BOOK REVIEWS

profundely the Russian willingness to abide by agreements. For different reasons, but sufficient for themselves, the Russian regime seems to have a similar mistrust of the West. These conditions, therefore, make it essential that sure guarantees of observance be provided.

At several points, Mr. Clark, while insisting on the moral strength of the American position, recognizes that our suspicions may have contributed greatly to Russian suspicions of our purposes. His observations recall one of Mr. Truman's speeches in the campaign of 1948. Addressing the American Legion in Miami, the candidate in effect promised to take steps to dispel "the present poisonous atmosphere of distrust which now surrounds the negotiations between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union." Instead, he turned immediately on his inauguration to the policy of "overwhelming force" which in the past three years may have cost us the peace for which the President has worked. Mr. Clark, like Mr. Truman in 1948, seems to have isolated the general character of the phenomenon which so far has made the hope of world government a poet's enthusiasm or a lawyer's draft.

The difficulty is psychological, not administrative. The real obstacle to Mr. Clark's simple and sensible solution is that combination of pugnacity and fear, but mostly pugnacity, which contributes to the formation of suspicion. There is an occasional simple marauder in history, like Genghis Khan; but the commonest situation is one in which a number of peoples and their leaders are expressing unconscious dispositions, whether innate or conditioned, in the permitted mutual hatreds of foreigner for foreigner.

MALCOLM SHARP*


Dr. de Grazia's topic of representation is very old but also very new. We are called upon today to discuss ward representation and world representation; to discuss state representation and the national legislature; and many other diverse forms of representative agencies. We must deal with the initiative and referendum and with a hundred bewildering varieties of proportional representation. Furthermore, we must deal with private governments as well as public governments; with corporations, with unions, with countless societies, representing interests which are territorial, professional, religious, grouped in endless forms, demi- and semi-political. And again we find demands for "representation" in administrative agencies far and wide.

We may diligently inquire: just what does a representative body do? What's what and who's who in representation? In our system the executive may also be a representative. The mayor, governor, the President of the United States is

* Page 66. See also pages 36, 49-50, 52, 55, 59, 62-63, 64-67, 71.

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each a representative of his unit taken as a whole. We have a legislative body
with executive powers and an executive with veto and other legislative powers
as provided in the original Constitution. In any system operating under the
consent of the governed the problem is great because of the effort to deal with
the community ends and means. Some may rashly assert that representative
agencies have no known use and might better be forgotten. But if they were all
destroyed, then conciliar and representative bodies would spring up again; for
they serve a very fundamental purpose.

Dr. de Grazia has a tough job which he attacks valiantly—that of defining
the concept of representation, tracing the growth of American representation
over some three centuries of changing conditions, and finally undertaking to
indicate modestly what is coming or what the shape of things might be. The
contrasting theories of representation are examined; the trends of thought upon
representation are classified, described, and interpreted. The development of
lobbies into interest representation over the last fifty years is depicted. Dr. de
Grazia employs psychological, social, and magical influences in interpreting
the continual struggle in men’s minds over representing the whole public or a
workable combination of major value interests.

I have wandered over this field for a long time, beginning with a study of
representative government in Virginia in the 17th Century, down to the present
hour when lobbies, pressure groups, and political parties weave their way
through our 150,000 independent governments. I can sympathize with the
worthy and energetic doctor in his battle not only with semantics and theories,
but with “pluralisms” of various sorts, “integrated” and otherwise. These
forms and forces leave him sometimes wearied, and sometimes a little worried.
Readers might find aid and comfort in The Political Community (1949) by
Sebastian de Grazia, a very near relative of the writer.

All scholars in the field of political science and particularly those in the area
of representation are under lasting obligation to the writer of this volume for a
learned and helpful treatment of one of the major problems of our times. The
book will enrich the literature on this very important subject. Fortunately the
writer does not attempt to solve all the problems. This is for another day;
_speriamo._

Charles E. Merriam*


This is the first product of a Rockefeller Foundation grant to Cornell Uni-
versity for a study of “the impact upon our civil liberties of current govern-
mental programs designed to ensure internal security and to expose and con-
trol disloyal or subversive conduct.” It confirms the wisdom of the grant.

Gellhorn’s assignment deals primarily with government security activities in
fields relating to science—atomic energy, military research and development,
and traditional government scientific activities ranging from the Fish and Wild-

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