

basic problem of Latin America is the confrontation between leftists, dominated by "militant communist guerrillas," and temperate rightists. Unavoidably, even their paean to clear-thinking rightists contains a slight qualification: "They [the rightists] concede that there may be questions about the degree to which much of the nation's population benefited from this steady economic progress [in Central America]. . . ."

To Di Giovanni and Harvey the importance of the region is not economic but strictly strategic. Central America is the "strategic underbelly of our own country. Successful penetration of it . . . will endanger the United States' very existence as a great power capable of defending itself." Control of this region, a recognized U.S. policy goal since before the Monroe Doctrine, is now confronting a challenge from the Soviet Union. The book offers an extended analysis of the Soviet design to establish dominance in Latin America and simultaneously decries the lack of U.S. vigilance. For these men, Latin American history is being written solely in Moscow and Washington.

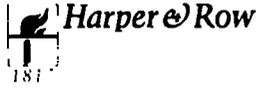
The short chapter on Nicaragua attempts to paint the Nicaraguan revolution a Russian red, ignoring the commitment of all sectors of Nicaraguan society to overthrowing the Somoza dynasty. The authors deem any relation with the East a sinister manifestation of the Soviet plot, though the growth of economic and cultural ties and arms sales could as easily be interpreted as the development of normal relations between sovereign states. Would announcement of a radio cooperation agreement between Nicaragua and, say, Britain be suspect? And would a statement such as the Soviet ambassador's that the Soviet people "will support [Nicaragua] in its fight for peace, the defense of its country, and the reconstruction of the nation" seem an "augur of what may come" had it been uttered by any other ambassador? Countless indirect "hints" like these reveal to the authors the Soviet plan to extend "protection" to Nicaragua, and they see the Sandinistas as avidly pursuing the offer. The outcome can only be a dire military threat to the U.S. in Latin America. This menace must be countered aggressively and contained now. The implication is that containment should be undertaken through any means available.

Di Giovanni and Harvey appear to inhabit a world in which the U.S. Marines still can turn the tide of events and in which countries merit consideration only insofar as they figure in a current power play—a view that has found favor with the current U.S. administration. The dynamic Nicaragua presented by Weber and Walker, on the

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other hand, suggests that the U.S. would be better advised to formulate a policy that considers Nicaragua's history and its present desire to achieve independence and respect as a state among states. It remains to be seen whether these opposing viewpoints can be negotiated.

**A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF
RELIGION IN AMERICA, Vol. I**

edited by Edwin S. Gaustad
(Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.: xi + 527 pp.; \$15.95)

Gerald P. Fogarty

It is difficult to evaluate a collection of this nature. No two compilers would choose precisely the same documents in attempting to cover the entire spectrum of American religious history. The types of documents Gaustad has selected, however, illustrate the changing concerns of the discipline of American religious history since the publication in 1960 of Smith, Handy, and Loetscher's *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative*

Documents. Gaustad is concerned not only with denominational and formal credal statements but also with native Indian rituals, personal narratives, and two issues not previously thought to be pertinent to the practice of religion—the rights of women and of minorities.

Gaustad begins his collection with documents on Native American religious experience, for this was the soil in which European religion was transplanted. He then moves to European Christianity after the Reformation, already exhibiting the variety of religious expressions that would flourish in the New World. In presenting transplanted European Christianity, Gaustad weaves together official credal documents and personal narrative. He balances John Winthrop's lay sermon with John Rolfe's account of his love for Pocahontas, the soaring reasoning of Jonathan Edwards with the human sensitivity of a Dutch Reformed pastor named Megapolensis in what is now Albany. Thus the story comes alive; it is about people and not merely about creeds. Gaustad's judicious selection of documents from all the colonies serves to remind the reader that while Virginia and New England were indeed important, there were still other colonies and other denominations, whether

Dutch Reformed in New Netherlands, Lutheranism in New Sweden, Quakerism in Pennsylvania, or Catholicism first in New Spain and New France, then in Maryland.

The same broad scope characterizes the other sections of the book. The postrevolutionary and early national periods witnessed the spread to the frontier of old denominations like the Congregationalists, the rise of new ones like the Disciples of Christ and the Unitarians, and the beginning of new religious movements like the Mormons. It seems to me that Gaustad, in treating revivalism and Albert Finney, has utilized the insight of Jay Dolan's *Catholic Revivalism* to draw the parallel between revivals and Catholic "missions."

In his preface Gaustad notes that he wishes to trace "America's religious variety." By the mid-nineteenth century the United States was no longer only a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant country. Immigration was altering the nation as, first, Jews began arriving in some numbers and then huge hordes of Catholics. Nativism became the defensive posture of the cultural majority seeking to retain its hegemony. Jews, still relatively few, peacefully adapted to American culture. Catholics, however, were a different story. Gaustad documents their internal struggle over trusteeism and the rise of thinkers like Bishop John England, Orestes Brownson, and Isaac Hecker. Then he moves to the nativist movement. His selections from the writings of Samuel F. B. Morse and Maria Monk provide lively accounts of the way in which Catholics were perceived, but additional selections from the works of Lyman Beecher or his daughter, Harriet Beecher Stowe, might have helped to place in context the reason Catholics generally did not take part in abolitionism.

Gaustad's shift from nativism to the abolitionist movement is quite judicious, I think, for slavery was a form of racism to be overcome if America was to become pluralistic. His presentation of both black abolitionism and slave religion helps the reader understand another native American phenomenon—black denominations. Reflecting the contemporary concerns of American religious historians, Gaustad links the issue of abolition to the pleas for women's and Indians' rights. He concludes this first volume with selections from Abraham Lincoln, who in so many ways symbolized the decline of the "evangelical empire," the theme of Gaustad's final chapter.

Some specialists might quibble at either Gaustad's selections or his interpretations. The historian of American Catholicism, like the present reviewer, will be happy to see

included "Objections Answered," a 1632 tract defending the founding of Maryland as a colony with complete religious liberty, but he might wonder at the omission of Maryland's act of religious liberty in 1639 or the more restrictive Act Concerning Religion of 1649. He might also ask whether Maryland was a "Catholic colony" or a colony founded by a Catholic and open to Catholics—and others as well. He would also deny that Catholicism in the new nation "learned to adapt" to the separation of church and state, since the Catholic Church in English-speaking America never had been united with the state. It is, furthermore, incorrect to say that "death" is one of the seven sacraments or that John Carroll was appointed "Vicar Apostolic" of the American mission in 1784; Carroll abhorred both the position and the title. It might have been helpful too to have placed in context John England's defense of slavery and, to balance the picture, to have included the 1832 address to the students of the University of North Carolina by Judge William Gaston, one of the few Catholic spokesmen against slavery.

These minor criticisms are as nothing when weighed against the total richness of the documents Gaustad has compiled. He has enhanced his selections with useful introductions to each of the major sections and to each of the documents. At the end of each section he has provided a list of suggested readings. This first volume of the *Documentary History* is itself a major contribution to the understanding of American religious history. In this regard the editor is far too modest when he says that he wishes to provide the "amateur" with the opportunity of being his or her own historian. He fulfills that purpose indeed, but he has provided a valuable service to the professional historian as well.

**FROM EMBARGO TO OSTPOLITIK:
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
SOVIET-WEST GERMAN
RELATIONS 1955-1980**
by Angela Stent

(Cambridge University Press; xvii + 328 pp.; \$39.50)

Thomas M. Magstadt

Those who believe that historiography is irrelevant to the solution of current problems should read *From Embargo to Ostpolitik*. For anyone even vaguely familiar with the East-West trade policy of the Reagan administration this book is bound to

induce a powerful feeling of déjà vu. Although it deals primarily with Soviet-West German trade relations, the insights it offers have a much wider application.

Perhaps the weakest part of the book is the first chapter, in which the author attempts to develop a theoretical framework based on the concept of "linkage politics." She argues that there are two kinds of leverage in the diplomatic interactions between East and West, economic and political. Both kinds, in turn, can be used in positive or negative ways, i.e., as promised rewards or threatened punishments. Linkage makes its debut when one side attempts to use political leverage to wrest economic concessions, or economic leverage to wrest political concessions.

This conceptualization gives rise to two problems. First, it is entirely possible for either or both sides to use economic leverage in pursuit of economic objectives and political leverage in pursuit of political objectives. In fact, "linking" economic issues—e.g., Western financing and technology in return for Soviet oil and gas—would seem to be more fruitful, and more reflective of recent historical patterns, than attempts to link issues in one sphere with issues in another. To her considerable credit Stent does not fall victim to the theoretical trap she sets. Instead, she wisely avoids excessive dependence on cross-linkages—the basis of her conceptual framework—and concentrates on the historical record in tracing the evolution of Soviet-West German trade relations.

A second problem is Stent's unexamined assertion that the Soviet Union sought primarily economic gains from improved relations with Bonn, while West Germany sought primarily political gains. According to this view, West Germany was economically stronger than the Soviet Union, while the Soviet Union was politically stronger than West Germany. Given these asymmetries, it follows that Bonn would use economic inducements to pry political concessions from Moscow, and vice versa. But in fact West Germany has sought entry to East European markets as vigorously as the Soviet Union has sought Western technology. It is not at all clear that the economic benefits per se are not highly reciprocal. By the same token, the Soviet Union sought recognition of the boundary changes in Central Europe and of the East German regime with an ardor that nearly matched Bonn's efforts at reunification.

These criticisms should not obscure the fact that this is a book with far more strengths than weaknesses. It is punctuated with pertinent historical insights. A pipe embargo,