

pying the proper chair at the proper meetings properly convened in accordance with the officially sanctioned "managerial process." If that's the way it really is at AT&T, it's the best argument I've heard for breaking the company up.

—Gregg Easterbrook

**The Trouble with America.** Michel Crozier. *Univ. of California Press*, \$16.95. The author, a leading French sociologist, has produced a profound analysis of what ails us. In considerable part, his diagnosis is neoliberal. "The social bond," he writes, "that once enabled people to make constructive compromises as well as to accept the sacrifices needed in the long run, is coming undone." He says that the army of today is "no longer the army of Generals George Marshall and Dwight Eisenhower, but an army of callous bureaucrats." He bemoans "the disproportionate influence of lawyers and legal experts in every sphere of activity." He explains how the protection given workers by union contracts can have "perverse

effects," which often include putting the rights of the senior members above the interests of the young and the unemployed and the long-range interests of the company and the country.

—Charles Peters

**Another War/Another Peace.** Ronald Glasser. *Summit*, \$14.95. A haunting, heartbreaking story about the war in Vietnam, this is Glasser's best book since *365 Days*, which was excerpted in these pages under the title "The Burn Ward" in April 1971.

—C.P.

**Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement.** James Farmer. *Arbor House*, \$16.95. James Farmer was one of the most remarkable of the many remarkable men and women who led the civil rights movement during the 1960s. A six-foot, broad-shouldered pacifist, Farmer helped pioneer the use of sit-ins to fight segregation in public places. He helped organize the famous Freedom Rides, which integrated inter-city bus lines in the South. In one of the more unlikely political appointments of recent times, he served briefly as an assistant secretary of HEW under President Richard Nixon.

He is to this day a marvelous storyteller, with a double bass voice, a laugh that fills rooms, and a natural sense of drama. In *Lay Bare the Heart*, his memoirs, Farmer has set down his best stories on paper. He tells of integrating Chicago coffee houses in the 1940s with Gandhian nonviolence; of the fear he felt rolling towards Mississippi on the Freedom Ride; of how he watched the 1963 March on Washington on TV in a Louisiana jail.

It is a measure of how far we have come that these stories seem like dispatches from another country. Yet Farmer fears that the lessons of the struggle for civil rights are already being forgotten. Several years ago, he writes, he met a young black student at a California college who couldn't quite place the name Martin Luther King.

Andrew Young would not be mayor of Atlanta, nor Harold

Washington mayor of Chicago, if people such as James Farmer had not gone before them, leading the way. John Lewis, a black Freedom Rider who is now an Atlanta city councilman, remembers Farmer singing this song in a Jackson, Mississippi jail at night: "Which side are you on, boy, which side are on? I'll be a Freedom Rider, till I'm dead and gone."

—Peter Grier

**The Transfer of Care: Psychiatric Deinstitutionalization and Its Aftermath.** Phil Brown. *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, \$22. "Deinstitutionalization is so public a policy and so prominently a failure," in the words of the author, that this *should* be an important book. Phil Brown has made the first full-dress attempt to analyze the mass exodus of chronic mental patients from state mental hospitals to "community settings," a euphemism for nursing homes, board-and-care facilities, single-room occupancy hotels, and, frequently, public shelters and the streets. Deinstitutionalization has been one of the most profound shifts in public policy since World War II, yet has attracted surprisingly little serious analysis, even as hallucinating former state hospital patients crowd our sidewalks and parks. As the author notes, the "sheer numbers are shocking: close to one million mentally disabled persons live in nursing and boarding homes," compared to only one-seventh that number remaining in the state hospitals.

The book contains all the data, to be sure, and it is reasonably well written. Yet it is curiously desiccated—blood and flesh are subsumed by bar graphs and statistics. Perhaps Brown assumed his stance of sociological detachment in an attempt to produce a "respectable" academic tone. Or he may simply lack personal experience with those patients affected by deinstitutionalization. In any case, the book lacks a sense of immediacy.

As a resource book on deinstitutionalization, this is the best we have. But Brown has not provided the impetus for policy changes.

—E. Fuller Torrey

"Combines the suspense of a spy thriller and the investigative ingenuity of a detective mystery with the careful and well-informed judgments of one of this country's most distinguished experts on the Soviet Union."

—John Lewis Gaddis

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**Grave New World.** Michael Ledeen. *Oxford University Press, \$17.95.* Michael Ledeen is a foreign policy analyst with impeccable conservative credentials: senior fellow at Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies, former editor of *The Washington Quarterly*, former consultant to Alexander Haig and Richard Perle. On the evidence of this confused book, he has lost his faith in the gospel according to *Commentary* but isn't ready to face the world without the ideology on which he has built his career.

Ledeen describes a world growing dangerous because increasingly aggressive smaller countries are raising the risk of accidental superpower confrontation. He attributes this to the unpredictability of American and Soviet foreign policy; without clear signals from Moscow or Washington, other capitals cannot be sure of how far to press their own policies. This unpredictability results, in turn, from the internal incoherence of both superpowers. U.S. domestic politics

and the growing power of the media make it impossible for our leaders to design or conduct effective foreign policy, while Soviet leaders are forced by their continuing domestic failures to prove the virtue of communism (and their own rule) through foreign triumphs.

While Ledeen correctly diagnoses the symptom of the growing impact of lesser powers on global politics, he misses the true nature of the disease. Historically, when great powers clash over fundamental ideals and interests, they go to war. Nuclear deterrence and mutual prudence have prevented a war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. But this, contrary to Ledeen's assertion, makes both superpowers more, not less, predictable and gives other countries room to maneuver and ways to exploit the competition to their own advantage. The anarchy of world politics grows out of superpower stalemate, not unpredictability.

Ledeen gets it wrong because he lacks the courage of his convictions. He consistently retreats from the

implications of his analysis to the safety of neoconservative nostrums. American incoherence, he argues, results from nothing more than a loss of "credibility," a hoary idea that prolonged the agony in Vietnam. The notion of Soviet incoherence is incompatible with the neoconservative belief in a grand Kremlin design for world domination. Ledeen insists that such a design exists, even when he timidly offers the heresy that Cuba acted in Africa not as Moscow's proxy but in spite of Soviet misgivings.

For all his own confusion, Ledeen occasionally offers glimpses of his imagination, as in a fanciful proposal that the White House contract out for foreign policy advice. Recruit top former policymakers from abroad, says Ledeen; see if Helmut Schmidt of Germany or Adolfo Suarez of Spain would like to sign on as freelance consultants. Such glimmers of iconoclastic thinking suggest that Ledeen might have written a far more provocative book.

—Gordon Rayfield



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