

**Dictionary of American Conservatism**, by Louis Filler (*New York: Philosophical Library, 1986*)

**Right Minds: A Sourcebook of American Conservative Thought**, by Gregory Wolfe (*Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, 1987*)

**Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought**, edited by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Charles R. Kesler (*New York: Harper & Row, 1987*)

# NATIONAL REVIEW

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# NATIONAL REVIEW

# A READER'S GUIDE for the INTELLIGENT AMERICAN

*For Paul,  
a "real" conservative  
from  
Paul Ciss  
8/93*

## Introduction

The **National Review Reader's Guide for the Intelligent American** is a list of some of the books we consider fundamental to a thorough understanding of conservatism.

Our primary source is **Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought**, edited by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Charles R. Kesler (*New York: Harper & Row, 1987*). As an addendum to their anthology of recent conservative writing, the authors provided an historical bibliography of the literature which has been influential in forming the conservative philosophy.

About 200 titles are listed herein in 11 categories. The categories themselves reflect the broad areas of inquiry with which conservatives should be familiar. Understanding of the Western tradition begins with the Classics of Political Theory, and is supported by important works of History.

The great revolutions of the 18th Century continue to have intellectual repercussions two centuries later, and are discussed in the works listed in The American Political Tradition and The French Revolution. The continuing debate between traditionalists and libertarians is carried forward in Order and Tradition and Free Market Economics, and some of the best conservative writing about U.S. Domestic Policy and U.S. Foreign Policy is gathered under those headings.

The history of our time has been animated by the rise and (dare we say) fall of Communism. Yet even as history changes before our eyes, an understanding of the history of Communism and the Soviet Union remains indispensable, and it is nowhere more clearly understood than in The Individual Experience of Communism.

Finally, conservatism itself has been the subject of a number of lively studies. Many of the books listed under Modern American Conservatism contain extended bibliographies of special interest to those interested in further reading.

## Classics of Political Theory

**Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo**, by Plato (*c. 395 B.C.*)

**The Republic**, by Plato (*c. 366 B.C.*)

**Nicomachean Ethics**, by Aristotle (*c. 332 B.C.*)

**Politics**, by Aristotle (*c. 328 B.C.*)

**The Aeneid**, by Virgil (*19 B.C.*)

**The Confessions**, by Saint Augustine (*400*)

**The City of God**, by Saint Augustine (*426*)

**Discourses on the First Decade of Livy**, by Nicolo Machiavelli (*1513*)

**The Prince**, by Nicolo Machiavelli (*1513*)

**Leviathan**, by Thomas Hobbes (*1651*)

**A Letter Concerning Toleration**, by John Locke (*1689*)

**Second Treatise on Civil Government**, by John Locke (*1690*)

**A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality**, by Jean Jacques Rousseau (*1755*)

**A Discourse on Political Economy**, by Jean Jacques Rousseau (*1755*)

**The Social Contract**, by Jean Jacques Rousseau (*1762*)

**Apologia Pro Vita Sua**, by John Henry Cardinal Newman (*1864*)

**Beyond Good and Evil**, by Friedrich Nietzsche (*1886*)

## History

**The History of the Peloponnesian War**, by Thucydides (*c. 410 B.C.*)

**History of England**, 4 vols., by Thomas B. Macaulay (*1848-56*)

**Marlborough: His Life and Times**, 6 vols., by Winston S. Churchill  
(*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933-38*)

**A History of the English-Speaking Peoples**, 4 vols., by Winston S. Churchill  
(*New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1956-58*)

**Order and History**, 5 vols., by Eric Voegelin (*Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956-87*)

**The City and Man**, by Leo Strauss (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964*)

**History of Political Philosophy**, edited by Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey  
(*Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964*)

**Modern Times**, by Paul Johnson (*New York: Harper & Row, 1983*)

### **The American Political Tradition**

**The Federalist Papers**, by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay  
(1787-88)

**The Framing of the Constitution**, by Max Farrand (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913*)

**Crisis of the House Divided**, by Harry V. Jaffa (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959*)

**The Conservative Affirmation**, by Willmoore Kendall (*Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1963*)

**The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution**, by Bernard Bailyn  
(*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967*)

**The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787**, by Gordon Wood  
(*New York: Norton, 1969*)

**Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition**, by Willmoore Kendall and George Carey  
(*Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970*)

**Willmoore Kendall Contra Mundum**, edited by Nellie Kendall (*New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1971*)

**How to Think About the American Revolution**, by Harry V. Jaffa  
(*Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1978*)

**American Conservatism and the American Founding**, by Harry V. Jaffa  
(*Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1978*)

**A Better Guide Than Reason**, by M.E. Bradford (*La Salle, Ill.: Sherwood Sugden, 1979*)

**What the Anti-Federalists Were For**, by Herbert J. Storing (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981*)

**Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution**, by Forrest McDonald  
(*Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987*)

**Taking the Constitution Seriously**, by Walter Berns (*New York: Simon & Shuster, 1987*)

**Saving the Revolution: The Federalist Papers and the American Founding**, by Charles R. Kesler  
(*New York: The Free Press, 1987*)

### **The French Revolution**

**Reflections on the Revolution in France**, by Edmund Burke (1790)

**Works**, by Joseph de Maistre (c. 1797), edited by Jack Lively  
(*New York: Macmillan, 1965*)

**The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy**, by J.L. Talmon (*New York: Praeger, 1960*)

**Paris in the Terror**, by Stanley Loomis (*Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964*)

**The French Revolution**, by M.J. Sydenham (*New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965*)

**The Anatomy of Revolution**, by Crane Brinton (*New York: Vintage Books, 1965*)

**Statesmanship and Party Government**, by Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.  
(*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965*)

**The Sociological Tradition**, by Robert A. Nisbet (*New York: Basic Books, 1967*)

**Citizens**, by Simon Schama (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989*)

### **Order and Tradition**

**Orthodoxy**, by G.K. Chesterton (1908) (*Darby, Penn.: Darby Books, 1980*)

**The Abolition of Man**, by C.S. Lewis (1943) (*New York: Macmillan, 1978*)

**The Case for Christianity**, by C.S. Lewis (*New York: Macmillan, 1943*)

**Persons and Places**, 3 vols., by George Santayana (*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944*)

**Notes Toward the Definition of Culture**, by T.S. Eliot (*New York: Harcourt Brace, 1949*)

**Selected Essays**, by T.S. Eliot (*New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950*)

**Natural Right and History**, by Leo Strauss (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950*)

**The New Science of Politics**, by Eric Voegelin (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952*)

**The Conservative Mind**, by Russell Kirk (*Chicago: Regnery Books, 1953*)

**Edmund Burke and the Natural Law**, by Peter J. Stanlis (*Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958*)

**The Political Reason of Edmund Burke**, by Francis Canavan (*Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960*)

**The Sacred Wood**, by T.S. Eliot (*New York: Methuen, 1960*)

**We Hold These Truths**, by John Courtney Murray (*New York: Sheed & Ward, 1960*)

**The Crisis of Western Education**, by Christopher Dawson (*New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961*)

**Rationalism in Politics**, by Michael Oakeshott, (*New York: Basic Books, 1962*)

**The Southern Tradition at Bay**, by Richard M. Weaver, edited by George Core and M.E. Bradford, (*New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1968*)

**The World's Body**, by John Crowe Ransom (*Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968*)

**Essays of Four Decades**, by Allen Tate (*Chicago: Swallow Press, 1969*)

**The Pound Era**, by Hugh Kenner (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971*)

**The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation**, by Midge Decter (*New York: Coward, McCann, and Goeghegan, 1972*)

**Political Philosophy: Six Essays by Leo Strauss**, edited by Hilail Gildin (*Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1975*)

**Escape from Skepticism**, by Christopher Derrick (*La Salle, Ill.: Sherwood Sugden, 1977*)

**Two Cheers for Capitalism**, by Irving Kristol (*New York: Basic Books, 1978*)

**Breaking Ranks: A Political Memoir**, by Norman Podhoretz (*New York: Harper & Row, 1979*)

**The Portable Conservative Reader**, by Russell Kirk (*New York: Penguin Books, 1982*)

**The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism**, by Michael Novak (*New York: Simon & Shuster, 1982*)

**Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary**, by Robert A. Nisbet (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982*)

**Reflections of a Neo-Conservative**, by Irving Kristol (*New York: Basic Books, 1983*)

**Thinking About Crime**, by James Q. Wilson (*New York: Basic Books, 1983*)

**Men and Marriage**, by George Gilder (*Gretna, La: Pelican Publishers, 1986*)

**Edmund Burke: Prescription and Providence**, by Francis Canavan (*Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1987*)

**Acts of Recovery: Essays on Culture and Politics**, by Jeffrey Hart (*Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989*)

### **Free Market Economics**

**The Wealth of Nations**, by Adam Smith (*1776*)

**Principles of Political Economy and Taxation**, by David Ricardo (*1821*)

**On Liberty**, by John Stuart Mill (*1859*)

**Theory of Political Economy**, by W. Stanley Jevons (*1871*)

**Principles of Economics**, by Alfred Marshall (*1890*)

**Risk, Uncertainty and Profit**, by Frank H. Knight (*1921*) (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985*)

**On Doing the Right Thing and Other Essays**, by Albert Jay Nock (*New York: Harper, 1928*)

**Free Speech and Plain Language**, by Albert Jay Nock (*New York: Morrow and Company, 1939*)

**The Road to Serfdom**, by F.A. Hayek (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944*)

**Economics in One Lesson**, by Henry Hazlitt (*1946*) (*New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1979*)

**Human Action**, by Ludwig von Mises (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949*)

**Socialism**, by Ludwig von Mises (*1951*) (*Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981*)

**The Constitution of Liberty**, by F.A. Hayek (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960*)

**A Humane Economy**, by Wilhelm Ropke (*Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1960*)

**The Calculus of Consent**, by James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (*Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962*)

**Capitalism and Freedom**, by Milton Friedman (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962*)

**A Monetary History of the United States**, by Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963*)

**Anarchy, State and Utopia**, by Robert Nozick (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974*)

**Wealth and Poverty**, by George Gilder (*New York: Basic Books, 1981*)

**Takings**, by Richard Epstein (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985*)

**The Capitalist Revolution**, by Peter L. Berger (*New York: Basic Books, 1986*)

### **U.S. Domestic Policy**

**The Unheavenly City**, by Edward Banfield (*Boston: Little, Brown, 1970*)

**The Philosopher in the City**, by Hadley Arkes (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981*)

**Statecraft as Soulcraft: What Government Does**, by George F. Will (*New York: Simon and Shuster, 1982*)

**When the Going Was Good: American Life in the Fifties**, by Jeffrey Hart (*New York: Crown Publishers, 1982*)

**Single Issues**, by Joseph Sobran (*New York: Human Life Press, 1983*)

**Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980**, by Charles A. Murray (*New York: Basic Books, 1984*)

**Civil Rights, Rhetoric or Reality**, by Thomas Sowell (*New York: William Morrow, 1984*)

**The Supply-Side Revolution**, by Paul Craig Roberts (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984*)

**First Things**, by Hadley Arkes (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986*)

**The Rise of Modern Judicial Review: From Constitutional Interpretation to Judge-Made Law**, by Christopher Wolfe (*New York: Basic Books, 1986*)

**The Tempting of America**, by Robert H. Bork (*New York: The Free Press, 1990*)

### **U.S. Foreign Policy**

**The Struggle for the World**, by James Burnham (*New York: John Day, 1947*)

**Suicide of the West**, by James Burnham (*New York: John Day, 1964*)

**The War We Are In**, by James Burnham (*New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1967*)

**The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire**, by Edward Luttwak (*Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976*)

**Kingdoms of the Blind**, by Harold R. Rood (*Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1980*)

**The Present Danger**, by Norman Podhoretz (*New York: Simon & Shuster, 1980*)

**Dictatorships and Double Standards**, by Jeane Kirkpatrick (*New York: Simon & Shuster, 1982*)

**Survival Is Not Enough**, by Richard Pipes (*New York: Simon & Shuster, 1984*)

**Imperialism and the Anti-Imperial Mind**, by Lewis Feuer (*Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1986*)

### **Communism and The Soviet Union**

**The Communist Mind**, by Gerhart Niemeyer (*Philadelphia: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1963*)

**How Russia is Ruled**, by Merle Fainsod (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963*)

**The Russian Revolution**, 2 vols., by Henry Chamberlain (*New York: Grosset, 1965*)

**The Great Terror**, by Robert Conquest (*New York: Macmillan, 1968*)

**Russia Under the Old Regime**, by Richard Pipes (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974*)

**The Lenin Anthology**, edited by Robert C. Tucker (*New York: Norton, 1975*)

**The Origins of the Communist Autocracy**, by Leonard Shapiro (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977*)

**The Marx-Engels Reader**, edited by Robert C. Tucker (*New York: Norton, 1978*)

**Main Currents of Marxism**, 3 vols., by Leszek Kolakowski (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978*)

**The Socialist Phenomenon**, by Igor Shafarevich (*New York: Harper & Row, 1980*)

**The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine**, by Robert Conquest (*New York: Oxford University Press, 1986*)

**Utopia in Power**, by Mikhail Heller and Aleksandr M. Nekrich (*New York: Summit Books, 1986*)

**Marx and the Gulag: Two Essays**, by Thomas G. West and Sanderson Shaub (*Claremont, Calif.: The Claremont Institute, 1987*)

**The Russian Tradition**, by Tibor Szamuely (*London: Fontana Press, 1988*)

### *The Individual Experience of Communism*

**Darkness at Noon**, by Arthur Koestler (*1941*) (*New York: Bantam Books, 1970*)

**Homage to Catalonia**, by George Orwell (*1952*) (*San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1969*)

**Witness**, by Whittaker Chambers (*Washington, D.C.: Regnery Books, 1952*)

**The Captive Mind**, by Czeslaw Milosz (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953*)

**The Cypresses Believe in God**, by Jose Maria Gironella (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955*)

**The Journals of Andre Gide**, by Andre Gide (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956*)

**Doctor Zhivago**, by Boris Pasternak (*New York: Pantheon Books, 1958*)

**Conversations with Stalin**, by Milovan Djilas (*New York: Harcourt Brace, 1962*)

**One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich**, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn (*New York: Praeger, 1963*)

**Cold Friday**, by Whittaker Chambers (*New York: Random House, 1964*)

**Bread and Wine**, by Ignazio Silone (*1965*) (*New York: Atheneum, 1978*)

**Ward 7**, by Valerity Tarsis (*New York: E.P. Dutton, 1965*)

**Speak Memory: An Autobiography Revisited**, by Vladimir Nabokov (*New York: G.P. Putnum's Sons, 1966*)

**The Gulag Archipelago**, 3 vols., by Alexander Solzhenitsyn (*New York: Harper & Row, 1974-75*)

**Coming Out of the Ice**, by Victor Herman (*New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1979*)

**Against All Hope**, by Armando Valladares (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986*)

### *Modern American Conservatism*

**God and Man at Yale**, by William F. Buckley, Jr. (*1951*) (*Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, 1986*)

**Conservatism in America**, by Clinton Rossiter (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955*)

**Up From Liberalism**, by William F. Buckley, Jr. (*1959*) (*New York: Stein and Day, 1985*)

**In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo**, by Frank S. Meyer (*Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1962*)

**The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945**, by George H. Nash (*New York: Basic Books, 1976*)

**Confessions of a Conservative**, by Garry Wills (*New York: Doubleday, 1979*)

**Coolidge and the Historians**, by Thomas B. Silver (*Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1982*)

**The Rise of the Right**, by William A. Rusher (*New York: William Morrow, 1984*)

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