

which it is presented. In the final analysis, *China's Intellectual Dilemma* is a significant and definitive study that will appeal to the reader whose appetite for the subject may have been only whetted by *Chinese Education Since 1949*. [WV]

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

by Daniel H. Levine

(Princeton University Press, 342 pp., \$22.95/\$5.95)

Richard Armstrong

Ten years of study of church and state in Venezuela and Colombia has produced this masterly volume by Daniel H. Levine, associate professor of political science at the University of Michigan.

Following the lead of C. Wright Mills in concentrating on the élites—in this case ecclesiastical—of the two countries, Levine gives a rich and revealing portrait. He writes well and has an obvious sympathy for his sixty subjects, who emerge as sincere men whose background and whose vision of the Church and its relation to political life are made understandable. The main title is misleading, however; only two countries are scrutinized.

Colombia emerged from its nineteenth-century civil wars with the conservative forces, including the Church, intact and supreme. One reason for the conservatism of the Colombian Church has been the still-fresh memory of ten years of internecine strife (1948-58), known as "The Violence." Power still alternates between conservatives and liberals, regardless of the outcome of elections. The Church resolved to stay out of "politics."

With plenty of native clergy and a highly educated hierarchy, the Colombian Church has approached social problems with confidence. The bishops' fairly radical critique of inequities in the national system has been accompanied by old-fashioned solutions.

Colombian bishops have tried to keep priests out of political movements. One Camillo Torres was enough, and liberation theology holds no charms for them. One bishop spoke for many Colombians when he saw the nation's problems as the individual ones of alcoholism and other vices. Levine charac-

terizes their position not as reactionary, but "comfortable."

Venezuela's Church, on the other hand, lost its power and influence after the triumph of anticlerical liberals. The discovery of oil in the 1920s led to the creation of new institutions and hastened the urbanization of the masses. In this context the Venezuelan hierarchy has been more cautious than the Colombian in speaking up, but has also been more open and innovative. Less complacent about their position, Venezuelan bishops have a greater tendency to welcome dialogue with Marxists and Protestants. "If they work to raise the level of life in a barrio," one respondent told Levine, "how can I not also try? I am not committing myself to a doctrine, only to action." The generally less-educated Venezuelan bishops talk less but do more.

Levine skillfully employs his sociological tools in his analyses of national Church organizations, in his treatment of the thorny question of education, and in his discussion of the modus operandi of six typical dioceses. These give authenticity to his generalizations.

Levine's major conclusion is a hopeful prediction that fewer tensions lie ahead for these two nations, as compared with other Latin American states in which military regimes hold sway. Unlike Catholic radicals who criticize the hierarchy's concern for the preservation of Church institutions, he finds such attitudes legitimate.

A second major conclusion involves a forecast that the evangelical-pastoral viewpoint adopted at Puebla (1979) holds more hope of adoption than the more confrontational liberation theology, with which it shares many perspectives. The Latin American bishops at Puebla combined a disengagement from partisan politics with a "preferential option for the poor." Marxism, liberal capitalism, and the national security state were all rejected. What option remains? Can the transcendent values of Catholicism be upheld without the commitment of the clergy to partisan politics?

The author labored for ten years in a dense thicket of particulars to arrive at these and other hard-won generalizations. His conclusions cannot be dismissed any more readily than Catholicism itself in this continent of turmoil. Far from being irrelevant, the religious faith of millions of Latin Americans is a

vital—and in some countries the only—promise for human freedom and political and economic justice. [WV]

FOREIGNERS: THE MAKING OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1900-1940

by Marcus Klein

(University of Chicago Press, xi + 322 pp., \$25.00)

David Kleinbard

This is a highly perceptive study of the complex relationship between "social fact" and "literary expression" in America during four decades. Klein starts from the argument that by the turn of the century, traditional definitions and myths of America had been demolished by massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and by the growth of industry and the cities. Such questions as "Who are the real Americans? What are authentic American customs, manners, and values? To whom does America belong?" had to be asked again and reanswered. Writers were impelled to invent "a culture in which to be at home," which often involved retrieving or fabricating a traditional past as authority for a claim to "a place in the world."

Klein initially sets up an opposition between descendants of early immigrants from Northern Europe and the Jews, Italians, Slavs, blacks, and others who poured into the cities at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. His own sympathies are clear at once. Chapter One opens with an attack on the snobbery, the racial and ethnic prejudices, and the conservatism of the American modernists in self-imposed exile. The anti-Semitism of Eliot, Pound, and Fitzgerald is not news, but the quotations which recall it in *Foreigners* provide shocking support for Klein's argument that this and related biases were an essential part of the reactionary values pervasively coloring their works. Eliot and Pound especially reflected, in their exile and fascination with European culture, a sense of dispossession and betrayal at the decline of the Puritan, Jeffersonian, and kindred Anglo-Saxon versions of America. Henry James, Henry Adams, and Woodrow Wilson also found the new immigrants baffling, worrisome, and repulsive.