



THE NAZI MOVEMENT: WHAT KIND OF REVOLUTION?

By Franklin L. Ford

OVER 40 YEARS have passed since the collapse of Hitler's Third Reich, more than twice the elapsed time separating World War I from World War II. Before long, the current "postwar period" will have outlasted the mighty German Empire of Bismarck and Kaiser William II, which once seemed to rest on foundations of granite laced with steel.

As the years have passed and direct experience of National Socialism's challenge has faded from the memory, first of students, and now of a majority of their teachers, the questions most commonly asked about the Nazi phenomenon have tended to change as well.

New Emphases for Old

Today, relatively few books and articles are devoted to debating the Germans' war guilt in 1939, or the reality (though not the horrifying details and implications) of the Holocaust, or the complexity of the resistance movement in Germany under Hitler. Although occasional discoveries of new facts continue to produce corrections of detail, the main

interpretative lines concerning these and many other matters relating to the Nazis have come to be widely accepted.

In their place, such problems as the "intentionalist" versus the "functionalist" interpretation of the Hitlerian dictatorship—

one stressing the personal power, and hence guilt, of key persons in the Nazi hierarchy, the other pointing to less dramatic factors ranging from pure accident to bureaucratic continuity and institutional inertia—have thrust themselves into the foreground of scholarly debate.

One issue, however, first mooted in the 1930s, remains very much alive. It involves a pair of questions: First, was the Nazi revolution a true revolution as the Nazis claimed or simply an authoritarian

coup posing as a revolution? Second, to the extent that Hitler's movement deserved to be called revolutionary, was it an attack on the status quo from the Right or from the Left?

The first of these questions has by no means spent its force, given our interest in the part played by deceptive propaganda in the National Socialists' drive to power in Germany and the amount of posturing indulged in by Nazism's spokesmen. Nevertheless, I doubt that this question any longer deserves such close attention as does the second. There

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has been a certain amount of play-acting in every major revolution, so why should we be surprised to find it in the Nazi case? More to the point, only a largely unexamined impulse to think of all revolutionary movements as "progressive" prevents our seeing the many forms that revolution can take and indeed has taken at different times and in different places.

A revolutionary is not by definition a Marxist or a liberal, or a supporter of any other particular political philosophy, but simply someone who is determined to overturn an established structure of government or society or both. Moreover, the revolutionary's purpose need not arise from any dynamic vision of the future.

What is true of insurrectionists seeking power is also true of the ways in which they may act once they achieve it. The systematic use of official terrorism is a case in point. Robespierre, Stalin, and Hitler expounded sharply differing political doctrines; but as former dissidents become dictators, they displayed important similarities when it came to violent repression. That is, they applied it ruthlessly, justifying it as a stern require-

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Enders Wins Sibley Award

Jody Enders, who received her Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania this spring, has received the Sibley Fellowship for studies in French language and literature in 1986-87. She has been given a leave of absence from her duties as assistant professor of French at the University of Illinois at Chicago to study the relevance of rhetorical theories of composition to medieval drama.



A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Virginia, where she also earned her M.A., she is the 38th winner of the award, which was established with funds bequeathed to Phi Beta Kappa in the will of Isabelle Stone.

In 1987, the Sibley Fellowship, which carries a \$7,000 stipend, will be offered for studies in Greek language, literature, history, or archaeology. Candidates must be unmarried women between 25 and 35 years of age who hold the doctorate or who have fulfilled all the requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation. They must be planning to devote full-time work to research during the fellowship year that begins September 1, 1987.

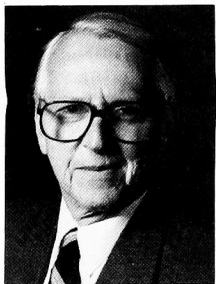
Further information and application forms may be obtained by writing to the Sibley Fellowship Committee, Phi Beta Kappa, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

Associates to Hold Annual Meeting October 24-26

An address by National Academy of Sciences President Frank Press will highlight the annual dinner meeting of Phi Beta Kappa Associates, to be held at the Academy in Washington, D.C., October 25. Other events planned for the weekend include a luncheon at the National Gallery and an evening at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The Associates will have their headquarters at the Watergate Hotel for the weekend.

Former Key Reporter Editor Dies

Hal March Scheffler, who was assistant secretary of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa between 1944 and 1951 and edited *The Key Reporter* for several years during that period, died in Rock Hill, South Carolina, in April.



Franklin L. Ford



Nazi Movement

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ment imposed on them by their respective revolutions' need for discipline.

In short, National Socialism qualifies as revolutionary in the fullest sense of the word. What remains is the second, and much harder, question: Was Nazism essentially a revolution of the Right or of the Left? Or does it defy classification in those traditional terms?

A Movement of the Right?

The idea that Nazism was a weapon of reactionary forces, something to be applauded, or at any rate widely tolerated, by less extreme conservatives, grew naturally out of the Marxist charge that it represented a "late-capitalist convulsion," a pathological symptom of a dying socioeconomic system. However, this di-

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agnosis was by no means peculiar to doctrinaire Marxism in the 1930s or 1940s, and it still is not today. It underlay the originally liberal critique of fascism as a general phenomenon developed by Gaetano Salvemini; and it was applied more specifically to the German case by such thoughtful observers as Franz Neumann, whose *Behemoth* appeared in 1942, and Alan Bullock, who published the first edition of his biography of Hitler soon after World War II.

Let us consider for a moment a few of the principal points made by those who see in National Socialism a right-wing movement as that term was understood during the first half of this century.

- At the heart of Nazism's political program lay a set of violent denunciations of both classical liberalism and Marxian socialism.

- Once elevated to power in 1933, the Nazis eliminated rival political parties, beginning with the Communists, moving next against the Social Democrats, and only thereafter compelling the other parties to disband.

- The Fuehrer and his henchmen relied heavily on the most extreme nationalist slogans, proclaiming Germany's right to preeminent power and greater living space, denouncing the Versailles

peace settlement, insisting that the German army had not lost World War I on the battlefield but instead had been betrayed on the home front by a traitorous "stab in the back." In all these respects they echoed the claims made by embittered conservative groups in the Weimar Republic well before Nazism itself emerged as a major threat.

- Hitler himself made no secret of his desire to enlist the support of Papen, Hugenberg, and other "respectable conservatives," while the future Reich Marshal Goering moved at or near the highest levels of Berlin society in the period prior to 1933.

- By the same token, although the bloody purge on the "Night of Long Knives" in June 1934 took the lives of a former chancellor of the Republic, Schleicher, a former Bavarian minister-president, Kahr, and other old rivals of the Fuehrer, the purge was aimed above all at such "Nazi radicals" as Gregor Strasser and Ernst Roehm, who had been criticizing their leader's apparent swing to the Right.

Leftist Elements in the Picture

This enumeration in one form or another has become so familiar that many readers may be reluctant even to consider an alternative view. Nevertheless, a number of quite different considerations have emerged in the course of what has turned out to be a still unfinished argument. Here are a few of them:

- The personal backgrounds, the temperaments, and at times the immediate aims of many Nazis and German communists overlapped to a greater degree than was realized until such studies as Peter Merkl's *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (1980) began to appear. These rendered more understandable certain cases of Nazi-communist collaboration against the Republic—the 1932 Berlin transport workers' strike, for example. Recent analyses of Weimar voting behavior published separately by Thomas Childers and by Richard P. Hamilton have cast further doubt on previous stereotypes.

- The early appeal of Marxian socialism to so important a figure as Josef Goebbels (whose attitude for a time recalled Mussolini's youthful opinions) has demanded, and received, growing attention. The full text of Goebbels's remarkably frank diaries reveals among other things the depth of its author's animosity toward older German elites, especially the Prussian Junker aristocracy.

- A review of the Nazi programmatic literature of the 1920s, before the young party had come to power, reveals in "old Nazis" such as Gottfried Feder, Dietrich

Eckhart, the Strasser brothers, and, of course, Goebbels plentiful evidence of a deep anticapitalist animosity directed against bankers, war profiteers, and other figures of wealth and privilege.

- Even anti-Semitism, although it was for Hitler an obsession that defied class or party connections, seems to have had for many other National Socialists a strongly antiplutocratic cast, dominated by resentment of bankers and what were falsely portrayed as predominantly Jewish malingerers and profiteers of 1914 to 1918. German anti-Semitism was in this sense less a "conservative" malformation than a broadly based, indeed populist, phenomenon.

It is not my intention here to obliterate all traces of the idea that Nazism owed much to traditional nationalism and respect for autocratic rule—although this thesis was probably destined for modification as the full complexity of the movement became better understood. It nevertheless contains too much wisdom concerning parts of the picture to be totally abandoned. Moreover, the form of revisionism that simply stands an older argument on its head has a poor record of producing useful alternatives.

The 360-degree Spectrum

What I want to recommend instead entails two possible ways of escaping the difficulty we seem to encounter in assigning National Socialism its proper place on the political spectrum. How are we to reconcile Nazism's many internal contradictions, taking account of the Nazis' undeniable success in destroying Germany's first serious experiment with representative democracy but recognizing as well their lack of coherent political doctrine?

One thoughtful suggestion for meeting this difficulty was formulated near the end of World War II by an American scholar, DeWitt C. Poole, and given much wider currency by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his book, *The Vital Center*. What Poole proposed and Schlesinger endorsed, albeit with certain reservations, was an effort to break out of the limits of the traditional 180-degree spectrum of parties, reading from left to right in a legislative assembly as seen from the speaker's chair.

For about a century and a half, the idea of a semicircle above a horizontal axis, with the proponents of change occupying the left side and those of continuity the right, served reasonably well to describe parliamentary debates. In part, this was so because the division was not rigid or precise; nor were the tags applied to the parties involved. The latter might be Whigs and Tories in one instance, Republicans and Monarchists in another, or

Social Democrats and laissez-faire Liberals in still another.

As a way of envisaging and recording disagreements within society as a whole, however, this idea suffered from the fact that it took for granted a high degree of agreement among all parties as to what have been called "the rules of the game." That is, it rested on the assumption that parliamentary decisions would be reached in an orderly way and honored unless they were changed in an equally orderly way. And that assumption in turn required general acceptance of the methods, in most cases increasingly democratic elections, by which parliamentary representatives were chosen. Spelling out, and at the same time legitimating, all these rules was that towering presence: a constitution.

Hitler obviously learned a great deal from Mussolini's seizure of power in Italy, including the value of calling oneself simultaneously a socialist and a patriotic enemy of Marxism.

In the once familiar scheme of things, the battle line dividing parties of the Right from those of the Left was generally that of economic policy. Thus, increasingly throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th, the forces of continuity rallied around the standard of property, seen as the buttress of freedom, whereas the forces of change demanded greater justice in the distribution of wealth derived not just from capital investments but also from natural resources and, above all, from human labor.

So the spectrum was seen as having a vertical divider, more or less nearly perpendicular depending on the local distribution of political power, which might represent very sharp conflicts indeed between the Left and the Right. Sharp though they might be, however, those conflicts were still understood to be limited to the terrain above the horizontal line of *liberty* defined by law, that is, of constitutional procedures in the parliament, respect for results of such elections as occurred, and guarantees of due process for all citizens.

In a number of countries following World War I the violence espoused by Marxist and anti-Marxist extremists dramatically increased. This violence was accompanied in most cases by an explicit repudiation of parliamentary forms and constitutional safeguards. In other words, the amount and significance of political activity going on *below* the line of legality challenged the adequacy of the former 180-degree spectrum as a

conceptual model, and with it the traditional ways in which such terms as Right and Left had for so long been applied.

To compensate for this expansion of the stage of politics, the possibility of a 360-degree spectrum was advanced by Poole, Schlesinger, and numerous other commentators who shared similar concerns. The new diagram still showed the old dichotomy between socialists and their opponents "above the line," but added a lower semicircle showing communists on the left and fascists on the right (see figure 1).

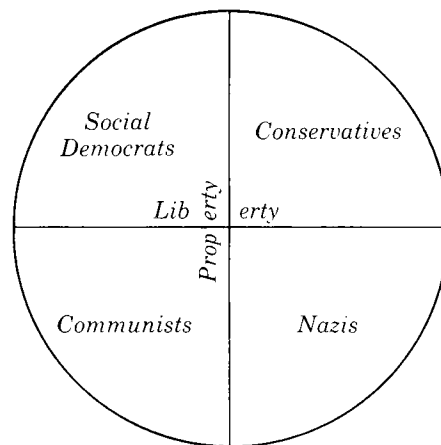


Figure 1. *The 360-degree Spectrum of Pre-1933 German Politics*

[Adapted from Arthur S. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*, 1949.]

There can be no doubt that the circular model, divided by a vertical axis representing disagreement over economic policy and a horizontal line below or above which groups might define their stand on individual freedom under parliamentary institutions, offered some advantages:

- It helped to explain why socialists of the Second International vintage, favoring changes in the distribution of wealth but remaining committed to "revolution by legal means," might at one time welcome communist support against what both considered reactionary forces, while at another joining hands with the old Right *against* communists and fascists alike in defense of constitutional government.

- It also suggested reasons for the divisions both among "respectable conservatives" and between communist leaders over the question of when, and when not, to seek accommodation with fascists for short-term tactical advantage.

- Conversely, it made clear that the once hallowed distinction between "liberals" and "conservatives" had ceased to have much meaning in a changed world where both could share a high regard for personal liberty and where old-fashioned

liberalism's concern for individual freedom, even in the face of egalitarian demands, had become in fact a distinctly conservative platform.

- Finally, it demonstrated, if one considered the diagonal placements on the chart—lower left versus upper right and upper left versus lower right—why there could never be any real cooperation between communists and old conservatives, as well as why, in the final analysis, social democrats considered themselves irreconcilably opposed to fascism.

An Unplaceable Movement

Yet despite these not inconsiderable advantages, the 360-degree spectrum seems to me unequal to the task of explaining Nazism's place in German history between the two world wars. I offer this conclusion because, unlike certain other variants of fascism—the Italian, with its corporatist and monarchist base;

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the Spanish Falange and the Rumanian Iron Guard, both strongly committed to religious conservatism; or the reactionary religio-political views espoused by the *Croix de Feu* in France—the German case still defies description as merely an instance of right-wing extremism bent on destroying parliamentary government.

Hitler obviously learned a great deal from Mussolini's seizure of power in Italy, including the value of calling oneself simultaneously a socialist and a patriotic enemy of Marxism. It is equally clear that Nazi storm troopers had much in common with Italian Black Shirts. But the great strength of National Socialism, in its drive to seize control of by far the most powerful state in Europe, lay in the cynical opportunism of its appeals for popular support. Offering anticapitalist diatribes in the 1920s, jobs for the unemployed in the early 1930s, and increasingly bellicose satisfaction for disgruntled nationalists and scapegoat-hunting anti-Semites as the 1930s wore on, the Fuehrer played on a wide range of essentially negative passions with a technique as eclectic as it proved to be hypnotic.

Notice that, although the Nazis cannot profitably be placed firmly and neatly in

that lower righthand corner of the redesigned circle, I have not rejected out of hand the possibility of putting the 360-degree spectrum to good use in studying the period here discussed. Something of the sort is clearly needed if we are to understand the brief success of some specimens of fascism, seen as a European-wide, perhaps even world-wide, phenomenon. The concept of an

reading *recommended by the book committee*

humanities

social sciences

natural sciences

FREDERICK J. CROSSON, ROBERT B. HEILMAN,
ROBERT P. SONKOWSKY, LAWRENCE WILLSON,
EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD N. CURRENT, LEONARD W. DOOB,
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VICTORIA SCHUCK, ANNA J. SCHWARTZ,
RONALD GEBALLE, RUSSELL B. STEVENS

If we ask what National Socialism's vision of the future amounted to, the difficulty of calling it either progressive or conservative becomes still more apparent. For that vision did not include any meaningful idea of progress, nor did it seek to maintain the best of an older civilization.

"anti-constitutional Right" can reasonably be applied to Germany itself in the 1920s and early 1930s when speaking of Hugenberg's National People's Party or anti-Versailles zealots of the Ludendorff stamp.

One final point. If we ask what National Socialism's vision of the future amounted to, the difficulty of calling it either progressive or conservative becomes still more apparent. For that vision did not include any meaningful idea of progress, nor did it seek to maintain the best of an older civilization. It heaped scorn on both. What Hitler's movement offered instead was a set of "Nazi values"—work, racial and national solidarity, obedience to the leader, ferocity toward enemies, and courage in combat.

These were emotionally charged values, but they had about as much content or direction as an electric shock. Hitler was probably being atypically honest about his movement's ideals when he said: "After our system has been in place for a certain time, no one will be able to imagine anything different." Fortunately for us all, the Nazi promise of a Thousand-year Reich proved to be 988 years off the mark.

Franklin L. Ford, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History at Harvard, says that this article "owes much to questions raised and comments received in the course of visits to nine colleges and universities as a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar, 1985–86." Ford is the author of numerous books, including Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism, recently published by the Harvard University Press. Between 1943 and 1946 he served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps and the Office of Strategic Services, European Theater.

RICHARD N. CURRENT

The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. William H. Chafe. Oxford, 1986. \$24.95.

If you are over 50, the American history course you took in high school or college probably ended with World War II, if not before it. Yet, as Chafe (who was born in 1942) points out, "the America that has emerged in the years since World War II is in many ways a new society." Most of us have little awareness of the underlying patterns of change, even though we are familiar enough with the more conspicuous personages and events of the past four decades. Chafe provides a fresh and informing look at the period, with a perspective that takes gender, class, and race adequately into account. The coverage is comprehensive, but the style is sprightly, clear, and free from textbookishness.

The Self-Inflicted Wound: Southern Politics in the 19th Century. Robert F. Durden. Univ. Kentucky, 1985. \$16.

Between the 1790s and the 1890s the South moved from a two-party to a one-party system and from a "predominantly nationalistic, optimistic mood" to a "sullenly sectional, chronically defensive attitude." Southerners—the white majority of them—suffered a "self-inflicted wound" as victims of their own racism, which found expression in slavery, secession, defeat, Ku Kluxism, and preoccupation with white supremacy. The story in itself is familiar enough, but Durden's retelling of it is unhackneyed and assimilates the best of recent works on southern history, including his own.

The Inman Diary: A Public and Private Confession. Ed. by Daniel Aaron. 2 vols. Harvard, 1985. \$50.

"I sometimes reflect that this diary is one of the strangest documents of autobiography ever written by anyone," Arthur Inman noted on one occasion, and on another: "I want to picture myself. I want to picture America." In the journal he kept from 1919 until his suicide in 1963—a strange document indeed—he exposed his own psyche and revealed much of the spirit of his times. Born and bred in Georgia, he spent his days behind drawn curtains in a Boston apartment, where young women read to him, fondled him, and gave him their intimate confessions, which he wove into his narrative. The book may be read as a case history, a (right-wing) commentary on passing events, a record of American life, or a gigantic non-fiction novel, one with a surprising and moving denouement.

Trial and Error: The American Controversy over Creation and Evolution. Edward J. Larson. Oxford, 1985. \$17.95.

In 1925 a Tennessee court convicted John T. Scopes of violating a state law by teaching

evolution in a high school biology course. Yet, according to most historians, the Scopes trial actually resulted in a victory for the evolutionists. Scopes's attorney Clarence Darrow presumably made a monkey of the state's counsel William Jennings Bryan, leaving Bryan's cause to die of ridicule. As Larson now shows, the truth is quite otherwise. Most of the former Confederate states continued to restrict the teaching of evolution, and publishers of high school biology texts therefore deemphasized or ignored Charles Darwin and his theory. Darwin made a comeback after 1957, when, in response to Sputnik, Congress encouraged science teaching through the National Defense Education Act. But anti-evolutionists soon demanded equal time for the "science" of creationism, and the controversy was revived. The issues are here expertly treated by an author with both a law degree and a doctorate in the history of science.

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: Historian of the Old South. Merton Dillon. Louisiana State Univ., 1985. \$20.

Ulysses B. Phillips, born in Georgia in 1877, came to dislike his first name because of its nasty association with the conquering hero of the Union, and he persuaded his parents to change it to Ulrich. Such was the neo-Confederate bias that he later brought to his teaching at Wisconsin, Michigan, and Yale and to the writing of *American Negro Slavery* (1918), *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929), and other notable works. At his untimely death in 1933 he ranked as one of the greatest of American historians. Then, with the growing consciousness of racism, he rapidly lost his reputation. More recently he has regained some of it for his pioneering efforts in social and economic history. Dillon sensitively limns the scholar and the man in a brief study that reveals a good deal about his profession and the intellectual climate of his time. The book will interest the general reader as well as the specialist.

ANDREW GYORGY

Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939–1944. Richard C. Lukas. Univ. Kentucky, 1986. \$24.

This extremely well written study focuses on the essentially non-Jewish aspects of the Nazi German occupation of Poland. Using valuable original sources in at least four languages, the author offers valuable insights into the Polish side of the wartime horror story. This scholarly book is aimed primarily at experts in this field.

Revolution on the Volga: 1917 in Saratov. Donald J. Raleigh. Cornell, 1986. \$32.50.

Raleigh details the background of the February 1917 Revolution and the midsummer crisis of Saratov. A path-breaking study, but recommended only for students in the field.

THE KEY REPORTER

Politics in Eastern Europe. Ivan Volgyes. Dorsey, 1986. \$20.

This excellent political history of Eastern Europe and the Balkans is highly recommended for the general public as well as for use in undergraduate and graduate courses in this field.

Authority, Power and Policy in the U.S.S.R.: Essays Dedicated to Leonard Schapiro. Ed. by T. H. Rigby, Alice Brown, and Peter Reddaway. St. Martin's, 1980. \$27.50; 1985, paper, \$10.95.

This volume presents a comprehensive view of Soviet history, economics, and politics. The essays are well written and the individual topics well chosen. Particularly outstanding are Rigby's article on "Conceptual Approach" and Reddaway's study on dissent since Khrushchev.

Roots of German Nationalism. Louis L. Snyder. Indiana Univ., 1978. \$17.50.

In this book—one of the best ever published on modern nationalism—Snyder reviews the economic, cultural, and political roots of the ever-explosive German nationalism. Bismarck, the Weimar Republic, and Hitler are examined in painstaking detail. Chapters 12 and 13, dealing with German aggression and nationalism after 1945, are musts for interested students.

MADELINE R. ROBINTON

Her Majesty's Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community. Christopher Andrew. Viking, 1986. \$25.

In this age of spy trials and spy novels, Andrew, a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has written a book about the British Secret Service that reads like the script for a series of fantastic TV spy dramas. Yet this is history, based on extensive research of primary sources—memoirs published and unpublished, interviews, and archival material. In the prologue, the author details the curious beginnings of the service in the Crimean War when the British Army didn't even have maps of the terrain. He then traces the growth of the various branches of the service and the conflicts of personalities and structures through two world wars and the cold war up to 1984. Truth is stranger than fiction!

Historical Atlas of Africa. Ed. by J. E. Ad-eljayi and Michael Crowder. Cambridge Univ., 1985. \$75.

This is not only an historical atlas with maps charting Africa from prehistoric times to the present, but it also includes maps of Africa's geology, economies, trade, religions, cultural developments, languages, universities, and tribal distribution showing the changes over time. Each map has an accompanying explanation of its rationale and the sources used. A definitive work!

Africa: The People and Politics of an Emerging Continent. Sanford J. Ungar. Simon & Schuster, 1985. \$19.95.

Ungar has written another kind of guide to contemporary Africa. He limits his account to Africa south of the Sahara and primarily to post-World War II developments in the newly independent states. Ungar, a journalist who has lived in Africa and traveled extensively

there, wrote this book during a stint as a senior associate of the Carnegie Institute for the Advancement of Peace. In his skillful analyses of economic and political policies in the several states, he furnishes explanations for the malaise and distress depicted in our newspapers and makes positive suggestions for American policy. A useful appendix provides an almanac of facts about each state.

The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England. Barbara A. Hanawalt. Oxford, 1986. \$24.95.

This study deals with the English peasantry in the 14th and 15th centuries—the period of the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War, the time when serfdom came to an end. Building on the earlier work of social historians to whom she graciously acknowledges her debt and using coroners' records, wills, and manorial court records, Hanawalt, professor of history at Indiana, has produced a fascinating account of peasant family life in this period. The nuclear family living in its own household is central to her study. Family relationships—husband and wife, parents and children—are illuminated, and some of the accepted theories are refuted, by the wealth of detail she has uncovered.

The County Courts of Medieval England, 1150–1350. Robert C. Palmer. Princeton, 1982. \$38.50.

For lawyers and others interested in legal history, this study, based on newly discovered court records, offers nuggets of information on the functioning of these courts, their personnel, the professionalization of the lawyers, and, surprisingly, the decline in lawyers' fees. A valuable glossary of legal terms is appended.

Historical Writing in England. Vol. II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century. Antonia Gransden. Cornell, 1982. \$75.

This volume, a fitting sequel to Gransden's earlier volume, surveys historical writing, tracing its development from the chronicles, monastic and secular, to the humanist historians. Gransden not only discusses the historians' works, sources, and biases, but also provides valuable biographical material about those writers. Interesting to the nonspecialist as well as valuable for the specialist.

The British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis. Harvey J. Kaye. Polity/Basil Blackwell, 1985. \$24.95; paper, \$9.95.

This book analyzes the work of five British historians who have made distinguished and sometimes controversial contributions to the study of British history: Maurice Dobb, whose writings on capitalism influenced the other four; Rodney Hilton in the field of medieval agrarian history, particularly lord-serf relations; Christopher Hill in his economic and intellectual studies of the English Civil Wars; Eric Hobsbawm in modern labor history; and E. P. Thompson on the making of the English working class. The analysis is of the methodology rather than the substance of their work, and incorporates the critiques of other Marxists.

The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century. Michael R. Marrus. Oxford, 1985. \$24.95.

Accustomed as we are to the horrors of war and the Holocaust, we still can only be shocked

by the magnitude of the problems of the European refugees that this book brings into focus. Previous centuries had witnessed religious persecution and the expulsion of religious minorities. The growth of nationalism and the creation of nation states in the 19th and 20th centuries added a new dimension and led to a new wave of harassment and persecution of minorities. Marrus deals with the problems of the East European Jews, the "unmixing of people" in the Balkans, the expulsion of the Armenians by the Turks, and the forced removal by both Turks and Greeks of the "nationals" who had resided in each other's territory for centuries. The League of Nations and private organizations created agencies to deal with the refugees, but the revolution in Russia, the rise of Fascism and Nazism, and two World Wars magnified the problems. It has been estimated that more than 60 million people were affected. This book concentrates on how the various countries of the Western world faced, or did not face, the problem and how some sought to cope with the refugees. In an epilogue, Marrus refers to the new refugees, those of the Third World.

VICTORIA SCHUCK

Constitutional Conflicts Between Congress and the President. Louis Fisher. Princeton, 1985. \$40; paper, \$8.95.

Constitutional Reform and Effective Government. James L. Sundquist. Brookings, 1986. \$26.95; paper, \$9.95.

As preparations for the Constitution's bicentennial (1987) continue, these two books promise to contribute significantly to discussions of the adequacy of institutions established by the great document for the late 20th and the 21st century. Fisher's revised edition of an earlier work extends his comprehensive treatment of constitutional and legal questions surrounding congressional-presidential relations through the first term of the Reagan administration. He takes up disputes over structure of government, legislative power, executive privilege, budgets, treaties, and war power. Simply and superbly written, the book is for generalists and specialists.

Sundquist's book is especially useful for its comprehensive review and evaluation of all proposals for constitutional reform. Sundquist recognizes that the nine proposals for reform he advances have little or no likelihood of passage unless the country faces a crisis bringing about a climate for change. Also an easy-to-read book for generalists and specialists.

Blacks and Whites: Narrowing the Gap? Reynolds Farley. Harvard, 1984. \$22.50.

A sociologist, by applying techniques of demographic measurement to data from Census Bureau surveys for 1960 to 1980, provides answers to questions about the progress blacks have made in the struggle for civil rights. Optimists see much progress, pessimists see little if any. A third group sees the black community as economically polarized. Farley's rigorous and lucid analyses produce mixed conclusions; although black gains are widespread and significant, losses also have occurred. Many more decades of change comparable to the 1960s and 1970s will be required before racial parity is within reach.

In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Elisabeth Griffith. Oxford, 1984. \$17.95.

Women in Washington: Advocates for Public Policy. Ed. by Irene Tinker. Sage Publications, 1983. \$28; paper, \$14.

Rights of Passage: The Past and Future of the ERA. Ed. by Joan Hoff-Wilson. Indiana Univ., 1986. \$22.50; paper, \$6.95.

Women . . . A World Survey. Ruth Leger Sivard. World Priorities, 1985. \$5.

Women: A World Report. A New Internationalist Book. Oxford, 1985. \$18.95.

Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. Nairobi, July 15–26, 1985. United Nations, 1986. \$30.

Biography, essays, monographs, and a U.N. document illuminate turning points in the 137 years of the women's movement. Griffith's excellent psychobiography describes the first meeting in the United States articulating women's rights (1848) and the first conference carrying these into the international arena 40 years later.

Another important piece of history is Tinker's collection of 19 essays by professional women in Washington, D.C., who in the 1960s and 1970s devoted themselves to changing the lives of women in the District of Columbia and throughout the country by working for equity in health care, employment, access to education, business ownership, science, and academe.

The most succinct historical account of the ERA amendment and explanation of the reasons for its defeat yet to appear are contained in the collection of essays edited by Hoff-Wilson.

Indispensable sources on the worldwide contemporary status of women include Sivard's monograph surveying the changes since World War II relating to women in development, employment, agriculture, education, government. The *World Report* uses information from 121 governments on the U.N. Decade for Women and contains essays by 10 noted women authors who traveled to 10 countries to write how the reported facts are lived out in the experiences of women. Absorbing reading, beautifully written.

The major document adopted by the Nairobi Conference on the U.N. Decade for Women looks to the next 15 years and outlines the strategies for governments, nongovernmental organizations, and others to follow to overcome the barriers preventing attainment of equality for women.

Wake Us When It's Over: Presidential Politics of 1984. Jack Germond and Jules Witcover. Macmillan, 1985. \$19.95; paper, \$9.95.

New Directions in American Politics. Ed. by John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, Brookings, 1985. \$26.95.

A thousand pages of narrative and analysis of the 1984 presidential election produce opposing views of results. Veteran journalists Germond and Witcover, in a detailed account of behind-the-scenes events and strategies, record the election as "sterile" and "feel-good television," lacking in real issues. They see the Reagan landslide simply as a "polarizing" vote, not as a realignment of political parties. In contrast, Chubb and Peterson interpret the findings in these 13 analytical essays by Brookings researchers and other scholars to

mean the sixth realignment in the country, as they redefine the term to include institutions and public policy as well as Reagan's votes. Readers will find some truth in each book for an understanding of the 1986 and 1988 elections.

ANNA J. SCHWARTZ

Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force. Vernon M. Briggs, Jr. Johns Hopkins, 1984. \$26.50.

This comprehensive study of American immigration policy reviews the record from 1787 to 1965 as a prelude to the changes that were subsequently introduced. In successive chapters the author then describes the post-1965 system of legal immigration, temporary worker nonimmigrant programs, illegal immigration, and the admission of refugees and persons seeking political asylum. The author's main concern is the impact of immigration, whether legal or illegal, on labor market trends. Immigration in all its forms in recent years has exceeded 1 million persons a year. Because immigrants are concentrated in selected states and urban labor markets, they create employment and wage conditions that would not prevail in their absence. The author advocates an annual ceiling on immigration that would fluctuate inversely with the number of unemployed workers in the domestic labor market, an increase in the number of occupational preference visas at the expense of the family reunification category, and deterrent as well as preventive measures to end illegal immigration.

Takings: Private Property and the Power of Eminent Domain. Richard A. Epstein. Harvard, 1985. \$25.

Concern for the rights of private property explains the eminent domain clause of the Constitution—"nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation"—yet this study by a University of Chicago law professor of the proper relationship between the individual and the state shows that in the past 50 years many takings approved by the Supreme Court as constitutional serve special rather than public interests and do not meet the compensation requirement. Among 20th-century institutions that he finds "constitutionally infirm or suspect" are zoning, rent control, workers' compensation laws, transfer payments, and progressive taxation. Although he does not suggest that these programs can be wholly dismantled, he believes that a correct theory "can lead to incremental changes in the proper direction."

The Health Economy. Victor R. Fuchs. Harvard, 1986. \$25.

A leading investigator of the economics of the health care system, Fuchs has assembled 17 previously published essays on two broad sets of issues that he has examined. One deals with the demand for and supply of medical care, where the emphasis is on the costs of diagnosis and treatment of disease, and the effects of the way hospitals and physicians are paid for their services. A second set of issues deals with the influences that contribute to the preservation and enhancement of health, where personal life-style plays a key role. Fuchs shows that although education may be important in increasing health in households,

years of schooling and smoking behavior are probably related to individual differences in the willingness and ability of people to incur current costs for future benefits. Containing the cost of health care is now a national preoccupation, but Fuchs stresses that technical and ethical concerns, in addition to concern about the scarcity of resources relative to wants, must be considered in solving the complex problems associated with improving the health care system.

Innovation and Entrepreneurship. Peter F. Drucker. Harper & Row, 1985. \$19.95.

According to the wealth of case studies this work draws on, the United States is shifting to an entrepreneurial economy that exploits innovative opportunities. The new jobs generated by that shift are not preponderantly in high-tech industries but rather in medium-size manufacturing, restaurant chains, financial services, health care, retailing, publishing, and education. Drucker advocates innovation and entrepreneurship not only for the private sector but also for public service institutions. He proposes continuous learning from change in variables such as population, labor force participation, and industry or market structure, in order to reshape existing organizations and create new ventures for satisfying human wants and needs.

Comparative National Balance Sheets: A Study of Twenty Countries, 1688–1978. Raymond W. Goldsmith. Univ. Chicago, 1985. \$49.

A heroic statistical effort, this study is designed to facilitate the investigation of the structure of a country's capital stock, its financial superstructure, and the interrelationships between the two, as well as the investigation of differences among countries in these magnitudes and their interrelationships. Tangible and financial assets are estimated for 15 benchmark dates for Great Britain and for 3 to 10 dates for 14 other developed market economies, 2 less developed economies, and 3 nonmarket economies. For 6 countries, the components of national wealth are detailed by sectors: households, nonfinancial corporate business, financial institutions, and government.

The Gathering Crisis in Federal Deposit Insurance. Edward J. Kane. MIT, 1985. \$14.95.

By exposing the cracks in the foundations of the 50-year-old federal deposit insurance system, Kane alerts readers to the perverse effects of the subsidies to risk-taking by financial institutions which the system provides. Because deposit insurance premiums are not scaled to risk, institutions have an incentive to gamble that interest rates will decline rather than rise or remain unchanged. When interest rates go up, the mortgages and long-term bonds that are their assets decline in market value. An institution that is economically insolvent, even if the authorities do not declare it legally insolvent, will resort to insured brokered funds and high-risk investments in a last-ditch effort to improve its condition. Kane documents the extent of actual insolvency of insured institutions, underscoring the fragility of the financial system produced by underpriced deposit insurance. He details six basic changes in federal deposit insurance contracts that would save the overextended insurance system from collapse.

South-Watching: Selected Essays by Gerald W. Johnson. Ed. by Fred Hobson. Univ. North Carolina, 1983. \$19; paper, \$8.95.

The Language of the American South. Cleanth Brooks. Univ. Georgia, 1985. \$9.95.

Johnson's essays are as acute and, sometimes regrettably, as timely as they were when they were written, often as long as 60 years ago. A disciple of H. L. Mencken and a John the Baptist for W. J. Cash, Johnson characterized the so-called civilization of the South

as largely fraudulent after the 1830s, summoning to witness "the sentimental tommyrot" of Thomas Nelson Page, John Pendleton Kennedy, and, worst of all, Stephen Collins Foster. He called them the deceivers of the South, along with such politicians as "To-Hell-with-the-Constitution Bleese" of South Carolina and the Fugitives of Nashville, whose gospel of agrarianism would keep the South a "hookworm-infested, pellagra-smitten, poverty-stricken, demagogue-ridden" region. Yet, a Southerner himself, Johnson understood why Southerners behaved and thought as they did, and he looked for the South to reject its illusions, its religious fundamentalism, Ku Kluxism, and devotion to the doctrines of white supremacy; for the South is, after all, the inheritor of an older, truer civilization "that produced the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and Robert Edward Lee."

Brooks, concentrating in his slight book on the style of the literature of the South rather than its content, would hardly agree with Johnson that southern literature is "unrivalled in English for empty sonority." Brooks finds a moving eloquence and a "magical reality" in "the prose of the antebellum South, with its careful grammar, its stately cadences, and its classical allusions and quotations." "A Southern language veritably exists," he says, and it is distinguished not only by "stately cadences" but by the strong earthy idiom of the unlettered. He scorns what he takes to be its enemy: foolish theories of what constitutes good English and "the propagation of bureaucratise, sociologese, and psychologese, which American business, politics, and academies seem to exude as a matter of course . . . the bastard concoctions from a Latinized vocabulary produced by people who never studied Latin."

Dictionary of American Regional English. Vol. I: Introduction and A-C. Frederic G. Cassidy, Chief Editor. Belknap-Harvard, 1985. \$60.

Can you define an Alabama egg? Are you aware of the verb *to californian* (to throw an animal by tripping it)? Given the situation, would you say, "The ginger-ale is *all* but the soda is *yet*"? Would you know whether to eat czarnina or to place a crown on it? Did you know that the word *antsy* (restless, anxious) has been current (in various spellings) since 1838? No matter what your responses, you will find on every page of this vast compendium of linguistic and philological lore a hitherto unsuspected fact or an authoritative exposition of one already known. You will find also a helpful series of computer-created maps which show at a glance the geographical distribution of regional idiomatic expressions. When the four additional promised volumes arrive to join the first, DARE, one of the important scholarly achievements of our time, will be worthy to stand beside the OED.

Our Mark Twain: The Making of His Public Personality. Louis J. Budd. Univ. Pennsylvania, 1983. \$13.95.

Old Clemens and W.D.H.: The Story of a Remarkable Friendship. Kenneth E. Eble. Louisiana State Univ., 1985. \$20.

One Hundred Years of "Huckleberry Finn": The Boy, His Book, and American Culture. Ed. by Robert Sattelmeyer and J. Donald Crowley. Univ. Missouri, 1985. \$29.

New Essays on Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. Ed. by Louis J. Budd. The American Novel Series. Cambridge Univ., 1985. \$19.95.

Mark Twain was the Lincoln of our literature; as Budd shows, he was also its Barnum, the most accomplished PR man of his time, or maybe of any time, who in an ostensibly pious and genteel community could become beloved as a culture-hero—"the country's warmest image of itself"—despite his happy addiction to strong cigars, flamboyant profanity, bouts of Rabelaisian joy, pleasure in good whiskey, and irreverent flouting of the establishment. He worked hard at self-promotion, abetted by his reporter friends. "Between 1879 and 1907 he was interviewed more often . . . than anybody else, including the most eager politicians." It is indicative of his genius that even when he was playing the buffoon his posturing did not conceal his basic honesty, his hatred of sham and pretension, his clarity of vision, and his bulldog loyalty. When Twain died, even Theodore Roosevelt praised him as "a great philosopher," a judgment that, considering Twain's opinion of Roosevelt, would have amused him and justified his cynicism about politicians. Twain would have been pleased by Budd's conclusion that "When the public elected him its hero it improved its often belittled record for wisdom."

"Among the honors and respectabilities that rightly belong to Howells and Mark Twain is their friendship itself," says Eble, "and recognizing that friendship is an important part of doing justice to their literary achievements." The friendship, which endured for more than 40 years, shows both men at their most charming best. They were both good men, generous, humane, and honorable. They had a strong affinity of moral outlook, but they were suspicious of religious doctrine and pessimistic with regard to the promulgation—or discov-

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RESOLUTION

On November 3, 1985, at the meeting of the 34th Triennial Council of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, the following resolution was passed by acclamation. On December 7, 1985, the Phi Beta Kappa Senate endorsed the Council's action and voted to have the resolution printed in *The Key Reporter* as a way of making it known to all Phi Beta Kappa constituencies.

Whereas, one of the purposes of Phi Beta Kappa is to recognize and encourage the pursuit of scholarship; and

Whereas, from time to time, scholarship has been threatened by persons who would hinder its free pursuit; and

Whereas, the current monitoring of professors and teachers, as well as zealous efforts to establish censorship in public and private institutions, threatens our academic society, intellectual integrity, and academic freedom;

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that the delegates of the 34th Triennial Council urge the leadership of the United Chapters to encourage the chapters, associations, and members of Phi Beta Kappa to take appropriate action to withstand these serious dangers to academic freedom and intellectual integrity inasmuch as academic freedom and intellectual integrity are essential to the pursuit of scholarship and liberal education.

Reading

(continued from page 7)

ery—of religious “truths.” Each was doubtful regarding the prospects for a just democratic society. Both believed that literature comes directly from life and conveys a true sense of life. They disdained the artificialities of Sir Walter Scott, and whereas one lampooned the literary offenses of Cooper, the other deplored the “literosity” of Thackeray. The special accomplishment of this attractive book is that it destroys the long popular belief that Twain was “a frustrated and baffled genius” who spent his last decade sunk in misanthropy, and the commonly accepted view that Howells, who put his reputation on the line in support of the anarchists executed for the Haymarket Square bombing in 1886, was “smug and prudish in his fatal bourgeois condition.”

The stated purpose of *One Hundred Years of Huckleberry Finn*, a book of “many mansions,” is “to make the book ours again, freshly, still one more time.” To that end such scholars as Louis Budd, Fritz Oehlschlaeger, Millicent Bell, Roy Harvey Pearce, James Cox, and Robert Sattelmeyer have contributed essays ranging in subject matter from “*Huckleberry Finn* and Twain’s Autobiographical Writings” through “Women and Virtue in *Huckleberry Finn*” and “Thirty Years in the Classroom with Huck and Jim” to “The Theological Comedy of *Huckleberry Finn*.” There are 24 essays in all. *New Essays*, edited by Budd, who prefaces the collection with a long essay on the development of *Huckleberry Finn* into a classic, contains four additional essays.

RONALD GEBALLE

Time, Travel, and Papa Joe’s Pipe: Essays on the Human Side of Science. Alan P. Lightman. Scribner’s, 1984. \$12.95.

This is a selection of brief musings about how much science depends on human contact and inspiration, how scientific principles can illuminate seemingly “naive” questions, what is going on in contemporary science, and what it has to do with ordinary thought and life. The author, a working scientist and published poet, has a light touch and treats his subjects sensitively.

Relativity and Its Roots. Banesh Hoffmann. Scientific American Books, 1983. \$16.95; paper, \$9.95.

The roots of relativity begin in antiquity; tracing them as Hoffman does takes us along historical paths and detours through many branches of physics. All along, relativity has been a simple notion, open to any observer, expressible in nonmathematical terms. Einstein’s extension of it has this characteristic too, although in application it grows quite involved. Told much as a story, this exposition by a collaborator of Einstein’s is lively, direct, and clear; it should appeal to the general reader curious about the place and purpose of its subject.

Radiant Science, Dark Politics: A Memoir of the Nuclear Age. Martin D. Kamen. Univ. California, 1985. \$19.95.

Stephen Hawking’s Universe. John Brough. William Morrow, 1985. \$4.95.

Here are two examples of extraordinary courage. Kamen, codiscoverer of C^{14} , perhaps the most important radioisotope of all, and a pioneer in the use of radioactive tracers for biological research, struggled together with colleagues for a decade or more over the complexities of photosynthesis while being harassed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the U.S. Passport Service, Colonel McCormick’s newspapers, *Time* magazine, and other nourishers of post-World War II hysteria. The science is here; so are the unfairness, the good guys and the bad, and the eventual, though costly, triumph.

Hawking’s courage in the face of a devastating, incurable disease that has left him with little more than his mind is incredible. This small book is an introduction to the modern ideas about cosmology that have been formulated to a large extent by the powerful mind of a remarkable man. The treatment is more journalistic than normally elicits mention here, but this book offers the only available popular access into that determined and victorious mind.

The Scientific Reinterpretation of Form. Norma E. Emerton. Cornell, 1984. \$29.95.

How does raw matter acquire form? Is the essential nature of a thing revealed by its

form? These ancient and important questions have been answered in many ways throughout history; at various times the answers relied on philosophical, religious, and even social concepts. Only with the growth of crystallography did scholars slowly begin to attribute the ordered, symmetrical forms of matter to principles discoverable by studying matter itself. Now we know that the very principles governing the nature of atoms have an innate geometry. The gradual untangling of myriad ideas from earliest times through the 18th century is the purpose of this engrossing book.

QED: The Strange Theory of Light and Matter. Richard P. Feynman. Princeton, 1985. \$18.50.

The beautiful 19th-century theory of Maxwell that united electricity and magnetism with light and then predicted radio waves was born already satisfying the demands of the later Relativity of Einstein. Quantum theory, the second revolution of the 20th century, was a different matter. Two decades or more were needed before electromagnetism could be reconciled with it, even pragmatically. Feynman, one of the architects of reconciliation, Quantum Electrodynamics, uses his talent for graphic, nonmathematical, honest exposition to show how QED “explains” everyday experiences with light. He illustrates the violence done by quantum ideas to common sense and describes why QED, although it agrees with experiment to an accuracy exceeding that of a hair’s breadth compared with the breadth of the continent, is still fundamentally incomplete.

Bird of Passage. Rudolf Peierls. Princeton, 1985. \$29.50.

This is a selection of “memories as they came” to a distinguished theoretical physicist who has known and worked with most of the great physicists of the 20th century and who has been the mentor of a great many others. The stimulation he has given to British and U.S. physics has been one of the unintended benefactions of the Nazi era. One of the initiators of the British (and hence our) wartime nuclear effort, he has pursued as assiduously the Pugwash effort toward world peace. His tale of the human aspect of a scientist’s life is told with characteristic simplicity.

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