

Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt

by *Barrington Moore, Jr.*

(Pantheon; 540 pp.; \$17.50)

Joseph Amato

Because this is an important work it is unfortunate that it is not more readable. Throughout its five hundred pages one encounters whole sections that ought to have been mere paragraphs. More important, as justifiable as is Moore's tripartite division of the work (it moves from theory to example, and from example back to theory), the suspicion will persist that he has written two works instead of one, that he has tried to build a cathedral where a modest chapel would have served. Readers acquainted with Moore's past writings will wish he had modeled *Injustice* along the more economical lines of *Reflections on the Cause of Human Misery* (1972) rather than on his huge near-classic *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (1966). These stylistic criticisms are not meant to discourage anyone from reading *Injustice* but, rather, to prepare the reader for the long but worthwhile ordeal ahead.

If a choice faces all sensitive twentieth-century thinkers between "tragic optimism" and "courageous pessimism," Moore chooses the latter. He believes that limits and tragedy are as real to the human condition as happiness and the promise of progress. This spirit shapes his response to the question: "Why do people so often put up with being victims of their society and why, at other times, do they try to do something about it?"

Moore rejects the either-or choice between nature and culture. Man, he believes, does have basic psychological and material needs that enter into every human context and in large measure determine his happiness and misery. At the same time, the givens of human nature are mediated by culture and are shaped by three fundamental realities that characterize every society: *authority, division of labor, and the allocation of goods and services.*

Authority, unless it rests on terror, must be based on a sense of mutual obli-

gation. This sense emerges most vividly and passionately at such times as authority is called into question. Analogous to the relation between child and parent, society's authority is based upon an implicit exchange of security for obedience. The division of labor, to take Moore's second term, can be achieved by sheer compulsion, as is the case so often in modern predatory, national societies; or it can rest, as is nearly always the case in more primitive societies, upon consensus and allocation by tradition. Always at play in the discussion of justice is a preference for personal prop-

erty, and resentment and sanctions against the lazy, the do-nothing, and the *fainéant*. The distribution of goods and services, the third element of the social order, is associated with people's varying sense of equality and fairness. The sense of fairness indicts all those who take without giving—the parasites, the exploiters, the bloodsuckers, the moochers—and all those who have riches beyond their own need but don't share them—the nonmagnanimous rich, the hoarders, the stingy.

Having prepared us to concede that for rebellion, as for war, there are always a thousand reasons at hand, Moore raises a question that he consciously formulates in opposition to the favored question of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Instead of asking, as was asked then, "Why do people revolt?" Moore asks, "Why do people so often submit to oppression and degradation?" Conceding that the acceptance of a certain amount of suffering is a condition of life, Moore looks to the extreme

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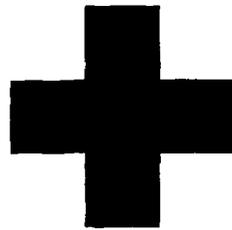
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for his answer: His examples are ascetics, untouchables, and victims of Nazi concentration camps. People can use suffering, Moore argues, to escape their existence; they can accept suffering because authority requires it, or because they are conditioned to it. Sometimes the oppressed have so internalized their condition that they idealize and mimic their oppressors. Moore notes the hierarchical orders that exist among the untouchables and among the Jewish inmates who emulated the dress of their S.S. guards.

For Moore, then, only the most optimistic assume that revolt will always arise in opposition to "intolerable conditions." Authority and tradition most often dictate against revolt. It takes insight and courage to resist oppression. Moral autonomy, Moore argues, is a prerequisite for revolt, and moral autonomy is not plentiful in modern industrial society. Furthermore, empathy (love, sympathetic identification, or whatever else one might call it) does not assure social justice. "Under certain conditions it can be very powerful," Moore writes,

"but it won't get food and water into the cities and garbage off the streets."

If in Part I Moore has shown that there are as many reasons for mankind to conform as to revolt, in Part II his argument takes yet a more pessimistic turn. Here he analyzes the German labor movement and concludes—against all those who currently idealize the revolutionary potential of the German worker movement—that it never could have made the revolution that would have saved Germany from the First World War or, later, Nazism. Organized labor was never as large as is commonly assumed, and was for the most part local, divided, and differentiated. Furthermore, the worker's issues were not the intellectual's abstractions of universal justice, freedom, and brotherhood but, rather, the more basic matters of fair play, decency, and respect.

Before resuming the theoretical discussion in Part III, Moore argues that in Russia the workers' movement alone would not have caused the October Revolution. For the revolution to happen, daily life had to be utterly dis-

rupted, women fully engaged in revolt, the war hopelessly lost yet still being fought, and the army reduced to a state of disintegration. ("It is the state of the army, of competing armies," Moore writes, "not the working class, that...determined the fate of twentieth century revolutions.") Arguing against his friend Herbert Marcuse, who insists on labor's past revolutionary potential, Moore contends that the sense of injustice can as easily fuel a revolt born out of resentment as a revolution committed to progress. The Nazi revolution is, for Moore, proof of that. Germans, especially returning soldiers, believed that their traditional values were being undermined, their sacrifice insulted, and their lives exploited by Jew and capitalist alike. In this mixture of irrationality and class resentment often "masquerading as a manliness that culminates in murder" Moore locates the passions that brought Nazism to power.

Moore cannot at this point, even if he wishes, escape the consequences of his own pessimism: "*In the end the choice between right and left is less meaningful than between more or less rational forms of authority.*" He argues that "nationalistic and separatist movements have enjoyed many successes in the past fifty-odd years, and that the number and fervor of their supporters is probably much larger than that behind any movement based on revolutionary working class consciousness." In turn, Moore acknowledges how often revolutionary leaders sacrifice the people to

Not "Why do people revolt?" but "Why do people so often submit to oppression and degradation?"

their causes and how the state, even when seized by a positive group, has laws and rituals that can ask for the most extreme sacrifices. "But the kings, new and old, abide by no contract with their subjects. They kill their own subjects, each other's subjects, and on occasion, each other. And they all do it in the name of a 'public interest,' a wel-

fare' about which there is no agreement and which threatens to turn into a nightmare." Moore knows that in matters of state, "terror and progress" (to borrow the title of one of his works on the Soviet Union) are not strangers.

He does not counsel surrender. He would have us get on with the business of being responsible, not just for ourselves and our own fate, but for the creation of "the basic conditions that make rational authority feasible and turn predatory forms of authority into a pathological rather than a normal state of affairs." Yet, to this end, he sees no path but a truthful and expanding consciousness and empathy. This sort of "existential utilitarianism," or "courageous pessimism," is where Moore would have us begin reflecting on injustice in our broken, divided, and warring world.

CONTRIBUTORS

SAMUEL HUX teaches English at York College (CUNY).

SUDHIR SEN is author of *A Richer Harvest* (1974), *Reaping the Green Revolution* (1976), and *Turning the Tide* (1978).

RICHARD J. MOUW is Professor of Philosophy at Calvin College, Michigan.

MARTIN GREEN is Professor of English at Tufts University. His latest book is *Transatlantic Patterns*.

MARTHA BAYLES, a novelist, teaches English composition at Fordham University, New York.

JOSEPH AMATO teaches history at Southwest State University, Minnesota.

WARREN THOMPSON (Briefly Noted) teaches philosophy at Lebanon Valley College, Pennsylvania.

lives. Some of the liberating American troops lost control when they discovered a freight train at the camp containing nothing but corpses: They massacred 122 S.S. guards who had just surrendered. (This train had stood at Dachau, completely unattended, for several weeks; the cars contained the bodies of 2,310 people who had been shipped from other camps.)

Selzer says he "conflated" a number of the individual events that were related to him. That may be a legitimate, even a necessary, method. But "recreations" of this sort create an uneasiness about what might have been skewed or slighted; the reader is at the mercy of the writer's perception of what is and is not important. Nonetheless, Selzer's narrative is convincing and his book is a worthwhile addition to the massive and growing body of literature on the events of this epoch.

—Warren Thompson

Briefly Noted

Deliverance Day: The Last Hours at Dachau by Michael Selzer

(J.B. Lippincott; 253 pp.; \$10.95)

Konzentrationslager (KZ) Dachau was liberated by the American army on April 29, 1945. In reconstructing this event, Professor Selzer has accomplished a work of considerable historical merit and moral impact. We are reminded that KZ Dachau was not designed as a death factory: 31,951 are listed as having died there, mostly from disease, malnutrition, and mistreatment; many thousands more, it is certain, died unrecorded. And the dying continued long after the arrival of the Americans, despite the efforts of military physicians, who were stunned to find themselves dealing with a variety of syndromes previously encountered only in medical textbooks. Dachau was a comparatively lesser part of the total scheme of human destruction in the camps between 1933 and 1945, but when it opened in March, 1933, it had the distinction of being the first formally sanctioned concentration camp in National Socialist Germany.

Dachau, as Selzer tells us, had a "heterogeneous population," and this is one

reason he chose to study this particular camp. Only near the end of the war did it come to have large numbers of Jewish inmates, underscoring Selzer's point that "the camps, as such, were not a distinctively Jewish tragedy." Jehovah's Witnesses, gypsies, Christian clergymen, captured Resistance fighters, ordinary German citizens, and even members of the *Wehrmacht* itself—in short, virtually anyone who happened to get in the way of Hitler's *Gleichschaltung* was a candidate for Dachau. Nevertheless, Dachau marks the beginning of the Holocaust, of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question." Selzer's story forces us to consider that absolutely nothing was done from the outside to help these people, nor those at worse places, even when Allied military supremacy was established beyond all question and when British and American assistance to the underground in various German-occupied countries was both plentiful and commonplace. Not a gesture. Not even a sign that we knew what was happening to them—and we did know, in detail, well before the first camp was overrun.

Selzer relates the fate of the Russian prisoners of war at Dachau. At the liberation 3,000 were alive—during the war they were commonly used as live targets at the S.S. rifle range—and they were eventually sent back to the Soviet Union, many of them unwillingly, for Stalin did not take kindly to troops who laid down their weapons instead of their

EveryOne by Frederick Franck (Doubleday; 187 pp.; \$12.50)

In recent years Frederick Franck has produced a number of remarkable books in which his drawings accompany his hand-written text. *EveryOne*, which now joins their company, is Franck's contemporary rendering of the fifteenth-century classic *Everyman* (the text of which is appended). In notes following his rendition Franck explains how and why *Everyman* came to mean so much to him and also how, in Japan, he came upon a study presenting evidence that *Everyman* has roots in a Buddhist parable preceding the birth of Christ. This confirmed his own feeling that the play is built on a myth of far-reaching and powerful meanings.

Everyman is, of course, the story of a man who, faced with Death, is deserted by his long-time comrades—Fellowship and Jollity, Strength, Pleasure, Goods, etc., until he is left with only Good Deeds to plead his case before God. In transmuting this play to our own times, Franck has taken some dazzling and profound liberties. The result is a very forceful play that has been performed successfully in many different settings. It can be read aloud with a few friends or even by oneself. Highly recommended.

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For years *Worldview* and The Asia Society have been collaborating in bringing together essays, most of which have been subjected to criticism and analysis in conferences in the Pacific. And most of which have appeared in *Worldview*. The result is a remarkable series of *Worldview*-sized publications that add up to a small but growing library of contemporary commentary on this region of the world—increasingly important in the foreign policy of the U.S.

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Agenda for Theology
by Thomas C. Oden
(Harper & Row; xiii + 176 pp.; \$7.95)

At this very moment, one may safely assume, an article is being written to announce the arrival of "neo-conservatism" in Christian and Jewish theology. Oden's book would have to be mentioned, or maybe the book is an extended version of the article. In any case, Oden is making his confession that, after riding almost every religious fad of the last decade and more, his seminary students have forced him to the discovery of orthodoxy. The whole book is an effort to rehabilitate the word *orthodoxy*. His agenda, he wants to make clear, is not the revival of the "neo-orthodoxy" associated with worthies such as Reinhold Niebuhr but, rather, the development of a post-modern classical Christian position. Because it is post-modern, says Oden, neither should it be confused with fundamentalism, which is pre-modern. The book is part of a major shift in the religious climate, in continuity with the much discussed Hartford Appeal of 1975. It is not clear that the one point he makes requires 176 pages, but it is an important point, so one is not inclined to quibble over a little padding.

Rise Up and Walk
by Abel T. Muzorewa
(Abington; 289 pp.; \$9.95)

A moving and persuasive autobiography by the bishop who dared to join in the interim government of Rhodesia in the hope that it would lead to the independence of Zimbabwe. One is compelled by the good sense, courage, and conscience of a man thoroughly committed to liberal democratic values. Yet, as this is written, it seems that the undermining of the interim government, for which American policy is largely responsible, is leading to intertribal conflict that will force Muzorewa and others toward a Zimbabwe that bears little resemblance to the vision of independence portrayed in this book. One therefore reads the book with some sadness, knowing that this future deserved a far better chance than it has been given.

Eugene Carson Blake:
Prophet With Portfolio
by R. Douglas Brackenridge
(Seabury; 239 pp.; \$12.95)

A thoroughly uncritical admiration of the man and of the movements of which he was an important part. Blake has been very much in the center of what used to be called mainline Protestantism. In view of the present disarray of the World and National Councils of Churches, this book is a poignant reminder of an ecclesiastical universe that was once taken very seriously indeed. It reinforces the impression that for all his energy, administrative ability, and attractive personal qualities, Blake presided over the not so graceful decline of institutions he obviously wanted to strengthen. He represents a generation of ecumenical leadership that has been left reeling from the collision between Christian sincerity and power realities that are stubbornly resistant to moral improvement.

The Nature of Mass Poverty
by John Kenneth Galbraith
(Harvard University Press; 150 pp.; \$8.95)

A handful of gracefully reworked lectures proposes that the answer to "mass poverty" is an "accommodation" that breaks "the equilibrium of poverty." Actually, Galbraith is somewhat more modest than that, acknowledging that his idea of "accommodation" may be one of a set of answers. Accommodation basically means the movement from agricultural to industrial work, from rural to urban living. Key to this is migration, both within and among nations. Galbraith views migration historically and in its global dimensions and applies its lessons to support a very positive position toward "illegal immigrants" in this country, notably those from Mexico. There are some curious mistakes, such as his claim that the U.S. spends nearly \$120 billion annually to police its borders, and more conventional mistakes, such as the assumption throughout that China is way ahead of India in terms of economic development. There is also a curious, for Galbraith, move away from "socialist" solutions. Indeed, the burden of his argument is against varieties of socialism that turn out to be "disas-

Foreign Policy & Morality

Framework for a Moral Audit

Theodore M. Hesburgh
Louis J. Halle

Commentary: John C. Bennett, George F. Kennan,
John P. Armstrong, Philip C. Jessup,
E. Raymond Platig

Preface and Concluding Remarks:
Kenneth W. Thompson

Two acknowledged authorities, Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame and Professor Louis Halle of Geneva, approach the issue of morality in foreign policy from different viewpoints. Their differing views are then examined by leaders from different backgrounds — diplomats, professional ethicists, and public servants. The result is a searching examination of one of the perennial and profound issues of political life.



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trous" when they attempt the impossible, namely, to make people richer by redistributing their poverty. The little book is, in sum, a slight but humane and readable argument for a moderately hopeful approach to development that takes more seriously than is usually the case such elementary forces as the desire of people to migrate toward what they perceive as opportunity.

Scholars, Dollars and Bureaucrats

by *Chester E. Finn, Jr.*

(Brookings Institution; 238 pp.; \$11.95/4.95)

An eminently intelligent analysis of the role of the federal government in higher education. Currently 14 billion federal dollars a year go, directly and indirectly, to approximately three thousand colleges and universities. Finn underscores that there is a hodgepodge of bits and pieces of disconnected decisions rather than one clear policy, but he thinks that is not so bad. The higher education scene itself is relatively, and often creatively, anarchic. His proposals for reform are modest, and, despite an almost certain quantitative decline in higher education during the next decade, his prognosis offers good reasons for being hopeful.

God and the Astronomers

by *Robert Jastrow*

(Norton; 136 pp.; \$7.95)

Those of us on the humanistic side of what C.P. Snow described as the "two cultures" are enormously indebted to Robert Jastrow, the astronomer who heads NASA's Goddard Institute and who writes with a singular elegance about the truly elegant discoveries of a science that is quite beyond most of us. This little book is about the Big Bang theory of how everything got started, a theory that is more elegantly, and accurately, described as the Beginning, or, if you will, the Creation. With a sense of amused curiosity Jastrow demonstrates how such eminent scientists as Einstein resisted the evidence as long as they could because it implied conclusions unamenable to scientific religion. Nor-

ton is asking a big price for a book very slight in size (and even that is achieved by excessive padding with marginally relevant photographs), but it is by no means slight in its power to inform and provoke.

The Power of Their Glory: America's Ruling Class, the Episcopalians

by *Kit and Frederica*

Konolige

(Wyden; 408 pp.; \$12.95)

Publisher's Weekly compares it with Birmingham's *Our Crowd*; the publishers and, one suspects, the authors, think this is a compliment. It is a very big book with some interesting pictures and unoriginal thoughts about the very rich, very successful, very powerful, very stylish, and frequently very snobbish elite of the Episcopal Church. To be more precise, not the elite of the Episcopal Church, but the elite of the country who happen to be Episcopalian. Such unseemly gawking at the rich no doubt confirms them in their view that they are the betters of people like the Konoliges and those for whom their book is written.

The Ethics of Homicide

by *Philip E. Devine*

(Cornell University Press; 248 pp.; \$12.95)

Devine teaches philosophy at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and here offers an admirably reasoned argument for the "presumption against killing." Relatively few citizens seem to be aware that our society is at this moment engaged in life-and-death decisions about the definition of the human existence for which we accept societal responsibility. The specific issues have to do with abortion, euthanasia, suicide, war, murder, and capital punishment, and the laws appropriate to each. Devine does not operate from a partisan religious base—indeed he makes quite a point of that—but he is keenly alert to the difficulties in separating ethical judgment from religious conviction. The author argues convincingly that, contra the Supreme Court decision of

1973, the fetus must be viewed as a person and is entitled to legal protection. No intellectually serious person engaged in the abortion debate can afford to ignore Devine's incisive course of argument. Almost every subject that has ever come up under the category of "homicide" is treated by Devine, and, whether or not one is led to agreement (Devine is against capital punishment, not a vegetarian, not a pure pacifist, etc.), the reader will be forced to acknowledge his debt to a thinker who has, as much as is humanly possible, taken every existent and conceivable argument into account. Altogether, this is a difficult but highly important work.

Night Journey

by *John Stoessinger*

(Playboy Press; 216 pp.; \$9.95)

John Stoessinger had earned a reputation as a lecturer, teacher, and scholar on international affairs, when he was indicted for fraud and conspiracy. He had used his high position at the U.N. to recommend to representatives of various countries that needed large loans a woman from whom he had received favors but for whose financial abilities he had no evidence. On the basis of his recommendations she bilked a number of people and institutions. "My guilty plea fell on the same day as the publication of my book on Henry Kissinger"—from whom he subsequently received a pleasant note.

To put these actions in focus Mr. Stoessinger has written an apologia that starts in Vienna—when he discovered as a young boy what it meant to be a Jew in a Nazi-occupied Europe. It was a long and adventurous journey through different countries and difficult situations that brought him to his position of relative eminence. In the hands of a skilled writer and a truly reflective person this material could have been the basis for a moving and illuminating self-investigation. Alas, Stoessinger's personal trials and suffering have brought him neither vision nor a writing style that rises above the banal and tasteless. Additional proof that it is not given to everyone to be a St. Augustine. The one interesting question this book poses is whether someone so inept in his pursuit of power and influence is properly able

to analyze and assess political leaders who have successfully attained great power and influence. This question does not imply its own answer.

Oil Politics in the 1980's: Patterns of International Cooperation

by *Øystein Noreng*

(McGraw-Hill; 171 pp.; \$5.95 [paper])

The author is an economist based in Oslo, and the book is another in the 1980's Project of the Council on Foreign Relations. The argument is that both West European (OECD) countries and the oil producers are hurting badly and will hurt worse because of instability in the international oil market. Noreng proposes that OECD and OPEC negotiate a comprehensive agreement as a basis for stable and mutual economic growth. It is a constructive and persuasive statement, and although it now seems somewhat out of touch with political realities, it could suggest a blueprint for a new arrangement beyond present uncertainties and confrontations.

On Becoming American: A Celebration of What It Means and How It Feels

by *Ted Morgan*

(Houghton Mifflin; 336 pp.; \$10.95)

Ted Morgan used to be Sanche de Gramont, scion of a noble French family. Although a successful journalist under his former name and a man not indifferent to his entree to the elegance of Europe, he finally resolved a life-long love affair with the United States by becoming Ted Morgan, American Citizen. The book is indeed a celebration of being American and has, understandably, been welcomed by many Americans who had forgotten the wonder of it all. Morgan's politics are rather eclectic, but his appreciation of the kookiness and majesty of the American social experiment ties everything together in a theme of winsome amazement. At one point in the writing of the book he woke up with the nightmare that the whole thing was just going to be a disconnected jumble of bits and pieces of Americana. The nightmare was not en-

tirely unjustified, but his persistence and good humor finally offset the reader's impatience. It is worth waiting for the really incisive moments. For example: "This country is a success, in the same way that a Broadway show is a success. People are lined up at the box office for tickets of admission." In truth, his extensive remarks on the importance of immigration to America are pointedly relevant to public policy decisions that Americans will have to make in the years immediately ahead.

The Middle East in the Coming Decade: From Wellhead to Well-Being?

by *John Waterbury*

and *Ragaei El Mallakh*

(McGraw-Hill; 219 pp.; \$5.95)

One in a series of studies sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, the book's argument is essentially a positive answer to the question posed in the subtitle. Subsequent events in Iran and elsewhere may throw into doubt the author's rather optimistic estimate of patterns of stability in the region, but they are no doubt on solid ground when they propose that thinking about North-South economic relations must take into account more fully the unique role that will be played by regional interests in the Middle East.

Correspondence (from p. 2)

miss it. In this situation it is curious to find Weir speaking of India. His excuse for not granting revolutionary status to India's self-liberation from British rule is that Gandhi would have been "immediately imprisoned or killed" by a totalitarian government. Since the British did imprison Gandhi, it is difficult to make sense of this statement.

Weir is also lacking support among his sources. According to T.S. Kuhn, a scientific revolution occurs when, in a certain area of study, research becomes informed by a new paradigm, incompatible with previous orthodoxy. The revolutionary nature of this change is a consequence of the incommensurability of the conflicting ideas (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 1970).

Hannah Arendt, while saying that revolutions are violent, finds that their distinguishing feature is the fundamental novelty of the change in government that they institute (*On Revolution*, 1977, p. 35; included is the passage quoted by Weir).

In a later book (*On Violence*, 1970) she softens the insistence on violence considerably.**

Isaac Krammick, in the paragraph quoted by Weir, says: "Several problems arise, however, from the characterization of revolution as a violent mode of political change. It denies the possibility of non-violent revolution while at the same time overlooking the existence of non-revolutionary violence. Must sudden and profound change of a non-violent nature...be denied the status of revolution?" ("Reflections on Revolution," in *History and Theory*, Summer, 1972).

He, too, concludes that revolution is best characterized by the profundity of the change it brings, not by the method of the bringing ("Revolution, then, is a flagrant and abrupt change in the fundamental conditions of legality.").

Weir is also at odds with the thinking of many modern revolutionaries. In a country such as the United States, "founded," as Susan Sontag says, "on a genocide" (*Styles of Radical Will*, 1969), and with a history so full of violence it scarcely fits in two hundred years, the practice of nonviolence may be the most revolutionary idea one could have.

If Weir wishes to discuss armed insurrection, that's fine. But there is no need to adjust revolution to his Procrustean definition.

Rory Sutton

Ithaca, N.Y.

*Weir speaks of revolution in China, so evidently twenty-four years is sufficiently rapid.

**In *On Violence* Arendt argues that all action is uncertain and violent action particularly so. There is always the possibility that the exercise of violence in the service of distant ends will result simply in the institutionalization of violence as normal social relations: "Violence like all action changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world" (p. 80).

Violence, then, insofar as it can be justified at all, is justifiable only in pursuit of very short-term goals: "And indeed, violence, contrary to what its prophets try to tell us, is more the weapon of reform than revolution" (p. 79).