

it be colonial control over land and materials with which Suret-Canale is mainly concerned or control over the mind and emotions of a black leader which serves as Weinstein's material, is easier to condemn than understand. The radical blacks in America and Africa today owe a substantial debt to the courage and stamina of the black men who preceded them, who fought the initial private and public struggles and created images and models for generations to come. The black man's struggle to be recognized is long and painful and by no means uncomplicated. The Eboués of this world in their own way gave their lives to that struggle, and in their stubbornness and perseverance helped, perhaps more than we are willing to acknowledge, to bring about the pride and the political stridency which characterize today's Africa and America on matters of colonialism and racism.

In one sense Eboué, like Booker T. Washington, is a black hero, and hence this biography is an important addition to our understanding. But for the student of colonialism this account of a French administrator, the policies, enlightened and otherwise, which he sought to enforce, the failures of the colonial polices and the relationship of administrator to the colonized—all these point to a more complex set of human, administrative and political problems than facts and figures regarding economic exploitation would suggest or identify.

If the Marxian economic promise were realized, if racism were to disappear tomorrow, if neo-colonialism were neither a problem nor a threat, men would still be faced with difficult public and private choices regarding the problems of societies caught between an age gone by and a future of technological complexity, undigested and maybe undigestible.

French colonialism between 1900 and 1945 did much to disrupt and exploit mankind in Africa. Yet, who had the right to tell an Eboué not to strive toward personal achievements, not to select from among the alternatives for a career, a political

philosophy, a life style? Similarly, the clock cannot be turned back on the changes which colonialism brought to Africa economically, politically and socially. The Western white man can easily be condemned for the havoc he has wrought in Africa; yet, he should perhaps teach himself the past and seek to understand the present, rather than con-

verting his private guilt into judgments about past and future choices that Africans have the right to make for themselves.

Both of these books help illuminate the sorts of things both the scholar and the actor need to better understand before claiming to comprehend the choices available to men and societies in Africa.

The Police and the Public by Albert J. Reiss

(Yale University Press; 228 pp.; \$7.95)

Fred Lazin

Albert Reiss—in contrast to many experts—offers clarity and wisdom on the problems of crime and the role of the police. His focus is on the relationship between police and public; in their interaction, he argues, lies the cause of many problems and the potential solution to them.

According to Reiss's research, the police are basically a reactive organization, responding to citizens rather than acting on their own initiative. Reiss discounts police efforts to prevent crime, for outside of narcotics and morals, "where one can intervene in transactions that are part of an organized system of transaction," most preventive techniques do not feed into the criminal justice system. For example, "about 93 per cent of all incidents processed by the patrol division in Chicago developed from citizen initiative." And for this reason too, Reiss contends, the suggestion that policemen should be returned to foot patrol is misconceived:

"[The foot patrolman] was relatively ineffective in dealing with crimes without citizen co-operation, he rarely discovered crimes in progress, and his capacity to prevent any crime was extremely limited by his restricted mobility, especially after the advent of the automobile."

The relationship between police

and public also has an effect upon police behavior in face-to-face encounters. When do policemen use excessive force? Reiss argues that it is the respect shown for authority rather than race or the seriousness of the crime which determines if the arresting officer will use force (verbal abuse is not considered here). The police are more often violent with minor criminals who do not show respect for their authority than with major criminals who do. When a citizen considers the police intervention legitimate, the encounter is likely to be civil. When he does not, the policeman is prone to assert his authority, either through threats or the actual use of force. Reiss found the latter situation more likely to occur when the police intervene on their own and in minor violations in which the violator and/or bystanders view the police action as arbitrary or discretionary. He also found that resistance to arrest and interference more often occur in connection with minor crimes.

Reiss places partial blame for police misconduct on the criminal justice system. He describes the latter as a loosely articulated hierarchy of five major subsystems: citizens, law enforcement or police, public prosecution, misdemeanor and felony courts and the appellate subsystem. All too often, he says, each subsys-

tem serves its own particular interest at the expense of others and the system as a whole. The failure of any one subsystem to legitimize police action or to prosecute criminals leads to frustration by the police and to deviant police behavior:

"The judgment of the police and of others in the legal system are intricately balanced in a commitment to justice. If, on the average, the officer's sense of justice is not confirmed, or if his moral commitments are not sustained by others, he loses his own moral commitment to the system. Where moral commitment is lost, sub-cultural practices take over."

One such practice is harassment, which occurs when there are "expectations that [police] control unlawful conduct, while other levels of the system thwart such enforcement by failing to treat their arrests of citizens seriously."

Since police effectiveness "depends largely upon the willingness of the citizen to be policed," Reiss suggests that we be more concerned with conditions favoring a civil society than with the causes of violence and crime. Citizens will cooperate with the police only if they view the criminal act as a threat to themselves or to society. This cooperation can best be achieved in a civil society in which "men behave in ordinary affairs with a sense of concern and responsibility for the interests of others." For good relations to exist between the police and the public, he argues, citizens must grant legitimacy to police authority and respect their intervention in the affairs of men; the police must be accountable to civil authority; and citizens must be protected from police tyranny.

All this requires that society no longer sanction incivility in any form toward the police. It must respect law and the law enforcer. There must be law and order. However, Reiss places much of the burden on the police. They must become more responsive to the people, especially to the poor and to minority groups. The police, he believes, have failed to convince the public

that police service is trustworthy:

"The police, in enforcing the law and catching criminals, must balance traditional moral and quasi legal concerns with other contemporary concerns, such as the legality of police methods and civil rights."

Reiss decries the trend toward unionization by the police in response to charges of police brutality. This is not the way to instill public confidence in police accountability. He prefers increased professionalization as a means of coping with the critics of police behavior and of creating a sense of public trust. Reiss suggests that an intergovernmental agency supervise all aspects of the investigation of citizen complaints against the police while allowing the police to conduct the investigation. Finally, he argues against the decentralization of the police department and the creation of autonomous neighborhood units. He believes that, historically, neighborhood control of the police has made the precinct subservient to established interests. It does not solve many of the criticisms voiced by the neighborhood poor and minority groups—for both, according to Reiss, want accountability and responsiveness, not participation. The best way to achieve this is through a centralized command and increased field supervision. He concludes:

"A civil police depends upon a civil citizenry. Civility in police and citizen relations is best insured by customary relations and respect for police authority, a reciprocal set of expectations and sanctions, both internal and external systems for holding police accountable to citizens and a professional police."

Reiss found that the poor and the minority population—the most criminally plagued elements of our society both as victims and perpetrators—not only need but want more police protection and services. He suggests that advocates of tougher laws, more police, better equipment and even neighborhood foot patrols miss the point. Society and the police must instill in the poor and minorities a sense of trust in and common purpose with the police. It

would thus appear that, for long-range results, the Lindsay style of "patience and understanding" might be more effective than a Daley "get tough policy" for achieving safe streets and "law and order." If Reiss is correct—and his data suggest that he is—then police effectiveness requires the voluntary cooperation of citizens, and this cannot be accomplished by fear. He suggests that the key to much of the problem and to its solution is the professionalization of the police force. He is not naive; he is aware of the growth of unionism and other roadblocks to professionalism. Yet he sees no other alternative if trust is to be established.

An incident at the recent Knapp hearings on police corruption in the New York City Police Department is relevant here. One Sergeant Durk related how he had been offered a bribe by the landlord's agent to arrest a tenant who had organized a tenants' strike. Instead, Durk arrested the agent. As he led the man away in handcuffs the people in the building and on the street looked on in amazement and shouted in Spanish, "*Viva la policia*." It is this attitude which makes police work possible. And only the police can generate it.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Briefly Noted

Satmar:

An Island in the City

by Israel Rubin

(Quadrangle; 272 pp.; \$8.95)

Rumanian-born Israel Rubin, now a teacher at Cleveland State, had remarkable access to the leaders and followers during his several years of studying the Hasidic community in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. The result is the best available introduction to this exotic cult which offers a fascinating example of the power of communal religion to survive and thrive in resistance to enormous cultural and economic pressures. The witness of the Satmarer speaks to American Jewry, and to a culture in search of communalism, with a force far out of proportion to its size and apparent marginality.

McGovern: A Biography

by Robert Sam Anson

(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; 303 pp.; \$7.95)

Anson took off from *Time* to do this biography "with the full cooperation" of the Democratic candidate for President. The author insists it is not the usual "official" biography because it was made clear in advance that the book would not be subject to approval or censorship by McGovern or by those around him. Indeed, there are reports that some of the McGovern people are extremely unhappy with the biography, one top aide calling Anson "a nasty little bastard." The reason for such ire will completely escape the reader who possesses a modicum of objectivity. Perhaps some of the McGovern people expected unmitigated adulation instead of the more credible admiration that today marks the writing even of ecclesiastical hagiologists. What we have is a book that can inform and confirm supporters of the prairie populist and, to a lesser extent, supply his enemies with further reasons for disliking him. Not an inconsiderable achievement as political biographies go.

The Nixon Theology

by Charles P. Henderson, Jr.

(Harper and Row; 210 pp.; \$6.95)

Henderson, a chaplain at Princeton, began to take a systematic interest in President Nixon's religious thought at the time of the Cambodia invasion, an action which Nixon explained to the American people in emphatically moralistic terms. The result is a book that pulls together what turns out to be a substantial record on the President's markedly theological worldview. Contrary to many of Nixon's critics, Henderson offers persuasive argument that Nixon is a remarkably sincere and conscientious man. The questions are: what does he believe sincerely, and what religious and moral influences shape his conscience? Childhood religious training, his relations with Father John Cronin and Whittaker Chambers and, of course, with Billy Graham, are all given careful attention. Throughout, Henderson is almost visibly trying to maintain a degree of sympathy for the President and, with the exception of a few homiletical attacks on some of Nixon's more egregious exploitations of the patriotism-and-piety theme, succeeds in helping us to understand Nixon better, if not to like him more. He concludes that Nixon's theology is almost totally bereft of the dimensions of the tragic and transcendent, and therefore of the ironic in history. His is a simplistic faith that is repetitiously asserted but—perhaps as a matter of self-protection—almost never reflected upon. The book serves as a useful corrective to Streiker and Strober's recently published *Religion and the New Majority* in that it so devastatingly reveals the failure of the revivalism of their hero, Billy Graham, when applied to public policy. Henderson's analysis is not the tour de force of Garry Wills's *Nixon Agonistes*, and at times the author seems to be confused about the lessons to be drawn from his study. But *The Nixon Theology* is nonetheless an informative, and even important, document about this President and about one style of relating moral discourse to public policy.

Freedom Is a Word

by Eric Gordon

(Morrow; 350 pp.; \$7.95)

An extraordinary report that will probably please nobody on any side of the debate about the moral and political merits of Maoist China. In 1965 an Englishman, his wife and eight-year-old son contracted with the People's Republic to work in Peking, he at editing English-language documents, she at college teaching. The Gordons were fervently committed to the new man in the new society led by Chairman Mao, and even participated wholeheartedly in the purges that accompanied the beginning of the cultural revolution. At the end of their contract period, in 1967, the Gordons prepared to return to England to write a book that would counter the lies being told in the "imperialist press" about contemporary China and about the cultural revolution in particular. On their way to Hong Kong, Chinese customs discovered the notes and other materials for the prospective book that they were trying to smuggle out of the country. This minor infraction of the rules sparked a long ordeal in which the Gordons were accused of spying, slandering Chairman Mao, etc. The book they now publish is the story of three people imprisoned in one room for two years by a thoroughly politicized police bureaucracy. When released in 1969, the Gordons were permitted to take with them the notes, "confessions," and other personal materials that comprise much of this fascinating document. The authors do not attempt to hide their vacillations, fears and self-serving contradictions during the period of their imprisonment; the report has the unmistakable ring of authenticity. Eric Gordon survives with his faith in communism intact, but thankful for the "bright glimmer of hope" evident in the fact that "everywhere today the politically aware are busy analyzing and probing what is going wrong with socialism." His is an important contribution to that analysis.