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shatters the  
myth of the  
victimized  
immigrant.**

**BENJY LOPEZ**  
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—Miguel Barnet,  
*Caribbean Review*

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**COUNTING OUR BLESSINGS:  
REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE  
OF AMERICA**

by Daniel Patrick Moynihan

(Atlantic-Little Brown; xv + 348 pp.; \$12.95)

Kenneth W. Thompson

No one should underestimate the intellectual powers and political ambitions of Daniel Patrick Moynihan. In a time of all too visible mediocrity in American politics, the junior senator from New York towers above most of his colleagues. By dint of hard work, broad experience, and political flair he commends himself to important segments of the Democratic party and independents as a presidential prospect for 1984. He has surrounded himself with a tight-knit coterie of devoted if fanatical followers who have staked their future on their "philosopher-king." He has been "right" politically for millions of Americans as ambassador to the United Nations, Carter critic, and spokesman for larger defense budgets. With his latest book he appears to be taking one more step in his march toward a higher calling.

Yet for educated Americans who have suffered a famine of superior minds in high places, Moynihan's meteoric rise in politics continues to provoke debate. They ask if energy is matched with prudence. Are bold formulations grounded in wisdom? Some would question Moynihan's sense of history. Is it reasonable to believe that the same patterns which lead to the formation of domestic political parties are suited to the building of coalitions in the international community? Moynihan, for example, celebrates the Wilsonian worldview and national self-determination as the only goal for Americans, one that "has not only succeeded at the level of a norm but has also largely been implemented." Hans J. Morgenthau, on the other hand, contended that the liberation of Central and Eastern European nationalities "in the name of self-determination" led to "the destruction of the old imperial order [that] at once called forth...new imperialisms" and finally Hitler's dominion over Czechoslovakia and Poland. Morgenthau cited the observation of the *London Times*: "Self-determination, the professed principle of the Treaty of Versailles, has been invoked by Herr Hitler against its written text,

and his appeal has been allowed" (*Politics Among Nations*). Does Moynihan give away too much when he equates the claims for equality in the world with collectivist states? Has he forgotten that the American national purpose was stated by the founders as "equality in freedom"?

What is unsettling about Moynihan, given his extraordinary ability and promise, is his willingness to subordinate truths he understands to his own purposes. In politics as in personal life, norms exist in tension with one another, leading to Holmes's statement that it was not men of principle he admired but men who could find their way in a maze of conflicting principles. If the tragic fate of Woodrow Wilson provides one abiding lesson, it is that liberty must be weighed in the balance with order and equality; it is not the only goal worth pursuing. That America's adversary, the Soviet Union, has chosen to subordinate every moral and political end to a single political purpose hardly justifies emulation in the name of liberty. The world is populated by peoples and nations struggling to achieve their particular destinies, and America's cause is best served by an example of firmness in pursuing our several moral and political purposes and by an understanding of others' purposes rather than by "shouting from the housetops" about a single national goal that has not been fully realized as yet even under the most blessed of circumstances.

We hope the senator will grapple with these issues as he marches on.

**WAR OR PEACE? THE SEARCH  
FOR NEW ANSWERS**

ed. by Thomas A. Shannon

(Orbis Books; xiv + 255 pp.; \$9.95 [paper])

James T. Johnson

Just war theory and pacifism are widely thought to have little or nothing in common. Historically, this is a legacy of times past, when the just war approach marked Catholic doctrine and pacifism was characteristic mainly of radical Protestant groups. Still today many pacifists and just war proponents appear to regard each other with the wariness of mongoose and cobra. But the traditional distinctions between