CURRENT BOOKS

SCHOLARS' CHOICE

Recent titles selected and reviewed by Fellows and staff of the Wilson Center

ALEXANDER POPE: A Life
by Maynard Mack
Norton, 1985
975 pp. $22.50

Alexander Pope was born in London in 1688 and died in Twickenham in 1744. The son of a linen merchant, he was a hunchbacked dwarf with tubercular bone cancer. He was prone to incessant migraines, and equally prone to enrage fools, since he could not suffer them gladly. He was also the greatest poet of his era, one of the three or four towering eminences in the history of English literature, and the central figure in the most remarkable group of writers, wits, and intellectuals to grace the literary landscape of any nation.

Mack was born in Hillsdale, Michigan, in 1909, two centuries and a full revolution or two in human thought after Pope. As a scholar at Yale, he has established himself as one of our most important interpreters of the Renaissance and the early 18th century—known as the "Augustan Age" of English literature.

Now, as the capstone to his career, Mack has risked a venture most scholar-writers would quail at. He has reconstructed a major 18th-century figure in terms that are comprehensible to 20th-century Americans. In doing so, he has also effectively reconstructed the 18th-century sensibility as the background to our own.

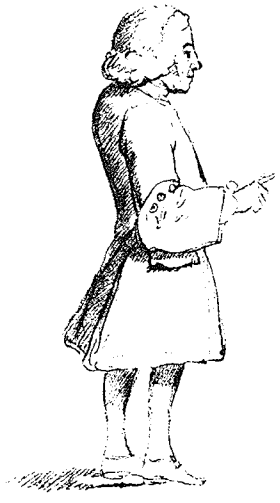
Neither of these accomplishments is easy. Pope, for all his genius, has gone down in readers' esteem during the centuries between his birth and Mack's. He has suffered because our idea of "writing" is radically different from his and that of his great compeers, Jonathan Swift and Henry Fielding. Since the "romantic revolution" of the 19th century (William Wordsworth, for example, could not really abide Pope), we expect poetry to be the expression of the *self*, the celebration of private passion in spite of public probity.

Pope, one should note, was not incapable of writing passionate love poetry or passionate celebrations of the autonomous self. But he and his great friends believed in the idea of literature as a moral activity whose aim was not self-expression but the articulation of those behaviors that make the good, or at least the decent, life possible. Of Pope's early masterpiece, *An Essay on Criticism*, written when the poet was all of 23, Mack says: "[The aim of the poem is] to practice the critical philosophy that the poem preaches—to acknowledge that the idiosyncrasies of intelligence and

taste must be tried and normalized against the collective principles of the community of educated men."

Tell that to Norman Mailer, one is tempted to sneer. But as we read Mack, and as we re-read Pope, we realize that Mailer, Saul Bellow, Graham Greene, and W. H. Auden are all indebted to Pope and to his age's vision, shining and perpetually deferred, of a true "community of educated men." Good writing, like good conversation, is always for *insiders*: those who get the joke, the allusion, the hinted-at convention. And Mailer's ideal of the hipster, despite differences of idiom, is not completely unrelated to Pope's ideal of the knowing insider.

Pope himself was born an outsider. He was deformed and cruelly taunted for his deformity by his enemies (it was not a gentle age). He was Roman Catholic in a sometimes hysterically anti-Catholic England. He was an avowed friend of the Tory cause in a predominantly Whig-controlled state. In short, he had everything going against him.



Yet, by dint of his talent, Pope joined the insiders. He did so, however, without completely losing his perspective as outsider. Indeed, precisely because he acquired a kind of double perspective, Pope became what he is and always will be for us—the greatest satirist in the language. Only an insider knows the jokes; but only an outsider knows how silly the jokes themselves are.

Pope and his circle were as ready to pick up a classical allusion or a Shakespearean nuance as are we, or our children, to see the shadow of one film in another or hear the echo of Chuck Berry in Bruce Springsteen. And Mack's ear is finely tuned to the allusive music that the Augustans heard.

Indeed, the breadth of Mack's scholarship never fails to astonish. Discussing Pope's early poem, *Windsor-Forest*, Mack gives us a virtual history of the pastoral tradition in poetry. Discussing Pope's magisterial translation of the *Iliad*, Mack teaches us not only to read Pope but also to rediscover Homer. His examination of the Pope edition of Shakespeare not only points up the glaring errors in that edition but becomes a mini-lecture on the craft of editorship. And his discussions of Pope's great works, *An Essay on Criticism*, *An Essay on Man*, *The Rape of the Lock*, *The Dunciad*, and the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, are masterpieces of historical acumen and literary sensitivity.

The phrase "critical biography" often seems as logical as the phrase "squared circle." How, one asks, can one write a life of a writer that is faithful both to the merits of the writing and to the flaws of the man? Or—to be sure—vice versa? It is not easy, but Mack has succeeded.

—Frank McConnell '78

THE LONGEST DEBATE: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act
by Charles and Barbara Whalen
Seven Locks, 1985
289 pp. $16.95

This is the most authoritative and readable book to date about the single most important U.S. reform measure of this century—the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It fills a curious void. Scholars have written extensively about a number of lesser congressional efforts (including those of 1957 and 1960). But they have paid scant attention to the law that finally broke the back of "Jim Crow" by outlawing racial segregation in public accommodations (hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc.) and banning racial discrimination in the job market.

The gap left by academic researchers seems all the more striking when one considers the credentials of this book's authors. Charles Whalen is a former Republican U.S. Representative from Ohio's Third District. His years in the House (1967–79) came after the momentous events chronicled in this narrative. Barbara Whalen, his wife and co-author, has been a newspaper columnist, advertising executive, and television writer. Interesting credentials, but not scholarly ones, and books by former congressmen have tended to be self-serving, thinly researched, and shallow.

Not this one. The book's 30 pages of endnotes reflect a lengthy search in the Kennedy and Johnson presidential libraries, the Library of Congress, and widely scattered congressional collections that include the papers of Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.), Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), and William McCulloch (R.-Ohio)—in addition to almost 100 interviews. The writing is crisp, the pace is brisk, and the Capitol Hill perspective brings readers close to the events and the major actors. The authors, moreover, display no marked partisan bias.

The Longest Debate, however, is not really about the substantive issues raised during the passage of the Act. The debate began on June 11, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy first proposed a bold new civil rights bill. On February 10, 1964, after considerable struggle in committee, the House passed a slightly stronger version of the bill (H.R. 7152) than the President had requested. It then went to the Senate where, after more small changes and a 13-week filibuster, it was finally passed on June 19. Avoiding the perils of a House-Senate conference to reconcile the two bills, the House approved the Senate version on July 2, 1964. Thus, almost eight months after JFK's assassination, the 35th U.S. President's initiative was signed into law by his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson.

Instead of dwelling on the often windy rhetoric, the Whalens have written a compelling narrative of the Congress-makes-a-law genre. In early 1963, John Kennedy and his brother Robert, the Attorney General, were both eager to resolve the divisive issue before the presidential election of 1964 and opted for a House-first strategy. After forging a strong and comprehensive bill there, they planned to bargain in the Senate for just enough Republican votes to break the Southerners' filibuster. Too strong a bill, they knew, would never pass even the House. So a crucial bargain had

to be struck at the beginning between Robert Kennedy, negotiating through his Assistant Attorney General for civil rights, Burke Marshall, and Representative McCulloch.

McCulloch was largely responsible for bargaining with his fellow members on the liberal-dominated subcommittee led by Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. McCulloch managed to cut back proposals that he and the Kennedys regarded as too bold to win the approval of the full House. (The subcommittee, for example, had broadened Kennedy's voting rights provision to include state and local elections; McCulloch managed to have it trimmed back to federal elections only.) The final House roadblock was the Rules Committee, a notorious graveyard for liberal legislation. Its chairman was a Southern conservative, "Judge" Howard Smith (D.-Va.). Smith's last-ditch attempt to defeat the bill by overloading it led, ironically, to the adoption of his amendment to ban sexual discrimination as well as racial discrimination in the workplace.

Most previous writers have focused on the flamboyant Senate minority leader, Everett Dirksen, who negotiated with the Johnson administration over the GOP votes needed to close off the Senate filibuster in the spring of 1964. But the Whalens consider Dirksen's role to be mostly symbolic. They concentrate instead on McCulloch, who was widely respected as the senior Republican on the House Judiciary Committee. It was McCulloch, the authors explain, who extracted from the White House an ironclad pledge that the Senate would not be allowed to dilute the House compromise, as it had in 1957 and again in 1960. President Johnson honored the bargain and refused to compromise, leaving the bill's strategic defense and tactical management to Attorney General Kennedy—who could always take the blame if the bill failed.

The Whalens concede that the House version of the bill passed only because it was essentially a sectional bill (and remained so, even after the Senate's rewording of it), clearly aimed at the South and carefully avoiding any burden on the North. Thus, McCulloch easily persuaded Celler's subcommittee that the bill should apply only to Southern *de jure* but not Northern *de facto* school segregation. "Bill McCulloch and Manny Celler realized," the authors acknowledge, "that if the bill was to have any hope of passage, they had to make this . . . concession to Northern members of Congress." Similarly motivated was Dirksen's insistence that the bill's "fair employment" provision apply primarily to the South.

The Whalens conclude their volume with brief speculations about why the country took so long to confront the anomaly of racial segregation in a democracy. They point both to the constitutionally mandated system of checks and balances (which has always "placed a premium on governmental inaction") and to the well-established congressional practice of "avoiding or opposing" any proposal that may offend the folks back home. The Whalens do not attempt to assess how well the law has worked since 1964—wisely leaving the complexities of that vital task to contemporary disputants and future historians.

—Hugh Davis Graham '86

NEW TITLES

History

GIOVANNI AND LUSANNA: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence
by Gene Brucker
Univ. of Calif., 1986
121 pp. $13.95

It sounds like tabloid material: A young, well-to-do bachelor of a prominent Florentine family is lured into a secret marriage by an older, socially inferior woman, a widow of still-considerable charms. Twelve years later (in 1455), when Giovanni della Casa decides to take a second, more suitable wife, Lusanna, his first spouse, petitions the Vatican to sanction her wedding and to dissolve Giovanni's second union.

The inquiry proceedings, dutifully recorded by a notary, were discovered by Brucker, a University of California, Berkeley, historian, while working in the official Florentine archives in 1980.

In a readable "microhistory," Brucker tells how Lusanna triumphed in the Florentine ecclesiastical court, even though the judgment was later overturned in Rome. Litigators, one learns, used the same tactics then as now: They variously challenged procedure, authenticity of documents, admissibility of evidence and witnesses (the priest who presided at Lusanna's marriage provided the crucial testimony). Brucker's account also illuminates stern contemporary views of love, extramarital sex, and social class. Lusanna's immodesty (she reputedly looked men straight in the eye on the street) and her lower social standing nearly cost her the verdict in Florence. "Even Lusanna's stepmother expressed her reservations about the marriage," says Brucker, "'because Giovanni was so much wealthier.'" The judges in Rome apparently ruled against Lusanna on similar grounds.

THE DECLINE OF POPULAR POLITICS The American North, 1865–1928
by Michael E. McGerr
Oxford, 1986
307 pp. $24.95

Low voter turnout, the declining importance of parties, an emphasis on candidates' media packaging—such are the much-lamented ills of modern American politics. But are such ailments really so recent? McGerr, a historian at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, says not.

Party newspapers and campaign hoopla made politics a popular affair for most of the 19th century. Political parties clarified issues and identified the candidates. Citizens, in turn, viewed partisan voting as a natural extension of civic duty.

After the Civil War, things began to change. Voter turnout remained high (roughly 77 percent) for the last quarter of the century, but liberal reformers in the North began to blame partisanship for a host of ills, including greenback currency and corruption. Dismissed at first as "namby-pamby" and defeated in their attempts to limit suffrage to property owners, the "Mugwumps" and other reformers adopted a new line—urging people to remain independent. Their success forced Democrats and Republicans by the 1890s to replace torchlight parades with an "intellectual canvass of pamphlets and documents." Party papers, which "made politics seem important," lost ground to serious (and decreasingly partisan) newspapers, which made politics "complicated and unexciting." To the common man, politics began to lose its appeal.

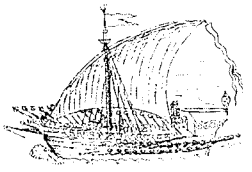
Advertising strategists, first employed in the 1896 election, tried vainly to rekindle mass participation. Candidates vied with one another (and with "human interest" stories) for newspaper coverage and worked to win votes with "personal appeal." Voters were unimpressed: When Republican Warren G. Harding beat Democrat James Cox in 1920, a mere 49 percent of those eligible to vote showed up at the polls—even worse than the 1984 turnout of 54.5 percent.

TRADE AND CIVILISATION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750
by K. N. Chaudhuri
Cambridge, 1985
269 pp. $16.95

Roughly 800 years before the European Age of Exploration, a vast trading network grew up among the Asian civilizations arrayed around the Indian Ocean basin. From about 650 to 1750, long-distance overland caravans and sea-going vessels—*booms*, *jalboots*, and *pattamars*—linked the markets of what are now the Persian Gulf states, India, Indonesia, and south China.

Chaudhuri, a London University historian, admittedly works in the shadow of France's Fernand Braudel (*The Mediterranean*, 1972). His aim here is to explain why the Indian Ocean trade ultimately failed to foster the same degree of "unity and coherence" that bound those peoples who lived and traded around the Mediterranean during the 16th-century reign of Philip II of Spain.

Indian Ocean commerce did manage to break down some barriers of taste and custom,



Chaudhuri finds. Under a sophisticated system of economic exchange, traders from diverse lands bought and sold silk, spices, rice, and other goods in the dispersed markets of Aden, Calcutta, and Canton. But finally, because mercantile capitalism was "legally undefined and socially misunderstood," the realm of commercial and cultural contact remained largely limited to merchants, traders, and dealers. Ordinary Arabs, Hindus, or Chinese never "lived and breathed with the same rhythms," as Braudel claims the Mediterranean Turks and Christians once did.

Trade, moreover, never loomed large in the minds of Asian rulers. Sultan Bahadur, 16th-century ruler of Gujarat (on the northwestern coast of India), blithely declared that "wars by sea are merchants' affairs, and of no concern to the prestige of kings"—an attitude that contemporary European monarchs did not share.

Contemporary Affairs

FAMILY AND NATION
The Godkin Lectures, Harvard University
by Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Harcourt, 1986
207 pp. $12.95

Washington's two-decade-old war on poverty has not been a complete failure. Today, poverty rates for America's elderly are "lower than poverty rates for the rest of the population," says a recent issue of *Economic Report*. Children have fared less well: Although they represent about 27 percent of the nation's population, they now make up 40 percent of its poor. Nearly half of all black children live below the poverty line.

Moynihan, Democratic U.S. Senator from New York and former Harvard government professor, attributes child poverty to the breakdown of the American family—a trend that he first noted over 20 years ago. In 1965, Moynihan, then a Johnson administration official, predicted in a famous report that "pathologies" within American black families (such as the growth in single-parent households), if unaddressed, would undercut economic and social gains made possible through new civil rights legislation. Liberals and some black spokesmen promptly denounced his report as "racist." Although many of his original detractors have since changed their minds, few politicians or scholars have been willing to address the subject.

Since 1965, Moynihan argues, the plight of

American families, white and black, has vastly worsened. The federal government, he contends, has still done little to help. In some respects, as in its long failure to increase income tax deductions for dependents, Washington has made matters worse. In three Harvard lectures reprinted here, Moynihan needles liberals for showing more concern for individual self-fulfillment (including "freer" sexuality) than for the overall health of families; and he takes conservatives to task for their claims that welfare aid has hurt rather than helped families. Moynihan offers a modest set of palliatives (e.g., work programs for welfare mothers, tax relief for poor families, stricter enforcement of drug laws). His larger point, however, is that society's neglect of problem families is itself a policy—and a bad one at that.

THE ESSENTIAL REINHOLD NIEBUHR
edited by Robert McAfee Brown
Yale, 1986
264 pp. $19.95

George Kennan once said that he doubted any less sanctimonious man ever wore clerical cloth. Claimed variously by liberals and neoconservatives, traditional theologians and liberation theologians, Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971) remains America's most influential religious thinker of the 20th century. In this selection of essays and addresses, Brown, a former Niebuhr pupil and professor emeritus of theology at the Pacific School of Religion, presents Niebuhr on a variety of topics: Political pieces discussing man's "essential freedom" and democracy, such as "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness," are balanced with his theological essays, including "Man's Nature and His Communities" and "Optimism, Pessimism, and Religious Faith."

To Niebuhr, the doctrine of Original Sin remained the one empirically verifiable doctrine of Christian faith. Politically, he underwent gradual changes throughout his life. The crimes of Stalin and Niebuhr's misgivings about Marxism led him to attack communism as vigorously as he had once condemned capitalism; yet he never quite shed his socialist views. He was a dweller in paradox, describing himself as an "unbelieving believer" and love as the "impossible possibility." But faith kept him from being crippled by life's ambiguities: "Show us what we ought to do," reads one of Niebuhr's prayers. "Show us also what are the limits of our powers and what we cannot do."

Arts & Letters

SHAKESPEARE AND OTHERS
by S. Schoenbaum
Folger, 1985
285 pp. $28.50

In this wide-ranging miscellany of essays written over the past 25 years, the noted American Shakespeare scholar Samuel Schoenbaum elucidates the Bard's political vision, tells anecdotes from Shakespeare conferences around the world, and even spares a few good words for Shakespeare's contemporaries.

While the quality of these pieces varies, the better ones ring with authority. Hailing Shakespeare as the "greatest unsentimental political realist in drama," Schoenbaum notes how uncannily such plays as *Richard II* and *Julius Caesar* capture the ambitions and foibles of modern leaders such as Richard Nixon and the Shah of Iran. Schoenbaum defends Shakespeare against the claim that he was poorly educated ("an inspired ignoramus," as some have suggested) and elsewhere shows that Ben Jonson, far from resenting his rival and superior in talent, loved him just "this side of idolatry." Given the paucity of evidence on Shakespeare's personal life, Schoenbaum says, it is best not to rush to conclusions. For example, Shakespeare's bequest to his wife—"my second-best bed with the furniture"—was not necessarily, as some biographers hold, a rebuke to his wife for infidelity or some other sin. Similar provisions in the wills of his contemporaries suggest that such bequests may have been common and expected.

THE NEW WORLD: An Epic Poem
by Frederick Turner
Princeton, 1985
182 pp. $26

Unlike most other epics, this narrative poem offers a vision of the future rather than a celebration of things past. The year is 2376. The earth's resources are exhausted, and its population has been reduced by war and migrations into space. Fancifully—in a manner reminiscent of Russell Hoban's *Riddley Walker* (1981)—poet Turner creates a civilization in shards. In the "Uess," the cities have become "Riots" ("Hattan" and "Delphia") inhabited by violent, lawless hedonists who have enslaved the descendants of the old middle classes (the "burbs"). In the rural regions of "Ahiah" lie both the "Mad Counties," led by crusading religious fanatics, and the "Free Counties," Jeffersonian democracies where arts and sciences flourish.

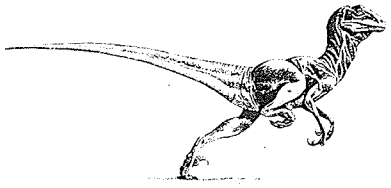
Amidst a holy war waged by the fanatics against

the Free Countians, a family saga unfolds. At its center is James George Quincy, who, while leading his Free County kinsmen against the zealots, attempts to solve the mysteries surrounding his father's life and death. In true epic fashion, Turner presents great battle scenes (with weapons that blend high tech and the primitive) as well as pastoral interludes set in the Ahiah region. He also has his hero make the obligatory descent into the underworld (the old Manhattan subways), where Quincy encounters a 24th-century oracle known as Kingfish: "He be [says Kingfish of the Slob, a leader of the Riots] de end-point of four hunnert years / since John Jake Rousseau and his baby, Sart, / an' all dem rebels 'gainst Eddipus / said dat we must be free."

Turner proves that great themes—in this case, the conflict between blind faith and hedonistic relativism—can still be treated in epic form.

Science & Technology

THE RIDDLE OF THE DINOSAUR
by John Noble Wilford
Knopf, 1985
304 pp. $22.95



Descended from primitive reptilians, the first dinosaurs appeared some 225 million years ago, during the Triassic period. They held sway over the Earth for 160 million years and then, mysteriously, vanished en masse near the end of the Cretaceous period. These giants of the Age of Reptiles have fascinated humans since prehistoric man first drew pictures of fossils on cave walls. Wilford, a science reporter for the *New York Times*, describes the lives, the quirks, and the quarrels of English and American paleontologists who have tried for almost 200 years to unravel the mystery of the "terrible lizards."

Among the "explorers of time," professional and amateur, were two Americans, Othniel Marsh and Edward Cope. Their vituperative "bone wars" during the 1870s set a low in paleontological dirty dealing. But feats of endurance and courage are also common: Roy Chapman Andrews braved the Gobi Desert in 1922 to retrieve the first cache of petrified dinosaur eggs. Such research often brings nothing but more questions. Scientists now even disagree over whether most of the creatures were cold-blooded (and therefore reptiles) or had evolved into "warm-blooded surrogate 'mam-

mals.'" Did diplodocus, stegosaurus, and others perish with a whimper, as the Earth's climate shifted and food supplies disappeared? Or were they victims of a great cataclysm, such as a huge meteor striking the Earth and causing global devastation? In 1986, heirs of Cope and Marsh still debate the answers.

IN THE NAME OF EUGENICS: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity
by Daniel K. Kevles
Knopf, 1985
426 pp. $22.95

Hitler's "racial purification" schemes gave eugenics a bad name. Yet the history of various efforts to improve the human species through genetic control has not been all dark. Launching the movement in 1869, England's Francis Galton declared that it would be "quite practicable to produce a highly gifted race of men by judicious marriages during several consecutive generations."

Kevles, a historian of science at the California Institute of Technology, chronicles the careers of the scientists (Karl Pearson in Britain, Charles Davenport in the United States) who developed and extended Galton's ideas. He notes as well the role of the popularizers—artists, intellectuals, and social "improvers" such as George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells. The latter once asserted that the children people bring into the world "can be no more their private concern entirely, than the disease germs they disseminate."

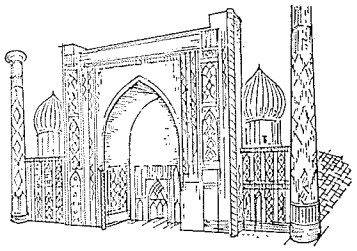
The eugenics movement has always had two main thrusts. The "positive" seeks to improve the species through propagation of desirable traits. (The Hermann J. Muller Repository for Germinal Choice, a California sperm bank for Nobel Prize winners, may be the most extreme expression of this tendency.) "Negative" eugenics aims at preventing the transmission of undesirable characteristics, sometimes through such drastic measures as compulsory sterilization. Kevles shows that eugenics has often been used to support the prejudices of researchers and of society at large. During the 1920s, it helped justify restrictive U.S. immigration laws: An influx of undesirable foreigners, eugenicists argued, would weaken the native American stock.

But eugenics has also led to much that is good, including tests to determine carriers of hereditary diseases, amniocentesis (to establish the health of a fetus), cloning, and other recent marvels.

PAPERBOUNDS

THE ARABS. By Peter Mansfield. Penguin, 1985. 527 pp. $6.95

In this revised edition of his *Arab World*, Mansfield, a former British diplomat and journalist, recounts the history of Arab civilization from pre-Islamic times to the present. Mansfield's large canvas is crammed with telling details. One learns, for instance, that Mohammad at first encouraged converts to his monotheistic creed to face Jerusalem while praying; only when he failed to win over the Jews (whose religion he greatly admired) did he order his Arab followers to face Mecca. The last third of Mansfield's book surveys the modern Arab world, where striking contrasts in national wealth have produced few surges of fraternal charity. While the Sudanese struggle to fend off starvation, the profligate spenders of oil-rich Dubai have made their tiny emirate on the Persian Gulf "the second largest importer of Swiss watches in the world."



THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOOD. By Iris Murdoch. Ark, 1985. 106 pp. $5.95

On the dimly lit stages of Murdoch's fiction (e.g., *The Black Prince*), characters struggle with vexing ethical dilemmas. Motives, deeply entangled in the coils of character, are for her the proper focus of ethical discussion—in philosophy as well as in fiction. Here, she argues that most modern philosophers, from European existentialists to Anglo-American logical analysts, miss the point by dealing only with observable behavior. Stuart Hampshire's claim that "anything which is to count as a definite reality must be open to several observers" typifies contemporary academic efforts to deny the importance of the private, internal reflections that precede action. Murdoch's defense of virtue as "selfless attention to reality," a lifelong effort to sharpen one's moral vision, may strike some readers as archaic. Others may find that it is just what most current philosophy so sorely lacks.

WORKER CAPITALISM: The New Industrial Relations. By Keith Bradley and Alan Gelb. MIT, 1986. 186 pp. $6.95

Can worker-run businesses prosper? As economists Bradley and Gelb show, they not only *can*, they often do. Reviewing various experiments in industrial policy and different mixes of worker and government management, the authors turn to specific cases in Britain, Canada, France, and the United States. The examples range from extremely successful firms (such as New York's Saratoga Knitting Mill, bought out by employees in 1975), to feebler operations that eventually reverted to traditional private ownership (e.g., the French kitchen equipment manufacturer Manuest), to such outright disasters as the government-backed *Scottish Daily News*, a case of mismanaged transition. It may come as a surprise to American skeptics to learn that, on the whole, U.S. worker-run ventures have fared better than their counterparts in other nations. Furthermore, among possible industrial policies, the authors find that worker ownership makes far better economic sense than protectionist tariffs or government subsidies.