

knowledgeable in his assigned subject, Witte drove his way safely across a treacherous terrain that included quarreling fellow experts, power-seeking departments, the zany but potent Townsend movement, and intricate tax and actuarial problems.

Witte's book, a confidential memorandum of his experiences, tells how he had to prepare a preliminary draft of a social security program in the fantastically short time of two weeks, how FDR's initial statement on social insurance was followed by a sharp decline in the stock market that led some Administration officials to urge the President to "soft pedal" the subject in the future. Witte also tells how Roosevelt originally desired social security to include health insurance but was ultimately pulled back by the fear that the likely bitter debate over the feature might endanger the entire measure. Out of it all came a law that has endured twenty-five years, that has been adjusted by substantial amendments to changing social needs but without violation of its essence. One reason for the continuing integrity of our social security principles is that Witte and his fellow frontiersmen left behind them a group of committed younger experts who have faithfully carried on. One of them contributed the Introduction to this book, the present assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, who in 1934 was Witte's personal research assistant.

ANY answer to the question "Who governs?" would surely include reference to the giant business enterprises in American society, which are both molders of public decisions and repeatedly the objects of governmental policies manifested in Congress, the courts, and the executive branch. William Lee Baldwin in "**Antitrust and the Changing Corporation**" (Duke, \$8.75) examines the literature dealing with the modern business corporation between the 1880s and the present for insights into the nature of those great establishments that may be usefully applied to problems of antitrust enforcement. Baldwin's work is both remarkably comprehensive and astutely critical. All writers of importance are represented, and a striking conclusion that emerges is that sharp differences have nearly always prevailed in descriptions and interpretations of the nature and consequences of the modern business corporation. Recent writers, for example, have variously described the corporation as a "solar system," a "communications network," and as possessing a "corporate conscience." These writers

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Parents of Today's Parties

By **SIDNEY WARREN**, *professor of history and political science at California Western University, who is currently working on a study of the President as world leader.*



AN ERA that is characterized by seminal ideas and pioneering policies always retains a special significance in the life of a nation. The formative years of the American republic have continued to intrigue historians and invite re-examination of the men and forces that shaped them. Systematic investigations by scholars have evoked an appreciation of the complexity of events, and yielded new insights, perspectives, and interpretations.

The titles under review here illustrate the value of meticulous scholarship in clarifying obscurities of the past and clearing up the distortions created by oversimplified views. In "**The Anti-Federalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788**" (North Carolina, \$7.50) Jackson T. Main provides a searching analysis of the philosophical attitudes and political behavior of those who opposed the creation of a stronger central government. He examines the personalities and politics, the alignment of forces section by section and state by state, that were responsible for the ratification of the Constitution and hence the downfall of the Anti-Federalists.

Previous interpretations of this factional dichotomy have been made in terms of simple class difference—the rich vs. the poor—and of economic sectionalism. The author sees the cleavage as having been between the commercial elements and the self-sufficient farmers. Federalists were supported by merchants and all those linked with mercantile activities, such as mechanics and artisans, farmers in neighboring rural areas who depended upon the towns as markets for their produce, and the large planters of the prosperous river valleys. The Anti-Federalists derived their strength from subsistence farmers and all those whose economy did not draw them into the commercial orbit. They comprised a substantial portion of the population. But the Federalists were supported by the economic élite,

who composed the majority both in government and at the ratifying conventions; they were more articulate, better organized, had more newspapers; and special circumstances in certain states favored their cause.

Professor Main's work is thorough and his conclusions provocative. His exacting study rescues an important group from the oblivion to which the verdict of history had relegated them.

The Federalists obtained their Constitution and, with the formation of the new government, dominated the political scene for twelve years. But domination did not produce harmony, and programmatic differences during Washington's first Administration led to the formation of political parties. Herbert J. Clancy, S.J., in "**The Democratic Party: Jefferson to Jackson**" (Fordham, \$5), makes liberal and judicious use of manuscript materials to trace its history from the time of its founding to the electoral triumph of "Old Hickory." The book points up the genius of American politics—accommodation, adjustment, adaptation. While the general story is familiar, Father Clancy offers many facts and details that are not readily available in any other single work. One wishes that he had concerned himself more with the social, economic, and intellectual setting in which the Democratic Party developed.

By 1816, the Federalist Party had disintegrated as a viable national organization, its demise hastened by the dé-



Andrew Jackson — "accommodation, adjustment, adaptation."

nouement of the War of 1812. The "second war for American independence" is dealt with by Bradford Perkins in "Prologue to War: England and the United States 1805-1812" (California, \$7.95) with a breadth and comprehensiveness that make it a landmark of diplomatic history.

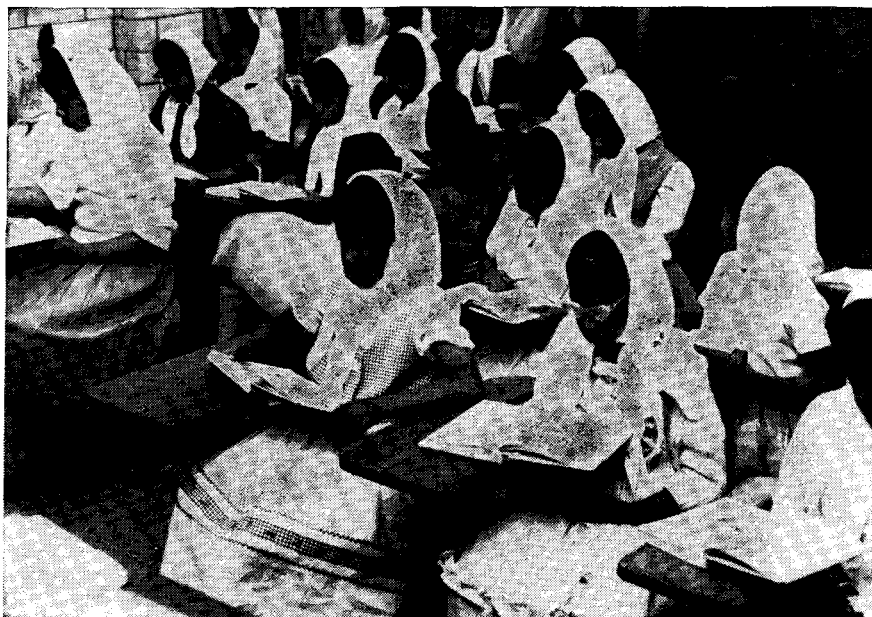
This is the first all-encompassing examination of the origins of the conflict since Henry Adams. Professor Perkins was the first American historian to be admitted to the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, and he has used previously untapped British sources. With exactitude and discrimination he deals with the whole complex of circumstances that led to a battle neither of the nations wanted.

The study effectively demonstrates why previous interpretations, with their emphasis upon a single element, are inadequate. While the author duly notes the tangible ingredients of the relations between Great Britain and the United States, he gives equal consideration to national pride and sensitivity. As he sees it, the conflict was the culmination of many factors, including the bungling of leaders in both countries and the impact of British maritime policies on American neutral commerce. He indicates, however, that British trade restrictions were more injurious to U.S. national spirit than to its commercial welfare. Essentially, the move to war was an expression of the craving for national respectability, and emotion and chance contributed at least as much as other elements.

This account may have relevance for our own time. It describes the events leading to an armed confrontation in terms not only of rational self-interest, but of psychology and of irrational impulses by both leaders and the people.

While the results of the War of 1812 produced an efflorescence of national pride, the Hartford Convention and the favorable peace terms dealt a death blow to the Federalist Party. Its influence nevertheless persisted for a decade and a half in state and local politics, as Shaw Livermore, Jr., documents in his able monograph "The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party 1815-1830" (Princeton, \$6). Federalist political aims shaped the direction of the Republicans and the formation of sectional alignments. With the election of Andrew Jackson and the re-establishment of two political parties, former Federalists and Republicans found their way into both. This study deals with a much neglected episode in the early party history of the nation, and is another example of the painstaking efforts of scholars to illumine relevant aspects of the foundations of our national life.

A Cause Half-Islamic, Half-Racial



Students at the University of Islam, Chicago—"the beginning of a black supremacy movement"?

—United Press International.

"Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America," by E. U. Essien-Udom (Chicago. 480 pp. \$6.95), concerns the uprooted urban Negro who seeks personal and collective salvation in a new political religion. Lillian Smith is the author of "Killers of the Dream."

By LILLIAN SMITH

E. U. ESSIEN-UDOM, a Nigerian, has written a sympathetic, well-documented study of the purposeless, uprooted urban Negro who, for his personal and collective salvation, looks toward the new political religion, half-Islamic, half-racial, which is called "The State." To be a part of something is his hunger. It is not difficult to see why such a Negro might join up with the "Black Muslims." Dr. Essien-Udom leans backward to show us the decencies of some of these people, their religious longing and hopes, and the kindness and often puritanic behavior of their leaders. And one cannot help but be deeply moved by some of the interviews he records. But we of the Western world are still too close to

Hitler to feel tolerant of this new movement. The people of Germany after their great losses in the First World War felt bereft of a national identity, and how did it all end? We know too well. Yet Hitler ostensibly was trying to meet the "needs" of the *petite bourgeoisie* with his talk of Nordic purity, blood, etc. The Black Muslims are a small minority, therefore we tend not to fear them. But whether or not we need to fear, we certainly need to understand them.

This book gives an honest if perhaps too sympathetic view of the Black Muslims. Dr. Essien-Udom says they are "searching for a national identity." Perhaps they are, but what they desperately need is to become identified with all Americans—and the whole world—by sharing in a common purpose. Such a purpose should have nothing to do with color, but to the Black Muslims it does; and here is the beginning of a black supremacy movement, which is as false and dangerous as any white supremacy movement could be. What is the difference? Both appeal to the mythic mind, both shun the reason, both plunge deep into a morass of color, "blood," loneliness, hate, and frustration. I think Dr. Essien-Udom