

ing of work be brought forth from the philosopher's study and placed where it belongs—in the political arena—as a public issue” is both valid and welcome.

Harvey Swados' concerns encompass Jewishness and alienation in “Certain Jewish Writers,” the plight of the contemporary American woman in “The Dilemma of the Educated Woman,” the special problems of the young in “Work and the Professions,” “Popular Taste and the Agonies of the Young,” and “Why Resign from the Human Race?”

Lest we forget, he reminds us of the misery of the unemployed in “The Miners: Men Without Work” and the acute problems faced by striking workers and their unions in “The Myth of the Powerful Worker.”

These are not the writings of a detached, objective onlooker. *A Radical's America* is a passionate indictment of contemporary values by an intellectual who is an active participant in American life, who holds that “a socialist attitude is at least as firmly in the American grain as a liberal or an absolutist stance” and who clearly differentiates himself from those intellectuals drawn to the Washington orbit, as well as those drawn to Moscow, or more recently, Belgrade, Peking or Havana.

The essays are required reading for the young and idealistic, for the old and disenchanted. They offer evidence “that those of us who persist in saying No to a society built on worship of the buck for the things and people it can buy, those of us who persist in dreaming of a society built on mutual respect, have just as much right to consider ourselves as representative of an essential corpuscular element in the American bloodstream as do the Luces, the Nixons, the Kennedys, and all those who, in appropriating for themselves even the rhetoric of our common dream, have turned it into a nightmare.” For Harvey Swados, that dream still holds a large measure of enchantment.

PHYLLIS JACOBSON

MORE BRIEFLY NOTED

SOCIALISM IN THE NEW SOCIETY.

By Douglas Jay. Longmans, London, England. 414 pp.

DOUGLAS JAY'S BOOK, though concentrating on Britain, should be of enormous interest to American liberals who are serious about their liberalism. Jay, one of the chief theoreticians of the dominant right-wing of the Labor Party, explains why in a laissez-faire economy the gap between the rich and the rest of society must widen. This results not only in a wretched moral condition of inequality and unfreedom, but in a serious contradiction within the system itself of the sort to which Marx referred (Jay, incidentally, thinks little of Marx). Since the end of the Korean War productivity has risen slowly, if at all, and recessions occur more frequently.

Jay is a Fabian who believes that the wrongs of capitalism can be rectified by the state. He proposes that a socialist government use a multiplicity of devices to take over corporate wealth so as to insure its adequate production and distribution. For example, he would have the state purchase, on the open market over a twenty- or thirty-year period, a controlling share of corporation stock. This is not a bad idea, though it is an expensive one, if the owners of the corporations—the prepotent 1%—stood by insouciantly and watched their wealth get appropriated. In fact the trouble with Jay's book is that he never bothers to intelligently guess the reactions of his capitalist opponents. But he deftly criticizes his socialist opponents on the left—R. H. S. Crossman, et al.

As the condition for the Labor Party's return to power, Jay proposes that it unwed itself to any particular class or group or section. To his view, no party can take power unless it draws on the support on the growing numbers of white-collar workers. Jay's Labor Party would, in essence, ap-

proximate the American Democratic Party: it would be pragmatic and all-inclusive. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with such a broad, latitudinarian party if there is no other way of taking power short of revolution. But does it correspond to the social philosophy which Jay professes? Can it, under the calm and equable conditions foreseen by Jay, restore to the public the wealth and power which the rich has taken from it?

A. F.

THE COLD WAR: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT. By Frederick L. Schuman, Louisiana State University Press. 104 pages. \$3.50.

IN THIS BRIEF BOOK composed of three lectures delivered at Louisiana State University, Professor Schuman deplors the "stereotypes" that are used to distinguish the United States from the Soviet Union. Among such "stereotypes" he cites the customary reference to America as a democracy and Russia as dictatorship.

As the author sees it there is a more meaningful explanation in the "cultural convergence" between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. Schuman finds that "Russia and America alike in our time are societies of Big Cities with similar problems of urban planning, slum clearance, traffic jams, and suburban commuters." He believes that "we and the Russians" also have similar aspirations; since he doesn't seem to be referring to the ordinary people of both countries this conclusion might be startling to the respective élites.

This book can be added to many others by Schuman as apologies for Soviet totalitarianism. It is a tribute to the difference between democracy and dictatorship that these books are printed and these views are freely discussed—in a democracy, that is.

J. C.

FENOLLOSA AND HIS CIRCLE.
WITH OTHER ESSAYS IN BIOGRAPHY. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton & Co. 321 pages. \$5.00.

THE VIRTUES OF THESE biographical sketches is that they whet the appetite. Readers will want to learn more about Fanny Wright, John Lloyd Stephens, Randolph Bourne and some of the others. Ernest Fenollosa was the man from Salem who became Commissioner of Fine Arts in Japan. His life as told in the long introductory essay of this collection is, as Ezra Pound described it, "the romance par excellence of modern scholarship."

It is good that Fanny Wright comes through in Brooks' essay as the fascinating woman she was, as fighter for American working men; as friend of Jefferson and Lafayette; as pioneer in the effort to emancipate the slaves; as co-worker of Robert Owen at New Harmony; as utopian socialist and opponent of capital punishment; as an advocate of birth control and who also lectured about the advantages of turning "your churches into halls of science."

John Lloyd Stephens deserves the tribute of the essay which tells of his contributions to discoveries of Mayan civilization in Mexico and Guatemala. George Catlin is described not only as painter of Indians but as a friend of these victims of "the unprincipled part of civilized society." Lt. Charles Wilkes led naval explorations in the South Sea Islands and emerges as the man who followed the Antarctic coastline for sixteen hundred miles, enough to show it was the seventh continent. Charles Godfrey Leland was the student of folklore and Maurice Prendergast the artist who helped usher in the age of modern American painting.

The concluding essay on Randolph Bourne is about a beloved radical and one wishes that Brooks, who knew him well, as fighter against war and as personal friend, could have devoted just a bit more to this remarkable and prophetic figure.

J. C.

THE SHARE OF TOP WEALTH-HOLDERS IN NATIONAL WEALTH, 1922-1956. By Robert J. Lampman. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962. 286 pages. \$6.50.

MARX WAS WRONG in predicting that under capitalism the rich get richer and the poor poorer. Both get richer. However, the distance between them remains constant or continues to widen. Evidence for this is contained in Professor Lampman's study which should be read by anyone interested in the true meaning of affluence in America. Despite the affluence, class distinction has not changed since the halcyon days of the 1920's. In 1922, the richest 1% of the adult population in the country held 31.6% of the total equity; in 1956 it held 26%. The rise since 1949 (when the top 1% was at its nadir, 20%) has been steady and inexorable.

Do widowers and pensioners and the other small people own the great corporations of the country? In 1956 the top 1% owned 70% of corporation stock. The degree of concentration in corporate wealth has actually grown since the 1920's. This fact makes the President's telecommunications giveaway all the more reprehensible. To offer the "public" (which is only a euphemism for the top 1%) shares in the new corporation is an insult to the real public's intelligence.

Professor Lampman shows that in savings and income the distance between the top 1% and the rest of the country has drastically diminished over the past 30 years. But this is only part of the truth. Savings and income are transient forms of wealth: no one among the poor and few among the middle class will create permanent estates from their income. If I have inherited a million dollars in 4% government bonds I will have less income than, say, a night-club entertainer. But I will be much richer than he. In other words, the income and savings gap bears no necessary relation to the decisively important gap

in the possession of permanent wealth. That gap has scarcely closed over the past 30 years.

It should be clear, then, that the liberal formula has, on the whole, failed. Thanks to the welfare state and to labor unions, the majority has been able to gain some measure of independence from the controlling 1%. But the majority is static and passive. Only catastrophes, such as depressions and wars, stimulate it to action. Over the long pull the rich constitute the dynamic of American society. And their power has burgeoned in the eight fat Eisenhower years. The dry, abstract truths of Professor Lampman's study will help explain better than a thousand exhortations why President Kennedy and his only modest liberal bloc in Congress have been impotent.

A. F.

THE OTHER AMERICA. By Michael Harrington. Macmillan, New York. 1962. 191 pp. \$4.00.

MICHAEL HARRINGTON HAS RESTORED meaning to the Biblical truth that poor men are dead men. He tells us that more than a fourth of all Americans—some fifty millions—have been left behind, discarded, irrelevant, forgotten, in the great surge of post-depression prosperity. His book consists of a series of compassionately-written essays illustrating the different forms which poverty takes in America. It thus severely qualifies the assumption, now turning into a cruel myth, that America today enjoys uniform and incontrovertible affluence.

It is worse to be poor today than ever before. Added to poverty is the consciousness of defeat, the feeling of despair and bewilderment. Previously in this country, and still in most other countries, one could be poor and still hope. The immigrants who settled in the United States had cultural solidarities to sustain them; uncowed, they struggled for a future. But today anonymity and loneliness accompany the poor. Harrington breaks

down this "other America" into its component parts: the chronically unemployed, the pathetically underpaid, the aged, the ill, the retarded, the derelict, even the bohemian and the beatnik. Mostly they are people who were born poor and have had less than high school education. They include a disproportionately high number of Negroes. They tend to live either in small towns or in the slums of large cities.

The poor are a blight and a bother in our tidy middle-class world. The welfare state, a middle-class institution, does not embrace the poor. From the equality of all men, the motto of America, even of liberal America, has become: if you can't help yourself and if you can't earn your own welfare step to the rear and wait for charity. Harrington proposes a more extensive welfare state—housing, comprehensive medical care, etc.—on a scale sufficient to wrest fifty million Americans from soulless poverty. He keeps clear, however, of the inevitable political question: How and by whom will this task be carried out?

A. F.

THE BUREAUCRATIC REVOLUTION: THE RISE OF THE STALINIST STATE. By Max Shachtman. Donald Press, New York. 1962. 355 pp. \$2.95.

ALTHOUGH NOT THE FIRST to consider Stalinism a new society—"bureaucratic collectivism"—and the antithesis of socialism, Max Shachtman developed it in a theoretical manner from a Marxist point of view.

His book is a valuable collection of articles, mostly from the mid and late 1940s, which are most useful to an understanding of Stalinism and as a reaffirmation of the central place of democracy to the conception of socialism.

The polemical edge is directed toward the related theories that Russia is a degenerated worker's state (a form of socialism), and that there is some-

thing inherently progressive about nationalized industry.

If the social rule of the capitalist class is exercised through its ownership and control of private property, Shachtman argues, then how is the social rule of the working class exercised in a collectivized economy. Since no one "owns" industry in Russia, then those who "own" the state hold social power. If there is no democracy then the working class has no power or control over society. Power is held by that class which controls the state. Under Stalinism, it is a totalitarian bureaucracy.

A brief introductory essay brings the collection of articles up-to-date and discusses the limits of reform after Stalin's death. The book, valuable and of great interest in its present form, would have been strengthened if specific reforms were discussed in detail and if it included sections analyzing recent developments in the Russian economy, imperialist drives under the new conditions since Stalin's death, etc., and related the theory to the Yugoslav and Chinese experience.

S. B.

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By Arnold S. Rice. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. 150 pp. \$3.25.

GRASS ROOTS POLITICS receive short shrift from American historians these days, and this book is not of the calibre to change matters. Yet, at a time when Nevins dismisses the rise of the Know Nothing Party with a few poetic flourishes and Hofstadter ridicules the Populists, the appearance of a straightforward monograph on the KKK is a relief and perhaps a help.

Arnold Rice traces the rise and the splintering of the knights of the nighties from the vision of their founder some fifteen years before the Stone Mountain genesis in 1915 to the various recent flurries: after World War II, after the Brown decision of 1954, and during the 1960 election. For many thousands of Americans in

the twentieth century the Klan and all it stands for in terms of violence, hatred, and farcical cretinism often became the only avenue of escape from a world filled with abstract dangers of immorality, of decline of the race, of enslavement from the Jews, the Pope, and then by the Communists and the CIO.

Most of the book deals with the twenties and the political involvement of the Klan on a local level, a state level, and finally on the national level in the elections of 1924 and 1928. What stands out most in this cataloging is not the strength of the Klan once it decides to toss its "hoods in the ring" but the victorious fights of anti-Klan politicians, even in the deepest South.

J. K.

RUSSIA UNDER KHRUSHCHEV. By Alexander Werth. Hill and Wang. 342 pages. \$5.00.

THIS BOOK COVERS familiar ground; it's the return of an old Russia hand to Khrushchevland and it describes the many changes that occurred since the old tyrant died. But the ground has been covered much better by Harrison Salisbury, Maurice Hindus and others.

The numerous interviews and conversations with Russians should be the most fascinating aspect of the book. Somehow they don't come off. At least one reader found it difficult to believe that a Russian would complain of Western comments about Khrushchev as a "Rooseveltian liberal." Where? Who? When?

In justice to Werth it must be said that everything he sees in Russia is very much colored by the terrible things he saw during the war. Indeed this experience so affected him that throughout the book he indicates his repugnance at the denigration of Stalin as a war leader after he was safely dead. Most Russians with whom Werth talks, and somehow Werth himself, seem to resent Khrushchev's attacks on the dead Stalin.

This reader found it difficult to understand Werth's easy acceptance of

Soviet explanations for dispersion of entire people, such as the Kalmuks and Crimean Tartars on grounds of "disloyalty." It almost seems at times as though Werth has more compassion for the perpetrators than the victims of injustice.

J. C.

COMMUNIST CHINA IN PERSPECTIVE. By A. Doak Barnett. Praeger Paperbooks. 88 pages. \$1.35.

PROFESSOR BARNETT'S SLIM BOOK shows that even a collection of lectures—these consist of three delivered at Washington University, St. Louis—can make a useful booklet.

The Chinese revolution didn't begin with the Communists, Barnett shows, but goes back more than a century to the Western penetration of China in the early 1840's. The Chinese Communists were able to seize hold of this revolution because there were no other forces within China capable of leadership in transforming China from ancient to modern foundations.

The author dispels the notion that "crude coercion" is the only means enabling the Communists to assume revolutionary leadership. He cites other important elements: their revolutionary dynamism, their remarkable techniques for *positively* mobilizing people and resources, and their ability to use organized social pressures.

In a balanced presentation Barnett shows the notable accomplishments of the Communists, especially in industrialization, and also their equally spectacular failures in agriculture and the breakdown of planning and administration. While it appears certain to the author that the Chinese Communists will resume their industrialization progress he is equally certain that the difficulties they encounter will multiply. He notes the irony in the success of the Communists during the revolution when they won peasant support through highly successful land reform policies while "communization" has made the peasantry the major victims of the program.

J. C.

NEW POLITICS

A Journal of Socialist Thought

1961-1962

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SYMBOLS

BR: Book review
NA: Notes from Abroad
C: Correspondence
W: Winter
Sp: Spring
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