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cession of White Russian generals." He might have succeeded, except Prime Minister David Lloyd George found his crusade obsessive and stepped in to snuff it out.

But that came only after Churchill had "unloosed a barrage of invective" against the Communists that Shattan says was "unparalleled in modern British political history." He called them "fungus," a "cancer," "a barbarism...devoured by vermin, racked by pestilence," and "subhuman." In 1920, he told the British Cabinet that the Soviets had "committed and are committing unspeakable atrocities, and are maintaining themselves in power by a terrorism on an unprecedented scale, and by

the denial of the most elementary rights of citizenship and freedom." Sound like anyone? Not the talk of disease, but the insight into Soviet tactics. Churchill, in fact, laid the rhetorical groundwork for Reagan by recognizing that the Soviets were not simply garden-variety autocrats who must be contained but a threat to civilization that needed to be extinguished. And Churchill did all this decades before his famous "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946.

A recurring theme of Shattan's is the trouble anti-Communists encountered with their own leaders. The most troublesome in this regard was Franklin Roo-

sevelt, who felt Stalin would melt once subjected to FDR's charm and persuasiveness. Churchill knew this was a crock but there was only so much he could do about it. After the German defeat at Stalingrad, Churchill failed to convince Roosevelt that the Nazis were beaten and the looming menace was now Soviet power. Thirty-five years later, Carter thought he would be able to mesmerize Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev when they met one-on-one at summit in 1978. He, too, was mistaken but he didn't have a clue about this until the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December 1979.

Adenauer, chancellor of West Germany from 1949 to 1963, had no illusions about Communists or Communism. He was deeply devout Catholic whose overriding goal was for postwar Germany to become "an integral part" of Christian Europe and not slip into the Soviet orbit. This meant West Germany couldn't be neutral in the Cold War, or else it might wind up dominated by or aligned with the Soviet Union. "If Germany pursued a policy of strength, however, and remained firmly allied with the West, the Soviet Union sooner or later would be forced to agree to unification on West German terms," Shattan writes of Adenauer's calculation.

To further this, he guided West Germany into NATO in 1955. This was "an extraordinary triumph, for it meant that the balance of military power had finally been established in Europe, thereby making Russian attack extremely unlikely and freeing Western Europe from the threat of Soviet hegemony." Not surprisingly, it was a devoted "Adenauerian," Helmut Kohl who actually brought about German reunification in 1990.

I don't mean to dismiss the chapters on Truman, Solzhenitsyn, Pope John Paul II and Reagan as inconsequential. They aren't. It's just that their roles are better known. Like Churchill, Reagan was a dissenting voice on dealing with the Soviets. Virtually no one, even among his own advisers, believed that Communism was teetering on the brink of total breakdown in the 1980's. Reagan did, however, and insisted on pursuing policies that would put Soviet Communism over the edge as soon as possible. They worked, though America's intelligence is loath to admit it. ❧

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## Christmas Books

*Continued from page 50)*

e Clintons in the formaldehyde of biography for contemporary and future generations to study. Her *Hell to Pay: The Unfolded Story of Hillary Rodham Clinton* is the carefully documented story of Hillary's rise from young brat to adult brat with the full power of the federal government at her disposal. Olson recognizes the radicalism of RC's college days as something more bitter than mere bohemian dalliance. Olson notes the bitterness as it moves from Yale Law School, to Arkansas, and thence to the White House. Her insight into HRC is sound, but she brings more than insight and reportage to her book. Olson served as chief investigative counsel to the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. She was as intimately involved in the investigation of Travelgate and Filegate, and in this book she reveals the discrepancies between RC's testimony under oath and government documents. Her book reminds us that the would-be Senate candidate has a long way to go before she can arrive at the Senate or even remain at large.

Michael Ledeen and Joseph Shattan have much happier books for our Christmas recommendations. Ledeen's *Machiavelli on Modern Leadership* presents Machiavelli with a human face, I like to think. Ledeen really finds the author of *The Prince* to be a very lovable guy, and certainly a wise fellow. Machiavelli handled sensible rules of character based on his observation of leaders in everyday life and based on his vast knowledge of history and philosophy. Ledeen's section on luck in history is particularly arresting, though I suspect most readers will be more impressed by the author's reflections on how the great figures of our time, such as Lady Thatcher, President Ronald Reagan, and Michael Jordan, measure up to Machiavelli's standards.

Which brings me to Shattan's *Architects of Victory: Six Heroes of the Cold War*. Amazingly this most bloodless yet terrifying of wars has been largely forgotten by the intelligentsia and the populace. Why you might well wonder. Is it because the intelligentsia did not acquit themselves all that well in the Cold War? Is it because the

Soviet archives and Western archives are now revealing that one of the intelligentsia's favorite bugaboos was nonsense? The Left's intellectuals taught that there was a mindless Red Scare in the West. We now know that the scare existed because there were real Reds, and many were goody-goody progressives such as Alger Hiss, whose lies divided the elites of the Republic for nearly five decades. A resolute band of statesmen and writers joined by one most impressive cleric held the democracies together in defiance of Soviet Communism and won. Shattan tells of their great deeds with high scholarship and style.

These are all very good books for Christmas or any occasion.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. is editor-in-chief of The American Spectator.

## Correspondence

*(Continued from page 11)*

purpose is to sell stamps and move the mail. This is deliberate marketing. The Postal Service sells tens of millions of dollars' worth of stamps each year to gullible collectors—stamps the Postal Service will never have to redeem by delivering the pre-paid service which they represent, stamps which will never be worth anything significantly more than face value. That's how they manage to operate in the black some of the time.

In order to restore beauty to the U.S. mail, as Mr. Banfield and I would both like to do, much more than he proposes is necessary. Principally, the Postal Service should stop hustling garbage not intended to be put on a letter or package, and the public should stop letting itself be taken by the hustlers.

As for me, I stopped being hustled in the 80's. But if you've got some nice pre-1930 stuff, I may be persuaded to open my wallet and trade you some Monopoly money for it.

—JOSEPH A. REHYANSKY  
Chattanooga, Tennessee

## Just the Facts

Michael Fumento's "Hormonally Challenged" does not go far enough in criticizing the radical environmentalists of the modern EPA (TAS, October 1999). Perhaps the space restrictions didn't allow for

all the details, but he glossed over the corruption that was the very heart of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. This work was the mother of grossly irresponsible pseudo-science. As Fumento mentions for the alligator studies, the only possible cause that was considered for the abnormalities was what the authors wanted: then DDT, today endocrine disrupters. What most people don't know was that the mother eagles were deliberately fed a diet with only 20 percent of the normal calcium an eagle requires. Golly! Cut the calcium by 80 percent and calcium-rich eggshells are thinner! Millions worldwide have died from malaria since DDT was banned—human lives sacrificed at the altar of junk science.

Currently, the government is demanding "voluntary" studies by manufacturers on myriad common chemicals. Those who don't "volunteer" will be forced. New studies and controls are being designed for all high-production-volume (HPV) chemicals. These expensive tests will be required of all chemicals produced in excess of one million pounds per year. In other words, high-volume becomes less than two grams per person per year, less than the weight of a dime! New restrictions are in the works for nickel products, now deemed carcinogenic by the communists of California. Of course, not one single case of cancer has been demonstrated to have nickel as the cause. And there are millions of test cases: Stainless steel has a high percentage of nickel, which everyone consumes whenever we eat or drink acidic foods (fruit juices, tomato sauces, and so on)!

Wherever there is government, there is corruption. As more of science has been funded, and thus controlled, by government, the more corrupt science has become. Mr. Fumento, keep up your excellent work.

—JIAN PING ZHANG  
via the Internet

To support Michael Fumento's article, I would like to point out some more ways that animals are not good surrogates for human health. For example moderate doses of penicillin will kill guinea pigs, Tylenol can kill cats and even chocolate can be fatal to dogs.

—DAVID MOSHINSKY  
via the Internet



I send thanks to Michael Fumento for his informative article. However, I should note that the Mayo Clinic, where smaller doses of DES were prescribed than at the University of Chicago (p. 30), is in Rochester, *Minnesota*. I know that Rochester, New York, is home to one of the largest photographic companies in the world, but my home state is the home of this renowned medical center.

—JOHN A. WATNE  
*St. Louis Park, Minnesota*

## Safe and Sound

I would like to correct some inaccuracies and omissions that I noted in the article by Kenneth R. Timmerman entitled "The Nuke Next Door," which appeared in the October 1999 issue.

First, the Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Plant, contrary to your report, is not near Burlington, Vermont. It is in the rural, beautiful, small town of Vernon, about 160 miles southeast of Burlington; and about as far from Burlington as you can go and still be in Vermont.

I wish your article's inaccuracies and omissions ended there. Unfortunately, they do not.

1. The protocol employed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), during its Operational Safeguards Response Evaluation (OSRE), does not pit former U.S. Special Forces officers and expert computer hackers against plant security officers in some sort of James Bond war game, as your article implies.

2. The March 1998 inspection referenced in your article was not an OSRE; it was a Regional Assist Visit. During this inspection, Vermont Yankee's security office provided active assistance to the NRC team before, during, and after the exercise. This assistance included access to confidential information on the plant security and electronic surveillance systems. The specific challenges made to the security systems cited in your article were under the full control of site security management at all times. This cooperation between plant security and the inspectors was designed to provide the evaluators, both site and NRC, with valuable performance data for these systems.

3. At no time did anyone gain access to any location unless accompanied by and

with the full knowledge of site security personnel. During these exercises no one was "free to roam around restricted areas eventually gaining access to the reactor core itself." (By the way, the core of a nuclear reactor, at power, is not a place one can readily get to—a gross understatement—nor would one want to go there. The experience, were it possible, would not be unlike that of a Maine lobster going into a boiling pot for supper.)

4. OSRE exercises were conducted here in 1991 and 1994. In both instances, the security program at Vermont Yankee was found by the NRC, based upon the conclusions of its OSRE team, to be effective in defending the site. The reports, and the signatures of those who wrote them, are a matter of public record, and can be easily acquired. Mr. Orrik led both these OSRE inspections.

In fact, since 1991, Mr. Orrik has been to Vermont Yankee on behalf of the NRC no less than four times. On each occasion, his duty, with the assistance of world class experts, was to rigorously challenge, evaluate, and report upon the security program at Vermont Yankee. This he did. His contributions to the strengthening of security programs both at Vermont Yankee and elsewhere since 1991 have been significant. His official writings, reports, recommendations, and conclusions, given over his signature, with respect to Vermont Yankee and every other site he and his team have evaluated, are also a matter of public record. This large body of documentation does not support nor is it consistent with the representations made in your article with respect to the security of the "Nuke Next Door"!

As to the "Nuke Next Door..." Vermont Yankee is the nuke next to my door. My driveway is a little over two miles from the plant's front gate. I have lived here, in this wonderful small town, a neighbor to the plant, since 1986. Our children, over the years, have attended the excellent elementary school, located literally across the street from the plant. Mr. Timmerman is welcome to come up and see our town. The view of the river and the foliage is magnificent this time of year! I will be glad to personally give him a tour of Vermont Yankee, and he can see for himself that this

is a beautiful, safe, and yes...secure place to be!

—JOHN M. MORIARTY, CP  
*Security Manager  
Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Station  
Vernon, Vermont*

## Kenneth R. Timmerman replies:

My thanks to Mr. Moriarty for pointing out my error. Vermont Yankee is ten miles from Brattleboro, not Burlington.

He is also correct in pointing out the different nomenclature the NRC uses for its security evaluations. I did not feel that distinction would add to reader understanding of an already fact-jammed article.

Regional assists are usually conducted because the NRC feels security is not up to standards. For Vermont Yankee I have two regional assist visits in such short period is unusual. It is even more unusual that Vermont Yankee had two complete OSRE exercises, at a time when the NRC planned one exercise per site.

Mr. Moriarty states that OSRE results are available to the public. What has been neglected to mention is that federal law prohibits the disclosure of any security defects that have not been corrected; in other words, the results are censored. The fact that Vermont Yankee had been the subject of *four* inspections suggests that NRC evaluators have ongoing concerns regarding security deficiencies at the plant.

Finally, Mr. Moriarty emphasizes the clean nature of nuclear power. I certainly agree: Compared to oil or coal-fire plants, nuclear power plants are environmentally friendly—unless an accident occurs because of poor safety procedure or a breach of plant security by terrorists.

Mr. Moriarty and the NRC might not like to contemplate what could happen if a core breach were to occur, but it is their job to do so. From my interviews with individuals familiar with the Vermont Yankee inspections, the NRC has required the plant to take very serious measures to correct security deficiencies.

## Bulletin

November: What a great issue, with cover to match. Kudos to Dean MacAdam

—MYRON JOHNSON  
*Fresno, California*

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## New York Times Book Review

Moral equivalency as perceived by a reviewer of the new Reagan memoir for whom a cutie in the Oval Office is as momentous as a Cold War summit:

His world was famously populated with welfare "queens" who did not exist, with trees that caused pollution. If Bill Clinton's reputation is for telling lies, Reagan's was just for saying things that were not true. That he was able to sell this fine distinction to the public surely qualifies him as a political genius.

[OCTOBER 10, 1999]

## New York Times

On the correspondence page of the venerable *Times*, aesthetic reflections of a life-long reader of the *New York Review of Books*:

Re Polemical Prize (Op-Ed, Oct. 3) by James Atlas:

Mr. Atlas's argument that prizes in literature from the Nobel Committee indicate a preference for the political left indicates a clear misunderstanding of the relationship between art and politics.

Such a lament is analogous to the charge that awards in basketball favor those who are tall.

While not all great basketball players are tall, being tall is certainly an advantage.

Similarly, a leftist political perspective is almost essential to the creative process, since that process requires stepping outside of the conventional view of the world and looking at it without the blinders that are provided by the established order.

This stepping outside, of course, is what conservatives fear, since their goal is to preserve the advantages that the advantaged enjoy under the prevailing order.

So prizes for good art will always favor the left.

If it is otherwise, then bias has clearly entered into the judgment of what is good art.

JIM DWYER  
Monrovia, California

[OCTOBER 5, 1999]

## Salon

Jocose observations from that fearless expatriate Kurt Vonnegut, now living in exilic quietude in outer Long Island:

**You were accused at one time of encouraging pessimism and cynicism in youth.**

I was speaking at the Library of Congress—and this is like being invited to Buckingham Palace by the royal family—and I was thinking that my jokes, as now, were going pretty well. [Laughs.] And a guy stood up dressed like a middle European. And he had obviously had an awful time under Communism, and somehow he got over here. And he said, "What right have you got as a leader of young people to speak so ill of the most wonderful nation in the world?" And this just muzzled me entirely. I was so abashed I left the stage.

**And you didn't speak again for a while.**

No. But it is a s---ty country! [Laughs.]  
[OCTOBER 8, 1999]

## Santa Barbara News-Press

Spotted on the howl page of the esteemed *News-Press*, one last declamation from the 1984 chairman of Neurotics for Mondale:

Gov. Gray Davis has hundreds of bills on his desk awaiting his approval. Bills that relate to the health and welfare of the people of California.

What does he take the time to do? To honor Ronald Reagan with a license plate.

No one can ever say any actual good thing that Reagan did. This is some ongoing mass hysteria that some people refuse to wake up from.

I don't think the public thinks Reagan was so great. But people like Davis pander to some imaginary public adoration of this man who was really quite wicked and empty-headed.

Please, let us end this bad dream.

KEVIN WARE  
Santa Barbara

[OCTOBER 16, 1999]

## Los Angeles Times

From one of our Liberal faithful, another truly colossal specimen of what studers of the psyche call DENIAL:

Regarding Edmund Morris and his biography of Ronald Reagan: To this day, even conservatives of considerable intellect have failed to present Reagan as anything other than what he was: the luckiest empty head ever to sit in the Oval Office—in other words, sheer proof that at certain times in American history, literally anyone can be president. The Reagan faithful now bash Morris and the fictional "device" of his work, as a way to protect the man. The Morris haters should keep this mind: Like all very intelligent people, Morris realized that there was absolutely nothing to Reagan. Since Morris had to fulfill his writing assignment, he came up with a brilliant way to shed light onto a very dim bulb.

JOSEPH BRUTSMAN  
Los Angeles

[OCTOBER 5, 1999]

## Ann Landers

Jim from Llano catches Ann in a foul mood:

Dear Ann:

I have read several letters in your column that dealt with obesity, but I have yet to read one that addresses the fact that obesity is not a disease or a chemical addiction. With the few exceptions where obesity is caused by a glandular malfunction, it is simply caused by eating too much. Unless smoking, doing drugs or drinking alcohol, there is nothing in food that causes a chemical addiction in the human body.

"Because it tastes good" does not qualify as a chemical addiction. Obesity is due to gluttony. There are very few signs of obesity in India. They cannot afford excesses such as overeating so they don't get fat.

Please, Ann, let us not shed any tears for that 350-pound woman who can't wedge herself into an airplane seat. She got there by choice. She wasn't hooked on chemicals.