

them. This may be said to be an unrelenting law which no one can ignore with impunity.

My reservations about this book are two-fold, stylistic and substantive. Certain editorial refinements are needed. For one thing a glossary of Chinese names should have been appended so that some of the inconsistencies in the English transliteration of Chinese names could have been eliminated or minimized. (For example Shao Litzu sometimes appears as Shao Li-tsi; Li Chen sometimes as Li Cheng.) The documentation could have been further improved by adding a bibliography that would include such important documents as the secret Central Correspondence (Chung-yang t'ung-hsin), *Hungch'i jih-pao* of Shanghai, *Hungse chung-hua* of Juichin, *Ch'un-chung* of Yen-an, etc. *The History of the Sino-Japanese War* and the *Military History of Annihilation Campaign*, released by the Republic's Department of Defense, and Chen Ch'eng's private papers on early CCP activities also merit attention, as do certain publications of the U. S. Senate Committee on Government Operations and the U. S. Department of State. One can only regret Professor Kwei's parsimonious coverage (one sentence, plus one and one half pages of annotations) of the Sian Incident, which was the epicenter of the CCP-KMT struggle and a watershed of Chinese political history.

All things considered, though, Professor Kwei's book is a welcome and valuable addition to the world's knowledge of the protracted agony of modern China's aspiration for greatness. Having paid an horrendous human cost, China now enters a new phase of the KMT-CCP contest. On the outcome depends the choice between the humanistic democracy of Sun Yat-Sen and the margarine Marxism of Mao Tse-tung. In putting this contest into historical perspective, Professor Kwei has made a fascinating tale.

Reviewed by RICHARD HSIUH YANG

¹*New China Daily News*, September 1, 1940.

Social Cost of Socialism

The New Totalitarians, by Roland Huntford, New York: Stein & Day, Publishers, 1972. 354 pp. \$10.00.

THIS IS A BOOK about Sweden by *The Observer's* Scandinavian correspondent. His thesis is that "modern Sweden has fulfilled Huxley's specifications for the new totalitarianism." He makes a good case. *Brave New World* mottoes and 1984 Newspeak are in evidence. Sweden even has a Minister of Family Affairs and a government sexual policy which is to equate freedom with sexual freedom and to remove emotion from sex. Sweden is a corporate state with features that Mussolini could not impose on Italy and with *apparatchiki* and an expertise in agitprop that make amateurs of the Soviets.

In its rule of forty years, the Social Democratic Party (socialist) has enveloped the state and rules administratively through the bureaucracy. The Swedish parliament is a nonentity devoid of fight, power, or influence. The socialists achieved their grip on the electorate by associating political change with the decay of material standards and a threat to social security. The liberals who are technically in opposition want the same thing. Says the editor of a liberal newspaper, "Given the choice between welfare and liberty, I would choose welfare every time."

In Swedish the word "welfare" not only means benefits but supervision of behavior and conditioning of the citizen. From culture to the bedroom, the Swedish state leaves nothing untouched. There is a computer registration of all persons. If the local temperance board decides that a citizen drinks excessively, off he goes for compulsory treatment in a state institution by administrative order without due process of law. An administrative order is sufficient to take children away from parents. Conse-

quently, parents are encouraged to conform to the state's ideas on child-raising. Reluctance to ask for public assistance is considered subversive because "it shows pride."

In Sweden a person's security derives from social welfare, not from a rule of law. According to Carl Lidbom, judge, cabinet minister and Social Democratic theoretician, "The purpose of the law is to realize official policy. It is one of the instruments for changing society." According to a legal official, "The law is not there to protect the individual . . . it has got nothing to do with guaranteeing one's freedom." According to the deputy Ombudsman, "The law in Sweden is an instrument of the civil service, codifying its decisions." It is a fallacy that the office of Ombudsman was created to defend the rights of the citizen. His duty is to see that the bureaucracy observes its own rules and to satisfy complainants that form has been observed.

The only Catholic church in Stockholm was demolished by urban redevelopment. The church was allotted a new site but building permission was denied on the basis of "economic stringency," and the church was classified as "luxury consumption" and a twenty-five percent levy imposed. Gunnar Myrdal's wife, the ecclesiastical minister, acknowledged that "we are dismantling the Church bit by bit. And where necessary we are using economic means to do so." Urban renewal is also used to destroy privately organized cultural activities, and similar tactics are applied to all private organizations. Business firms have government directors on their boards, and taxation is designed to make business expansion dependent on state loans. Sweden rejected membership in the European Economic Community because free movement of labor and capital would upset the scheme of social reconstruction.

In Sweden economic security and the rewards of hard work are presented as gifts of the state. It is impossible to oppose public expenditure (taxes are 40.6 percent of Gross National Product) because of News-

peak. The words for individual have derogatory connotations whereas the words for collective and state are positively loaded. When it was decided that women should go out to work, the same linguistic manipulation was applied to the word for housewife.

It is considered wrong to live in a home that stands on its own grounds because it encourages selfishness. The home-owner is represented as anti-social. According to the head of the Directorate of National Planning, "We cannot allow people to preserve their differences. People will have to give up the right to choose their own neighbors." According to the Directorate of Social Affairs, "The whole environment has to be arranged to bring the community into the Welfare State," and "environment has to be planned so that the family situation can be corrected."

Radio, television and culture are under the Minister of Education. Their purpose is to indoctrinate the public with socialist attitudes. According to Prime Minister Palme, art is an instrument for changing society, and the director of the state theater says that the drama must promote the intentions of the government. The editor of the largest newspaper says, "News must be used to change society and influence people. If it is objective, and designed only to inform, then it is conservative."

American liberals who see Sweden as the model to emulate should consider that there is no unstructured curriculum to help the individual "find himself." Individuals are unknown and so is academic freedom. There is ideological control over textbooks and the appointment of professors. According to the deputy Minister of Education:

Education is one of the most important agents for controlling society. It has been integrated into our scheme for changing society, and its purpose is to turn out the correct kind of person for the new society. . . . academic independence is incompatible with a modern educational system. The aims of the uni-

versities are set by society and, since society produces the economic support, it has the right and duty to direct their activities.

One of the disquieting facts that emerges is that empirical evidence carries no weight in the battle between the welfare state and the free society. In Sweden the elimination of poverty and slums and the implementation of various "advanced" ideas have been accompanied by a 250 percent increase in crime, the highest juvenile delinquency rate in Western Europe, and a suicide rate twice that of the U.S. By the time experience refutes one social welfare theory, it is already associated with the old order and more radical theories supplant it. The Swedish "new left" is a dupe of the state which encourages leftists to find social imperfections, because each "imperfection" justifies an increase in state power to correct it.

Mr. Huntford reports that Gunnar Myrdal was once a Nazi sympathizer because of Hitler's advanced ideas on social welfare and that "the social ideology of the German Nazis and the Swedish Social Democrats had much in common." The Swedish economic system does resemble that of Nazi Germany.

Even if voted out of office, the socialists might rule *de facto* because of their grip on the bureaucracy and "popular organizations" (which have official functions) and their domination of the intellectual climate.

Mr. Huntford thinks that Swedish totalitarianism results from a traditional submissiveness to authority and absence of liberal ideas. But the social reconstruction and perfection of society are precisely liberal ideas. In implementing their programs Swedish ideologues have experienced excitement and personal fulfillment, but the social costs of these private satisfactions are the destruction of liberty, a bored society, and a new neurosis: failure in the sexual rat race.

Reviewed by PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Vive la Difference!

Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, by Christopher Jencks, Marshall Smith, Henry Ackland, Mary Jo Bane, David Cohen, Herbert Gintis, Barbara Heyns, and Stephen Michaelson, New York: Basic Books, 1972. xii + 399 pp. \$12.50.

MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED years ago, that great apostle of egalitarianism, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, examined some of the barriers to its triumph in *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Here, utilizing the most advanced statistical techniques available, Christopher Jencks and his associates have reexamined the issue in a seminal book of major importance which may force a new appraisal of the influence of education on society.

In reality, we are dealing with two books. In 1966, James Coleman and associates published the first analysis of the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey. The conclusions of the "Coleman Report" disturbed American educators who had espoused compensatory educational programs as an instrumentality for social equalization. At Harvard University, Daniel P. Moynihan and Thomas Pettigrew established a seminar to reanalyze the data. The second part of *Inequality*, two 84-page appendices, presents the team's statistical data and conclusions. The text of *Inequality*, comprising a 265-page interpretive essay with policy recommendations, is wholly the work of Jencks.

The major statistical findings refute preconceptions that have gone unchallenged for decades. Jencks asserts:

Poverty is not primarily hereditary.

The primary reason some people end up