



The Key Reporter

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THE VISITING SCHOLAR PROGRAM 1978-1979

by Frances Robb

"More directly than almost any other activity of the United Chapters," wrote a chapter secretary recently, "the Visiting Scholar Program allows and encourages the individual chapter to take an active role in the intellectual life of an institution." Last year nearly two-thirds of the Society's 225 chapters took advantage of the opportunity to request a visit by one or more Visiting Scholars, and as a result some eight-five campus visits have just been completed by members of the 1977-78 panel.

The primary purpose of each Visiting Scholar engagement is to put an outstanding Scholar in touch with as many undergraduates as possible within the framework of a two-day visit. Plans are made well in advance by chapter representatives, usually working through a special committee which includes faculty members from the Scholar's field of interest and related disciplines. An hour-by-hour schedule is submitted for the Scholar's approval. Each visit generally includes a public lecture as well as several class or seminar appearances and informal meetings with students at coffee hours, brown bag lunches and conferences.

Subjects discussed by the 1977-78 visitors covered a wide range: DNA, RNA, quasars, Dante Gabriel Rosetti, existentialism, earthquake prediction, the creative process, composition for orchestra, health care systems, Homer, human rights, energy and environmental protection, among many others. In addition to covering their assigned topics, Scholars frequently fielded questions on graduate work and careers and gave advice to individual students on creative writing and musical composition. With graciousness and indefatigability, they demonstrated their expertise and their ability to engage undergraduate attention. As one correspondent wrote of a Phi Beta Kappa visitor, "Our students liked him, understood him, enjoyed him. He has the ability to talk just enough above their heads to let them realize that there is something beyond their own knowledge, but nearly enough on their level

that they can also believe that what is still beyond their grasp is not ungraspable and is very interesting." Phi Beta Kappa continues to be fortunate in the calibre of its Visiting Scholars. The following distinguished men and women will visit some ninety chapters in 1978-79:

BENJAMIN AARON, past president of the National Academy of Arbitrators, is professor of law and former director of the Institute of Industrial Relations at U.C.L.A. and will be Visiting Professor at the University of Michigan Law School in the spring of 1979.

JAMES L. GIBBS, JR., professor of anthropology at Stanford University and former dean of undergraduate studies there, is editor of *Peoples of Africa* and is a recipient of the Danforth Foundation's Harbison Prize for Gifted Teaching.

H. BENTLEY GLASS, geneticist and Distinguished Professor of Biology Emeritus at the State University of New York at Stony Brook is a former president of the American Association of University Professors, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

THOMAS GOLD, Wetherill Professor of Astronomy at Cornell University and Director of its Center for Radio-physics and Space Research, originated

(with Sir Fred Hoyle and Sir Herman Bondi) the steady-state theory of cosmology and has been a pioneer in research on pulsars.

MARK KAC, a member of the faculty in mathematics and theoretical physics at the Rockefeller University, is the author of *Probability and Related Topics of Physical Science* and (with S. Ulam) of *Mathematics and Logic: Retrospect and Prospects*.

A. WALTON LITZ, chairman of the English department of Princeton University, is the author of books on James Joyce, Jane Austen, Wallace Stevens, and T. S. Eliot and is the recipient of the Danforth Foundation's Harbison Prize for Gifted Teaching.

FRANK E. MANUEL, an historian whose books include *The Prophets of Paris*, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, and *Shapes of Philosophical History*, is University Professor at Brandeis and former Kenan Professor of History at New York University.

RICHARD E. NEUSTADT, professor of government at Harvard University and author of *Presidential Power* and *Alliance Politics*, was an advisor to Presidents Johnson and Kennedy and is now consultant to the President's Reorganization Project in the Office of Management and Budget.

(continued on back cover)

Classroom discussion spills over to outdoor conversation during Visiting Scholar Hillis Miller's recent stay at the College of William and Mary.



FROM GUTENBERG TO ELECTRONICS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT

by Ithiel de Sola Pool

Free speech and free press enjoy more judicial protection today than ever before. The right of protesters to picket, of advocates to parade, and of journalists even to libel public figures are sedulously protected by the Supreme Court. Not since before the Civil War have anti-democratic movements had so few members and so little influence. And yet, perhaps, some day, looking backwards, we may see this era as one in which the First Amendment was undermined.

The problem stems from a failure of the law to reflect how electronics is taking over the technology of communication.

Except for conversation, any communication requires some technical infrastructure: streets for paraders; paints for artists; paper, presses and postal service for publishers; spectrum for broadcasters; transmission circuits, switchboards and terminals for telephone and telegraph. Some infrastructure elements are dispersed, disaggregated, easy for each communicator to own and operate for himself — a copying machine, for example. Other elements are by nature a single system for a whole society — a telephone network for example.

We may in our minds picture polar types of infrastructure: at one end private facilities lending themselves to free speech by being distributed to many owners, each to use as he sees fit, and at the other end collective goods compatible with free speech only if users have access to the monopoly, unrestricted and uncontrolled. Real world communications systems are mixtures. Publishers own their printing presses which under the First Amendment they use as they will, but their product they distribute through the postal monopoly.

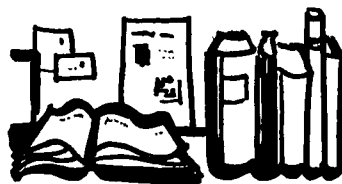
Historically, free speech gained or declined with the strategic dominance of dispersed or centralized structures. A monopoly service or rationed resource can be a weapon for social control, or conversely, diffusion of a communication device could promote individual expression. Printing, for example, was the seed of modern free speech and press; thousands of publishers could each publish independently. Electronic networks are different; it remains to be seen how a communications system embedded in

them will be conducive to free speech or to controls.

The First Amendment was originally defined in conflicts about printing. American law takes account of a long British history of rules requiring licenses to publish, of taxes on publications, of criminal libel suits against critics of the government and also a history of protest against such censorial procedures by the mentors of American politics.

European authorities reacted to the printing press by enacting controls and censorship over the explosion of troublesome literature. (The Church's Index Expurgatorius was a 16th Century device, not a medieval one.) The British government at first allowed only members of a recognized guild to print, and only in the already established plants in the City of London and in Oxford and Cambridge. An Act of 1643 requiring licenses for printing was protested in Milton's free speech classic, the *Areopagetica*. American law adopted Milton's view of licensing publications as anathema; it is what the courts call "prior restraint" on speech, which is not allowed under the First Amendment.

Special taxes on the press, such as those levied in England for 150 years after the Licensing Act expired in 1693, have been overturned by the Supreme Court. Taxes on newsprint, on ads, and on newspapers themselves were used to raise the costs of a press that the government found obnoxious. The colonists protested just such a tax in 1765 in the stamp tax riots. So the American constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court bars taxes on the press that do not apply equally to any business.



Throughout the 18th Century, journalists who attacked public officials might be prosecuted for committing "seditious libel." The printer Zenger, for example, in 1735 was accused of libelling Governor Cosby of New York. An obstreperous colonial jury acquitted him. The U.S. Supreme Court has now carried that libertarian position to the point of ordinarily denying public

figures the right to sue for libel. So in the domain of print the First Amendment largely means what it says, that Congress can "make no law abridging freedom of speech, or of the press." But we have in this country a trifurcated communications system. Besides the domain of print, and of other means of communication that existed in the days of the nation's founding, such as the pulpit or the public meeting, there is also the domain of broadcast media. They live under a very different legal regime from print. The courts have justified that difference by a supposed scarcity of radio spectrum. Nature, the courts argue, precluded for broadcasting the freedom of access to spectrum that exists to the printing press. So broadcasters, selected by the government for merit (in its eyes), are assigned spectrum to use fairly and for community service (as publicly defined). The principles of common carriage and of the First Amendment have been applied to broadcasting in only atrophied form.

The third domain of communications is that of common carriers: the telephone, the telegraph and the postal system. To them a third set of policies has been applied. In the process, electronic communication has lost the constitutional protections of no prior restraint, no licenses, no special taxes, no regulations, and no laws.

Every broadcaster must be licensed, a requirement begun in 1912, almost a decade before broadcasting, when radio was used mainly for maritime communication. Interference was bothering the Navy; to control it, licenses were required for radio transmitters. In America receivers (which cause no interference) were not licensed; but now satellite receivers are. Cable television, though it causes no over-the-air interference, is also licensed and regulated. The FCC controls which broadcast stations a cablecaster may, and must, carry. Until the courts blew the whistle, the rules even barred a pay channel from performing movies that were more than three or less than ten years old. Telephone bills are taxed. A computer network that offers communication services, must be licensed, and will be only if it satisfies the government that it serves "the public necessity, interest, and convenience," including showing that the system will pay. Right now the FCC is engaged in a "computer enquiry." The Communications Act of 1934 requires it to license and regulate communica-

THE KEY REPORTER

Professor of political science at MIT, Dr. Pool was also a Visiting Scholar in 1976-77.

tions common carriers, but says nothing about computing. The FCC, therefore, is seeking a formula that will distinguish between a computer network used for computing (which is none of its concern) and one used for communication (which it is obliged to regulate). The problem is that they are indistinguishable. Computer code travelling from one terminal through computers to another is both computed and communicated whether the message is an airline reservation, or a mathematical sum, or a news story. Still, the FCC seeks a way to leave computing unregulated while licensing and controlling communications. The irony is that the Constitution has it the other way around. Congress's power stops at communication.

The mystery is how the clear intent of the Constitution, so well and strictly enforced in the domain of print, has been so neglected in the electronic revolution. Partly it is because the new communications devices started out not being seen as media of expression. An example was the very first electronic medium, the telegraph.

In court cases concerning telegraphy, the First Amendment is almost undetectable. The principles applied were those of commerce and railroads, not those of the printed word. The early telegraphs carried so few words at such high costs that people thought of them not as extensions of the self, but rather as business machines. British figures for 1854 show half of all messages related to the stock exchange and 31 per cent more were commercial; the press disappeared in the 6 per cent "others." But press traffic grew fast; by 1880 in the US it was 11 per cent of the business, a figure achieved in Britain in 1912. So the perception of the telegraph as a business machine with little in common with culture, learning or politics was even then a misperception. Yet it prevailed, and so the law applied to telegraphy was not that of the press, but that of the railroads.

As the railroads spread across the land, the doctrine of common carrier law evolved as a means to hold them to the public interest and prevent them from using their monopoly position to discriminate to their own advantage. As common carriers, they were required to serve all equally, at the same rates for the same service.

The new telegraph network had so much in common with the railroad network that the application of common carrier law seemed natural. Both networks were primarily instruments

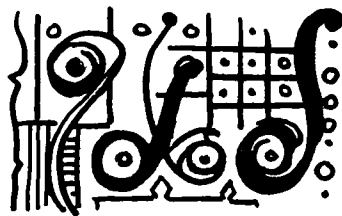
SPRING, 1978

of commerce; both required the exercise of eminent domain to spread across private lands; both had monopolies over particular routes; both could discriminate if allowed to. So in 1886 Congress included in the Post Roads Act some remarkable privileges for telegraph companies, such as the right to run their lines freely along public roads and across public lands and to cut trees there for poles, but on condition that they operate like common carriers. The courts, too, saw the telegraphs as "instruments of commerce," required like other common carriers to provide service without discrimination.

That common carrier concept was certainly in the public interest, but what was missing from that purely commercial view was recognition that the telegraph was also an instrument of speech and press. For about the first decade of the telegraph that was an understandable misperception for neither the press nor the telegraph companies were sure that they were made for each other. They eyed each other with interest and jockeyed for position.

Even before the Washington-New York line was finished on June 7, 1846, newspapers had started experimenting with the telegraph. On May 12 of that year the *New York Tribune* started the first column of telegraph bulletins. They were as brief and condensed as possible because the cost was so high, sometimes a nickel a word, occasionally as low as 2 cents a word. Papers tried, as regular and important customers, to negotiate press rates, as low as 1/2 or 1/3 of normal. Individual newspapers, however, could not afford much telegraphic news. If the press was to use the new facility it would have to do so cooperatively; that led to the concept of a wire service: AP in 1848 and Reuters in 1851.

Telegraph companies, however, tried to become news services themselves. They sought to be not only carriers, but like broadcasters today, news publishers too.



In the United States in the 1840s telegraph companies were offering news services to papers for \$5 to \$10 a week. Their bright young telegraphers located in every community doubled as reporters.

One telegraph company, the New York-Boston line, declined to carry the AP's traffic. That sort of discrimination would have been important under any circumstances, but it was particularly important then (before the transatlantic cable) because ships from Europe with the news reached the Northeast before they reached New York — usually Halifax first. With access to the Boston-New York leg denied, AP would always lose the race to deliver European news. AP's reply was aggressive and successful; they built a parallel telegraph line.

The same sort of battle was fought in Europe, and again won by the newspapers. The provincial newspapers to a large extent bought their news from the telegraph companies. Several of these British companies refused to carry stories from correspondents of single papers.

The discontent of the British press with dependence on telegraph companies led to nationalization of telegraphy in 1869. The Association of Proprietors of Daily Provincial Newspapers attacked the "despotic and arbitrary management" of the telegraph companies, and announced that they were forming their own cooperative press service. Parliament investigated, and in the end turned the domestic telegraphs over to the Post Office with the injunction that the Post Office have no part in collecting news.

However silent the courts, free press issues were there aplenty in telegraphy. For example, Western Union and AP later made an exclusive contract giving AP stories priority on the lines and freezing out competing press services and telegraph companies. These abuses, however, had been defined as commercial acts, and the government's response was commercial common carrier regulation.

Nonetheless, wherever means of communication are inherently central systems, the common carrier principle of equal treatment of all has given major protection to free speech. Still, such a regime is very different from that of widely diffused printing presses regarding which Congress may make "no law"; it is a regime with dangers. The temptation to use the central system for political control is there; so is the impulse to spread the monopoly over activities that might otherwise be diffused.

The history of the postal system illuminates the process. That history is a drama in three acts. In Act 1, a monopoly is created for reasons of expanding, rather than controlling

speech. In Act 2 we see temptation to use the resulting power, until in Act 3 the Supreme Court, as hero, rescues the Constitution.

Before the British Post Office began in the 17th Century, the crown farmed out patents for carrying its correspondence. To make these franchises attractive, those who won them were allowed to sell service to the public too, and no one else was allowed to compete. That scheme for cheap official communication established the postal monopoly.

To make ends meet, postmasters needed still other sources of revenue; publishing news was a natural one. Their post office distributed the paper, and was also a center to which news came, a matter of importance in an era before reporters and wire services. Also the postmaster was a political favorite; the government would let him publish.

It takes little imagination to guess, and guess rightly, that postmaster-publishers used their postal powers to discriminate against competing papers. A postmaster might not charge himself for carrying his own papers, and so began free or subsidized newspaper delivery, like today's second class postage rates.

Getting the news was harder for a citizen in the 18th and early 19th Centuries than it is today. The need was expressed by John Calhoun: "Let us conquer space," he wrote, "It is thus that a citizen of the West will read the news of Boston still moist from the press. The mail and the press are the nerves of the body politic." A main justification for having a federal postal system was to aid the dissemination of news. In 1832 90% of the bulk of the mails consisted of newspapers, though they provided only one-ninth of the revenue.

Postage for newspapers, under the first Post Office Act, was 1 cent each and every publisher was allowed to send a copy of his paper free to each other newspaper in the country — thus providing at public expense a primitive equivalent of a news service. From 1845 to 1847, local newspaper delivery was free within 30 miles. In 1851 free delivery was again voted, this time within the county of publication. When in the 1870s free mailing ended, very low second class mailing rates continued.

Such Federal help was crucial to the growth of the press, but such carrots, just as much as sticks, entailed visible dangers of government power. In 1792

Congress established monopoly in carriage of mail. In words of 1825, it forbade commercial transport of letters, packages, or other mailable matter "between places, from one to the other of which mail is regularly conveyed." The purpose was to shield government revenue from the impact of competition. But a carrier with a monopoly has a potential grip on what people can communicate.

In 1836 the Senate discussed the matter. President Jackson asked Congress to ban anti-slavery propaganda from the mails, but the Senate refused, concluding that Congress had no such power. Said Senator Calhoun,

"If it be admitted that Congress has the right to discriminate . . . what papers shall or shall not be transmitted by the mail, [it] would subject the freedom of the press, on all subjects, political, moral, and religious, completely to its will and pleasure."

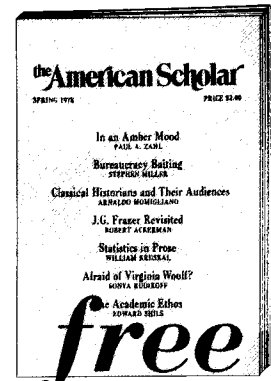
In 1877, in *Ex parte Jackson* (96 US 727), however, the Supreme Court rejected Calhoun's argument; Congress it said, could decide what was mailable. A lottery operator named Jackson had been jailed for mailing tickets. Justice Field held that Congress could decide that lotteries were immoral and not to be sustained by postal service. But what of the danger of censorship? He resolved that dilemma by arguing that whatever materials the Post Office would not carry, citizens were free to deliver in any other way.

American views of postal monopoly have swung between the positions of Calhoun and Field; sometimes monopoly has been justified on the ground that it did not imply control of contents, and sometimes control of content has been justified on the ground that alternative channels existed.

From this confusion of doctrine, precedents resulted during the Victorian reform era both supporting monopoly and also control of what could be mailed. Moralism and meliorism were in the air. Proponents of all sorts of good causes, like temperance, labor, and women's suffrage were seeking to set wrongs right.

The use of the postal system for reform began in 1865 with the Comstock Act, named after the vice crusader. It barred obscene matter from unsealed mails and scurrilous epithets and devices from post cards. In 1868 and 1872 Congress barred illegal or fraudulent lotteries from the mails. Until then, the Post Office had

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Everything in Its Path. Kai T. Erikson. Simon & Schuster. \$8.95.

A moving, indignant, modest, almost informal account of how the people in a West Virginia coal-mining town experienced their existence before and after their lives were irreversibly changed by a sudden, ghastly flood descending upon them when a dam, corruptly constructed by the coal companies, burst and swept away their homes, families, and neighbors. Unlike most American sociologists, Erikson conveys his data not through computerized statistics but by letting the men and women give their own version of the resulting trauma. He also sketches the historical background of Appalachia and gently relates this unique event to sociological and psychological theory and to the rest of us.

The Pity of It All. Leo Kuper. Minnesota. \$17.50

A reflective, document-based, very sober, socio-historical description and analysis of the frightening, devastating violence occurring when or after four African countries (Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, and Zanzibar) achieved independence. Post hoc guesses are offered concerning how the polarization of the warring factions could have been avoided if missed opportunities had not been missed. Although each African situation is more or less unique, Kuper perforce wonders whether any conceivable lesson is applicable to South Africa.

Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience. David D. Laitin. Chicago. \$19.

A mild introduction to the problems confronting this culturally homogeneous African country, with special emphasis upon its language. During the first nine years after independence it would have been more or less politically suicidal for any Somali leader to declare whether that language, rich in poetry and proverbs, should be written in Arabic, Latin, or a special Somali script or whether indeed it should be the official language. The decision was quickly made when a military clique seized control: Latin script, Somali and not Arabic, Italian, or English. An account is given of the author's attempt to determine whether a sample of Somali secondary-school students, living in Kenya, thought and felt differently when using Somali rather than English.

My Mind on Trial. Eugen Loeb. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$8.95.

A low-key, almost impersonal account by a Czech official who was falsely imprisoned in 1938.

oned for 11 years and who managed to survive, in spite of largely mental torture, principally by composing without benefit of writing materials a revision of Marxist theory. The sequence is too familiar, ranging from sudden arrest, through despair and courage, and ending in a memorized confession; yet it is one we cannot avoid experiencing, however vicariously. The thud here comes after Loeb's release: "Slowly it became clear to me that lying was now a way of life" in his own country; even readjusting to his faithful wife was impossible.

Words and Women. Casey Miller and Kate Swift. Doubleday. \$2.50.

An angry, good humored, semi-scholarly attack upon the "sexist" nature of expressions in English, such as *man*, *forefathers*, *womanly*, which not only denigrate or ignore women but which also are often inaccurate or imprecise. Such words both reflect and strengthen existing prejudices. The language can be reformed, the authors maintain not completely convincingly, without the use of clumsy locutions and with few neologisms.

The Social Impact of the Telephone. Ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool. MIT. \$15.95.

A loosely edited, repetitive collection of essays portraying the rapid history, the complicated economics, and the numerous political and social repercussions of the telephone during its first hundred years as it diffused from Alexander Graham Bell's laboratory to all parts of the world. Many of the purported consequences are obvious, others produce a complacent shock of recognition: the role of the telephone in facilitating women's entrance into the industry as operators, in urban growth and change, in the reduction of anomie, in crime detection and prevention, etc. The question remains: is the telephone the instrument of angels or the devil?

FREDERICK J. CROSSON

Memory and Mind. Norman Malcolm. Cornell. \$12.50.

This clear and well-argued study is primarily a critical analysis of the mental and physiological variants of the image or trace theories of memory. The general reader as well as the specialist will find it stimulating and profitable, a solid contribution to the philosophy of mind.

Turning East. Harvey Cox. Simon & Schuster. \$8.95

Continuing his exploration of the experiential forms of the religious quest, Cox here records his participation in and reflections on half a dozen of the Oriental modes which have found at least tem-

porary homes in America. He discovers the value of meditation and re-discovers its Judeo-Christian tradition, which he finds less preoccupied with self-realization. Candid and vivid.

The Nag Hammadi Library. Ed James M. Robinson. Harper & Row. \$16.95.

Rivalling Qumram in significance, the finding in 1946 of a bundle of Gnostic texts from about the fourth century has radically recast our knowledge of this influential religious movement. Here in one volume are translations of some 50 treatises, gospels, epistles, apocalypses and fragments which provide a fascinating portrait of an early rival of orthodox Christianity.

The Future of the Humanities. Walter Kaufmann. Readers Digest. \$8.95.

No one who reflects on the present condition of the humanities in higher education can miss the fact that they are drifting with the tides. In this book a sensible and experienced teacher provides a diagnosis and some practical proposals based on a conception of what they can and should be doing, as well as some critical observations on academic "scholasticism." Iconoclastic and constructive.

Plato's Trilogy. Jacob Klein. Chicago. \$16.

A close commentary on *Theatetus*, the *Sophist* and the *Statesman* by the author of a well-known study of the *Meno*. Less expansive than the latter work, this one keeps closer to the text, rarely digressing or bringing in other works of Plato. Very helpful for the student who wants to discern the nuances of the dialogue form.

Kabbalah: The Way of the Jewish Mystic. Perle Epstein. Doubleday. \$6.95.

An introduction for the general reader to the Jewish mystical tradition as found in the writings of and legends about its masters from the eleventh century to the beginning of Hasidism in the eighteenth. Like Cox, the author believes that part of the attraction Oriental sects for Westerners lies in their ignorance of this tradition.

The Qur'an and its Exegesis. Helmut Gätje. California. \$20.

An English edition of a German work which is useful indeed to anyone approaching the Muslim scriptures as an outsider. A generous selection of texts, topically arranged, with exegetical commentary from classical Muslim interpreters of various schools and some modern interpretation (on polygamy).

Divine Substance. Christopher Stead. Oxford. \$27.50.

A superb study of the concept of *ousia* or substance in Plato and Aristotle and its use by Christian theologians in the first centuries to address doctrinal issues. The first half of the book deals with the Greek philosophers, and is marked by logical sensitivity and critical acumen. Tracing the vicissitudes of the notion in the theologians reveals how oblivious they often were to differences in the meanings of *ousia* and consequently why disputes often arose about dogmatic theses.

ANDREW GYORGY

Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State.

Daniel Yergin. Houghton Mifflin. \$15. Yergin has written a most remarkable work on the transition period in American foreign policy from the "Grand Alliance" era through the early Cold War period to what he describes as the emergence of a new "National Security State" in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. This is a detailed study of such unforgettable historic episodes as the Truman speech of March 1947, the terminal type of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on the German and Berlin issues and the "End of the Peace" period in the complex triangular relations of the U.S., U.S.S.R. and the various Balkan states with Tito as the rapidly emerging leader.

Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928-1931.

Ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick. Indiana. \$15. Both the editor and the publisher should be congratulated for producing this historically timely study of the Russian version of "cultural revolution." The book itself illuminates the political, educational and cultural characteristics of the Soviet precedent of China's cultural revolution of the 1960's. It was truly a "revolution from above," initiated and controlled by the Communist Party leadership; the critical period of 1928-1931 is explored by leading figures in the field.

Wartime, Milovan Djilas. Trans. Michael B. Petrovich. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$14.95.

This is the third autobiographical work written by the often imprisoned former vice president of Yugoslavia who was then one of Tito's three highest aides. As a superb storyteller, Djilas presents a panoramic view of the wartime struggles of Tito's partisans. A worthy sequel to his *Land Without Justice*.

China and the Major Powers in East Asia.

A. Doak Barnett. Brookings. \$15. Barnett has again made a contribution to the systematic and scholarly study of Republic of China as well as the Taiwan problem. One of the most useful chapters deals with the new Four-Power equilibrium in Asia. As the author points out, in the modern period the Asian continent has been the focus for repeated clashes involving China, Russia, Japan and more recently, the U.S.

Dissent in the USSR: Politics, Ideology and People. Ed. Rudolf Tökés. Johns Hopkins. p. \$4.95.

This well-edited study, finally available in paperback, presents a broad and up-to-date view of the many facets of political, social, ideological and religious dissent in the USSR. This reviewer was particularly impressed by the editor's introduction, "An Overview," as well as by the chapters of Professors Friedgut, Connor, Sosin, and Feifer.

Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend. Ronald Hingley. McGraw-Hill. \$15.

This highly readable and original biography of Stalin, written by a prominent

British journalist, ably portrays Stalin as a controversial mixture of several paradoxical features. Stalin's life is meticulously reviewed here without too much overlap with the other recently published works of Tucker, Ulam, or Hyde. Of particular significance is Hingley's account of Stalin's final month and the brief chapter on "Life after Death," dealing with the ramifications of destalinization and restalinization.

The War that Hitler Won: The Most Infamous Propaganda Campaign in History. Robert E. Herzstein. Putnam. \$15. Herzstein, of the University of South Carolina, presents the reader with yet another facet of the Hitler story which is already the subject of a rapidly mushrooming literature. The book's main theme is that while Hitler may have lost and destroyed Germany, he and his leading cohorts, particularly the infamous Joseph Goebbels, had actually won the war for the minds of the German people. Particularly good chapters deal with movie-making in the Nazi era and with the role of mass-media both against the Soviet Union and against the allies in the final "total war" phase of Germany's hopeless struggle in World War II.

Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. John Bartlow Martin. Doubleday. \$15.

In this meticulously written biography, Adlai E. Stevenson emerges not only as successful Governor of Illinois and a towering national politician but also as a sensitive expert in the field of America's international relations. Ten years of extensive research has given the author a rare insight into the complex personality of his subject. This reviewer was particularly impressed by the coverage of the years 1948-1952, including Governor Stevenson's first campaign for the presidency.

ROBERT B. HEILMAN

Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt 1821-1849. Joseph Frank. Princeton. \$16.50.

Describing fully Russian and European sociopolitical and literary-cultural influences, Frank devotes this first of four volumes to the growth of Dostoevsky's thought and imagination in his earlier works. Frank's full explications of these, at once critically acute and scholarly, are admirably lucid, graceful, and unpretentious.

The Diaries of Evelyn Waugh. Ed.

Michael Davie. Little Brown. \$17.50. A fascinating journal by a bright, willful censorious observer and writer who knew everybody and admired few — from schoolboy and post-university trivialities to the more sustained narratives of African, South American, and American travels. Fullest accounts are of World War II experiences in the Marines and the Commandos, and a mission to Yugoslavia. Well edited.

The Gentle Barbarian: The Life and Work of Turgenev. V.S. Pritchett. Random House. \$10.

Without lingering on details, Pritchett gives an essential biography, concentrat-

ing on Turgenev's relations with Russian and French writers and with Pauline Viardot. These matters are the background for excellent criticism of the writings — penetrating, easy, and unaffected.

The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin. Vladimir Voinovich. Tr. Richard Lourie. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$10.

Sketches of Russian village and army life in the early 1940's add up to a novel satirizing the system. But the satire lies underneath a wonderfully farcical and even fantastic surface that at different times suggests Gogol and Carl Zuckmayer, and even Gilbert and Sullivan and Mark Twain.

The Harper Dictionary of Modern Thought. Eds. Alan Bullock and Oliver Stallybrass. Harper & Row. \$20.

Definitions of 4000 terms (average length, 100 words) and identifications of key figures in all fields from the arts and humanities to the various sciences and to technology make this a useful reference work.

Eliot's Early Years. Lyndall Gordon. Oxford. \$8.95.

A very impressive brief study of *The Wasteland* and other writings in terms of Eliot's life up to his becoming an Anglican (1888-1927). The needed "context" for his literary work is the "early story of an aspiring saint." Careful and objective.

The Encyclopedia of World Theatre. Intro. Martin Esslin. Scribners. \$25.

This translation and enlargement of a 1969 German work contains 2000 compact entries on authors, plays, actors, theatres, and key terms from Athenian times to the present. Some 400 illustrations.

Carnival: Entertainments and Posthumous Tales. Isak Dinesen. Chicago. \$10.

Eleven tales, either unpublished before or hard to come by, date from the beginning to the end of Karen Blixen's career. Often reminiscent of ballad and fable, the stories spontaneously employ the gently ironic, the plausibly unexpected, and the mildly mysterious. They are both fresh and perceptive.

The Devil's Church and Other Stories.

Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis. Trans. Jack Schmitt and Lorie Ishimatsu. Texas. \$10.

Of the distinguished Brazilian's 63 stories, 19 appear here, 16 for the first time in English. Some are fanciful fables, some realistic anecdotes. Grand passions that evaporate, fantasies with ironic outcomes are Machado's specialties. "The Devil's Church" is the best.

The Irish Renaissance. Richard Fallis. Syracuse. \$18; p. \$7.95.

This is a serviceable over-all picture of Anglo-Irish writers and literature from 1890 to 1940. There are good background chapters on history and literature from the beginnings to the 19th century, and a survey of "recent Irish writing," i.e., since 1940. Fallis is always sympathetic but never uncritical.

THE KEY REPORTER

RUSSELL B. STEVENS

Pyramids of Life. John Reader and Harvey Croze. Lippincott. \$12.95.

By itself, this book hardly satisfies the need for answers to questions as complex as those suggested by the titles of the many pictorial and descriptive vignettes. Picked strictly at random in leafing through the 200-odd pages, one finds: competition in the clan; speed for flight; the matriarchy; the aquatic dinosaur; the design of the hunter; and so on. Each cluster of often dramatic photographs, with accompanying text, suggests an event or relationship in the natural world, and the factual basis for that event. It's a sampling, and an appealing one, of the numberless complexities of the earth's biota. If one out of ten readers then moves on to more complete and scholarly treatments — as well they may — this book will have served its purpose. I find it an imaginative and provocative way of opening the issues.

A Sense of the Future. Jacob Bronowski. MIT. \$12.50.

It is to mankind's great benefit that there seems to be in each generation a sprinkling of very special intellects and personalities such as Jacob Bronowski. None who thrilled to his *Ascent of Man* can but be pleased to see this posthumously published collection of some dozen and a half of his essays, taken from a variety of sources. They are wide-ranging, and in the manner of such material, virtually unreviewable. For, as Piero Ariotti says in a brief introduction, "He will speak in his own words, without additions or deletions. He is quite capable of doing so."

The River Congo. Peter Forbath. Harper & Row. \$15.

Readers who for whatever reason have some firsthand knowledge of Africa in general and the great Congo River basin in particular may find imbalances and factual shortcomings in this volume; this I simply cannot judge. But as one almost wholly ignorant of the history of the region, I found it thoroughly fascinating, with the wealth of detail that gives the whole a convincing ring of authenticity. Not the least important of the gains to be had from a study of Forbath's narrative, in these troubled times in Africa, is a deeper perception of the historical context within which these tensions lie. In many places the story is a far from pretty one, but it deserves to be better known, and *The River Congo* seems a likely medium to that end.

Tin Roofs and Palm Trees: A Report on the New South Seas. Robert Trumbull. Washington. \$17.95.

The South Seas of the romantic novelists on the one hand and the oppressive jungles, airstrips, ports and encampments of the military forces during World War II on the other, equally miss the mark of the enormous catalog of islands — great and small — that make up that section of the earth's surface. To tell the whole story, and tell it rightly, is probably impossible — particularly as it continues to change through time. But Trum-

bull does well in providing a window to the region as it now is, with something of how it got there, and in so doing makes a first step toward an objective assessment of its many assets and liabilities.

The War Animals. Robert E. Lubow. Doubleday. \$7.95.

Lubow seems almost apologetic from time to time, quite possibly as a consequence of the political upheavals of the Vietnam conflict, for having taken up this subject, the use of animals for military purposes. But except for this flaw, the text is thoroughly absorbing and, one would think, summarizes information known to but very few. The stories interweave the peculiar exigencies of military combat with the equally peculiar properties of a wide range of animal species, from insects to mammals, with just enough human-interest anecdotes to leaven the whole.

The Cult of the Wild. Boyce Rensberger. Anchor/Doubleday. \$7.95.

Dust-cover hyperbole can, almost without exception, be ignored. Here is such an exception, in the phrase quoted from Harrison Salisbury — "an important myth-shattering book." The author's thesis, in brief, is that the early education and the imprecise treatment of the animal kingdom that serve most of us as background for understanding wild animals is more often than not seriously in error. He proceeds to document these errors with respect to several African species, which he knows best. He then goes on to generalize and to argue that we — and the animals — will be much better off if we shed our illusions and deal with matters factually.

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

Oregon: A History. Gordon B. Dodds. States and the Nation Bicentennial Series. Norton. \$8.95; p. \$1.95.

Maine: A History. Charles E. Clark. States and the Nation Series. Norton. \$8.95; p. \$1.95.

South Carolina: A History. Louis B. Wright. States and the Nation Series. Norton. \$8.95; p. \$1.95.

Virginia: A History. Louis D. Rubin, Jr. States and the Nation Series. Norton. \$8.95; p. \$1.95.

Samplings of this bicentennial series show that at least in several instances the authors did just what they should have done, produced entertaining, factually sound, compact histories for the laymen. Wright's is written in his usual anecdotal and whimsical style about his native state in which he has not lived for many years. Rubin's is a well-balanced narrative of early and recent Virginia with unusually perceptive presentations of both colonial and twentieth-century politics. Dodds' is a shrewd, judicious interpretation of major cultural and political and economic "themes" in Oregon history. And Clark's is a delightful and impressionistic overview, not at all a conventional or even popular history. The professional historian will not have to agree with all their interpretations to find them good reading.

In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935. Hasia R. Diner. Greenwood.

The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership: Gordon Blaine Hancock, 1884-1970. Raymond Gavins. Duke. \$11.75. Diner's is a carefully investigated study of the origins, motivations, and degree of involvement with each other of the two great American minorities during two crucial decades of this century. The book should be the first segment of a more extensive study. Gavins' bio-critical account of a significant black leader who acted in the era between Booker T. Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr., indicates the toughness and tenacity of a man and a group who lived to see some great achievements of their race.

The Empire of Reason: How Europe Imagined and America Realized the Enlightenment. Henry S. Commager. Anchor. \$10.

In this sweeping survey the author's juxtapositions are both original and natural. The American Enlightenment is shown to be not merely derivative. This volume is a distinguished complement to May's recent study of the subject.

American Literary Manuscripts, Second Edition. Ed. J. Albert Robbins. Georgia. \$16.

Charles Brockden Brown, Wieland or the Transformation, an American Tale; Memoirs of Corwin the Biloquist. Eds. Sidney J. Krause, et al. Kent State. \$20. Two indispensable books for the student or general reader of American literature. Robbins and his collaborators have expanded and corrected the previous edition into a most useful tool of scholarship. The C. B. Brown volume is a handsome format and with an ably edited text, is the first of the Bicentennial Edition of this early psychological novelist.

Walter Hines Page: The Southerner as American, 1855-1918. John Milton Cooper. North Carolina. \$15.95.

A balanced critical biography which does not supersede Burton J. Hendrick's of the 1920's but adds new dimensions to the place in history of its subject. Though no judgments are made, the evidence in Woodrow Wilson's side of the relationship between the two does not enhance the President's reputation.

Transylvania: Tutor to the West. John D. Wright, Jr. Transylvania University. \$9.95. A notable chapter in the history of American higher education is the story of the relatively small institution in Lexington, Kentucky, which furnished leadership in the old West over a long period.

The Squire of Warm Springs: FDR in Georgia, 1924-1945. Theo Lippman, Jr. Playboy Press/Simon & Schuster. \$10. Moving, well-documented account of a major American figure's relationship to an adopted region and to people disabled like himself. Though the period and subject have in some measure been considered elsewhere, this is the most humanly interesting presentation, written by a Georgian *con amore*.

FROM GUTENBERG TO ELECTRONICS (continued)

been acting, in effect, as an accomplice in the violation of state laws. Four years later Congress banned all lotteries from the mails regardless of their legal status in a state. By 1888 the ban on obscenity had been extended to the contents of sealed mail. In 1890 came the most flagrant confrontation to freedom of the press: newspapers with lottery ads were banned from the mail.

At President Theodore Roosevelt's urging, the Attorney General interpreted the seditious content of an anarchist journal as "indecent" and in 1911 Congress amended the law to define indecency to include "matters of character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination." In 1912 prize fight films were barred from the mails. In the 1930s enforcement of registration of securities by the SEC was facilitated by making it illegal to use the mails for selling unregistered securities.

By the time of World War II, the Post Office had acquired a manifold role in the control of communication. But at that point the Court stepped back from the situation that it had created by accepting both a postal monopoly and the right of the Federal Government to determine what is mailable. The turning point was the case of *Hannegan v. Esquire* in 1945. Justices Brandeis and Holmes in a pair of earlier dissents, which are now the law, took exception to the view that citizens had any alternative to the postal service. In *Hannegan v. Esquire*, the Supreme Court embraced their doctrine. Postmaster Hannegan had tried to deny second class mailing privileges to *Esquire* on the grounds that that then somewhat raucy magazine was not serving the public interest, the purpose

for which Congress had granted low rates to periodicals. That, the Court said, was not a matter for the Postmaster General to determine. The postal system remains an essentially neutral highway on which all sorts of views may travel at will. What we now begin to see is a new electronic superhighway on which all sorts of communications can travel. Newspapers and services already sell information not only on paper, but also through electronic systems like the New York Times' data bank. Library information is on-line in computerized retrieval systems. Printing is done by computer composition; reporters file their stories via electronic networks to their paper's computer, where it is edited, sent to composing machines to be printed, and also sent by facsimile to remote printing plants, and sent on-line to instant users. Electronic message systems are burgeoning. Politicians will have to learn to campaign with cassettes, CATV, and teleconferences, as well as by broadcasting. Education uses this highway too. Yet the electronic media of expression are tightly regulated as to who may provide what service to whom, which suggests a disturbing question: if virtually all communications become electronic, will the legal norm that governs them be the civil liberties tradition of the print media or the regulated tradition of the electronic media? As publishing becomes an electronic activity, will the producers of text find themselves under the same regulations that govern the electronic communications? Inadvertently, a few decades hence, publishing may have ceased to be a realm free of government regulation. Publishers may end up like broadcasters today, with one eye constantly on government agencies.

VISITING SCHOLARS (continued)

WILLIE LEE ROSE, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University and Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University in 1977-78, is the author of *Rehearsal for Reconstruction* and *Documentary History of Slavery in the United States*.

SUSANNE HOEBER RUDOLPH, chairman of the political science department at the University of Chicago, is currently engaged in writing (with Lloyd I. Rudolph) *South Asia in the 1980's: Policy and Economy* and in editing the Amar Singh diary, 1898-1942, the 87-volume work of a North Indian nobleman.

STEPHEN TOULMIN, professor of social thought and philosophy at the University of Chicago, is the author of *Human Understanding, Knowing and Acting, Science, Ethics and Medicine* and many other books and films dealing with the history of science and of ideas.

REED WHITTEMORE, who has served as editor of *Furioso* and *The Carleton Miscellany* as well as literary editor of *The New Republic* and poetry consultant at the Library of Congress, is now professor of English at the University of Maryland.

HERBERT F. YORK, author of *Race to Oblivion* and *The Advisors: Oppenheimer, Teller and the Superbomb*, is professor of physics and director of the Program in Science, Technology and Public Affairs at the University of California, San Diego.



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