

intellectuals alienated by the "Padilla affair" is doubtful.

Some questions concerning the second five years of the revolution remain unanswered, and undoubtedly they will be clarified in Halperin's forthcoming volume. The relationship between Fidel and Che Guevara from 1964 until Che's death in Bolivia in 1967 continues to be a puzzle, Halperin indicates that Che seemed to be thinking of "disengagement from Cuba's domestic affairs" by late 1964, but whether

there was an actual rift between him and the Cuban leader is not clear. Another puzzle is why Castro never sought to confirm his power through free elections, which he would have won overwhelmingly in 1959, and likely would win by a handy majority today. Perhaps he simply feels that elections are superfluous. These are among the unanswered questions. This excellent first volume holds the promise of an equally well-researched, thoughtful and helpful second volume.

"false consciousness." And, of course, it is easy to express disillusionment with the postwar politics and policies of Harry Truman. The question remains, however, whether Wallace would or could have made a difference for this nation and for liberalism if he had inherited the Presidency instead of Truman, or even if he had been a more potent political force.

To lump Wallace and Truman together because they were not socialists does a disservice to Wallace. The struggle of the late 1940's was to define what liberalism meant. Wallace attempted to refurbish a materialistic liberalism, and advanced the belief that this nation had to develop a communitarian creed and social purpose. He wanted to make the system work for the interests of the common man rather than for the greater glory of corporate profits. He proposed far-reaching changes in the economic system: planning boards, the representation of consumers, government ownership of various defense industries, equitable taxation and extensive social welfare programs. He preached a social code of cooperation instead of "rugged individualism." He was an early spokesman of environmental concern, advocated détente before it became fashionable, and held that the United States must take its stand with, not against, those "winds of change" sweeping the Third World. His political demise meant, if analytical concepts are going to be used, the rise of what has been termed "corporate liberalism" rather than a liberalism concerned with social welfare. If there are different roads to socialism, there are also different roads postwar liberalism might have taken.

In viewing the postwar world we are struck by the failure of liberals as individuals, as well as by the failure of liberalism as a concept. Idiosyncratic as well as systematic variables must be put into the equation that charts a nation's course. FDR's temporizing and Truman's appointment of mediocre cronies and big-businessmen were functions of their own personalities as well as

The Rise and Fall of the People's Century: Henry Agard Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941-1948

by Norman Markowitz

(Free Press; 369 pp.; \$8.95)

Joseph Capalbo

Henry Wallace—horticulturist, farm magazine editor, Secretary of Agriculture, Vice President, Secretary of Commerce, *New Republic* editor and Progressive Party Presidential candidate—ranks as one of the more interesting political figures in this nation's recent past. Long maligned and until now long forgotten, a Wallace revival seems to be taking place, and Norman Markowitz's study is one of its more recent evidences.

This book is a useful rendering of Democratic liberal-labor politics in the World War II and postwar eras. It is a needed counterbalance to those "establishment" histories which have idealized Roosevelt and made Truman into something much more than he was. While Wallace comes out better than Truman in this narrative, Markowitz's aim is not to defend the former and attack the latter, but to demonstrate what he believes is the bankruptcy of "social liberals": those who accept capitalism although wanting to make it more humane; those who would play at pluralist politics. Thus we

encounter phrases such as "reformers were caught in the paradox of condemning social injustice while upholding capitalism as a system," or "Truman's failures cannot be separated from the greater failure of New Deal Broker State politics." Wallace, like Roosevelt and Truman, would have been doomed to failure in his quest for social justice, since he "also delineated liberal false consciousness by defining that vision in capitalist terms," and thus "it is doubtful that the progressive capitalism of Henry Wallace could give Americans either security or freedom." Henry Wallace, so often criticized by Republicans and Truman Democrats, now gets his comeuppance from a democratic socialist.

It is not surprising that Wallace should be critiqued from both Left and Right, for "social liberals" have long been held suspect by both ends of the political spectrum. It is hard to defend Wallace's "false consciousness" against those with "correct consciousness," since by defending it one is merely displaying his own

of their "social liberal" political orientation.

Whatever disappointment the Left has with liberals or liberalism, it is also a disappointment with America and Americans. In many quarters socialism was, and is, a dirty word. If Henry Wallace ran as a democratic socialist instead of as a Progressive he might have received even fewer votes than he did. Americans did (and do) vote in large numbers for those, Republicans and Democrats, who oppose social change. While Americans want bread-and-butter social welfare programs, and while they want the government to "do something" when "things" go bad, they are incrementalists, and usually prefer to think of themselves as waging a battle against "creeping socialism." The American heritage of Madisonian pluralism, Hamiltonian economics and a market mentality must be a disappointment to those committed to social fraternity and economic equity.

Henry Wallace is depicted by Markowitz as a deluded liberal who, by the end of his life, became a sad and pathetic figure recanting all he had earlier believed. Another portrait of Henry Wallace can be drawn. As Wallace escapes from political oblivion and is compared with other political figures of his time, he should emerge as a man of sense and foresight.

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Briefly Noted

Hitler

by Joachim C. Fest

(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 844 pp.; \$15.00)

Fast-paced action and reflection are combined by German journalist Fest (*The Face of the Third Reich*, 1970) to produce a portrait of a period that is, understandably, a best-seller in Europe. Since the war there have been several phases in such studies, and we have no doubt not seen the last. While Fest is well aware of deep-seated dynamics that persist and may emerge in new forms of Fascism, his argument here is that National Socialism was more a force than a vision, fatally tied to the destructive personality of one man. While some may take comfort in such a thesis, others will certainly subject it to scrupulous examination. Some of that examination will be undertaken in these pages in the months ahead.

Working by Studs Terkel

(Pantheon; 589 pp.; \$10.00)

As in *Division Street* and *Hard Times*, Mr. Terkel again demonstrates his gift for getting people talking and occasionally eliciting quite extraordinary insights from "ordinary" Americans. Here he interviews a multitude of people in a multitude of lines, coming up with the less than novel—and, one suspects, less than accurate—conclusion that the vast majority of Americans find work dull, oppressive, frustrating and otherwise lacking in personal satisfactions. In a word, alienating. Terkel's lengthy introduction suggests that this is pretty much what he set out to find. It is doing well with the book clubs, but it seems unlikely many readers will read the whole thing.

The Death of Communal Liberty

by Benjamin R. Barber

(Princeton University Press; 302 pp.; \$12.50)

A joy to read, although disturbing in its conclusions, is this study of the Swiss experiment in direct democracy, an experiment that is now under attack from that ambiguous blessing we call modernization. Barber, a political scientist at Rutgers, brings a wealth of disciplines and sensibilities to bear upon his analysis of what is happening to one Swiss mountain canton as it tries to resist the apparently inexorable assimilation to the industrialized and urbanized world of the mid-twentieth century. Part of the argument appeared in these pages ("Heidi in Technological Society," October, 1973), and we plan to return to this volume in the review columns.

Emile Durkheim

on Morality and Society edited by Robert E. Bellah

(University of Chicago Press; 244 pp.; \$10.50)

The fifty-five-page introduction by Mr. Bellah makes this book worth a great deal, maybe even worth the excessive price the publisher is asking, if it enlists the reader in further study of one of the (relatively) neglected geniuses of modern thought, Emile Durkheim. Some of the selections in this small volume are newly translated by Mark Traugott, and all are chosen by Bellah to illuminate his interest in Durkheim's pursuit of "the science of morality." Particularly pertinent to current discussions of equality and freedom are the selections on "the division of labor." Well put together, the book is a distinguished addition to the University of Chicago's "Heritage of Sociology" series and should be welcomed by all who share a disciplined anxiety about the connections be-

tween religion, values and that mystical reality Durkheim, and the rest of us, called Society. (Durkheim was simply more aware of the mystery than most.)

The Religion of Dostoevsky by A. Boyce Gibson

(Westminster; 216 pp.; \$6.95)

The author, who was professor of philosophy at the University of Melbourne and died in 1972, purposes "to record what is known from outside the novels of Dostoevsky's engagements, disengagements and re-engagements with the Christian faith . . . and then to trace chronologically the currents and counter-currents of his thought and feeling in the novels themselves." He does precisely what he set out to do, effectively refuting those admirers of Dostoevsky who insist that his personal faith must be considered apart from the presumably deeper insights of his novels. Gibson succeeds in overcoming what may be the reader's initial skepticism about the need for yet another book on Dostoevsky.

Beyond Right and Wrong by Harry K. Girvetz

(Free Press; 306 pp.; \$6.95)

Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, Santa Barbara, Girvetz writes in praise of free will. He lucidly describes the ways in which morality has been relativized in the modern world, notably by Freud and Marx, and offers a vigorous polemic against the determinism (Skinner et al.) that some have resorted to in search of ethical "objectivity." We will be returning to this book in our review columns.

Through Black Eyes by Elton C. Fax

(Dodd, Mead; 203 pp.; \$6.95)

A black American artist records his impressions of travels through East African countries and Soviet provinces. The sketches, chiefly of marketplaces and men with burdened mules, are sometimes striking and almost always in the heroic mold. The commentary turns largely upon Mr. Fax's discovery of the dependence of developing countries upon rich nations, notably the United States.

The Cult of Revolution in the Church by John Eppstein

(Arlington House; 159 pp.; \$6.95)

The author of the distinguished *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* here follows through on his 1972 offering, also from Arlington House, *Has the Catholic Church Gone Mad?* The present volume is pure polemic, evidencing little effort to understand the variety and nuances of "political theology" as it has emerged in recent years. Mr. Eppstein, sorry to say, is a Malcolm Muggeridge without the relief of Muggeridge's wit. In the absence of style, such cantankerously conservative arguments have a tendency to seem unlovely.

Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History by Fawn M. Brodie

(Norton; 591 pp.; \$12.50)

The author, professor of history at UCLA, focuses on the heart of Jefferson's dialogue between head and heart. She is thoroughly admiring of a Jefferson, whose penchant for privacy successfully concealed from most historians a person of great warmth and amorous vitality. The implication is made that, had he lived in a less repressive era, Jefferson might have been viewed as something of a swinger. Carefully researched and readable, the study might be described as the historical greening of Thomas Jefferson.

Hitler Close-Up by Heinrich Hoffmann and Henry Picker

(Macmillan; 223 pp.; \$9.95)

Hundreds of pictures, some not published here before, and quotes from Hitler's "table talk," none of which are new. Hoffmann was the dictator's personal photographer and Picker took notes during his seemingly endless monologues.

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