

utilization of the resources that have been unendingly poured into Egypt." Americans are likely to be paying Egypt's import bills for many years to come.

Some of Waterbury's best writing describes the tasteless manner in which the Egyptian elite scrambled to cash in. He recapitulates several notorious scandals, including a scheme to build a garish golf resort around the Great Pyramids. Most Egyptians believe, justifiably, that the open door has mainly aided the ascent of a new class of speculators, importers, fixers, and foreign sharp operators. Sadat harmed himself by marrying off one of his daughters to the son of Osman Ahmed Osman, a contractor who symbolizes this group in the Egyptian mind. Foreign investors have so far mainly been interested in industries of dubious value, such as soft drinks. The public sector that still employs most nonagricultural workers has been further weakened and demoralized. Salaries in the private sector are several times greater. Moreover, with inflation high, public officials—who make \$5,700 a year at most and usually much less—are almost forced into corruption.

What about the fate of our own huge economic and diplomatic investment in Sadat's Egypt? Waterbury thinks that Egypt is once again vulnerable to policy swings

and coups d'état because the state bourgeoisie has been weakened while the new capitalists have not yet consolidated their hold. "A growing foreign presence, ostentatious consumption and visible corruption" could set in motion forces that might topple the regime. On the other hand, Waterbury demonstrates that Egypt has become so heavily dependent on the U.S. for food and other imports that its "jugular vein runs through" the American wheat belt. For Hosni Mubarak or his hypothetical replacement to forfeit American good will might be suicidal.

MARXISM AND BEYOND

by Sidney Hook

(Rowman and Littlefield; 225 pp.; \$22.95)

A. James McAdams

The hundredth anniversary of Karl Marx's death this year has provided an ideal backdrop for a spate of new books on Marxism and its legacy, among them the latest work by the American pragmatist philosopher Sidney Hook. Although Hook long ago ceased calling himself a Marxist—I think he would now prefer the label Social Democrat—he has reigned for over a half-cen-

tury as one of Marxism's best-known interpreters in this country. Thus *Marxism and Beyond*, a collection of recently published articles on Marx and his heirs, is probably best seen as an overview of Hook's lifetime study of the field.

Hook is clearly at his strongest when discussing Marxism's appeal to American intellectuals in the 1920s and '30s, since those were the years when the doctrine meant the most to him personally. For many writers and artists at the time, Marxism seemed to provide a sound explanation for the economic ills besetting the United States as well as a convincing and scientifically informed program for social change. Hitler's rise in Europe only compounded the urgency with which many desperately sought a viable alternative to fascism. Hook chronicles this period not as a disinterested observer but as one who took an active part in the debates over what the American Left might learn from the Soviet Union, and he leaves no room for doubt about his own contempt for those intellectuals who let themselves be deceived by the false promise of Soviet communism. "The great tragedy of the American intellectuals drawn to Communism," he notes, "was that in the intensity of their faith they ceased to function as intellectuals."

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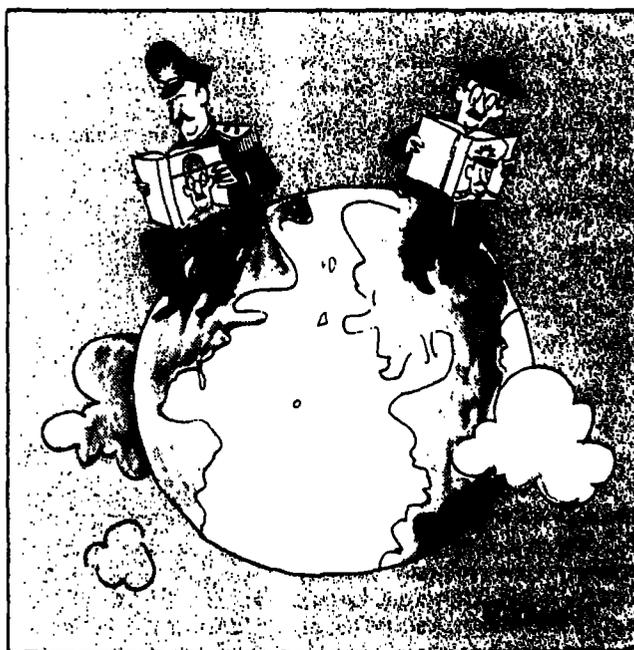
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Yet while Hook is most interesting in recounting his own experiences—a short encounter with the evolutionary socialist Eduard Bernstein in 1929, a revealing debate with Herbert Marcuse, and years of association with John Dewey—it is unfortunate that most of this small book is devoted to the exegesis of Marx's thought. If this were merely a descriptive enterprise, the endeavor might be worthwhile, but Hook seems obsessed with showing that there is only one legitimate interpretation of Marxian thought: his own very selective reading. He presents Marx as a defender of the modern concept of individualism, fully prepared to endorse a peaceful transformation of capitalist society into socialism and firmly opposed to any kind of political dictatorship. True, these lines of thought can be found in Marx's works, but so too can a number of contrary sentiments—the concern for the collective, the impulse to violent revolution, and a definite antidemocratic strain. It is precisely because of such ambiguities that Marx's thought has been historically so appealing. (Hook himself once wrote a book about Marxism entitled *The Ambiguous Legacy*.) Why, then, should one even want to come up with a single interpretation devoid of contradictions?

In Hook's case the answer appears to be his anticommunism. For example, it is evidently not enough for him to denounce those among Marx's epigones whom he dislikes. He also feels compelled to save Marx from them, even to rescue him from the ugly face of communism itself. Thus, rather than merely criticizing Lenin for his adaptation of Marxism to revolutionary Russia, Hook simply writes off Lenin as "non-Marxist," and along with him, apparently, all of Soviet history. One may respect Hook's opposition to communism and still wonder whether his subsequent definition of the nature of Marxism is not so hopelessly narrow as to deprive the doctrine of much of its long-term historical significance.

Newly Published

Choices in Modern Jewish Thought, Eugene B. Borowitz's "Partisan Guide" to "the thinkers who responded to the unprecedented challenge modernity issued to Jewish faith," has just been published by Behrman House, New York (xi + 305 pp.; \$9.95 [paper]). Rabbi Borowitz, a teacher at Hebrew Union College and Editor of *Sh'ma*, is a long-time member of the *Worldview* Editorial Board.

POLITICAL TERRORISM: THEORY, TACTICS AND COUNTER-MEASURES

by Grant Wardlaw

(Cambridge University Press; xiii + 218 pp.; \$29.50/\$9.95)

TERRORISM, LEGITIMACY, AND POWER— THE CONSEQUENCES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

edited by Martha Crenshaw

(Wesleyan University Press; 167 pp.; \$17.95)

INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE

edited by Tunde Adeniran and Yonah Alexander

(Praeger Publishers; xvi + 269 pp.; \$29.95)

William H. Brill

Violence has always enforced history. It has been used to make revolutions and to consolidate them. Even in democratic states it sets the boundaries of acceptable political dialogue and behavior. Violence has introduced political change more often than new constitutions or elections. Elections work when relatively little is at stake and the losers can afford to accept the outcome. This is not so when the issue is a new political order. Such stakes usually generate violence. Only later, when violence has determined who is in charge and what values are to prevail do milder forms of decision-making emerge. That is why proposals to hold elections in El Salvador probably don't make any more sense than similar suggestions did in China during its civil war—especially if the party calling for them (in both cases the U.S.) is also aiding one side.

The pervasiveness of violence—or the threat of it—makes it a difficult subject to study in a systematic and detached manner. This is especially true of specific aspects of violence, such as terrorism, the topic of the first two books under review. All of the contributors to these volumes struggle with the problem of defining terrorism. They approach it in widely divergent ways. Some attempt to categorize it into such classes as agitation or enforcement; others simply admit a normative bias and say that they are talking about unjustified violence against a democratic state. One writer attempts to escape from the problem of definition by urging us to judge terrorism on two levels: the morality of the ends and the morality of the means.

For the most part, the authors seem to agree that they are talking about acts of violence directed against legitimate governments by small groups whose purpose is to reach beyond the immediate victims to influence the broader population. The terrorist act is intended to intimidate the broader population, undermine the existing government, and draw attention to the fact

that a determined and dedicated alternative exists.

This kind of definition is useful as far as it goes, but it tends to obscure the role terror plays in other situations. Surely one of the major reasons for the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan was to intimidate the Japanese population. The same was true of the bombing of Germany in World War II. And none of our authors includes Germany's bombing of London. Presumably, if you get big enough, and are able to insulate yourself from your victim through the application of large-scale technology, you can escape being labeled a terrorist.

All this leads one to wonder if the study of terrorism isn't really the study of losers—those who stalled on their march to political glory and who could not move past the stage of indiscriminate violence to gain political legitimacy or at least the chance to write their own history. Perhaps it is the case that one man's terrorist is another man's patriot.

The study of terrorism also suffers from a lack of data. There are probably very few terrorists, and they are outnumbered not only by the authorities who try to catch them but also by the number of people who want to write about them. The problem here is that most of the people who are writing about terrorism have never met a real live terrorist. As a result, motives are constantly ascribed to people who have never been interviewed or left much of a personal record. (One encounters this problem in other forms of research, but never as acutely. Criminologists do at least get to talk to criminals, psychiatrists to schizophrenics, and political scientists to voters before drawing conclusion about electoral behavior.) Maybe the subject of terrorism is best left to the imagination of the novelist.

All this gives—or should give—a heavy speculative glow to these essays. Few, if any, empirical findings are offered. Yet these selections do raise some important issues. The Crenshaw book, for example, contains a number of interesting essays on the effects