

For Bell the public household suffers above all from the transgressive spirit of modernism, which has made it difficult, if not impossible, to see the world as a separation of the realms of sacred and profane. As religion, "the conscience of society," is overcome by secularization, the Western dialectic of release and restraint breaks down, the portals of the demonic are left unguarded, continuity with the past is lost, the aesthetic impulses are no longer subordinated to moral conduct, and authority becomes rooted in the imperial self, which is then free to indulge in a Faustian cult of experience. Not, of course, that any one of these ideas is especially new; indeed, Bell has himself helped to make them familiar to us. What is memorable here is the richness, variety, and historic range of the context in which they are displayed.

The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism is made up of already published pieces, and although Bell has taken pains to cover them with an introduction and to weave them into a whole

fabric, the pieces still show through, resulting in the inevitable repetitions. These are minor matters, however; the line of argument is coherent and powerful, and the repetitions reinforce important themes.

It is the themes and not the repetitions or the fact of prior publication that are most likely to be held against Bell. He is one of those writers it is convenient now to classify, if not write off, as a neoconservative—a term that often expresses little more than the user's reluctance to give up entirely those expectations the recent past has shown to be either premature or ill-conceived. "It was the hubris of classical liberalism, and of socialist utopianism as well," Bell observes in his last paragraph, "to believe that in each new generation, in a new social contract, men could start afresh, discard the past, and redesign institutions anew." His book is a full-scale analysis of this hubris. Where on the liberal-conservative scale others may locate his argument is not, I would imagine, a matter of much interest to him.

Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment by Kirkpatrick Sale

(Random House; 362 pp.; \$12.95)

Dale Vree

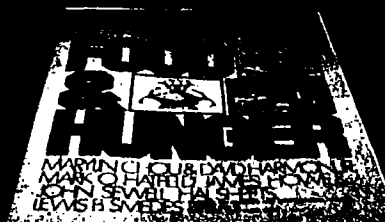
Who says New Leftists are extinct? Kirkpatrick Sale, for one, is still going strong. In his latest book Sale surfaces as something of a New Left version of Kevin Phillips (the self-styled "New Rightist"). Both Sale and Phillips see a long-term shift in economic and political power away from Northeastern "yankee" interests and toward Southern and Western "cowboy" interests—although it should be added that Phillips noted the broad contours of the shift before Sale did (see Phillips's 1969 *Emerging Republic Majority* and his 1975 encore *Mediocracy*).

Although the empirical observations of political reality made by Sale and Phillips are roughly similar, their per-

sonal evaluations of that reality are strikingly different. Even though both Sale and Phillips are youthful anti-éliteists, it appears that were they forced to choose sides, Phillips would side with the cowboy élites, Sale with the Yankee élites. In short, while Phillips is encouraged by the "power shift," Sale is alarmed by it. Since it is customary to think of New Leftists as being vociferously antiestablishment, it is revealing to see Sale give aid and comfort to the most established establishment America has going for it: the Eastern Establishment. In truth, Sale's implicit defense of the Eastern Establishment is not surprising, for one has always suspected that—talk of generation gaps to the

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contrary—there has been a tenacious intraclass affinity between radical “sons” and their liberal “fathers” in the more established élites.

It is most significant that Sale does not want to bifurcate political reality in terms of fathers and sons or in terms of élites and masses, but rather in terms of geographical regions. For Sale a great contest is taking place between the bandits of the Southern Rim and the relatively enlightened Northeast. The Southern Rim includes everything south of a rather straight line running from the northern edges of North Carolina, Arkansas, New Mexico, westward to (and including), San Francisco. The Northeast includes everything north of a line running along the southern edges of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The rest of the country apparently languishes in some sort of limbo.

Sale—a New Yorker, let it be known—is not satisfied to indict the élites of the South and West, but proceeds to an indictment of just about the entire political culture of the South and West, “inherent” in which is “rightism, racism, and repression.” For example, we learn from Sale that “most of” Southern California falls into a “range somewhere between Birchism and fanaticism.” New Yorkers can be very provincial! Generally, Sale attributes the sins—real and imagined—of the Southern Rim leaders not to the class structure of capitalism, not to human nature, but to the “geoculture” of the region. Hence, Sale posits a basic solidarity between the élites and masses of the Southern Rim. In revealing his preference for the established Eastern élites over the upstart Southern and Western élites (who foisted Richard Nixon on us), Sale does not neglect to point out that “all” of the members of Californian Richard Nixon’s narrow circle of intimate companions were “men born to less-than-affluent families, all were straight-ahead self-made men without frills or furbelows, all were decidedly nonpatrician, up-from-under types.” Beware the self-made man, for as the liberal Republican Andrew Hacker tells us on the dust jacket, “Kirkpatrick Sale shows us the seamier side of the democratic dream: the greed and resentment of self-made Americans, a class bent on becoming the nation’s new locus of power and privilege.”

Sale would have us believe that the

perverse character of leading Southern Rim personalities is a natural product of the popular culture of the Rim. What we end up with, then, is a profoundly élitist attack upon upwards of eighty million people—and all this from an erstwhile power-to-the-people New Leftist. Although I would not deny the affinity between new-money “cowboy” élites and the Middle American milieu from which they have so recently emerged, I balk at the ultra-élitist conclusions to which Sale is driven. Just what kind of “Leftist” is it who can assign millions of ordinary *people* to the status of “enemy”?

Just as I find Sale’s argument morally repellent, likewise I find it empirically flawed. Were Sale satisfied to point to regional rivalries among élite groups, regional differences in American political culture, and the importance of all that to the political process, I would be happy to applaud his book. But Sale is in the grip of an untenable monist determinism that attributes just about all important political events and outcomes to the single factor of regional solidarity.

For Sale the most important political fact of the last forty years is the rise of the Southern Rim to national prominence. From this it follows that the most important thing about a politician is not whether he is liberal or conservative, élitist or populist, patrician or plebian, but whether or not he is from or of the Rim. For example, Sale identifies real estate as one of the “six pillars” of the Rim economy, to which he appends this pregnant remark: “Whose voices were raised in protest when Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire tried to lower real-estate closing costs, a saving of \$14 billion a year for home buyers and an unpleasant gouge into the real-estate industry? Why, Senator William Brock of Tennessee and Alan Cranston of California, a Republican conservative and a Democratic liberal reaching across the *meaningless gulf of labels* to join hands where it really counts” (italics mine).

As such, Sale falls into the gross simplism of ignoring the differences between liberals and conservatives, et al., *within* each region. Sale wants to characterize the Rim as massively right-wing, but he seeks to document the “rise” of the rightist Rim by citing the rising fortunes of just about every prominent Rimster personality and corporation he can think of. But many of the

Rimsters he cites are far from being right-wingers. For example: Jimmy Carter, Terry Sanford, Norton Simon, Albert Gore, Estes Kefauver, Robert Finch, Abe Fortas, Fred Dutton, Ramsey Clark, Rick Stearns, Frank Man-kiewicz, Henry Kimmelman, Morris Dees, Max Palevsky, Harold Willens, Ruth Handler, Jerry Brown, and Morris Udall. To Sale it is enormously significant that all these people are Rimians. But one remains unconvinced that the *differences* between these people and fellow Rimians such as George Wallace and Ronald Reagan are basically meaningless.

Arrayed against these Children of Darkness we find the Northeastern Children of Light, among whom are counted, believe it or not, the “*National Review* crowd.” To Sale this is “hardly surprising,” since “the *National Review* crowd is based in New York, rooted in the Ivy League, infused with yankee patrician types, and comfortably cozy with Eastern capital....” To be sure, William F. Buckley Jr., is no self-made man, but one is surprised to find Sale place him on the side of the angels. On the other hand, maybe Sale is on to something. I have noticed that Buckley and Kevin Phillips have had a falling out recently. Phillips called Buckley a culturally chic élitist, and Buckley responded by branding Phillips a Philistine. At the same time, much of the enthusiasm for a fusionist Reagan-Wallace ticket has been generated by some of Buckley’s close associates in the “*National Review* crowd.”

Sale also assigns states like Indiana (the southern part of which is a stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan) to the Region of Light, and areas like Berkeley-San Francisco (birthplace of the student movement and the hippies) to the Region of Darkness. What, one wonders, did Sale say to himself when he heard the news that George Wallace carried *Boston* in the Democratic primary?

Although Sale does occasionally pay lip service to empirical reality (“Not that every individual selected from the Southern Rim has to be a consummate conservative....”), he indiscriminately cites every notable Rimster he can lay his hands on to make the case that conservative Rim élites have risen to national power. His case for a “power shift” would have been just as plausible

without this incredible exercise in deterministic overkill. Sale could easily have made the case that Southern and Western élites are making a sustained play for national power, and that those élites are more conservative than Eastern élites, all the while acknowledging that the Southern and Western élites

have *allies* in the Northeast and *enemies* in the South and West. The case would have been less dramatic, but more convincing. Finally, by taking aim at selected *élites* instead of the *whole people* of a "geocultural" region, his argument would not have been so morally repugnant.

sentenced in absentia by other countries where they had operated during World War II. Their lobby was strong enough to block West German ratification of an extradition treaty with France for four years.

Still, Klarsfeld's fear of Nazi resurgence seems exaggerated. While her thesis on the necessity of German self-examination makes sense, a broader analysis of contemporary anti-Semitism is needed. Nazi theories are so discredited that they provide virtually the only universally agreed-on villain. Totalitarian demagogues and racist murders no longer proclaim sentiments of racial superiority, national chauvinism, and the virtues of aggression, as did Hitler, Mussolini, and their imitators in the 1930's. Rather, it is the victim who is accused of embodying these traits. Arab and Communist propagandists do not label Israel a state of subhumans, but a state of "Nazis" and "racists." States like the USSR and Brazil, Guinea and Uganda, Iraq and East Germany, are the ones most loudly proclaiming their "democracy," "anti-imperialism," and in many cases "socialism." The young leftists so carefully courted by Klarsfeld in the late 1960's now demonstrate for Israel's destruction. The new anti-Zionist statements often sound suspiciously like the Nazi press and radio transcripts cited by Klarsfeld.

Seeing the enemy only on the political right, Klarsfeld participated in demonstrations that, in the name of antifascism, tried to stop meetings and congresses of the Christian Democratic Union, and she was perhaps too willing to accept East German backing. By the end of the book she realizes that antidemocratic content is more important in judging friends and enemies than is antifascist rhetoric.

Her adventures lead to scenes of magnificent irony. The brutal Czech police decorate their offices with "Free Angela Davis" posters. They are delighted to find, concealed in Klarsfeld's handbag, microfilmed lists of Czech Jews, until they discover that the names are those of Nazi victims decorated, back when things were so different, by postwar Prague governments. The Communist son of an S.S. officer (who trained Adolf Eichmann in anti-Semitism) defends his father as "an idealist." One war criminal builds a strong cover as a leader of a left-wing anti-Israel West German party. When

Wherever They May Be by Beate Klarsfeld

(Vanguard; 333 pp.; \$10.00)

Barry Rubin

Beate Klarsfeld has demonstrated the ability of a single conscience to shake the world. Her autobiography relates the experiences and explains the motivations of a leading "Nazi-hunter."

She was born into an unexceptional German family when Hitler was at the peak of power. Her father served in the German army, and a godfather was a Nazi official. Both parents voted for Hitler, but felt neither responsibility for his policies nor pity for his victims. In the desperate postwar years, however, they did not hesitate to recall fondly the "good old days" of the Third Reich. While living in Paris and studying the French language and culture, Beate Klarsfeld married a French Jew whose father had been executed by the Gestapo. After learning about the Holocaust and the impact of Nazi repression on France, she dedicated herself to the cause of French-German and Jewish-German friendship.

Her plan of action was based on three premises. First, the German people must take responsibility for Hitler's acts and must make real reparations to the Nazis' victims, particularly the Jews. Second, nostalgia for the Nazi days is still alive in Germany and—given the continued failure to confront Hitlerism's crimes—a Nazi revival is still possible. Third, until Germany's past is fearlessly unmasked and until the embers of neo-Nazism are stamped out, the development of German society will be retarded and distorted.

To Klarsfeld, then, the exposure and punishment of Nazi war criminals is not merely an act of revenge but a necessity if Germany's future is to be salvaged.

Further, she believes, such a program is a necessary precondition for German reunification. "My activities showed me as a German woman of neither East nor West, trying to preserve values that both German states, regardless of ideology, should share," she explains. "The struggle for the moral rehabilitation of the German people will put an end to the divisiveness that has long separated Germans from Germany." And again: "So far as I was concerned, the German nation, because of being divided, could find expression only in terms of political morality."

Although Klarsfeld was able to bring these issues to the attention of West German public opinion, the results fell far short of her ambitions. Still, in a demonstration of the power of good research, media manipulation, and moral protest, Klarsfeld and her husband, Serge, contributed significantly to bringing down the government of Premier Kurt-Giorg Kiesinger, a former Nazi propaganda official. In her work Klarsfeld found the media generally uninterested in the old documents she uncovered ordering deportations of Jews, executions of resistance fighters, and spelling out Nazi anti-Semitic ideology. Imaginative gimmicks were needed: Klarsfeld slapping Kiesinger and, later, an attempt to kidnap the former Nazi police chief in occupied France. She also courted arrest in Poland and Czechoslovakia, Syria and Morocco, by distributing leaflets protesting local anti-Semitism.

In her investigations Klarsfeld found hundreds of former war criminals living openly in West Germany, even when