

are prima facie wrong. Society must redistribute these goods to ensure subsistence without personal degradation or manipulation. Unequal rewards are justified only when no one is made worse off and when individuals earn them through voluntary effort.

Berger further demonstrates how this "baseline" conception of equality was wholly consistent with Mill's call for a confiscatory inheritance tax and with his opposition to a graduated tax on earned income over the subsistence level. More important, by illustrating Mill's sincere commitment to equality and his willingness to further equality by permitting significant changes in the economic and political structure of his day, Berger leaves us with a truer picture of Mill as a philosopher.

Professor Berger does not treat Mill's work in terms of shifts in position or expression through the course of his career. He reconstructs Mill's philosophy on the basis of the total oeuvre. The philosopher's thought emerges as more intelligible, more workable, and more relevant—a framework with the help of which we may generate moral principles, analyze contemporary problems, and achieve a greater appreciation of the man. [WV]

AMERICA INSIDE OUT
by David Schoenbrun
(McGraw-Hill; 512 pp.; \$17.50)

Ralph Buultjens

The celebrated foreign correspondents of the mid-twentieth century have reached anecdotal. The memoirs of Theodore White, Harrison Salisbury, William Shirer, and even those of lesser luminaries like Clifton Daniel, testify to this nostalgic drift. For the most part, these works read like repackaged dispatches interspersed with uninteresting personal minutiae. There is much of yesteryear's motion, disappointingly little philosophic depth. Insights which highly skilled observers should be able to extract from exciting lives are sadly lacking.

David Schoenbrun's *America Inside Out* is woven from the same historical experience but is vastly different in texture and tone. Here, at last, is a work which blends firsthand experience with perspective and wisdom as it records the extraordinary drama of modern history. For fifty years, from Roosevelt to Reagan, Schoenbrun has been at the fulcrum of power, reporting great doings and the doings of the great. From

Europe, Washington, New York, and occasionally from Asia and the Middle East, he has informed large audiences on radio and television, in print, and from the lecture podium. After many books on personalities and specific histories, Schoenbrun now gives us the story of his life, our era, and his part in it.

America Inside Out is, then, a rich chronicle of contemporary history told with verve and vibrancy. However, it is more than just that. There are four separate, yet interconnected, works subsumed within this ambiguous title. Each has its own meaning and compelling message while cleaving to Schoenbrun's main theme: optimism, and belief in progress, in the midst of the wasteland which is the record of humankind.

In its basic structure this book is a chronological record of America and the modern world—the Great Depression and the New Deal; Eisenhower's campaigns in North Africa, Europe, and for the presidency; the cold war as seen from Paris; Kennedy and Camelot; the descent into Vietnam; the Nixon and Reagan presidencies; global struggles and conflicts on many continents. Schoenbrun saw them all and tells it in an incisive and elegant way.

Shrewd witnesses to history are, of course, not uncommon. What makes this book very special is its cast of characters—colorful giants who talk freely with Schoenbrun. There is Roosevelt, who says cynically: "If ever you see someone you admire [politically] arm in arm with someone you mistrust, ask yourself who is using whom?" Ho Chi Minh philosophizes: "Who knows who a man is? Does the man himself really know? What is important is to know where he is going." The ill-fated Czech leader Jan Masaryk ponders his early life in Chicago: "I made toilets, really very good training for a foreign minister." De Gaulle in political exile proclaims to Schoenbrun: "The Fourth Republic governs poorly, but defends itself very well." Intimate conversations with great history-makers—Nehru, Golda Meir, Dulles, Kennedy, and a host of others—give *America Inside Out* its second dimension. It is, as few recent books have been, a superb commentary on the importance of personality in determining affairs of state.

In its own unpedantic way this is also a kind of handbook of politics. Schoenbrun, from both his CBS vantagepoint and later, has analyzed many political happenings. What interests him is not only events but the elements that go into the making of events. His intellectual surgery on Adlai Stevenson as candidate, and on Kennedy, the political operator as president, are tell-

ing examinations of the arts of government. Stevenson played well "in New York and Hollywood but nowhere in between." Kennedy, keenly sensitive to image and psychology, orders Ted Sorensen "not to break through the psychological barrier" of one hundred billion dollars in preparing his total budget outlays. Today, this amount accounts for just a third of annual defense expenditures! Students of diplomacy will want to read how Jean Monnet forged the European Common Market out of apparently irreconcilable hostilities. People in public life will do well to reflect on these lessons.

Perhaps the most appealing dimension of this book is its philosophic content. Schoenbrun captures the deep, subterranean tensions that have tormented the soul of America in recent decades. Movingly, he describes generous and freedom-seeking thrusts that have dignified the history of the United States. But there is also unhesitating condemnation of the darker underside: the greedy, dominating, power-hungry urges that have often infused modern U.S. policy. America's destiny stands on top of a trap door through which venal impulses lunge. The future of this nation depends not on containing communism, but on containing evil sediments in its own psyche. This is a most appropriate message for an election year.

While great themes, personalities, and movements dominate *America Inside Out*, there is also a very human story underlying them—a story of personal courage. Time and again Schoenbrun's unflinching outspokenness has brought him into conflict with various officialdoms—the FBI in the McCarthy period, top corporate brass at CBS, upholders of government policy when he led early Vietnam protests. Although often under intense pressure, Schoenbrun held then to his convictions with a stubborn honesty and is able now to deal with his adversaries without bitterness or hatred. These are interesting qualities, rare in the media of our time.

All this makes us want to know more about the making of David Schoenbrun. This is where *America Inside Out* is somewhat reticent. What was it that set a boy from Belle Harbor, New York, on a long march to national recognition? How did this apparently bright but not especially brilliant youth develop as a formidable intellect capable of meeting and matching the best and the brightest?

For those who have read his writings and watched him televise over many years, these are important questions. The answers, only gently hinted at in this book, will help us

understand Schoenbrun as he helps us understand the world. One hopes David Schoenbrun will expand on these in some future memoir.

America Inside Out is informal civil education at its best—information and analysis that is both meaningful and entertaining. Above all, this book illustrates a point that the works of other senior and eminent reporters have failed to make: The evening of a career can be the prime time of the craftsman. [WV]

**THE SHADOW OF GOD
AND THE HIDDEN IMAM:
RELIGION, POLITICAL ORDER,
AND SOCIETAL CHANGE
IN SHI'ITE IRAN FROM THE
BEGINNINGS TO 1890**

by **Said Amir Arjomand**

(University of Chicago Press; xii + 341 pp.; \$28.00)

Patrick J. Ryan

When Muhammad Reza Khan, the late shah of Iran, flew out of Teheran in January, 1979, an earthquake shook parts of the country he had ruled for thirty-eight years. Some Iranians at least must have wondered that day whether the earth's tremors did not bode ill for a country then driving into exile the King of Kings, Light of the Aryans, Shadow of God on Earth. In 1971 the shah to whom these titles belonged had celebrated 2,500 years of the Iranian imperial throne. More realistically, if prosaically, that year marked the fiftieth anniversary of the military coup that had brought the shah's father, a rough-hewn cossack, to power. The Pahlavi dynasty manufactured by this coup-maker in 1925 claimed a royal inheritance from the time of Cyrus the Great. But the inheritance was mainly geographical: Ancient Persia, once ruled by the Achaemenid and Sassanid dynasties, corresponded more or less with the modern nation of Iran.

For those puzzled by the religious and political forces in Iran that toppled the shah and his Westernized intelligentsia in 1979, Said Amir Arjomand has provided a fascinating study in the history of Iranian Shi'ite Muslim thought. Although he concentrates most of his attention on the officially Shi'ite era in Iran between 1501 and 1890, Arjomand gives a more than adequate account of Shi'ite developments outside Iran between the eighth and fifteenth centuries, when the Shi'ite version of Islam was more typically

Arab-Mesopotamian than Iranian as a religious phenomenon.

The bulk of Arjomand's research for this masterly study of how the condominium of shah and Shi'ite clergy evolved until the nineteenth century was completed before the events of 1978-79 in Iran. Thus Arjomand has avoided the pitfalls inherent in some of the instant histories of Shi'ite Iran produced by journalist-scholars in the past five years. He never loses perspective on the dialectic between what he calls "the ethos of Persian patrimonialism" (pre or non-Islamic Iranian traditions of monarchy) and various mutually contradictory strains of Shi'ite piety: millenarian, hierocratic, world-rejecting. With the exception of a brief epilogue, Arjomand does not dwell at great length on the meaning of events in Iran since

the return of the Ayatollah Khomeini. But his study provides the history of ideas that places the last five years of Iran in intelligible perspective.

The legitimacy of monarchy as a political institution has been questioned more than once in an Islamic setting. Sunnite Muslims (90 per cent of the world's Muslim population) deny that royal rule can be reconciled with Islamic doctrine. Thus, Sunnite Muslims today idealize the populist gerontocracy of Muhammad and his first four political successors (caliphs) in the seventh century. As Arabs, the caliphs adhered to traditions of governance that owed more to the political practice of desert nomads and Meccan merchants than to monarchy as it was exercised in south Arabia or the neighboring empires. Despite these pristine po-

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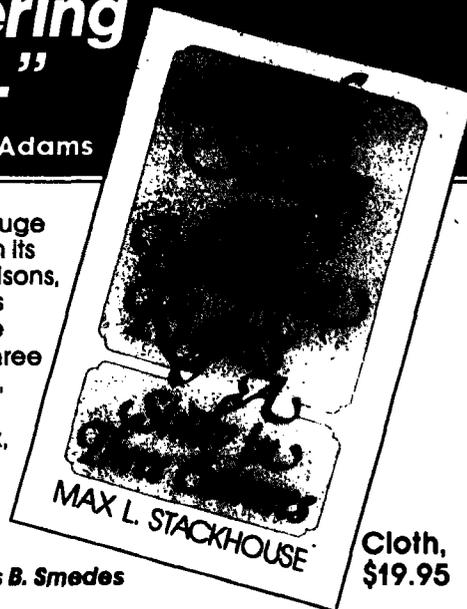
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