

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 murderers 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

Serge unmasks him, the party, rather than reconsider policies making it easy for them to integrate a former fascist theorist, attacks Serge, claiming that he revealed the man's true identity in order to embarrass them!

Although Klarsfeld does not mention it, there is a U.S. angle to this story. Some three dozen alleged Nazi collaborators from Eastern Europe live safely here despite efforts by several organizations and by Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman to pressure the Immigration and Naturalization Service into initiating deportation proceedings. Two investigators have resigned from the Service, charging it with incompetency and outright cover-up.

In response to those who have lost interest in the events of three decades ago, Klarsfeld responds that she protests not what Hannah Arendt called "the banality of evil," but the "respectability of evil," a phrase understandable to any observer of recent U.N. actions. Among Klarsfeld's heroes are Hans and Sophie Scholl, two anti-Nazi martyrs. "Once the war is over," they had written, "those who have been to blame must be severely punished to rid anyone of the idea of repeating a similar adventure." Klarsfeld has not produced a literary masterpiece, but her book should interest students of German politics and all who respect moral heroism.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Briefly Noted

Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream by Doris Kearns

(Harper and Row; 420 pp.; \$12.50)

As is now well known, Ms. Kearns spent many hours in intimate association with Lyndon Johnson during his last few months in the White House and then, from time to time, at the ranch in Texas. She was accepted by Johnson as a White House Fellow despite her strongly expressed antiwar and anti-Johnson sentiments. After a much-publicized fight with her former publisher, Basic Books, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* has appeared to initially favorable reviews. It will no doubt continue to be well received by those who relish their villains well done. The mode is psychohistory, and the predictable result is reductionism. From first page through last Ms. Kearns depicts herself as patient mother listening to a petulant, whining, egotistical, and generally nasty child. Ms. Kearns does not deny the conventional wisdom about Johnson's many strengths in political leadership and personal presence, but the data, dialogue, and incidents she describes so eagerly undercut the pieties to which she subscribes so formally. As to the quality of her relationship with Johnson, one cannot help but wonder about someone who does not protest over a period of months when she is twelve times given the same gift of an electric toothbrush. The inescapable suspicion is that she was leading him on, knowing what a delicious story it would make when the time came to tell all about this pitiful buffoon who thought he could rule the world. In a pretentious "Author's Postscript" we are treated to forty pages of analysis of what is wrong with America's public institutions as revealed in their interaction with Johnson. For example, Johnson "did not identify with the poor" because he responded to "a political system that rewards those capable of appealing to a variety of interests." Throughout we are told that Johnson was near paranoid about being betrayed by his friends. If Ms. Kearns was in fact a friend, this book suggests his fears were not without foundation.

Living With Terrorism by Richard Clutterbuck

(Arlington House; 160 pp.; \$7.95)

General Clutterbuck offers a primer on the avoidance of terrorist attack by the average citizen. Unfortunately it reads like a primer. After a rundown of terrorist organizations in specific countries, a brief recent history of terrorism, and some technical explanations of various bomb mechanisms, detectors, and the such, Clutterbuck offers advice for potentially dangerous situations. For example, confronted by a bomb, you should call the police. Suspecting that you are the object of an abduction plot, you should call the police (unless they are tacitly or openly cooperating with the terrorists). And finally, if you are kidnapped, don't lose your sense of humor.

The fundamental problem is, as Clutterbuck realizes, that all segments of society, and not just those directly involved, are scarred politically, economically, and (most important) psychologically by terrorist action. Yet his emphasis lies elsewhere. The author barely touches upon the factors that have made this type of insurgency so much more apparent and formidable on the international scene in recent years. Further, the desperate need for community consensus when this type of question is involved is almost totally ignored. The interesting puzzle of the idealist qua terrorist is raised, but Clutterbuck stoutly refuses to advance beyond the notions that the terrorist is emotionally disturbed and/or a wealthy university student or instructor. In short, the most important questions concerning terrorism are left unattended in a book that tells us little about a growing phenomenon confronting Western society.

—Stuart D. Spivak

New World Utopias: A Photographic History of the Search for Community by Paul Kagan

(Penguin Books; 191 pp.; \$5.95 [paper])

The less said about Paul Kagan's description and analysis of California utopian communities the better. The subtitle tells the tale: *New World Utopias* is

popular history *à la mode*, good photographs connected by emaciated narrative. The pictures, however, are wonderful, and they evoke memories of the zaniness of California past, hinting at the continuity that binds those old utopias to their counterparts in California present (like the Tassajarra Zen Mountain Center). The cast of characters is unexcelled, some distasteful and pathetic, like "Father" Riker and Thomas Lake Harris; some weirdly appealing, like Mrs. Katherine Tingley ("The Purple Mother"); some, like Job Harriman, reminders of a naive and gentle, pre-Bolshevik socialism, which believed that if the "vicious methods of the universal conflict of interests" were set aside, human beings would have "hearts and minds...as sweet and gentle and loving as in babyhood." Utopia was defined by that image of the child, free from Original Sin, without the fire and darkness Freud rediscovered. "Sweet and gentle and loving" and hopelessly unreal.

**No Thank You,
Mr. President
by John Herbers**
(Norton; 192 pp.; \$7.95)

Herbers was White House correspondent for the *New York Times* for a little more than two years, covering Watergate and the honeymoon, as they say, of Ford's first few months. The story is retold once again, separated by long excursions on what it is like to cover the White House (the President, it seems, is too isolated from ordinary people) and by commonplace observations on what's wrong with America. "Everyone has strengths and weaknesses," Herbers notes with a typical flash of insight in connection with explaining Ronald Ziegler. The author seems to be a conscientious enough reporter, but one of his strengths is clearly not writing books that pretend to political analysis.

**Conservative Votes,
Liberal Victories
by Patrick J. Buchanan**
(Quadrangle; 184 pp.; \$7.95)

A brassy, often entertaining, and frequently persuasive contention that conservatives have the votes in America, if

only they could find the party system that would put them to good use. Buchanan, once on the Nixon staff, stops short of endorsing Reagan over Ford (not a dime's worth of difference between them on the issues, as Mr. Wallace might say) and is not entirely convinced that conservatives can or should be corralled in some new group outside the Republican Party. But he leaves no doubt he is fed up with business as usual. Spiro Agnew rides again in Buchanan's sallies against the communications media, and he has some especially incisive reflections on the journalistic ethics of Walter ("And that's how it is") Cronkite. With Buchanan's advent, program planners will have someone other than William Buckley to choose from when they need a lively speaker "to present the other side."

**All is Well
by Julius Lester**
(Morrow; 319 pp.; \$9.95)

Lester says that what he admires about W.E.B. Du Bois, whose works he has edited, is that the man was always honest and lucid in explaining how he and his views had changed over the years. The same might be said of Lester. This is the story of the enormous, often wrenching, change that has put a man creatively out of step with the conven-

tional wisdom about what it means to succeed, and how to succeed as a black man, in America. Lester's *Revolutionary Notes* and *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama* served as choreographic notes for many blacks doing the militant shuffle in the sixties. Lester does not deny his having enjoyed the roles of revolutionary oracle and consort to the princes of social apocalypse. But the time came when "I realized that I had allowed myself to become a spokesman, a shill who stood outside the carnival tent enticing strangers to come inside and see the two-headed baby about whom I had doubts. ...But how could I cease my revolutionary role-playing without becoming an embittered and disillusioned ex-radical, cursing the god which had failed me?" The answer, although it sounds simplistic when said so bluntly, is that Lester resumed a search for God he thought he had abandoned in his early manhood. Through Thomas Merton and, most important, through the folk experience of the black South, Lester discovered he had been discovered by a reality that made sense not only of the religious quest but of what it means to be a person and an artist in a world largely hostile to persons, art, and God. It is a complex and compelling narrative that may well be recognized as a classic statement on what it means to be black and human at this point in the American experiment.

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**The Black American
Reference Book**
ed. by Mabel M. Smythe
(Prentice-Hall; 1026 pp.; \$29.95)

In 1966 *The American Negro Reference Book* was published and proved an invaluable source of information. Much has changed in the past ten years, and the different title for this second edition reflects many of those changes. Thirty chapters comprise essays (sometimes two or three to a chapter) by a wide variety of authors on every major aspect of the black American experience. Of course the quality is uneven, the biases of some authors might have been more carefully checked editorially, others leave out relevant information readily available from, for example, the U.S. Census Bureau. Nonetheless, for "getting it all together" under one cover the editor, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund which sponsored the project, are to be thanked. It should serve well in the decade until, one hopes, the third edition appears.

Correspondence (from p. 2)

We spoke in our article of "special provisions for the Old City of Jerusalem" precisely because some condominium arrangement with a Palestinian entity or state will be necessary. But we did not intend in our article to discuss in any detail the possible alternatives. Our point is simply that compromise over Jerusalem must be a part of any overall peace initiative. Such a compromise would allow for minor border adjustments, special provisions for holy sites, and flexible political arrangements.

After we wrote our article the Israel Council for Israeli-Palestine Peace issued a twelve-point Manifesto, and we are inclined to agree with point six regarding Jerusalem: "We affirm that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel. Being sacred to three religions and inhabited by the two peoples [the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arab peo-

ple], it deserves a special status. It will remain united under a common municipal roof-organization and will be accessible to people of all nations and faiths. Jerusalem will continue to be the capital of the State of Israel, and the Arab part could become after the establishment of peace, the capital of the Palestinian Arab state. The Holy Places of all three religions will be administered autonomously by their respective institutions."

Mr. Niebuhr's two other points are more amorphous. While Zionism as a political movement does require a secular separation from the Jewish religion qua religion (as Herzl once said, "We shall prevent any theocratic tendencies from coming to the fore on the part of our priesthood. We shall keep our priests within the confines of their temples in the same way as we shall keep our professional army within the confines of their barracks....[Both] must not interfere in the administration of the State...."), there is no getting away from Israel as a "Jewish state." History and contemporary allegiances dictate this reality even for many atheistic Jews. The separation of religion and the political state is not as easily accomplished as Mr. Niebuhr seems to imply. A paragraph from the *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* makes the point rather well: "To the extent that the Jewish State is the outgrowth of Jewish (religious) history, the separation of these concepts is highly problematical. The 'State' is designed as a solution to a Jewish dilemma and justifies its existence on the basis of a religious historic tradition, no matter how it is reinterpreted....Modern Israeli attitudes toward religion cannot be divorced from attitudes toward the State of Israel."

As for speaking Hebrew and going to an Ulpan as sufficient basis for identification with the state, this is true today precisely because only Jews do so, with rare exceptions. And whether Jews of America have more or less personal religious faith than Jews in Israel is highly debatable. Anyway, the connection between political independence and personal religious faith largely escapes us.

As for Mr. Niebuhr's wish that we would have discussed in more detail how religious elements in Israel have become the exponents of a right-wing militarism, we will accede to his request in a future, shorter article.

Israel Singer Responds:

No! Jerusalem must remain a united city. The specific arrangement is left to negotiations as to how municipalities with multiple ethnic communities should be governed. There is an arrangement under the enlightened attempts of Teddy Kollek that seems to be working out fairly well now, but may indeed be in need of revision. If so, so be it. But all of the Arabs and Jews that I've met in the years I've lived and taught in Israel have felt that they were citizens of Jerusalem. This lends to Jerusalem not only its historical character of indivisibility but also one that exists in the popular will of its people. Generations of my grandparents, making great sacrifices to come and live in that city, were loyal to an indivisible Jerusalem before there was a State of Israel. I know that there are tens of thousands of Arab inhabitants of that same city who have continued to live in it because their loyalty is to Jerusalem, as it was before either the Palestinian movement or Zionism changed modern politics. Jerusalem therefore is a special subject and must be treated in a manner somewhat different from the usual geopolitical considerations.

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