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The Governor Listeth, Jr. New York
pp. \$7.95.

Reviewed!

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Special Book Review Section

BUCKLEYANA

The Governor Listeth, by William F. Buckley, Jr. New York: Putnam, 1970. 434 pp. \$7.95.

Reviewed by John P. East

The Governor Listeth is an anthology of Buckley writings covering principally the years 1967 through 1969. This book is in the tradition of his earlier work, *The Jeweler's Eye*. To faithful Buckley readers of recent years, the book will serve as a valuable reference, and to the young and uninitiated it will serve as a useful point of departure in understanding the mind and spirit of Bill Buckley. It is to this mind and spirit that I direct my remarks.

Ultimately, historians will have to reckon with Buckley's impact upon American thought in the post-World War II era. American conservative writing in this period has been rich and varied, and Buckley has not only been an individual contributor, but the principal dynamo in the conservative movement. He provided the energy and set the tone. In the words of James Jackson Kilpatrick, Buckley is "numero uno."

In reading this book, it occurs to me Buckley has upended the commonplace notion that "conservatives" are "pessimistic," while "liberals" are "optimistic." Buckley's writings exude joy and sprightliness. Even when he brings bad news the message is tempered by an irrepressible spirit of buoyancy and optimism. In contrast, the typical liberal-left commentator today is often dour, humorless, and pessimistic about the human condition.

I suspect Buckley escapes deep pessimism primarily because of his religious roots. Understanding the imperfectibility of the human predicament, he does not expect utopia of men, society, or governments. As a result, he maintains balance and perspective, and displays a keen sense of the practical and attainable. On the other hand,

the secularist expects, indeed *demand*s, perfectibility *now*, and often he becomes hardened, humorless, and embittered (alienated?) when Man refuses to conform instantly to his gnostic vision of the earthly utopia.

As important as Buckley's substantive critiques of Liberalism have been, after reading *The Governor Listeth*, I offer the thesis that his greatest contribution has



William F. Buckley, Jr.

"The principal dynamo of the conservative movement."

been in setting the tone and style of contemporary American conservatism. In addition to the joy and buoyancy, there is wit, élan, and high morale. In Buckley's hands conservatism is broad-based, eclectic, and viable; its traditional and libertarian strains become symbiotic, not antagonistic. There are no tell-tale signs of the ideologue, and the fever swamps of the Right are studiously and deftly avoided. For all of this, conservatism is much indebted to Bill Buckley.

Beyond his enduring contributions to the

conservative movement, perhaps Buckley's greatest contribution to the contemporary American scene is his tenacious affirmation of faith in America. While the liberal-left screeches, in its "cult of alienation" (Richard Hofstadter's phrase), against anything "American," Buckley writes in this book:

... I feel the need to reassure the United States of America, ... which land, I feel increasingly, needs us all. ... She needs us, however quarrelsome; however disparate our views; however pronounced our separations. I feel that we should be grateful, whatever our differences, to be facing the sea — this sea; this enemy — in this bark. I do believe that the time is overdue to profess our continuing faith in this country and in its institutions ... (p. 27).

At another point in the book, Buckley puts it more succinctly, "But the historical responsibility of the conservatives is altogether clear: It is to defend what is best in America" (p. 139). That Buckley has done with charm and brilliance. In sum, the Governor listeth, and the resulting influence has been considerable.

John P. East is an Associate Professor of Political Science at East Carolina University and has contributed to the *Wall Street Journal*, *Human Events*, and *New Guard*.

Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?: American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century, edited by William F. Buckley, Jr. Indianapolis & New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970. 554 pp. \$8.50.

Reviewed by Wesley McDonald

To those readers who are not accustomed to thinking of William F. Buckley, Jr. as an academic scholar of conservative thought, but rather as a writer who has assisted in making the conservative vision of reality more palatable to the general public, this book may come as a surprise. Unlike Buckley's most recent books, this is

not another collection of his witty and penetrating essays on the political issues of our time, but a collection of essays written instead by a variety of conservative thinkers each striving to grasp what is the essence of the conservative position on the important political and ethical issues of the twentieth century. The result has been, as Buckley acknowledges, a book which "is a single student's understanding of what is the flesh and blood of conservatism in America ..."

The book has something of an academic, even textbookish quality about it. It contains five chapters into which the essays are grouped, each with an introductory essay by Buckley. The themes that he has chosen to highlight by these chapters are the intellectual background of conservative thought, the nature of the state, the question of order in society, the relevance of social science and the spiritual crisis. His helpful introductory essays serve to acquaint the reader with the issues and the particular philosophical stance of each contributor.

Buckley's choice of authors and essays for this collection is for the most part praiseworthy. In his selections he has avoided being unduly prejudiced in favor of either the traditional or libertarian brand of conservative thinking. The contributors have been adequately balanced between both viewpoints. Also, Buckley wisely has chosen those authors noted especially for their academic, thoughtful analysis of conservative problems. By not including articles written by certain popular conservative political leaders, Buckley has kept the nature of this collection within the confines of a serious, thoughtful study by those minds who are busy distilling the very essence of the philosophy of conservatism. If the literature of conservatism endures, certainly many of the essays included in this volume will long outlive the current polemical issues of our time.

To many readers who are well-read in conservative literature, most of the contributors to this volume will be familiar and their essays might already be old favorites (many might be rightly called the "classics"). The entries include essays by Wills, Bozell, Meyer, Oakeshott, Hazlitt, Friedman, Kendall, Burnham, van den Haag, Kirk, Kenner, Strauss, Voegelin, Hart, Chambers, and others who have penned the literature basic to modern conservative thought. In addition, the book serves the purpose of putting all these various illuminating pieces under one cover

rather than leaving sundry periodicals.

Although Buckley in this collection (for every conservative nominee for such) several authors whose. In particular, Friedrich von Mises, Paul F. Bitt, T. S. Eliot (in addition and the it certainly the late seem to be essential should have been Southern Fugitive I'll Take My Share often neglected in conservative thought.

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rather than leaving them scattered among sundry periodicals and books.

Although Buckley admits that the entries in this collection will not please everyone (for every conservative will have his own nominees for such a book), there are several authors whose absence is sorely missed. In particular, Friedrich von Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Paul Elmer More, Irving Babbitt, T. S. Eliot (what about his essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent?"), and certainly the late Richard Weaver would seem to be essential inclusions. There also should have been some mention of the Southern Fugitive writers and their book, *I'll Take My Stand*, which has been too often neglected in studies of American conservative thought.

The book's major defect, and extremely disappointing, was not to have one of Weaver's articles included. How a book which attempts to illuminate the very best of conservative thought could be compiled without one of Weaver's elegant and penetrating essays is hard to comprehend. His special brand of Southern conservative thought has recently provoked numerous thoughtful essays by scholars now sifting through his literary output (which was surprisingly small since Weaver was a slow writer). Weaver's book, *Ideas Have Consequences* (1948), was one of the first post-war attacks on the prevailing liberal dogmas and one of the essential ingredients in the revival of imaginative conservative thought. To leave Weaver out of this book omits much of what makes up contemporary conservatism.

In his introduction to *Did You Ever See A Dream Walking?* Buckley is as informative and witty as his loyal readers have come to expect. He attempts to draw together the various intellectual strands of conservative thought in an effort to define and describe what conservatism is. He also enters into a lengthy and detailed discussion of *National Review's* expulsion of the John Birch Society and the Ayn Rand Objectivists from the fold. If this section has value, it must be that it establishes once and for all the fact that the conservative abhors the fanatic of the far-right as much as he objects to their counterparts on the left. But these matters are mere internequine conflicts that conservatives have had with small bands of far-right thinkers and not

reflective of the growth of imaginative conservative thought. Ayn Rand and the John Birch Society are curios in political thought and not really major concerns to conservatives—thus the essay would have been much more useful if it had utilized this space to explore the historic intellectual roots of contemporary conservatism.

Another minor disappointment in the book was the general editors' foreword. In their attempt to describe the nature of the book, they take what looks suspiciously like a condescending view of conservatism, linking it with such minor ideologies as the New Left, Black nationalism, and "other forms of dissent." Conservatism, like the others, they write, "deserves a hearing from any student of American history." Indeed it does, but conservatism, like liberalism, is not just some passing form of faddish dissent, but is fundamental to our understanding of the American political tradition. The editors' understanding of the essence of the conservative philosophy, one further suspects, is not a sure one. They inform the reader that it has a "deep streak of romantic utopianism." The use of the term "romantic utopianism" is vague and utterly inappropriate, suggesting, perhaps unwittingly, that conservatives are unrealistic dreamers ready to wrench reality to fit their political dogmas. This is radicalism, not conservatism.

But these are small matters in a book that has many strengths. Certainly one of the more remarkable qualities of the book is Buckley's excellent and useful introductory essays to each of the chapters. In these, he successfully and often brilliantly draws together the divergent approaches of each contributor to the development of conservative philosophy. Buckley has also included a complete bibliography of recent conservative literature which will aid in gaining a broad historical understanding of conservative theory.

This book is a welcome and needed addition to the growing body of recent conservative literature. It is by far more extensive and complete than other books of conservative essays recently compiled. As a source book, it will serve well the student, scholar, and casual reader anxious to have at his fingertips the very best of this century's conservative wisdom. Furthermore, another use for this book, which is strongly

recommended, would be as a textbook for university courses which purport to be about the major political thought of our time. There are few books in the conservative library which would be better suited for this purpose.

W. Wesley McDonald is a doctoral candidate at the Graduate School of Public Affairs of the State University of New York/Albany, and editor of *The Helderberg Review*.

COMMUNISM AND EASTERN EUROPE

Involuntary Journey to Siberia by Andrei Amalrik, translated by Manyi Harari and Max Hayward. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970. 297 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Suzanne Hruby

The young social critic Andrei A. Amalrik belongs to the growing number of dissident Soviet intellectuals in the post-Khrushchev era who have been imprisoned, exiled to Siberia, or confined in insane asylums for daring to hold opinions that do not conform to those of the Soviet government. He is, unquestionably, one of the most articulate and defiant representatives of the political opposition spreading throughout the Soviet Union. His book, *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*, written during his years of exile in Siberia, 1965-67, and completed on his return to Moscow, is the first circumstantial account to reach the West about what it is like to be exiled.

In 1965, Amalrik was arrested in Moscow for writing plays which the police described as "patently anti-Soviet and pornographic." But the real reason was the fact that Amalrik is a nonconformist in his literary and artistic tastes, has shown an active interest in abstract painters, and occasionally met with foreigners, including an American diplomat. The criminal charge was dropped, however, and he was finally exiled to Siberia for two and a half years

on a charge of "parasitism," that is, failure to have regular employment. While working in Siberia as a farm laborer he began to compile notes for *Involuntary Journey*.

In this book he describes, with amazing precision, the events leading up to his imprisonment, trial, and subsequent exile to a collective farm (kolkhoz) near Tomsk. The first half of Amalrik's autobiographical account, which deals with the circumstances surrounding the trial, provides a fascinating glimpse into the legal process and the growth of bureaucratic pluralism in the Soviet Union today. Amalrik cites evidence that there is a tendency for the post-Stalin bureaucracy to take some account of the law in its dealings with people. Unlike the days of brazen arbitrariness under Stalin when people were arrested without charge, Russians now are no longer arrested without some technical reason. The police and the bureaucrats desire the appearance of observing due legal process. As one of the officials in Amalrik's case stated: "The Committee (i.e. the secret police) isn't what it was. In the old days you would have disappeared for twenty years . . ."

Another interesting phenomenon which Amalrik describes is the development of interdepartmental rivalry in the bureaucracy. He shows that in his own experience the secret police and the ordinary police often worked against each other's interests, even to the point of fighting against each other. Amalrik's case proves that an individual who is ready to insist on his rights can, to some degree, exploit these bureaucratic rivalries. In fact, an appeal was filed over the verdict in Amalrik's case, and after he had undergone eighteen months of exile, the Supreme Court of the RSFSR overturned the decision of the People's Court which had expelled him from Moscow.

The second half of *Involuntary Journey* describes Amalrik's life and work among the people of the collective farms, the most underprivileged segment of the population next to the prisoners and exiles. Few Soviet intellectuals have had the opportunity Amalrik had to observe and participate in the life of the collective farmers, who make up almost one half of Soviet Russia's population. In contrast to the favorable depiction of collective farms in Soviet publications, Amalrik paints a dismal picture of peasant life: "The present kolkhoz system is based, in effect, on forced labor, and the peasants are totally without rights. They have no right to move except to another kolkhoz; their identity cards (identification

papers which are travel) are kept never handed to peasants have on the farm: they H the so-called "elec merging or separa hoes, the fixing anything whatever

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papers which are required for any kind of travel) are kept at the kolkhoz office and never handed to them . . . Nor do the peasants have any rights in administering the farm: they have no say whatever in the so-called "election" of the chairman, the merging or separation of neighboring kolkhozes, the fixing of their rates of pay, or anything whatever."

In *Involuntary Journey*, Amalrik gives a compelling and objective account of what it actually means to be a nonconformist intellectual and exile in the Soviet Union. He has deliberately chosen a sober, dispassionate style of writing, for he does not wish to impose his ideas on his readers. Instead, he hopes that the facts, recorded without bias and without resentment, will speak for themselves and that his readers will arrive at their own conclusions. Furthermore, there is not a trace of self-pity, self-centeredness, or righteous indignation toward the Soviet regime in the book, which is in itself quite a remarkable achievement for a man who has gone through such a frightening experience. This, then, is what is unique about Amalrik's case — his fearlessness and his extraordinary powers of perception. But his experience, by itself, is not unique, for as he points out: "What happened to me is nothing surprising or exceptional in my country. But that is just why it is interesting. To me, what happened seems at times absurd to the point of being monstrous, and at others, completely natural."

Involuntary Journey ends on a relatively happy note. In 1966, Amalrik was permitted to return to Moscow, where he lived with his Tartar wife, Gyuzel. Much has happened since then, however. Two of his books were published abroad: his account of his exile, and *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, a polemical essay in which he openly predicts the imminent downfall of the Soviet system as a result of internal social pressures and a war with China. In May, 1970, Amalrik was again arrested and charged with "disseminating falsehoods derogatory to the Soviet state and social system." Last November in Sverdlosk., an industrial city 850 miles from his home in Moscow, he was sentenced to three years at hard labor. This time it is highly unlikely that any appeal to the courts will be successful. Whether or not he is permitted paper and pencil during his imprisonment, it is almost certain that he will be preparing a new *Involuntary Journey*, for he is a man of unusual courage, stubbornness, and an

intense belief in individual dignity and freedom that has been the hallmark of the great rebels of all times.

Suzanne Hruby is a student at Barnard College majoring in Russian and Chinese area studies with a special interest in comparative communism.

In Quest of Justice: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union Today, Abraham Brumberg, ed. New York, Washington and London: Praeger Publishers, 1970. xiv + 477 pages. \$10.95.

Winter in Prague: Documents on Czechoslovak Communism in Crisis, Robin A. Remington, ed. Cambridge, Mass. and London: M.I.T. Press. xxvii + 473 pages.

Reviewed by Charles A. Moser

These extensive and valuable collections of documents should be perused by anyone wishing to understand the nature of the current ferment in European communism and its prospects for the future. Although the editors sympathize with the ideas of the non-communist or anti-communist dissenters, they also include numerous statements by the orthodox; many of these latter are so predictable and repetitive, however, that they might easily have been omitted. Prefaced by several commentaries from the pens of individual specialists in Soviet Affairs, *In Quest of Justice* contains documents dealing with the Moscow trials of 1967, the Ginsburg-Galanskov trial, the problem of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union, especially the Ukrainians and the Crimean Tartars, religious dissent, literary censorship, opposition to the Czech invasion, and the literature of the underground. *Winter in Prague* includes theoretical formulations produced before the reforms of January 1968, official party documents, articles by more radical democratic theoreticians of the "Prague spring," various statements of justification published by the invading communist powers after August 21, and reactions to the invasion, both favorable and adverse, by communist par-

ties across the globe. All in all, each volume contains a very substantial amount of material.

Anyone who reads *Winter in Prague* carefully and who genuinely understands the nature of communist ideology must conclude that the Czech invasion far from being something "irrational" or "incomprehensible," as many of our Soviet specialists would have it, was an absolute historical necessity from the Soviet point of view (the fact that many Czechs also thought the Soviets would never dare invade is a sad commentary on how little some people learn about communism even after 20 years of communist rule). Such documents as the lengthy official Action Program of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of April 5, 1968, and especially the writings of Vaclav Havel (who called for the achievement of democratic socialism through a "regenerated and socialist social structure patterned on the two-party model") and Ivan Svitak (who advocated a "permanent transformation of totalitarian dictatorship into a European system with a democratic form of government") show that the Soviets faced what was from their standpoint a truly counterrevolutionary situation, one which, if allowed to continue unchecked, would almost certainly have spread to the other countries of the East European bloc and to the Soviet Union itself. Brought up against this challenge to their central dogmas, the East Europeans and Soviet communist leaders merely did what they had to do. Most of the pro-Soviet statements by leading foreign communists are unconstructive with the exception of Fidel Castro's comments. Castro was honest enough to admit that the invasion was a clear violation of international law, but argued that circumstances required it, and then expressed the fear that Soviet leaders might not take similarly strong action if an analogous situation were to arise in his own country.

Sections of *Winter in Prague* are headed by political cartoons of the type which the Czechs are such masters at producing. Example: a battered and bandaged man says to a friend: "He beat me like a dog. Like a dog, I tell you. But I didn't give in. I let him have it. 'The truth will prevail,' I told him." The Czech political theoreticians, both communist and non-communist, are civilized men, open to contemporary western thought and mindful of their country's democratic past. Any western political scientist of non-communist persuasion would

feel quite at home with them. But when the crisis came, the Czechs were not about to risk their lives for their ideals. They were much too civilized for that.

The Russian dissenters, by contrast, are less sophisticated than the Czechs, but at least small numbers of them have reached the point where they are prepared to give their lives for their principles if necessary. Therein lies the chief hope for the future of the Soviet Union, and a witness to the greatness of the Russians and the Russian Jews. The raw courage of such people as Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Alexander Ginzburg is something most of us in the west can comprehend only dimly. In the book under review they are joined by more obscure figures, such as the Evangelical Baptist P. S. Overchuk, stripped of what few privileges he enjoyed in a prison camp because he refused to stop praying; or the religious writer A. E. Levitin, who remains quite uncowed in a remarkable conversation with several high Soviet officials, including some from the KGB (threatened with legal reprisals for his articles, he replies: "All of that is your affair; mine is writing. Yours is to react to it"). The realm of political possibility open to the Russian dissenters is for the moment more limited than that formerly enjoyed by the Czech dissenters. But they make some headway. Under Stalin they would have been simply liquidated, sucked into the abyss of non-being. Now the regime hesitates: it suppresses them harshly enough, but so far it does not exterminate them physically. The fact that Ginzburg could smuggle out a short tape-recording from a remote concentration camp to be played on the recent CBS television special on the Russian dissenters is an indication that even the secret police apparatus is not immune to their appeal. Whether significant changes in the Soviet system will occur through the efforts of such men as Solzhenitsyn, Ginzburg and Levitin remains to be seen. What is certain is that without them nothing will change.

Charles A. Moser is Associate Professor of Russian at George Washington University. He is the author of *Antinihilism in the Russian Novel of the 1860's*; *Pisemsky: A Provincial Realist* and the forthcoming *A History of Bulgarian Literature: 1865-1944*.

Stalinism in Prague
Eugen Loebel, Translated by Michael. New York: 327 pp. \$6.00.

Reviewed by

Frank Barnett of the Information Center observed that man small nation taken or Soviets every sin lize that our freed granted. The out Lithuanian sailor U.S. in November the U. S. Coast mentors, though i an exceptionally st lines the urgent n the public to be ll real nature of Soviet imperialism.

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Stalinism in Prague: The Loebl Story, by
Eugen Loebl. Translated by Maurice Mi-
chael. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1969.
327 pp. \$6.00.

Reviewed by Blahoslav Hruby

Frank Barnett of the National Security Information Center in New York recently observed that many Americans must see a small nation taken over by the Communists or Soviets every six months in order to realize that our freedoms cannot be taken for granted. The outrageous betrayal of the Lithuanian sailor seeking asylum in the U.S. in November, 1970 and his return by the U. S. Coast Guard to his Soviet tormentors, though it must be considered as an exceptionally stupid blunder, still underlines the urgent need for U. S. officials and the public to be better informed about the real nature of international Communism, Soviet imperialism and colonialism.

It would be a real tragedy for the U.S. and the free world if the people, tired and frustrated by the long war in Vietnam, the Middle East conflict and other tensions, would in their desperation blindly follow the apostles of one-sided coexistence and dialogue, and of appeasement with the USSR and Communist world. For appeasement has been and always will be a certain road to defeat and surrender. We have to remind ourselves constantly of the recent lost battles for freedom and try to learn from the mistakes of the past.

The tragedies of Czechoslovakia in 1938, 1948 and 1968 are examples par excellence from which even a great nation like the U.S. can learn a great deal in the present struggle for survival of our freedoms. The Communist putsch in Prague of February 1948 — master-minded by Moscow — the following twenty years of Stalinist darkness over Czechoslovakia, the amazing Czechoslovak Spring (January-August 1968) crushed by the Soviet-led invasion (called "fraternal aid" by Moscow) in August 1968, while the free world looked helplessly on — all these tragic events must not be forgotten. The freedom fighters in Czechoslovakia and other Communist-enslaved countries must not be written off. For if there is any hope for the future behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union then it is where people defy the Soviet and Communist dictatorship and want to live as free and sovereign nations.

It is, therefore, gratifying to see a number of books appearing in this country which are concerned with Czechoslovakia, her experiment with "socialism with a human face," Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and related problems. The impact of the Soviet crime still has serious repercussions provoking opposition in the free as well as the Communist world, including the USSR. The Czechoslovak Spring and its brutal suppression by Soviet tanks and secret police might be a turning point in the history of the international Communist movement and the Soviet Union.

One of these new additions to the literature concerning Czechoslovakia's recent history is a chilling report by Eugen Loebl. The author, himself a member of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, gives a detailed account of the process of degeneration and dehumanization of the Communist system in Czechoslovakia, brought, held in power and manipulated by the madman in Moscow, Joseph Stalin, and his successors.

Loebl's story is in fact a detailed description of the preparations for and the proceedings at the famous Slansky show trial in Prague in 1952. In this trial Rudolf Slansky, the Secretary General of the Communist Party and Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, and thirteen other prominent Communists including Eugen Loebl, a life-long Communist, leading Marxist economist and Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, were charged with high treason, espionage, sabotage, and collaboration with the U. S., British, French and other intelligence services, Titoist "fascists," Zionists, etc. They had never committed such crimes. All this was fiction prepared by the secret police. Eleven of these leading Communists of Czechoslovakia were condemned to death on Stalin's orders after confessions to the imaginary crimes were extracted from them through most inhuman methods: savage beatings, starvation, denial of sufficient sleep, drugs and an almost complete annihilation of their personalities.

While eleven of these Czechoslovak Communists were executed, Loebl was one of the three lucky ones who were condemned to life imprisonment. Thus, Loebl is in a position to tell in detail about this most sordid side of Communism which some people, even in the U.S. have the impudence to recommend as an answer to national and international problems.

This is not a fiction or a horror story. Loebl tells us "just like it was" what kind of ordeal he and his colleagues went

through, without any embellishment. When the prisoners were completely broken by physical and psychological tortures, as well as drugs, they confessed everything the Soviet secret police agents wanted to hear. They not only confessed but they asked to be sent to death for their terrible crimes against the Party. When the confessions were completed — it was not an easy job for the secret police because some of the accused resisted to the last minute — until their spirits were broken — they started to memorize their confessions to their alleged crimes as if for a play. Since Stalin wanted a perfect showtrial there were many rehearsals and the secret police took care of every little detail. They even gave better food to the prisoners and put them under sunlamps to make them look better for the big "show." Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels, who themselves learnt a great deal from the Soviet secret police, would be, undoubtedly, quite pleased to witness such a performance.

Loebl's testimony should be read by Americans of all ages and it should be discussed by students, in particular. And after reading it, this reviewer recommends seeing an excellent French movie, "The Confession," by Costa-Gavras, with Yves Montand and Simone Signoret, based on the story of Artur London, another leading Czechoslovak Communist, who like Loebl was condemned to life imprisonment at the same trial. Unbelievably horrible experiences of Loebl and London in the hands of Stalinist "justice" are being "played" before your eyes with such intensity that you almost cry to see people so brutally humiliated and dehumanized by other human beings. It is difficult to imagine that somebody reading Loebl's testimony and seeing so much crime perpetrated against human beings in the name of Communism could ever believe that Communism has anything to offer.

Loebl's testimony and testimonies of others who went through this inferno of madness are, perhaps, the best medicine which can be offered to those who become addicts of revolution and Communism. There is still a considerable number of "useful idiots" among us, as Lenin used to call all kinds of people who were ready to support his and various causes without examining and understanding them. They were useful to him but he called them idiots. A book like *Stalinism in Prague* might help in their cure.

The testimony of Loebl would have been

stronger if he would have avoided in his brief preface a certain degree of inconsistency. He condemns "pseudosocialism" or "distorted socialism" in pre-Dubcek Czechoslovakia and Soviet occupation of that country "which had been made into a mirror in which the true face of Soviet socialism was reflected clearly in all of its nakedness and with all its deformities" (p. 8). But in going too far in his condemnation of the Soviet and other Communist systems, Loebl should have expressed a logical conclusion: the Soviet system does not work and it cannot be repaired. For in the last analysis the message of the Czechoslovak Spring was not Communism but democracy based on social justice — which abolished censorship of news media and secret police, two basic ingredients of any Communist system. This is why Brezhnev, Kosygin, Ulbricht et al. invaded Czechoslovakia.

Blahoslav Hruby, a Presbyterian minister, is the Managing Editor of *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas* (475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027), the only scholarly publication in English bringing authentic information on religious situation in Communist countries. RCDA recently published a number of important documents on religious dissent, and protests against the violation of human rights, which were smuggled out of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine and other Communist countries. He has contributed to publications in the U. S., Czechoslovakia and France and was an editor and broadcaster for the French Radio in Paris and Radio Free Europe.

ECONOMICS

The War on the Poor, by Clarence B. Carson. New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969. 283 pp. \$5.95.

Reviewed by David Glasner

In his book, *The War on the Poor*, Dr. Clarence B. Carson, professor of history at Grove City College, has chronicled what he calls the one-hundred years war of the

government against government's good what it has done. It argues that almost government to aid the unlikely to accomplish likely to injure the is because any intervention in the economy some of the economy to the public at large. The poor are the reason this because they are interpret false signs the consequences of misinformation.

Consider the nineteenth century when land at less than market the government increase in the failure largely from the price of land under cultivation expansion of farm prices and incomes responsible for the late nineteenth century the government encouraged farmers and surpluses were pluses, the government acreage controls who retired land from land available for sorted to more capital. This policy helped of the poor in at least ers with more land retiring more land more likely than to afford the machine capital intensive in rural poor to the ated.

Similarly, government wages through enclosure of labor union minimum wage laws which wages only to the caused unemployment workers into industry nor covered by thereby forcing into dustries.

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ir on the Poor, Dr. fessor of history at as chronicled what d years war of the

government against the poor. Granting the government's good intentions in most of what it has done to the poor, Dr. Carson argues that almost any attempt by the government to aid the poor not only is highly unlikely to accomplish its objectives but is likely to injure the poor in the process. This is because any interference by the government in the economy will tend to falsify some of the economic signals that are sent to the public at large in the form of prices. The poor are the most likely to suffer from this because they are least able to correctly interpret false signals and suffer most from the consequences of acting on the basis of misinformation.

Consider the Homestead Acts of the nineteenth century which gave away or sold land at less than market value. In so doing the government induced an enormous increase in the farm population (drawn largely from the poor) and in the amount of land under cultivation. The consequent expansion of farm production drove farm prices and incomes down and was mainly responsible for the "farm problem" of the late nineteenth century. Later attempts by the government to raise farm prices encouraged farmers to increase production and surpluses were created. To reduce surpluses, the government imposed crop and acreage controls and subsidized farmers who retired land from cultivation. With less land available for cultivation, farmers resorted to more capital intensive methods. This policy helped the rich at the expense of the poor in at least two ways: rich farmers with more land got larger subsidies for retiring more land and rich farmers were more likely than poor farmers to be able to afford the machinery needed for more capital intensive methods. The flow of the rural poor to the cities was thus accelerated.

Similarly, government efforts to raise wages through encouragement and protection of labor union monopolies and minimum wage laws have succeeded in raising wages only to the extent that they have caused unemployment or forced more workers into industries neither unionized nor covered by minimum wage laws, thereby forcing wages down in those industries.

Driven from rural areas to the cities, the poor have not escaped the war waged against them. Building codes and zoning laws have increased the cost and reduced the available supply of housing. Where rent controls have been imposed the hous-

ing supply has been reduced even more. Furthermore, under the guise of urban renewal and highway construction, hundreds of thousands of low cost dwelling units have been demolished only to be replaced by high and middle income housing developments and new business complexes while the old residents have had to move to other, more crowded slums than those they had previously inhabited.

Finally, having used force and coercion to achieve its economic goals, having sanctioned the use of force and coercion by labor unions to achieve their goals and having fostered false hopes by unredeemable promises to abolish poverty, the government has helped to create the climate in which resort to mass violence and insurrection by urban blacks could occur, which violence, of course, is aimed mainly at the poor themselves.

David Glasner is a graduate student and teaching assistant in economics at UCLA.

Man Versus the Welfare State, by Henry Hazlitt. New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969. 225 pp. \$6.00.

Reviewed by David Glasner

One of America's foremost economic commentators and libertarians, Henry Hazlitt, has written a short book explaining how certain kinds of government interventions in the economy create distortions which, in turn, become the pretext for new and more stringent governmental interventions and controls in the economy. Mr. Hazlitt demonstrates this tendency in several contexts. For example, government granted immunities to labor unions from the general laws against violence, coercion, and restraint of trade enable unions to gain for their members increases in *money* wages which will cause unemployment unless they are (in effect) nullified by increases in the quantity of money sufficient to raise prices to a level such that *real* wages will have been reduced enough to permit full employment. Meanwhile, the inflation that is caused by increasing the quantity of money elicits demands for governmentally imposed wage and price controls which, if they are im-

posed, will inevitably require further and increasingly arbitrary governmental controls over individual production and consumption decisions. Inflation also reduces the value of accumulated savings, making the provision for one's own future more difficult and creating pressure for the government to provide for the care of the elderly, whose wealth has been taxed away by the inflation, through some form of social security.

Man Versus the Welfare State also contains a vigorous attack on proposals for a guaranteed income and for the government to become the employer of last resort; cogent (though perhaps not conclusive) criticisms of the negative income tax; an excellent discussion of "the fallacy of foreign aid;" and a well-stated argument for a return to the old-fashioned gold standard as the only way of preventing the government from arbitrarily increasing the quantity of money.

The book, however, suffers because of its brevity which is at least partly responsible for its tendency towards oversimplification. Because of this, those disagreeing with Mr. Hazlitt's position beforehand will be less likely to be persuaded by the book than if his position was argued more carefully and in more detail, although those already convinced of the general validity of the book's thesis will no doubt find much that is informative and valuable even in those points on which they may disagree with the author.

Employment Effects of Minimum Wage Rates, by John M. Peterson and Charles T. Stewart, Jr. Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1969. 171 pp. \$2.00.

Reviewed by Tommy W. Rogers

Both advocates and opponents of proposals to raise minimum wage rates have had little difficulty in finding support for their arguments. Federal minimum wages are now accepted as a fact of life. Their failure to produce general calamity in labor markets has won them support as a beneficial reform in a growing economy. Broad disagreement continues over questions concerning the level and coverage of the federal wage minimum.

One reason for the confusion is the high degree of emotionalism in the debate which arises from the zeal of reformers and par-

tisans. Reformers tend to see achievement of standards through federal wage laws as a question of will rather than means. Reformers impatiently brush aside the question of whether a minimum wage really helps the poor as evidence of ill will toward the poor. While the conflict of economic interests is often camouflaged in the language of class warfare, the basic conflict is between competing worker groups within low-wage industries, competing employers, or competing geographic regions. The slogan "stopping unfair competition" is indicative of a major political motivation behind minimum wage laws.

Government studies have generally focused on the extent of wage increases induced by the imposition of higher minimum wages rather than the total extent of wage increases in the economy. The issue is not whether some workers gain, but whether workers as a group benefit. Nor is the central issue whether man-hours worked increases or decreases. Given a growing economy, it is whether they changed more or less than they would have changed in the absence of a minimum. Peterson and Stewart, through an extensive survey of government and private studies, examine this question in several contexts.

The authors conclude that the impression of most government studies that federal minimum wage policy has produced no adverse employment effects is erroneous. Minimum wage rates produce gains for some groups of workers at the expense of others. Adverse employment effects are greatest among disadvantaged worker groups who are the least favorably situated in terms of marketable skills or location. The unqualified assumption that statutory minimums help the poor must be denied. The regressive distribution of the costs and gains brings into question both the wisdom and equity of such minimums. "Policymakers would be advised to examine critically the contradiction between large public expenditures designed to help small businesses, depressed areas, and disadvantaged workers on the one hand and minimum wage policy that harms these same groups on the other."

Tommy W. Rogers is Associate Professor of Sociology at Georgia Southern College. His reviews and articles have appeared in many scholarly journals and periodicals.

HI

Inside the Third Reich
Speer, translated by Winston. New York: New York Company, 1970.

Reviewed

Albert Speer, a highly literate, cool-headed man with a keen sense of humor, is a captive and incisive writer. He is a gifted, gentle man who has been in power over a decade as a talented and trusted architect of the Third Reich.

Speer has, with the definiteness of his lieutenants, Himmler and the others, a sense of duty and a sense of responsibility. He is a man who has been in the center of the most important events of the last decade. He is a man who has been in the center of the most important events of the last decade. He is a man who has been in the center of the most important events of the last decade.

On another level, the book may be read as a account of the responsibility for the effort functioning in an understanding of the political system. Speer's power structure is conventional, but his political behavior is the mazes, tangled and measured that system.

On yet another level, the book may be read for its insight into the evolution of the state. The political power, and the

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HISTORY

Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs by Albert Speer, translated by Richard & Clara Winston. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1970. 596 pp. \$12.50.

Reviewed by Wayne H. Valis

Albert Speer is an urbane, sensitive, highly literate, compassionate man. He has a keen sense of history and a knack for perceptive and incisive criticism. That such a gifted, gentle individual could serve for over a decade as one of Adolf Hitler's most talented and trusted aides is part of the fascination of *Inside the Third Reich*.

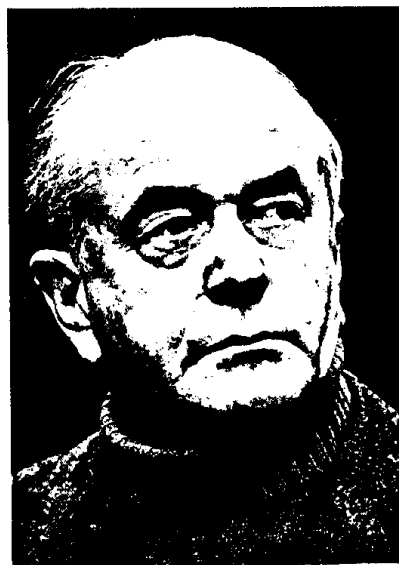
Speer has, quite simply, presented us with the definitive portrait of Hitler and his lieutenants. Goering, Goebbels, Hess, Himmler and the rest, all are perfectly captured and presented to us. As merely a descriptive work the book would be invaluable; the wonder is that it is equally valuable on a number of other levels. On one level the reader may enjoy the book as a modern version of Faust: young, ambitious architect meets satanic political leader, falls under his incredibly intense charismatic spell, "sells" his talents for power and prestige, achieves the rank of Minister of Armaments and War Production, grows to hate Hitler even while becoming more and more caught up in the Nazi system, then must share in the final debacle and subsequent Nuremberg Trials. As a highly personal statement the memoirs are scarcely rivaled.

On another level *Inside the Third Reich* may be read as a history of Nazism, an account of the war by the man most responsible for keeping the German war effort functioning so remarkably well, or for an understanding of the strange Nazi political system. Speer's description of the Nazi power structure lays to rest most of the conventional wisdom concerning the German political hierarchy, showing as it does the mazes, tangles, and intrigues which permeated that system.

On yet another level the book may be read for its highly relevant discussion of the evolution of the modern totalitarian state. The peculiar combination of technological capability, demonic lust for power, and messianic ideology that com-

prises such a system reached its first fruition in Nazi Germany, and Albert Speer was a key engineer in its creation. He bids us avoid his errors and build on his insights when dealing with contemporary political issues.

On its deepest level the book is a philosophical discussion of ethics and personal responsibility. Unlike the rest of the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg, Speer acknowledged his guilt and admitted responsibility for his actions. The questions which haunted Speer during the War are with us today: when should a man "obey orders" and when should he defy them? When must a man



Albert Speer

A key engineer in the creation of Nazi Germany; he bids us avoid his errors.

speak out, and, after realizing he must do so, what is his responsibility for maintaining silence?

In this excellently translated and illustrated work the reader will be fascinated and horrified, provoked and challenged. Anyone interested in Nazism, World War II, modern history, or extremely well-written autobiography should read this book. By writing this masterpiece Albert Speer has, in some small measure, partially atoned for his service in the cause of one of the

two most inhumane and monstrous systems ever created by man. For this, at least, we are in his debt.

Mr. Valis is Editor of the *Intercollegiate Review*.

The Assassination of John F. Kennedy, The Reasons Why, by Albert H. Newman. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1970. 621 pp. \$10.00.

Reviewed by Reed J. Irvine

If John F. Kennedy had been murdered by a fanatical admirer of Adolph Hitler, the Warren Commission would have had no difficulty in determining the motive for the crime. The world would have been spared the publication of volume after volume designed to show that the wrong man had been blamed for the crime. Instead, volumes would have been written denouncing the fomenters of hate that had twisted the mind of the killer and inspired him to commit the evil deed.

Lee Harvey Oswald, as this book shows, was a fanatical admirer of Fidel Castro. He read Castro's speeches, laden with hatred for the United States and John F. Kennedy, in the Trotskyite paper, *The Militant*. He had a short-wave radio that could pick up Havana broadcasts, and his habits suggested that he spent a good deal of time listening to Havana's nightly denunciations of America. The Warren Commission, along with many others, had great difficulty in determining why such an individual should want to kill John F. Kennedy. Albert Newman is the first author to explore with great care the way in which Lee Harvey Oswald's mind was warped by political formenters of hate who, unknowingly, inspired him to commit murder.

Newman traces Oswald's political thought processes from the time he was first attracted to Marxist thinking by a pamphlet on the Rosenberg spy case that he read at the tender age of 13. He shows Oswald to have been an avid reader of Marxist literature and an admirer of communism even while he served in the Marine Corps. His views were known, but nothing was

done to re-educate him. After defecting to the Soviet Union, Oswald became somewhat disillusioned with the Soviet brand of communism, but after his return to the U. S. he became an ardent Castro-Trotskyite.

His first major political crime was the attempted assassination of General Edwin A. Walker, who was pictured in the communist press as "the fuchrer of the ultra-reactionary forces" in the U. S. Newman fits together impressive evidence to show that Oswald planned to flee to Cuba after killing Walker, confident that he would receive a hero's welcome as the slayer of "America's no. 1 fascist." That plan failed when his shot narrowly missed the General. Newman also cites evidence to suggest that Oswald had accomplices in this crime, and he suggests that those looking for a conspiracy would have done better to have probed the attempted slaying of Walker.

Newman reminds us that although Moscow muted its anti-Kennedy propaganda in 1963, Havana and Peking continued their hymns of hate for the American President. Oswald, fortuitously, found himself in a position to eliminate the enemy of his idol, Fidel Castro. This time, he did not miss. Newman develops the theory that Oswald then set out to kill General Walker and that it was to the Walker home that he was headed when he was intercepted by police officer J. D. Tippit. Newman has combined a painstaking sifting of a mountain of facts about Oswald with deductive reasoning that fits his behavior into a believable pattern. What he comes up with cannot be proved, but it makes more sense than the theorizing of the Warren Commission and the writers who have been blind to the connection between Oswald's deeds and his dedication to communism. The book is valuable not only for the light it sheds on the assassination, but also for its demonstration of the impact that ideas have on human conduct.

Reed J. Irvine is a professional economist who has written extensively on the problems of developing countries and on communist strategy and thought. His articles and reviews have appeared in numerous publications.

Twelve Against Empiricists, 1898-1900, by New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968. 310 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by The

Twelve Against Empiricists, 1898-1900 is a historical scholarship. Nevins Prize, a very high honor. The Society of Americanists, the work explores the lives of twelve men whose time ranged from sequential. For this must be lauded; for *personae*, it must be

The dozen consists as: editor of *The National Geographic*, Francis Adams, William James, Edward Carnegie, George F. Thomas Reed; and not really merit the Harrison and John two were included if Harrison was treasurer-President who the Philippines, yet of the century that canoe publicly opposition. To count Sherman as of any be incorrect. True, ratification treaties and courts during the had also been in fit to the United States of California (p. 11) litely describes Shrage" (p. 199) and 200). In short, sen qualification for Dozen.

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**Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperi-
alists, 1898-1900**, by Robert L. Beisner.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
1968. 310 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Theodore P. Kovaleff

*Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Impe-
rialists, 1898-1900* is certainly an addition to
historical scholarship. Winner of the Allan
Nepons Prize, a very important award con-
ferred by the Society of American Histori-
ans, the work explores the ideas and atti-
tudes of twelve men whose influence at the
time ranged from substantial to inconse-
quential. For this inquiry, the scholarship
must be lauded; for the choice of *dramatis
personae*, it must be faulted.

The dozen consisted of such luminaries
as: editor of *The Nation* E. L. Godkin, Har-
vard President Charles Eliot Norton, Char-
les Francis Adams, Jr., Carl Schurz, Wil-
liam James, Edward Atkinson, Andrew
Carnegie, George Hoar, George Boutwell,
Thomas Reed; and two whose actions do
not really merit their selection: Benjamin
Harrison and John Sherman. Why the last
two were included is puzzling. It seems as
if Harrison was treated because he was an
ex-President who opposed annexation of
the Philippines, yet it was not until the turn
of the century that the grandson of Tippe-
canoe publicly opposed the Administration's
action. To count the opposition of John
Sherman as of any import at the time must
be incorrect. True, he had advocated arbi-
tration treaties and the use of international
courts during the previous decade, yet he
had also been in favor of annexing Hawaii
to the United States as a county of the state
of California (p. 198). Beisner, himself, po-
lutely describes Sherman as "befuddled by
age" (p. 199) and "not competent" (p.
200). In short, senility had set in, hardly a
qualification for membership in the elite
Dozen.

The most glaring shortcoming of the
book, however, is not the inclusion of Sher-
man and Harrison, but the exclusion of
William Jennings Bryan. The omission is
explained in the introduction: "... outside
the halls of Congress and the speeches of
the campaign trail they [Bryan and others]
restricted themselves . . . to rather per-
functory expressions of dissent . . ." (xii).
But this reasoning does not apply to Har-
rison whose dissent would appear to have
been rather "perfunctory." A study of what

influenced Bryan to act the way he did is
badly needed; Beisner does not even hint
at what moved Bryan first to volunteer to
fight in Cuba, second, to oppose expansion,
and finally, to urge Senate approval of the
Treaty of Paris—which validated our world-
wide expansion at the expense of Spain.

The attitude that there have been no in-
tellectual contributions from west of the
Mississippi is endemic in much scholarship
today. It is thus no surprise that of the
Dozen only Carl Schurz lived across the
Mississippi; this, however, does not invali-
date the premise, for he was born and
raised in Europe. It is also interesting to
note that over 50% of the group were New
Englanders. Perhaps it is because of this
prejudice that William Jennings Bryan, a
true Westerner, is not considered.

Today, when one sees the same names
occur over and over again in the various
radical action committees, it is notable that
various members of the Dozen diligently
worked to influence their party—and when
outmaneuvered or outvoted, they either
bolted and supported a splinter-type candi-
date, as in 1872, or joined the other major
party, as in 1884. The idea of party loyalty
and working within a party to influence it
was alien to the majority of the Dozen.

It seems as if the shadow of today's Viet
Nam conflict hangs heavily over Beisner's
handling of the subject. Conceivably this is
why the author chose the topic of anti-
imperialism itself; for, in essence, his treat-
ment leads to a glorification of those who
set out to "warn a nation of optimists that
America could not escape the consequences
of its conduct." Yet none of the Twelve
would have been comfortable today with a
McGovern, McCarthy, or Kennedy. Al-
though they probably would agree on the
subject of American strategy in the Far
East, they would not have concurred on
several facets of domestic policy, for Bei-
sner shows that there was unanimity among
the Twelve only in their distrust of the
mass democracy that had come to pass in
the late nineteenth century. What they
really wanted was a government by an edu-
cated elite—namely themselves—the class
that had governed New England before the
advent of industrialization.

Theodore P. Kovaleff is a doctoral
candidate at New York University and
has contributed to several scholarly
journals.

HUMOR

Points of Rebellion, by William O. Douglas.
New York: Random House, 1970. 97 pp.
\$1.95 (paper).

Reviewed by Alfred Avins

This latest mini-book from the pen of Mr. Justice Douglas is a curious mixture of the obvious and the preposterous. My initial reaction was that I have read this all before in the *New York Times*, and that the price ought therefore to be reduced to 15¢. But in point of style and analysis, this does the



William O. Douglas

His book is "a mixture of the obvious and the preposterous."

New York Times an injustice. The price ought really to be 10¢, the cost of a *Daily News*, or even nothing, the cost of an S.D.S. pamphlet which is thrown away after looking at the first two words. For Mr. Justice Douglas' latest book proves once again that it is possible to be both juvenile and senile at one and the same time.

Mr. Justice Douglas catalogues a whole variety of unrelated problems in no particular order, such as freedom of speech, privacy, race relations, poverty, and environmental pollution. These are all attributed to the "Establishment," which he likens to King George III. It turns out that the "Establishment" consists of the familiar industrial-military complex, combined with the C.I.A., the F.B.I., and the other well-known left-wing bugbears, all engaged in a giant, nation-wide conspiracy to poison Justice Douglas' favorite trout streams. We have heard much in recent years about little old ladies in tennis shoes who think that the ills of the world are caused by the International Communist conspiracy, but they have nothing in the way of a complex compared to little old men in hiking boots who think that the ills of the nation are caused by the C.I.A., F.B.I., and industrial-military complex, all engaged in some fantastic conspiracy to ruin the country.

In conclusion, Justice Douglas says that if the "Establishment" will not mend its ways, the people should rise up in revolution as they did against King George III. Several congressmen have suggested that he ought to be impeached for this. But foolishness is not an impeachable offense because nonsense does not constitute a high crime or misdemeanor. The Senate can keep mediocre lawyers off of the Supreme Court but they cannot get silly ones off once on.

The book has no index and I defy anyone to make up a rational index or table of contents. Its chief merit is that it is small and can be thrown away easily, thus limiting the problems of municipal garbage disposal and not contributing to the Establishment's plot to further pollute the country with more rubbish.

Alfred Avins holds several doctoral degrees, has taught at Rutgers University Law School, John Marshall Law School, Chicago-Kent Law School, and is currently in private practice. He is the author of four books and over eighty articles which have appeared in many law journals in both the U. S. and abroad.

LITH

T. S. Eliot: An Introduction
Magus, by Marijane M. G. ...
Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1977.
97 pp. \$4.50.

Reviewed by

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LITERATURE

T. S. Eliot: *An Essay on the American Magus*, by Marion Montgomery. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1969. 97 pp. \$4.50.

Reviewed by G. B. Tennyson

Marion Montgomery never tells us what a magus is, or why T. S. Eliot is the American one. At least, not directly. But we know a magus is somehow related to a magician, a sorcerer, that it has Near Eastern associations, that the traditional translation for the Magi is Wise Men, and thus, when we read Professor Montgomery's reflections on T. S. Eliot we can see why he has seen fit to describe Eliot in the sub-title with a term that is suggestive of mystery and ancient knowledge and also specifically reminiscent of Christianity. For T. S. Eliot is the closest thing we have to a modern-day Magus. He is both wise and learned; he has somehow seen, with Wordsworth "into the life of things" but he also developed an idiom whereby he could transcend Wordsworth's parochialism, indeed Wordsworth's romanticism, and make his insights classical, by which we must understand that Eliot sought to go beyond time to the timeless, to engage in what he himself called "an occupation for the saint." This is Eliot's classicism; this is Eliot the Magus.

Montgomery's slender volume is more an evocation of the peculiar qualities of T. S. Eliot than a work of scholarship or even criticism, unless we understand criticism to involve an imaginative recreation of the atmosphere and character of its subject. Montgomery will not provide the glosses to Eliot's poetry that the cribbing student is seeking, nor does he in any scholarly sense advance a thesis which he "proves" by massive and adroit ordering of "evidence." Rather he seeks to capture the spirit of Eliot's poetry, especially as it evolves out of nineteenth-century romanticism and into a mode that we may call with some reservations classical. In evoking the lines of thought and poetic practices that led Eliot to this position, Professor Montgomery has much to say about nineteenth-

century poetry, which has generally been undervalued as an influence on Eliot, and much to say also about the ideas of the imagists of the early twentieth-century, the immediate seedbed of Eliot's practice. He also draws heavily on a broad philosophic background that considers Eliot's relation to Bradleian and other nineteenth-century idealisms. But all of this is done as a means to gain insight into Eliot's thought and art rather than as an influence study or exercise in literary-historical categorization.

In most ways we can but be grateful to Professor Montgomery for treating Eliot as vital intellectual and poetic force instead of as an object for dissection. But the virtue of Montgomery's method is of course at the same time its vice, and his study threatens often to divagate into trivial belle-lettristic appreciation. It is saved from this fate by a wealth of allusion and reference to the body of English and European poetry that Eliot himself taught us to recognize as having a shape, a reality, a kind of independent existence to which the poet surrenders himself in "a continual extinction of personality." When Montgomery seems most in danger of falling into the trap of belle-lettrism, his awareness of the poetic and intellectual tradition against which Eliot's work must be measured rescues him and we are assured that he has seen how Eliot has shaped the tradition, how his significance lies in the way in which the body of his work coheres with, and "ever so slightly" alters, the existing order of art.

The magus was learned because he studied the past. Because T. S. Eliot in our time has more than any other literary figure taught us what tradition is, he is a Magus. But Eliot's magic goes beyond that. Montgomery shows that Eliot has sought "to apprehend / the point of intersection of the timeless / With time." It is precisely this that the Three Magi apprehended in the Star in the East, for it is precisely this that is the meaning of the Incarnation. In "The Journey of the Magi" Eliot saw this apprehension unsettling the Wise Men, making them "no longer at ease here in the old dispensation." Eliot's poetry goes beyond this. Eliot gives us a poetry that Montgomery calls "an enactment of the journey of the Western mind itself." Professor Montgomery's book is a helpful vade-

mecum on the modern-day journey of the Magus.

G. B. Tennyson is Associate Professor of English at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of *Sartor Called Resartus, An Introduction to Drama*, and the editor of *A Carlyle Reader*. He is currently editing a volume of essays entitled *Victorian Rhetoric and Style*.

Rumors of Mortality: An Introduction to Allen Tate, by M. E. Bradford. Dallas, Texas: Argus Academic Press, 1969. 48 pp. \$1.25.

Reviewed by Raleigh W. Smith, Jr.

Too often introductory pamphlets make an encyclopedic attempt to encompass all of a writer's life and work, usually failing to illuminate either. Dr. Bradford, wisely selecting another course, has simply taken two characteristic features of Mr. Tate's life and has shown how they permeate the development of his poetry. First of all, he points out that Mr. Tate is a traditionalist, consciously aware of "the entire framework of civility and proportion . . . usually dignified by 'Christendom' or 'The West.'" Secondly, he asserts that Mr. Tate, recognizing very early modernity's "resistance to poetry in general and to traditionalist poetry in particular," deliberately chose the strategy of indirection in his verse. To demonstrate the predominance of these two themes, the author analyzes a selected group of Mr. Tate's most important poems.

The success of this approach to Allen Tate's poetry is epitomized by Dr. Bradford's criticism of a well-known poem, the "Ode to the Confederate Dead." Paradoxically the commentator begins by declaring that the "Ode" is "not an ode" nor is it "principally about the dead or a celebration of anything Southern." (Most critics have started with these assumptions.) Paying close attention to the persona of the poem rather than the title yields stronger clues regarding the poem's intent; the persona is a modern who fails to recover the past and what it could teach him. In the "Ode" autumnal images which betoken the decadence of modernity accentuate his condition. As the persona (in his interior monologue) approaches some real contact with

the past, "Tate's measure breaks down and his tropes obliterate the discursive thread." Thus, the poem is a comment upon the loss of tradition, but a comment made by means of literary form — indirectly rather than directly. Proceeding constructively along these critical lines, Dr. Bradford carefully considers many more of the poet's shorter poems and compiles a comprehensive bibliography. The man's work speaks for the man's life. The most regrettable and distracting particular of this pamphlet is the multiplicity of typographical errors. Hopefully, others in this series will be amended in this respect.

Raleigh W. Smith, Jr. is a Ph.D. candidate in Politics and Literature at the University of Dallas.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

America's Political Dilemma: From Limited to Unlimited Democracy, by Gottfried Dietze. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968. 298 pp. \$7.96.

Reviewed by Wyatt B. Durrette, Jr.

THIS is a troublesome book. Troublesome because its pages are rich in scholarship of the highest caliber; its author a renowned academician and conservative stalwart; its historical scope panoramic and its sense of tragedy exquisite. Yet, it seems to this reviewer that it suffers from a fatal misconception regarding the nature of the American experiment in self-government, the precarious mystery of liberty and the relationship between the historical confluence of Liberal ideology and modern technology, and its effect on American constitutional democracy.

Professor Dietze's thesis is that free government as originally conceived and protected by the institutional arrangements of 1787 has been systematically frayed by our democratic crusade. Middle America, in a lemming-like journey extending over the last century, has authored the decline or destruction of the separation of powers, federalism, judicial review, a foreign policy according to constitutional reason, free government, property rights, the rule of law

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sion.

The genesis of our dilemma lies in Lin-
coln's deliberate suspension of certain con-
stitutional provisions — Dietze says "in the
name of the people" — in order to save the
whole Constitution and the Union. Dietze
argues that when Lincoln rose above the
Constitution in time of "emergency" and
thereby "relativized" it; he created a prece-
dent so that a national majority through
"its" president could in the future govern
by "emergency" and in so doing eliminate
all restraints upon majoritarian dictatorship.

The tragedy, as Dietze shows, is that Lin-
coln's supra-constitutional actions may well
have been necessary to save the Union, and
that, had he lived, Lincoln probably would
have tried to reestablish the major values of
constitutionalism. Lincoln could have made
only one choice and while we may quarrel
on our historical "monday morning" with
this or that action, the "precedent" he set
was a price we paid for the War.

While I agree that there have been pro-
found and extensive changes in the institu-
tions and concepts of 1787, I cannot agree
that these are primarily attributable to the
rise of democracy. In fact, the rise of de-
mocracy may well be an *effect* rather than
a cause.

At times Professor Dietze exhibits what
appears to be rather serious misunder-
standings of minor things — "The remark-
able showing which Governor Wallace of
Alabama, campaigning for property and
states' rights rather than for segregation,
..." — and of major things — his view that
it was proper for the Court to activate the
Fourteenth Amendment to protect "prop-
erty rights" pre-FDR, but improper to ac-
tivate the same Amendment to protect "civil
rights" post-FDR. The Court is thus blamed
for a "new form of juridical thinking which
was ideally suited to the march of egalitar-
ian democracy."

I would argue that what occurred on the
Court is symptomatic of what occurred else-
where — a triumph of ideology: an ideology
that enthroned the national government
(and to a lesser extent all governments)
with the mission of secular salvation. With
the Great Depression as a catalyst, the
consequences of the ideas that had already
captured our intellectual elite found their
way into our political life.

While he places a caveat here and there,
Dr. Dietze ascribes our contemporary ills
to the unfortunate triumph of the demo-
cratic masses. I do not believe this. The

"middle American" — "silent majority" — or
what have you is, if he is anything, mod-
estly conservative. Basically, I believe him
to be religious, independent, the possessor
of a sense of national and personal pride,
skeptical of panaceas, hard-working and
reasonably virtuous. I do not wish to en-
throned him, but only exonerate him from
bearing the burden of our "democratic di-
lemma." The challenges to Nixon's ability
to deal effectively with the Communist
thrust in Indo-China do not come from the
"hard-hats" but the "hard-heads" of ideo-
logical perversity.

This book should be read for its scholar-
ship and brilliant historical survey of Amer-
ica's development. But, it should be read
with caution. For its analysis of effects and
the challenges presented thereby — it is
commendable. It suffers, however, from
what to me is the author's failure to per-
ceive the causative factors of our present
condition; namely, the interplay of ideology
and technology in an historically unique
era.

Wyatt B. Durette is an Attorney and
Lecturer in government at Northern
Virginia Community College. He has
contributed to various scholarly pub-
lications.

Enemies of the Permanent Things, by Rus-
sell Kirk. New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington
House. 1969. 303 pp. \$7.00.

Reviewed by Haven Gow

How do we communicate ethical norms
to others? What is the difference between a
norm and a value? How do we acquire a
knowledge of norms? What does science-
fiction writer Ray Bradbury have in com-
mon with writers C. S. Lewis and Nathaniel
Hawthorne regarding norms? What is the
principal source of modern political catas-
trophes? What are the norms of tolerable
government? Such questions are explored
by Dr. Russell Kirk in his latest book, *En-
emies of the Permanent Things*.

Kirk, well-known to conservatives for his
books dealing with the human condition,
says that a value is a quality of worth; a
norm is an enduring standard by which we
measure objectively any values. In Kirk's
mind there are ethical norms of justice,
freedom and love, among others.

In his attempt to obtain knowledge of

norms, Kirk has come to believe that the truly educated man is one who has developed the ethical and intellectual refinement necessary to distinguish between truth and error, right and wrong, the permanent and the purely ephemeral. He thinks that ethical normality is obtained and determined "not by mass behavior at any particular moment, but rather by the custom and consensus of many civilized generations, and by reference to ethical standards long accepted by moralists, jurists, and religious teachers." However, the use of literature to pass an apprehension of moral truths and the human condition is just as important to Kirk.

In this sense such writers as Lewis, Hawthorne, and Bradbury fit into his scheme of things. They are concerned with revealing moral truths about the human condition through the use of symbolic literature. In *The Blithedale Romance* Hawthorne shows that men are more interested in reforming the world than in reforming themselves; many talk about eliminating the evil in society, but merely pay lip-service to the notion of eradicating the evil in their own lives. Apparently Hawthorne is saying this: if men constantly talk about improving everyone *except themselves*, how sincere can they be about wanting to eradicate evil? Kirk explains: "*The Blithedale Romance* is the history of a fanatic reformer, Hollingsworth, who is determined to redeem criminals by appealing to their higher instincts; and when all is done, he is grimly resigned to attempting the reformation of one criminal only, himself."

C. S. Lewis' *The Great Divorce* is another book which appeals to what Kirk terms "the moral imagination." In this work, Lewis takes a fanciful journey from Hell to the Celestial City and finds that men are more attracted to living ego-centered lives than the God-centered life that leads to heaven.

According to Kirk, Bradbury is known as merely a great science-fiction writer. But Bradbury, he explains, is more than that. He should take his place beside Lewis and Hawthorne in his ability to reveal the human condition and thereby help us to apprehend ethical norms. To support his view, the editor of the *University Bookman* points to, among other works by Bradbury, *Something Wicked This Way Comes*. In this work, a lightning-rod salesman is magically reduced to the size of a dwarf because all his life had been spent seeking to evade the twin moral responsibilities of loving God

and his neighbor.

Bradbury's *The Martian Chronicles* is described as another work which appeals to our normative consciousness or, to use Cardinal Newman's term, "the illative sense." This work affirms the important truth that man has proclivities toward evil. As Kirk explains: "man invades Mars, extirpates its inhabitants, effaces its culture, ravages its beauty . . ."

Since Kirk holds to the Judaic-Christian doctrine that man is flawed, he does not think it possible that man will ever create a Kingdom of God on earth. In this he is in agreement with Eric Voegelin, who maintains in his works (which are, of course, ignored by the *New York Times Book Review*, *The New York Review of Books* and the *Saturday Review*) that the principal source of our modern political upheavals is the delusion that human rationality can immanentize the eschaton.

Moreover, because of man's propensity toward evil, the best government one realistically can hope for is a *tolerable* government. In deciding what is a tolerable government, we must keep two political norms (or principles) in mind:

The first principle is that good government allows the more energetic natures among a people to fulfill their promise, while ensuring that these people shall not tyrannize over other mass of men. . . . The second principle is that in every state the best possible — or least baneful — form of government is one in accord with the traditions and prescriptive ways of its people . . .

This is admirable analysis by Kirk; one of Kirk's many mentors, Edmund Burke, comes to mind after reading the passage. But one wonders, however, whether men such as Kirk are fighting a losing battle. In this sensate age, man appears content with, to use Orwell's phrase, thinking in slogans, speaking with bullets. Apparently he no longer desires to involve himself in discussions concerning first principles or norms; moreover, he seems satisfied in his condition of perpetual servitude to the *Zeitgeist*. If this pessimistic view is correct, then we can only hope and pray that man is not yet beyond redemption.

Haven Gow is a student at Southeastern Massachusetts University where he is majoring in English and Philosophy.

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The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Army. New York: Macmillan. 1970. 218 pp. \$3.50, \$.95 paper.

Reviewed by Mary B. Peterson

President Nixon has called upon Congress to start moving in the direction of setting up all-volunteer military forces. His call comes after the Report of the Advisory Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, a commission appointed by the President to redeem his campaign endorsement of the concept of a volunteer army.

Appointees include former Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates, economist Milton Friedman, former Supreme Allied Commander in Europe Lauris Norstad, and university president W. Allen Wallis of the University of Rochester, among others. After initial division and searching debate, the Commission recommended that: "The nation's interests will be better served by an all-volunteer force, supported by an effective standby draft, than by a mixed force of volunteers and conscripts."

What was — and is — the debate all about? The Commission Report meets a number of prevalent objections, including:

Objection No. 1: *An all-volunteer force will be very costly — so costly the nation cannot afford it.*

The Commission conceded that the budget for a voluntary force would generally be higher than for a mixed force of conscripts and volunteers; but claimed that the real cost of the voluntary force would actually be less. This apparent paradox emerges because some of the costs of a mixed force are hidden and never appear in the budget. Under the present system, draftees and draft-induced volunteers are paid less than they would require to enlist without a draft. Accordingly they bear an unbudgeted tax-in-kind, which the Commission estimated to be about \$2 billion a year or an average of \$3,600 per man. Another real cost saving that would accrue is the reduction in training costs stemming from lower personnel turnover in a volunteer force.

Objection No. 2: *The all-volunteer force will lack the flexibility to expand rapidly in times of sudden crises.*

The Commission conceded the need for a standby draft in the case of a national emergency. But the Commission noted that

military preparedness depends on forces in being, not on the ability to conscript unprepared men. In other words, the draft provides only inexperienced and usually reluctant civilians who must be organized, trained, and equipped before they can become effective soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines — a most time-consuming process.

Objection No. 3: *An all-volunteer force will undermine patriotism by weakening the traditional belief that each citizen has a moral responsibility to serve his country.*

The Commission rebutted this objection by arguing that compulsory service undermines respect for government by forcing an individual to serve when and in the manner Washington decrees, regardless of his own values and talents. What the Commission seems to be arguing is that coercion and morality seldom mix: the framers of the Constitution, notes the Commission, feared conscription as an abridgement of personal freedom. Until the Civil War there was no draft, and then, as in World War I and II, it was but a wartime expedient.

Objection No. 4: *The higher pay required for a voluntary force will be especially appealing to blacks, who have relatively poorer civilian opportunities, bringing about a disproportionate number of blacks in military service.*

The Commission admitted that blacks would comprise a slightly higher proportion of an all-volunteer force, but countered that concern over proportions confounds service by free choice with service by compulsion. Blacks who join a voluntary force presumably have decided for themselves that military service is better than civilian alternatives. The Commission also declared that discrimination in civilian life should be corrected and that the additional discrimination of the draft should not be imposed on young blacks — or whites.

There are more objections and more answers, leading to the Commission's proposal for an all-volunteer force. The Commission recommended greater recruiting effort, better management of military personnel, and a sharp increase in basic pay. In effect, the Commission said that a peacetime draft is inconsistent with a free society. Our society, torn by dissension over the role of the military, would do well to study the Commission's recommendations.

Mary B. Peterson is a stockbroker and former book reviewer for the *Wall Street Journal*.

Talking to myself, by Leonard Read. New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1970. 150 pages; \$2.00 paper, \$3.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Robert G. Bearce

The clue to this volume's theme lies more in the author's name than in the somewhat cryptic title. Those acquainted with the labors of the Foundation for Economic Education will recognize Leonard Read as its President. Read's present book is devoted, not unexpectedly, to freedom—the moral, political, social, spiritual, and economic foundations of freedom. *Talking to myself* is a volume for those individuals fond of labeling themselves variously as conservatives, fundamentalists, objectivists, "classical liberals," libertarians, traditionalists, *et al.* Even people supposedly in the opposite camp—those enamored with authoritarianism—will be attracted to this excellent book, provided that they still possess a sensitivity to the search for truth and a spark of inquiry.

Mr. Read has that rare knack of presenting insights into his concept and practice of freedom with a style that is chatty, perceptive, and unaffected. He writes with a vibrant, plain-spoken, and witty informality that makes this discussion of freedom refreshing.

Talking to myself focuses upon a more healthy understanding of the meaning of freedom in twenty-five chapter-essays. One essay begins with a discussion of the adverse effects of affluence and concludes with a plea not to destroy the free market in an attempt to correct these sins of wealth. Another essay warns us to be on guard against adding the deadly "but" beside our personal affirmations to freedom principles. There can be no compromise . . . no diluting of principle . . . no "Yes, I am against State-intervention, but . . ."

Another sampling gives us chapter 20, "High Time to Awake," a keen and very readable essay on the malady of inflation. Why must readers be bored and confused by the ponderous dissertations of other authors when Mr. Read proves that such windy compositions are needless if not detrimental to understanding freedom.

Publishers frequently come out with a hodge-podge of the collected essays and writings of some author. Rarely do such "collection of essays" approach the smooth

continuity of message reached in *Talking to myself*. Mr. Read's book, though, goes further than just presenting some of his personal discoveries in the freedom faith. His message is a challenge to action as well as a suggestion to examine ourselves for intolerance, infidelity, irresponsibility, and irrationality in our own defense of freedom.

Robert Bearce is a free-lance writer who has contributed to *The Freeman*, *Christian Economics*, and several other publications.

PROTEST AND STUDENT RADICALISM

Push Comes to Shove: The Escalation of Student Protest, by Steven Kelman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970. 287 pp.

Reviewed by Robert A. Schadler

Mr. Kelman, a recent Harvard graduate, recounts in a journalistic style his four years of undergraduate political activity which centered around YPSL (Young People's Socialist League) and their efforts to counter the revolutionary left, i.e. SDS and the Progressive Labor Party. Kelman himself might best be described as an old-fashioned socialist who has had the benefit of an upbringing which included a good dose of conservative common sense along with the socialist ideology. As a result, he cuts a strange, almost pathetic, figure—a socialist at Harvard, on the young side of the so-called "generation gap," who deplores the destruction his radical peers seek, while still trying to work for socialist objectives. Indeed, two of his most important reasons for opposing revolutionary activities are that it will cause the large majority of people outside the academic community to become more conservative (and thereby erode socialist gains), and that, in the years to come, ex-radicals will repent their sins by renouncing the Left altogether.

The book is many things at once: an

autobiography, radicalism at Harvard, on the student's terms, and in a way which divides the

In the first several uninteresting excerpts from his book, which probe the temporary freedom he gives a few leaders and the rest of the herd. He succeeds in being intelligent and semi-sane, but based on a pawn in this off-concerned and Fortunately, this facade of ability. Of odious insights who seeks an and boredom more for perfect effect. Also, the moderate to be led and Left, which to and played feelings of guilt do something on consequence.

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AND RADICALISM

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things at once: an

autobiography, a journalistic account of radicalism at Harvard, and a general attack on the student revolutionaries who characterize themselves as Left Wing idealists. And in a vague way, the three sections which divide the book follow this outline.

In the first section, he presents some generally uninteresting, if well written, excerpts from his freshman diary. Also contained here are some brilliant passages which probe into the psychology of contemporary freshmen. In the second section, he gives a first-hand account of radical leaders and the movement they led at Harvard. He successfully presents a picture of intelligent and able, but non-intellectual, semi-sane students living in an unreal world based on an elitist, fascist ideology. They pawn this off to the gullible as a sensitive, concerned and committed moral posture. Fortunately for us, Kelman sees beyond this facade and attacks them with devastating ability. Of particular worth are his periodic insights into the "alienated" student, who seeks an escape from human dilemmas and boredom by frenzied political activity, more for personal therapy than political effect. Also good is his discussion of why the moderate majority allowed themselves to be led and manipulated by the New Left, which took the morally higher ground, and played on the apathetic moderate's feelings of guilt and his liberal impulse "to do something" without pausing to reflect on consequences.

The book has many flaws and errors, including two major defects which prevent it from being a "must reading" classic. Kelman fails to give a clear, complete picture of what actually happened, being too interested in personalities and even vendetta (such as against the *Harvard Crimson*). More significantly, he is unable to focus properly on the general importance of his subject and to lay down a positive alternative. This is due to Kelman's own dilemma: ideologically and politically a socialist ("I have been a socialist as long as I can remember"), he is at odds with his own instincts and intuitive insights, which are essentially conservative. This latter point needs greater elaboration.

Kelman insists for ideological reasons that class conflict and economic self interest explain American politics at large, but quite perceptively sees the New Left as having a psychological basis:

"The self-interest which allows student revolutionary groups in America and

Europe today to grow into mass student movements is a psychological self-interest, or, to be more precise, the therapeutic value that acting out of psychological problems has for many students. While the first movers of student revolutionary organizations traditionally have been among the small band of saints in the human race, the social class origins of the overwhelming majority of students, that is, middle or upper class, have dictated that the revolutionary student movement can grow only by reaching out to the crazy conglomeration of generational animus, tribalistic cultism, fearful neurosis, and paranoiac feelings of grandeur and conspiracy, and other psychopathological phenomena which are bound to affect a percentage of any population." (pp. 278-79)

He is quite correct when he describes the upper class WASP, along with the hereditary rebel, as a major source of manpower for SDS, without ever asking why they would contradict their economic self-interest ("If some aristocrats want to rebel, though, that's their right." p. 145). And he even parallels James Burnham's analysis of nearly twenty years ago when he states:

It is in the guilty aristocrat that we see clearly politics not for politics' sake, but for self-expression, the possibility of recapturing a lost vitality that one feels too weak to create for oneself (p. 145).

So far so good.

He fails, however, by his ability to see more than two alternatives: the New Left and the Old Left. One wonders how such a searching mind can have such a blind spot. Perhaps it is simply that he is unaware of an intelligent, articulate alternative to the New and Old Left. How else could such strangely ludicrous statements as these below be understood:

... conservatism has been justly discredited among students as the pathetic and sickening expressing in the ideological spheres of the self-interest of the privileged, about as inspiring as tepid, flat Budweiser.

Or again,

American conservatism has abandoned any legitimate claim to speak for idealism. In a way it is unfortunate that there are so few idealistic conservatives

around, so that left-of-center students could realize that one may respect someone's sincerity and idealism and still have very strong disagreements with his politics (p. 158).

This is not only very poor analysis, but contradicts his general observations of those to the left of him. While the SDSers are largely from the wealthy and privileged groups, the young conservative is usually a poorer student, often working part-time, who is too serious about his education to indulge in the irresponsible self-indulgence and social destructiveness of his colleague to the Left. Indeed, with tenure, promotion, prestige and psychological security all too often denied the conservative student or faculty member, there is precious little else besides "idealism" and personal commitment to principles to keep him in the academy.

In conclusion, then, Kelman writes with anguished rage that his more militant socialist collaborators will be counterproductive. "They deeply hoped for a better America, yet they moved the country to the Right." He rightly warns that they can "introduce the most terrible systems of degradation and unfreedom we can imagine. We need not wait for the SDS tortures and the SDS jails to learn that lesson of history" (p. 286). The tragedy is that he does not fully realize, as his radical cohorts do, that his 1930 brand of European socialism is so thoroughly out of step with the times as to be truly "reactionary." It is the philosophy of Norman Thomas, not of William Buckley that is "as inspiring as tepid, flat Budweiser." Conservatism, of which Kelman is sadly unaware, may prove to be the most viable framework for understanding the contemporary crisis and for escaping the impending catastrophe.

Robert A. Schadler is a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania and Eastern Director of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

Democracy, Dissent, and Disorder, by Robert F. Drinan. New York: S. J. Seabury. 1969. 152 pp. \$4.95.

Reviewed by Don Center

Many authors never get hung up on logic and reason; this certainly is the case with

Robert Drinan and his latest attempt to explain the increase in violence in this country today. The blame, the author tells us, is to be placed on society for refusing to recognize the unfortunate circumstances that contribute to the causes of dissent and disorder. These conditions, he continues, of inequality, poverty, and lack of mobility in our social system can only lead to expression of grievances; but lacking efficient means to express their sentiments, minority groups, whether distinguished by race, nationality, or age patterns, must participate in protest, even revolt, if necessary.

After some amazingly inept analysis, Drinan rejects the solution of law and order which he concludes, "would only lead to further deterioration of the situations."

The alternative solution he puts forth is that until society accepts its moral responsibilities, the current rebellions of students on campus, Negroes in the city, and protestors in the street, will continue with even more violence, and, furthermore, it becomes the duty of all Americans to endorse such actions.

I cannot more totally disagree with his premise; nor can I agree with the equally confusing premise that the nation's legal process is incapable and unwilling to handle these problems. It certainly is true that amounts of inequality and oppression do exist in our country today; they can be overcome. The answer, however, lies not in violence but in strength of mind, character, and plain old-fashioned hard work. Much talk in recent years has been centered about the slogan, "We shall overcome." America is the place where adversity can usually be overcome if a person is willing to work hard in his efforts to succeed. Through the years a great number of hard working people have paid the price and overcome adversity. Many are doing the same today, and many more will do so in the future. People can overcome.

Violence, however, is a crime against man; those who pursue it are criminals.

The only other criticism one could make of Drinan's short commentary is that it's not short enough.

Don B. Center is a student at Idaho State University majoring in public speaking with a minor in government.

University Studies 1920-1968, H. Bles, Florida. 1969. 135 pp and index.

Reviewer

The Nazi university class cursors of our be found in the in Cuba. They vined that the rectify the writings and society not seem to have to them.

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Lawrence Director of Institute.

The Limits of York: The \$1.95.

Review

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University Students and Revolution in Cuba 1920-1968, by Jaime Suchlicki. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press 1969. 135 pp. plus notes, bibliography, and index. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Lawrence D. Pratt

The Nazi youth storming into German university classrooms are not the only precursors of our New Left. A sad parallel is to be found in the history of university politics in Cuba. The Cuban students became convinced that they should resort to violence to rectify the wrongs they saw in Cuban politics and society. The logic of tit for tat does not seem to have been immediately apparent to them.

Although there was a constant projection of vague socialist visions of the golden future to follow the overthrow of the incumbent government, the dynamics of student violence developed into a pattern of gang warfare characterized by a highly personalist identification with a Maximum Leader and sheltered from police intervention by university autonomy and government payoffs.

It is not necessary to stretch the Cuban case to fit events in the United States. What is clearly instructive is the pattern of virtually nihilistic violence, the attitude that students are experts and if not consulted and followed, violence is a duty. Again, without any attempt to trace unwarranted historical analogies, it is a sad fact that this environment of students-as-thugs combined with a Marxist overlay to help produce Fidel Castro.

Lawrence D. Pratt is the Midwestern Director of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

RELIGION

The Limits of Unbelief, by John Knox. New York: The Seabury Press, 1970. 128 pp. \$1.95.

Reviewed by G. B. Tennyson

As Browning's Bishop Blougram observed, "First cut the Liquefaction, what comes last / But Fichte's clever cut at God

himself?" This would seem to be the inevitable course of the modernizations that have afflicted Christianity with increasing frequency since the nineteenth century. Each new theological fad brings with it the discovery of some "accretion," some non-essential aspect of traditional dogma, something we no longer need to believe. "Less is More" could well be the motto of much modern theologizing. But a modern-day John Knox — this one an Anglican and a Professor at the Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest — has called a halt. A modest halt, to be sure, but a halt. What Father Knox most properly asks is: What are the limits of unbelief?

It is characteristic of Knox's low key method that he should ask what the limits of unbelief are, for he notes that historically Christianity has been surer of what is absolutely unacceptable (hence the preoccupation in the early Church with heresy) than with successful formulations of what is believed. Nevertheless, his question also demands a positive formulation: What is the minimum that one must believe in order to be a Christian? And before that perhaps: Is there any irreducible minimum that must be believed for one to be a Christian? Just to show how far things have gone, Father Knox is able to strike a novel note merely by answering yes to that second question. He goes beyond that, of course, by affirming that not only is there an irreducible minimum of necessary belief, but that we can ascertain what it is.

Father Knox's approach to ascertaining what the necessary minimum of belief is lies through the Church, by which he means something more than a particular denomination. He conceives of the Church as a living reality transcending denominations which exists with certain essential beliefs implicated in that existence. It is through this living reality that he seeks to ascertain what the limits of unbelief are, and out of his search that he finds the irreducible minimum. Inevitably we want this phrased in intellectual propositions, and Father Knox is more concerned to delineate the area of belief. Still, some propositions come forth and these correspond to what would be regarded as the core of Christian belief. For example, Knox maintains that a Christian *must* believe in the Resurrection. Once again, only in our time would such a proposition make news.

What Father Knox is able to affirm will commend this book to any traditional Christian, though such persons are least in

need of it. Indeed they might want Knox to affirm more, for he is rather shadowy on the myth and saga of the Church. But the important thing is that Knox's method, grounded as it is in the "existential reality" of the Church, might prove acceptable to those who fancy themselves Christians but in fact feel little need to accept any of the beliefs that Knox shows are essential. Those who think of themselves as committed to "Christian Atheism" might come to see why Knox is right in saying of such a condition: "One can only say that it cannot mean what it says and apply to any actual intellectual position, now or ever." He is too kind to call it an absurdity.

The Limits of Unbelief is one of those signposts on the way back which, as Eliot noted, is also the way forward. Even Knox's method is in essence an old one, the one that led Vincentius of Lerins to formulate the celebrated test of Catholicity: *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ad omnibus*. For that test is nothing less than a way of ascertaining true Christianity through the existential reality of the Church. With the aid of some more men like John Knox we might even get back to the point of believing as Vincentius did, or to put it again in modern guise through Eliot's words, "to arrive where we started / And know the place for the first time."

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Letters to the Editor

RE: The Guises of Philosophical Nihilism, by Martin A. Bertman, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter, 1970-71.

Rosen and Nihilism

In his recent review in these volumes, Martin Bertman follows the growing trend of reviewers who have praised Stanley Rosen's book, *Nihilism: A Philosophical Essay* (Yale University Press, 1969). As in so many of the other reviews, Bertman seems to base most of his praise on the very fact that Rosen would concern himself with such a problem at all, and that there ought to be something like a philosophical embargo against modernists who don't think like Plato. What is so surprising and disappointing about all this is that Rosen is accepted at face value, without any serious consideration as to whether what he says is accurate, defensible, or even 'rational' in his exalted sense. In fact, Rosen has miserably misinterpreted Heidegger, whom he characterizes as the arch-fiend of nihilism; and in his analysis has exercised such a lamentable lack of scholarly understanding that he should be taken seriously to task.

Consider just a few of the rather serious violations of scholarly decency and respect. When describing Heidegger's philosophy in the second chapter, he quotes, not from

Heidegger, but from J. P. Sartre! This is done, he says, because Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* "... as a vulgarization of *Being and Time* makes certain things more visible than the original" (p. 38). Indeed! Rosen apparently overlooks the fact that Heidegger has strongly denied that Sartre's philosophy is even concerned with the same problem (Cf. *Letter on Humanism*). Imagine Rosen's reaction if Plato's thought were described by quoting from Speusippus. On the rare occasions when Rosen does quote from Heidegger, he extracts only from later works and mistakenly identifies them as dealing with fundamental ontology, which is the concern only of the earlier Heidegger. From Heidegger's masterpiece, *Being and Time*, Rosen makes no quotations in the second chapter at all. Such gross inexactitude of scholarship exhibits a contempt for the respectable procedures of academic writing and is insulting to the reader.

Without any references, footnotes (except to other people) or even hints as to the source, Rosen blandly asserts that Heidegger historicizes and relativizes values. Nowhere does Heidegger say such things. That Rosen may like him to is not enough to make it so. Rosen claims (page 49) that "nothing discursive can be said about *Being*" in Heidegger's sense: yet, the entire *Existential Analytic* is an attempt to ration-