land they worked."

This book is further testimony to Lenin’s indomitable revolutionary spirit and to his relentless, single-minded pursuit of victory over the tandem devils of czarism and capitalism. In this pursuit Lenin was alternately more rigid and more flexible than his opponents inside and outside of the RSDP. Ever the quintessential zealot, he played fast and loose with the orthodox canons of Marxism even as he attacked more moderate Russian socialists as traitors to the Marxist cause.

Above all, Lenin found a way to reconcile the abstract requirements of an alien, industrial ideology with the concrete realities of a rustic, rural society. Whereas “the debilitating burden which the Marxist tradition had imposed upon the Russian revolutionary activists” induced a paralysis of will within the Menshevik ranks, Lenin was able to devise a creative interpretation of Marxism that incorporated the peasantry into his blueprint for revolution—and not just a “bourgeois-democratic revolution” but a “revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.”

Lenin was not content to settle for half a loaf when there was even the slightest chance of having the whole thing. The peasantry, he argued, could be a truly revolutionary force if it was led by politically advanced cadres. In asserting that the class consciousness of the peasants could be raised above the “bourgeois” level, Lenin showed his true colors. Far from being a determinist, he was one of the twentieth century’s most fervent believers in voluntarism.

After 1905-06, Lenin had argued that, with the Bolshevik party at the controls, the bourgeois-democratic revolution could be directed onto progressive paths. Later, in the heat of revolutionary battle, when czarism had fallen and the fainthearted bourgeois politicians were backsliding, Lenin argued that with the help of the peasants the proletariat—guided by their “vanguard” members—could push the bourgeois-democratic revolution directly into a socialist revolution. Lenin was not one to let ideology stand in the way of history.

There is rich irony in the fact that although Marxists have never known what to do with the peasantry, the setting of every successful “Marxist” revolution has been a rural society in which the numerically dominant class of exploited “workers” were peasants tilling the soil, not proletarians manning the assembly lines. It is no accident that the two towering “Marxists” of the present century are Lenin and Mao, both of whom seized the opportunity to make a revolution using the peasants as dry tinder.

Was Lenin an opportunist and a cynic? Kingston-Mann offers a qualified “No.” It is a verdict that the historical record, both before and after the Revolution, does not seem to support. Even so, this book’s scholarship sheds considerable light on an important aspect of the Russian Revolution.

Betrayal is clearly a theme of the Fitzpatrick book. It would probably have been a theme of the Kingston-Mann book as well, had the author gone on to consider what happened after the Bolshevik triumph. Not only do Lenin and Stalin appear to have betrayed the Revolution, but the Revolution, by its very nature, was destined to betray the peasants who, tragically, were so instrumental in ensuring its victory.

THE POWER OF ROME: THE VATICAN IN THE AGE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES, 1870-1922
by Anthony Rhodes
(Franklin Watts; 280 pp.; $17.95)
Ralph Buultjens

The papacy is unique in its structure, reach, and claims. Perhaps the oldest of Western institutions, its record is a study in survival, endurance, and revival. Its capacity is broader and more lasting than that of any other international organization. Asserted by anyone else, its claims would look ridiculously pretentious; yet, their credibility is unquestioned by most of the 650 million Catholics. And today, in an era of materialism and skepticism, the papacy is enjoying one of those periodic upswings in influence that characterize its history of twenty centuries.

A hundred years ago the Roman Church, then largely preoccupied with its European base, was dangerously embattled. Here in its heartland, the confluence of five major challenges suggested that the papacy, and probably the unified Catholic Church itself, was well on its way to extinction. Dogmatically, several internal movements (Modernism, Americanism, the Old Catholics, the LeSillion group, and others) threatened to bring forth a new kind of theological pluralism against the orthodoxy policed by Rome. Socially, the Industrial Revolution created a new class to whom traditional religion was unlikely to appeal. As surges of nationalism, liberalism, and socialism swept the political landscape, major Catholic nations moved toward vigorous anticlericalism.

Philosophically, ideas sparked by Darwin, Marx, Freud, and others enjoined science to undermine established dogma and faith. Territorially, papal states accounting for almost 10 percent of Italy’s land and ruled by the popes for nearly a thousand years were forcibly reduced. By 1870 they were down to the Vatican alone. The papacy, it seemed, was following the Islamic caliphate in a descent toward ultimate disappearance.

The Power of Rome, 1870-1922, the first volume in a trilogy extending from 1870 to 1980, deals with these downside years. Pontiffs of this time were mostly on the defensive, trying desperately to halt the decline. Later and more skillful popes would restore the power of Rome, but the period examined in this book looks much like a holding operation. These were perhaps the worst years in recent Church experience, years in which papal policies bought time while the institution itself was reluctantly adjusting to the contemporary age.

This is the material of rich and high drama: struggles for spiritual and political power, money, and real estate, involving violence, intrigue, and even an occasional trace of sex. Four popes determinedly hurl theolog-
Church entirely from our land." Unwillingly, Rome is drawn into the Irish controversy in Britain, not endearing it to the Protestant government. In far-off Mexico, President Juarez disestablishes the Church. Everywhere the struggle against Catholicism and papal influence escalates. Still, the Church survives and even grows.

Few authors are given such vivid materials, yet Anthony Rhodes, a British writer with many worthy books to his credit, fails to take advantage of them. He writes straight history, suggesting as a central theme merely the importance of adaptability in the survival of the Church. It is a conventional and respectable approach, but insufficient to illumine the intricacies of this complex web. There are essentially three problems with The Power of Rome. First, Rhodes apparently did not decide whether his book was to be: (a) a history of institutional development—the triumph of structure and organization over unfavorable events; (b) a tapestry of personalities who manage an enormous spiritual patrimony—the triumph of intangibles, mystique and charisma, sanctified by old venerations, over powerful secular opponents and forces; or (c) an analysis of the context of ideas in which the most modern conceptions are counterpoised against the verities of faith—the triumph of the ethic of coexistence over the intractable desire for destruction nurtured by the antagonists. Rhodes tries to mix all of these perspectives but fails to integrate them.

A second problem is that Rhodes misses the significance of fundamental changes in the geography and constituency of the Catholic Church. Between 1870 and 1922 there were signs that the Third World was the future constituency of the Church, a trend now confirmed. Did a Eurocentric Italian pontificate miss out on an opportunity to anticipate, accelerate, and align itself with this wave, which it might have done by, for example, encouraging anticolonialism? It is also striking that so many of yester-year's issues persist, even if in somewhat different guise: the Irish question, American individuality and resistance to Roman conformity, the German problem, Church influence in the Levant. Indeed, Bismarck's Kulturkampf foreshadowed church-state relations in modern Eastern Europe.

A third problem is the book's unusual number of errors. The general reader will be confused by conflicting dates for the same event, contradictory facts, and poor proofing. Even more glaring inaccuracies will assail those with a bit more knowledge. Though one feels that the author has missed an extraordinary opportunity, there is modest merit in perusing this volume.

For it does provide a loose, overall survey of events and issues infrequently written about, events and issues which even in their broadest outline need to be better known.

TINA MODOTTI:
A FRAGILE LIFE
by Mildred Constantine
(115 photographs; $30.00)

Holly Myers
Photographer Tina Modotti was a heroine of the early twentieth century, of the vigorous years from the early 1900s to the Second World War. Her personal saga, marked by dedication to a course of artistic and political development that was guided by faith in the triumph of the individual and in the unfolding revolutionary movements of the era, captures the spirit of the age. Whether beginning anew in yet another country, surviving personal crises, or integrating her artistic and political interests during different phases of her life, Modotti depended on no one but herself. Her ability, resolve, and beauty exercised a powerful hold over those who knew her; and her essential grace made her a woman of unusual interest even to people who knew her only peripherally. Rumor, romance, and mystery surrounded her name.

Born in 1896 in northern Italy, Modotti migrated with her family to San Francisco in 1913. Throughout her childhood she worked in factories to help support her family. When she married in 1917, Modotti and her poet husband moved south to Los Angeles. There, her husband’s studio served as a salon for local artists, including photographers Edward Weston; and Modotti worked briefly in Hollywood, portraying vamps in inconsequential movies. This was a significant time for her, because it was in Los Angeles that she began to explore her own artistic potential. Concurrently, she began a legendary affair with Weston.

Modotti followed her husband to Mexico in 1922, where, early in the year, he died of smallpox. Savoring that country’s dynamic revolutionary character, she returned to Mexico City in July, 1923, now accompanied by Weston, and both were soon caught up in the vital Mexican art movement spearheaded by Orozco and Rivera. Over the next three years under Weston’s tutelage Modotti developed a distinctive photographic style and, as a member of the Mexican Communist party, developed her political instinct. When Weston left in 1926,