

He also practiced “compassionate conservatism” without straining for it. His spelling book, used in American schools for more than a century and in some areas until the early 1930’s, taught generations of children, native-born and immigrant, to speak in a single voice of Standard American English, erasing their differences and raising their self-esteem in ways no government program can match.

Unfortunately, government strained for compassionate liberalism and now its efforts have virtually erased his. Today, writes Unger, bilingualism and multiculturalism have created:

a huge new nation within the United States—a nation whose children are grow-

ing up semiliterate in both English and their native tongues and who are developing little or no love or allegiance to their new land. As the dissimulative purveyors of multilingualism divide the nation culturally under the banner of individual liberty, they will all but surely divide the nation politically and provoke anarchy, as their predecessors have done throughout history.

Don’t miss this stirring book. When it first came to my attention I wondered if the subject of lexicography could hold its own in a post-impeachment, all-Monica-all-the-time atmosphere, but Unger’s memorable final assessment says it all: “Webster’s life was not about a dictionary. It was about creating a new nation—the United States of America—and making everyone in America an American.” ❀

The authors recount the popular uprising in fascinating detail. They point out that the allied forces could have rolled on to Baghdad with little risk of casualties. They note that Iraqi conscripts, mainly Shi’ites and Kurds, began deserting *en masse* soon after the shooting war began. At the same time, Saddam was removing his vaunted Republican Guard to safety to the north. This explains why so few bodies were found in the ruins of Iraqi installations by the advancing allies.

As the conscripted soldiers fled back across the Kuwait-Iraq border into home territory, they shot at posters of Saddam. Townspeople joined them, riots ensued and the revolt quickly spread to Basra and the Shi’ite holy cities of Khabala, Kufa, and Najaf. Members of Saddam’s security police were rooted out and shot. The uprising showed every sign of success. At one point, Saddam lost control of 14 of Iraq’s 18 provinces.

In the Kurdish north, meanwhile, another revolt began when police tried to round up army deserters in the town of Jash. The local militia, infiltrated by Kurdish separatists, rose up, seized the town, and the revolt soon spread across the mountainous area.

When the allied forces ceased fire on February 28, the uprisings entered a critical new phase. The authors tell us that a number of ranking military officers thought about throwing in with the rebels, but wanted to make sure they would be on the winning side, for the alternative would be death. For both this group and the rebels, a sign of support from the allies—especially the Americans—was essential. It never came. Instead, the U.S. command made it clear to rebel representatives that there would be no support for them. This information soon made its way to Saddam and had the effect of causing potential rebels in high places to draw back. In some instances, U.S. forces even prevented rebels from seizing arms abandoned by the Iraqi military.

According to the authors, America’s refusal to support the rebels rested on the by-then ironclad assumption of U.S. policymakers that extensive civil disorder would lead to the disintegration of Iraq. The underlying fear was that Washington’s bogeyman, Iran’s Ayatollah Khomeini, would send his forces into the void.

Bush and the Other Comeback Kid

Out of the Ashes: The Resurrection of Saddam Hussein

Andrew Cockburn and
Patrick Cockburn
HarperCollins / 322 pages / \$26

REVIEWED BY
Peter Hannaford

This is a story of missed opportunities, miscalculations, the devious cleverness of Saddam Hussein and his barbaric family, and the terrible consequences for ordinary Iraqis of eight years of economic sanctions (which are no closer to achieving their goal than they were the first year).

Its memory span being what it is, the public scarcely remembers the nearly successful effort by Shi’ites in southern Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein in March 1991. Yet with a few words of support from the United States, the revolt would have succeeded.

PETER HANNAFORD’s latest book is *The Quotable Ronald Reagan (Regnery)*.

According to the authors, brothers who are both old Middle East hands, the Bush administration’s belief was that, in the wake of Iraq’s humiliating defeat in the Gulf War, some of Saddam’s senior officers would stage a coup to remove him. Bush would encourage this outcome, in a speech planned for February 15. Early that day, however, Saddam hinted that he might be ready to withdraw from Kuwait. Television showed throngs of Iraqis in the streets, whooping it up for peace. Thus, at the last minute, the president’s speech was amended. Instead of calling on the Iraqi military to “take matters into their own hands,” he invited both “the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people” to do so. The people did just that, beginning in the south, populated heavily by Shi’ite Muslims.

Ironically, by fomenting a popular uprising the U.S. probably thwarted the coup for which it hoped. The authors learned from a source they consider reliable that senior Iraqi officers were indeed planning a coup. They were Sunnis, however, and when it seemed possible that a successful Shi’ite revolt might sunder the country, they rallied—at least for the time being—to Saddam.

And so the uprising fomented by us was thwarted by us. The clever Saddam capitalized on American fears by having his agents put up posters of the Ayatollah throughout southern Iraq, which only increased U.S. nervousness.

American officials had a ready alibi for opposing a popular rebellion. In background briefings they insisted it was the Saudis who were “adamantly opposed to aiding the Shia, since they were in mortal terror of Iran.” This was simply not true, the authors say. They cite an unnamed U.S. official who was questioned by the head of Saudi Intelligence “about ways to help the opposition.” Another U.S. official is quoted as saying bluntly, “The idea that the Saudi tail was wagging our dog is just bulls--t.” Charles Freeman, the U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia during the Gulf War, is quoted as saying, “Washington was obsessed with that idea [Iranian influence over a splintered Iraq] and attributed it to the Saudis. I don’t know where all this panic over the breakup of Iraq came from. After all, Mesopotamia has been around for quite a while—about six thousand years.” In short, America’s obsession with Iran caused it to abandon the rebels.

On March 26, 1991, President Bush convened his senior advisers to make a final decision on helping the rebels. With America in a state of euphoria over Desert Storm, they decided to leave the Iraqis to their own devices. It was an article of faith that internal pressures—increased by economic sanctions—would soon prompt a successful coup against Saddam.

As the sanctions began to take hold, the CIA engaged in various activities intended to undermine the regime. It bankrolled a European tour of an “atrocities exhibit” of photos to emphasize Saddam’s ruthlessness, and paid to send most of the delegates to the founding meeting of the dissident “Iraq National Congress.” All of this, and more, was intended to change the government in Baghdad, the very same government the Bush administration ultimately decided not to overthrow.

America’s policy toward Saddam has been confused from the start. “The United States fought the Gulf War to prevent change,” the authors write. Saddam had upset the order of

“
**At one point in the
 uprising, Saddam lost
 control of 14 of Iraq’s
 18 provinces.**
 ”

things by invading Kuwait on August 1, 1990. Until then, he had been something of a regional ally, especially during the Iran-Iraq war. Success in the war was intended to put things back in place, thus insuring the safety of the region’s oil supply and thwarting any Iranian move to expand its influence.

Not surprisingly, eight years later, Saddam is still in power. The sanctions, intended to get Iraqis to blame Saddam and bring about his downfall, haven’t worked, though they’ve helped bring death to untold numbers of Iraqis from malnutrition or disease. UNSCOM (the United Nations weapons inspection program) did prevent Saddam from rebuilding his nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs, but its cessation gives him time to start them up again.

The authors give us an insight into Saddam’s character that U.S. officials should ponder. Shortly after seizing power Saddam said in 1979: “What is politics? Politics is when you say you are going to do one thing while intending to do another. Then you do neither what you said nor what you intended.” He used that *modus operandi* numerous times to create crises over UNSCOM, in order to buy time to hide weapon-making equipment. For several years Saddam profited by the mistakes of his internal and external enemies. He assumed correctly, for example, that threats by the Clinton administration were idle ones.

The administration finally stopped its dithering when it launched a major air strike last December. Almost daily bombing of anti-aircraft and radar sites in the “no-fly” zones since then are having an effect. Reports finding their way from Iraq now suggest that Saddam’s grip on power may be weakening. The Cockburns’ con-

clusion may yet prove prophetic: “Saddam’s downfall will come at the hands of his own people, independent of outside intervention—a fact of which he himself is well aware. He knows that the rage and hatred of the masses who, for a few delirious days, defaced his portraits and lynched his henchmen in March 1991 have not gone away. Sooner or later there will be a day of reckoning.” ❁

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China/Timmerman (Continued from page 33)

information obtained by TAS shows that the State Department licensed the export to China of 522 Hughes telephone ground stations valued at just over \$5 million in March 1996. The ultimate buyer was the China Electronic Systems Engineering Company, an entity directly controlled by the PLA's General Staff Department, according to a publicly available chart prepared by the Defense Intelligence Agency of China's International Defense-Industrial Organizations. The Hughes equipment was licensed as Munitions list items.

Maloof's Office of Technology Security Operations objected last year to the sale by Hughes of a sophisticated new communications satellite to the Asia-Pacific Mobile Telecommunications (APMT) consortium, which is part-owned by the PLA, "because of an anonymous tip it received in late May 1998 that the son of the deputy director of COSTIND [the Chinese State Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense, which ultimately controls weapons development plans in China] was project manager of APMT at Hughes's U.S. facility." When Hughes sought approval in 1996 to allow the son, Shen Jun, to work at Hughes, their application stated he would "be only a translator, although as it turned out he was an APMT project director," Maloof told Congress. One of the most disturbing elements about the APMT project was a Chinese requirement that the new satellite be configured so that it could handle separate encrypted channels for Chinese military communications. The Chinese began relying on U.S.-built civilian communications satellites in 1996, Maloof wrote, after the catastrophic failure of their military communications satellites. As a result, "they had no choice but to resort to the use of previously purchased U.S. satellites for their encrypted communications."

Maloof's charges were confirmed laconically by the Department of Defense in a May 1998 report to Congress on PRC Military capabilities,

which acknowledged the assistance of Western telecommunications firms in installing advanced telecommunications equipment used by the Chinese military. In a separate report on the security situation in the Taiwan Strait, delivered in February 1999, the Pentagon acknowledged that the PLA communications network "uses the same types of communications mediums as the civil network.... The military's lack of communications satellites could force the PLA to rely on foreign satellite services to meet military needs in wartime or a crisis," the report stated.

As a result of these sales, one congressional source told TAS, "our ability to decrypt Chinese military communications has been seriously degraded." Meanwhile, of course, the capabilities of the Chinese military have been greatly expanded. But all of that falls under the Clinton administration priority of making the Chinese Communists feel more comfortable.

More scandals will emerge once the Cox report is finally declassified and made public. But one thing is certain: Nothing is going to stop the Clinton administration from pursuing its policy of engaging the Chinese military and selling off U.S. security, short of a political explosion back in the United States. What remains to be seen is whether the Republicans can capture the high ground on foreign affairs and national security issues, and get voters to care about something other than their stock portfolios and the booming economy. ❁

For a selection of Kenneth Timmerman's previous reporting on China and U.S. national security, see The American Spectator Online at www.spectator.org.

Nuclear Secrets/Roberts (Continued from page 39)

But to have value to a foreign intelligence service, the codes need to be explained in detail. That takes at least a day or two, and exposes the spy to further risks. Even then, fabricating a workable nuclear device like the W-88 is a significant engineering achievement requiring advanced technology—technology to which Wen

Ho Lee did not have access. The simplest explanation is that China's nuclear spying probably extends beyond anything that Wen Ho Lee is alleged to have done.

"The evidence is that [Chinese agents] were talking to many people," says Ambassador Lilley. "We don't know if there's a mole in Los Alamos. That it is the target of their activity, that we know."

Clinton has asked former Senator Warren Rudman, head of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, to make a full assessment of the damage from Chinese spying. CIA Director George Tenet has tasked retired Navy Admiral David Jeremiah with leading the agency's independent review. The CIA's internal review will be headed by Robert Walpole, national intelligence officer for strategic and nuclear programs for the National Intelligence Council.

Intelligence insiders expect the publicly disclosed assessments to be a whitewash. Citing the administration's strenuous efforts to suppress publication of Rep. Chris Cox's committee report on Chinese espionage, they expect the White House to try to keep the details of the W-88 theft classified.

It is unlikely that any of these review boards will come up with the solution proposed by Shelby Brewer in Senate hearings two years ago. Brewer, who is now with the nuclear power investment holding company Brewer-Hanzlik Nuclear Partners, testified that the national security functions of the Energy Department should be split off and given to the Defense Department. Former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger appeared on the same panel and seconded Brewer's view.

If the culture wars truly contributed to the lax security that permitted the most significant loss of nuclear secrets since the Rosenbergs, it would be only logical to shift the DOE's nuclear weapons function to a more hospitable culture. Such a move would set the stage for eliminating the department's Cabinet status. The ultimate casualty of the W-88 espionage scandal may turn out to be the Department of Energy itself. ❁

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Culture Vultures/Steyn

(Continued from page 41)

aby. In other words, he's facing a murder rap for doing for free what abortionists do for a living. Those Transportation TV ads are only the starkest example of how soft-focus policies "for the children" bear no relation to the grubby reality.

But I don't suppose America's political infantilism will be ending anytime soon. When Clinton does his "for the children" tuff, it's like watching Jerry Lewis on his elethon. You know that, left to their own devices, these guys would rather be out chasing cocktail waitresses. Al Gore, by contrast, has no such redeeming virtues. He believes in touting not just kids in general but his own kids in particular as the basis for public policy. In 1992, it was his son, who was almost killed in a car crash. By 1996, he'd moved on to his sister, who died of lung cancer. Gore "loved her more than life itself," he told America in a hushed voice, and paused. "And that is why until I draw my last breath I will pour my heart and soul into the cause of protecting our children from the dangers of smoking." Never mind the vice president's years as an enthusiastic tobacco farmer, or the fact that—compared to, say, gay sex—smoking's about one of the safest things our children could take up. The crucial decision the American people face next year is whether they're prepared to spend four years under a president who talks to them in the ponderous tones of a concerned grade-school teacher. Unlike Bill Clinton, who wants every American child to go to college, Al Gore seems determined to keep us all in kindergarden. It's reassuring to find, if current polls are any guide, that even in modern America sometimes a politician can be so infantile. ❁

Correspondence

(Continued from page 11)

many more encounters with Democrats and follows the ignominious Senate retreat, adopting that doubtfully august body's surrender to the Rodney King mantra, "Can't we all just get along," then the GOP may just as well fold up its tent and quietly steal away.

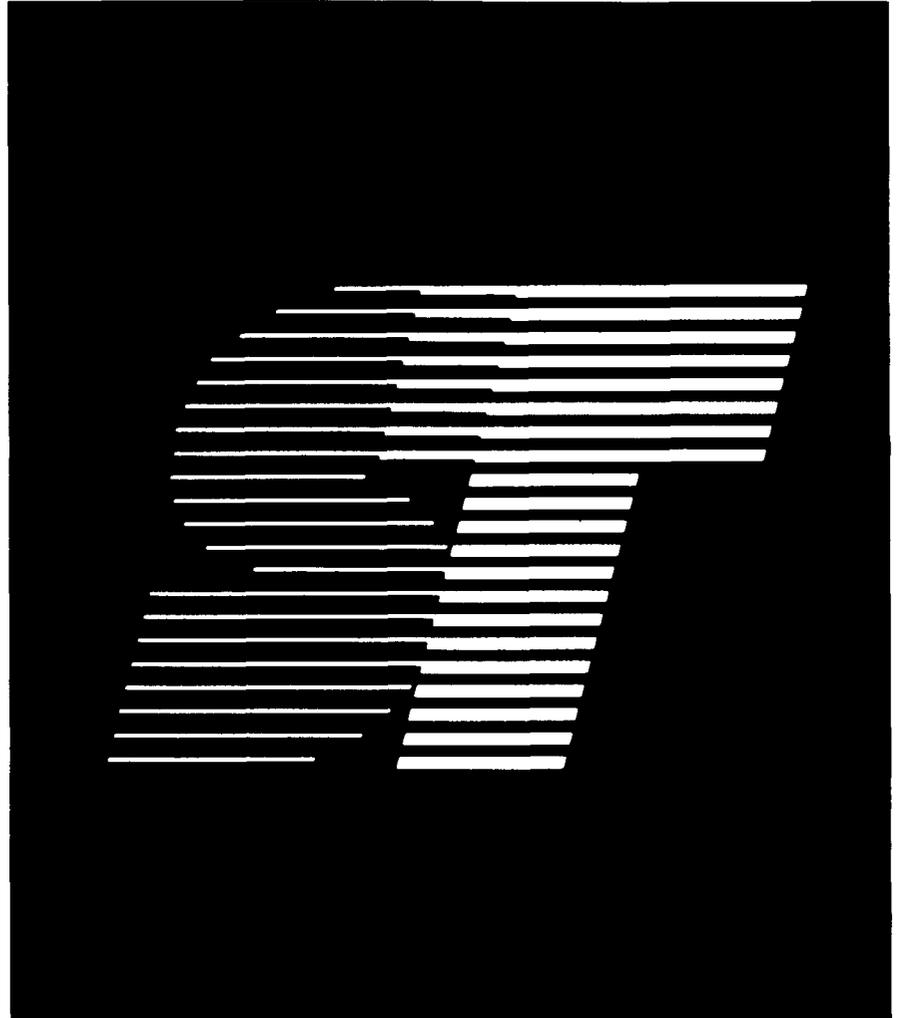
Obviously only the House managers, led by the redoubtable Henry J. Hyde,

know what the basic conflict is, and how to fight for the high ground. And until the RNC reinforces its current ho-hum leadership with the strength of Hyde and his constitutionally well-trained disciples, the war will continue to be lost. (E.g., on national TV, Mitch McConnell, RNSC chairman, complained that the Senate was reluctant to hold the impeachment trial but was forced to do so because "it was

brought over to us by the House." Boy, is that team spirit! Brotherhood! Loyalty!)

The conservative Republican banner truly is dragging the ground. And until proven leaders are enabled to hoist it aloft for us again, our Republic will be eating the dust of this trampled standard far into the future.

—BARBARA W. ELLIOTT
Columbia City, Indiana



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Senatorial Courtesy

Mark Steyn's article is interesting but not surprising ("The Senate's Footstool Fops," *TAS*, March 1999). The U.S. Senate has been going downhill since April 8, 1913, when the 17th Amendment was ratified. Any similarity between the current Senate and that which the Founding Fathers intended is purely coincidental.

The Founders had in mind a Senate appointed by the state legislatures that would safeguard the independent and sovereign states against federal encroachments. The purpose of six-year terms was to shield that august body from the perils of "public opinion" and to enable it to do its duty without undue pressures. The Senate produced men such as Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Webster, and others who were not afraid to put their duty ahead of self-interest and politics.

Since 1913 the Senate has deteriorated into a vipers' nest of pork barrel politicians that corrupts even the most honorable members such as Daniel Patrick Moynihan and demands that the party's interest come before God and country. Ted Kennedy and his ilk are simply the "cream of a bad crop."

Benjamin Franklin gave a good description of career politicians in his speech to the Constitutional Convention on the subject of salaries back in 1787. He describes Mr. Kennedy and his ilk perfectly.

Regardless, the Senate will never be reformed until the 17th Amendment is repealed. Don't hold your breath!

— JACK R. KINCADE
Mason, Ohio

Kissing Kazan

Re: James Bowman's remarks in the March 1999 *TAS*: While discussing the award given to Elia Kazan, Mr. Bowman says conservatives should think twice about being approving of betrayal.

Relatives of mine died in the Soviet Gulag system. Kazan wasn't betraying anyone. He was pointing out people who were adherents to a pseudo-religion that inspired murder on a vast scale, and who were not loyal to the United States. Also, there was a pretty fierce Cold War going on.

Kazan's actions were absolutely justified. Mr. Bowman should give a bit more thought to this matter. Would he have had the same reaction if Kazan were a former member of the old Nazi-American Bund, and had fingered ex-Nazis?

— BRIAN HOGAN
Dearborn, Michigan

James Bowman replies:

Mr. Hogan has misunderstood my reservations about Elia Kazan's naming of names. If his action had been necessary for national security, or to save the life of one of Mr. Hogan's relations in the Gulag, no one could reasonably have objected to it. But as the names were already known, his being so theatrical about betraying his former friends had the look, rather, of grandstanding and was certainly gratuitous.

Something Old, Something New

I began subscribing to the *Spectator* sometime in the spring of '79. How does this rank among your subscribers?

Although I still enjoy and find the magazine useful, I must confess I miss the old *Spectator*. There was nothing then on the market, and needless to say, there is nothing now, close to what the old *Spectator* was doing. For example, I first was introduced to P.G. Wodehouse from a cover piece you did on him sometime in the early eighties. Discovering the joy of Wodehouse alone has been worth the price of my twenty-year subscription. Of course, this is not to diminish the pleasures received over the years from your work. (*Public Nuisances* to this day holds an honored place on my bookshelf.) Nor is this to diminish the benefits received from the ever insightful Tom Bethell. But nonetheless, how about it, is there a chance of seeing at least a few feature pieces in the manner of the old style—something less immediately "topical"? I suggest nothing radical, just a slightly different mix of the old and new.

A loyal reader of twenty years and counting,

— RICHARD COTHREN
Blacksburg, Virginia

I Couldn't Sleep at All Last Night

In March's Last Call, "In the Wee Smal Hours," Joseph Shattan mentions Stalin's habitual late night drinking and carousing and attributes it to "a serious sleep disorder."

Stalin had a disorder all right. It's called alcoholism and one of its symptoms is an inability to sleep until very high blood alcohol levels are reached. Quantities of alcohol that sedate normal drinkers cause tension and agitation in alcoholics.

Both the alcoholic Dorothy Parker and the alcoholic Tallulah Bankhead were famous for hosting hours-long "dinner parties" which were nothing more than thinly disguised binges. The alcoholic James Thurber was remembered by his close friend Robert Coates as a "noctambule," a person who reversed the normal working-sleeping habit.

Stalin had the same problem. Khrushchev, who was not an alcoholic, mentions the terror of Stalin's dinners. "These dinners were frightful... during the day I usually tried to take a nap... [otherwise] you might get sleepy at the table, and those who got sleepy at Stalin's table could come to a bad end."

— JAMES GRAHAM
*Author, The Secret History
of Alcoholism (1996,
Lexington, Virginia)*

It Pays to Renew

The satire and absurdity contained in the two pages of March's Continuing Crisis were worth more than the price of a year's subscription. Because of time constraints I was going to let my subscription lapse. After reading this, I am going to renew, get a subscription for my father, and find the time to read your magazine. Thanks so much. *TAS* is A-OK!

— THOMAS G. DEMARCHI
Carmel, New York

Thanks

Just a simple note to express my gratitude at all the wonderful research, investigation, writing, analysis, commentary and personalities found in each issue of *TAS*. I impatiently await each issue.

— PATTI-JO BURTNETT
Strongsville, Ohio

Classifieds

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The Nation

Professor Eric Alterman apprises the gloomy readers of this venerable wail sheet of an astonishing rebirth in American culture. Glad Tidings! Good News!

Now that the Constitution has been rescued and sexual McCarthyism discredited, perhaps the most durable legacy of the Lewinsky mess is the central location of the right-wing slime machine on the American political landscape.

[MARCH 15, 1999]

Newsweek

More soap opera within the Clinton White House, as sensitive George (Stephanopoulos) beholds serene Betty (Currie) upon the liberation of O.J. (Simpson):

Everyone returned to work, and Clinton retreated to the relative solitude of the Oval, leaving the office to Betty—the only African-American in the room. We had first worked together in the Dukakis campaign, then the War Room, now the White House. She was a serene presence. As I returned to my office, I wondered about her. Boy, it must have been painful for her to watch that scene, even if she loves the president, even if she's friends with us. Ashamed of my insensitivity, I went back to talk with her about it and asked if she could explain the cheers.

"You mean, what do they think in the 'hood?" she asked, with just enough of an edge to let me know that my outraged reaction to the verdict had been noted. "Most people feel vindicated by the verdict. It sends the message that the police can't screw around with black people."

But Betty, what kind of a message does it send to let a murderer go free? The look on my face gave me away. So Betty brought up a talk we'd had shortly after O.J. was arrested. "Remember, George, when this started, I thought he was guilty and you didn't believe it." It was a gentle reproach, a reminder to be humble in my judgments.

[MARCH 15, 1999]

Village Voice

Slobodan Milosevic isn't the only Hitler out there:

To many progs, the impeachment seemed like a clear and present danger—"a peaceful attempt to assassinate the president," in Steinem's words. Though Hitchens dismisses the idea that the campaign against Clinton was an attempted coup, it certainly seemed to many activists that his removal from office would have ushered in a period of right-wing dominance. Even a hardcore radical like Mary Lou Greenberg, who is also a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, felt compelled to defend a president who declared that "the age of big government is over." She took her cue from "the errors of the Communist forces in Weimar Germany. One error was not taking fascism seriously, and another was not uniting with a segment of the ruling class to defeat these fascist forces."

[MARCH 17-23, 1999]

Co-Op American Quarterly

Death, where is thy sting? An environmentalist bulletin brimming with good news despite melancholy events:

The Way to Go—Straw Coffins

BioFab of Redding, CA has begun marketing biodegradable coffins made from rice straw for the final resting place of the environmentally conscious. The coffin is 99 percent straw and contains no wood. Made from a compressed liner board with a straw core, strawboard is the same material used to make interior walls, pallets and furniture and is a low cost, nontoxic way of using waste fiber.

According to BioFab's website, some people like to buy them in advance. "They use the large boxes for storage, window seats, coffee tables, wine racks, book shelves, or you think of a use." The manufacturer markets the coffins over the internet and at retail stores in central California. It's a great way to become one with the environment.

[SPRING 1999]

Monterey County Herald

The beginning of the Raccoon Rights Movement:

We read almost every day about mother abusing their children or killing their babies and stuffing them in garbage. We are appalled, mothers get a slap on their hand. But let one child get the raccoon virus and thousands of poor beasts are slaughtered. Why are raccoons invading our yards? Because we have deprived them of their habitat. Humans are breeding like flies and displacing wildlife more and more. Slaughter of the defenseless is not the answer.

—TATIANA MITCHELL
Seaside

[DECEMBER 6, 1998]

Washington Times

On the correspondence page of the *Good Times*, the dark side of the First Amendment exposed by another of the selfless patriots cracking the whip over our government bureaucracy:

I am writing in response to James Bovard's recent article discussing government partnerships between labor and management ("Revolt in the bureaucratic ranks," Commentary, Feb. 17)....

Mr. Bovard would have us move back in time to the outmoded, archaic top-down management theories developed in the 1890's rather than move government operations, through partnership, into the 21st century with a more flexible, creative and responsive work force able to meet the changing needs of the American people.

It is people such as Mr. Bovard—senselessly vilifying government workers—who help plant seeds in the minds of sick people such as Timothy McVeigh, resulting in tragedies such as the Oklahoma City bombing,

—BOBBY L. HARNAGE, SR.

NATIONAL PRESIDENT
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO
Washington

[FEBRUARY 28, 1999]