

and work hours. "Slogans like 'workers' control' and 'production for use'... were seldom heard any longer," says Montgomery, "except ironically in the rhetoric of corporate public relations."

Contemporary Affairs

**THE LIFE OF THE PARTY:
Democratic Prospects in
1988 and Beyond**

by Robert Kuttner
Viking, 1987
265 pp. \$18.95

It is time, says Kuttner, economics correspondent for *The New Republic*, to run a "real Democrat" on a "real Democratic platform." The modern party "begins with Roosevelt" and "peaks with Johnson." Since 1964, the party has lost its nerve—and every presidential election but one.

Many Democrats, and most political commentators, concluded as early as 1970 that the party should abandon its commitment to activist government and economic populism and cleave to a cautious, centrist policy. This so-called cure only made matters worse, Kuttner maintains. But ever-more-costly campaigns kept Democratic candidates in thrall to big-money contributors, individual and corporate. All but ignored, the party's progressive-populist wing splintered into mutually destructive special-interest groups, variously clamoring for clean air or women's rights.

Kuttner prescribes a host of remedies for the ailing party. These range from fund-raising strategies (direct-mail campaigns aimed at small donors) to ways of attacking voter apathy. The best cure for such indifference, Kuttner holds, is for the party to champion truly liberal programs, including workfare, national health care, and higher taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals. Not to do so, says Kuttner, will only vindicate Harry S. Truman's words: "When the voters have a choice between a Republican and a Republican, they'll pick the Republican every time."

**CHINA'S SECOND
REVOLUTION:**

Reform after Mao
by Harry Harding
Brookings, 1987
369 pp. \$32.95

After Mao Zedong's death in September 1976, the leadership of the People's Republic of China (PRC) faced not only a succession crisis but many nation-crippling ills: economic stagnation and inefficiency, bureaucratic breakdown, and the alienation of millions of the Cultural Revolution's surviving victims. Harding, a fellow at the Brookings Institution, offers an astute overview of the decade-old "second revolution" that has, after fits

and starts, given new life to a moribund society and drawn China into the world economy.

Reform began shakily, as revolutionary Maoists, the Gang of Four, sought to preserve the most radical of the Great Helmsman's policies. They were arrested in October 1976 and replaced by moderate Hua Guofeng. His lackluster interregnum, dedicated to restoring order to the nation, ended in late 1978, and the "reform" faction of Deng Xiaoping took over.

At 78, Deng, himself a survivor of the Cultural Revolution, was a confident, seasoned politician, committed to China's reconstruction and entry into the global community. Moreover, he had a practical program and a vast network of supporters. His wide-reaching reforms—including the development of a mixed economy, the encouragement of broader decision-making, and freer discussions of ideology—have been the grist for much recent China scholarship. Harding, however, provides a valuable perspective by focusing on Deng's political strategy: Limiting liberalization, the PRC leader has controlled the speed and scope of change. Harding believes that "China will move slowly, even haltingly, toward a more open-market-oriented economy and a more relaxed and consultative political system."

Arts and Letters

NEW YORK 1930: Architecture and Urbanism between the Two World Wars

by Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory
Gilmartin, and Thomas Mellins
Rizzoli, 1987
847 pp. \$75



By 1930, New York presented a quintessentially American face to the world. As the country's principal port of entry between the great wars, "The City" had transformed itself from a collection of brownstones and gingerbread public buildings to a "skyscraper Babylon"—vertical, and monumentally practical. Its architects had imbibed the neo-classical style of the 1925 Paris Exposition des Arts Decoratifs (or Art Deco) and the modernism of the Bauhaus glass-and-steel box, but their work was peculiarly American: Rockefeller Center, the Empire State Building, and the Chrysler Building are all structures that reflect notions of "commerce and convenience" more than any particular theory of art.

In 1916 a new zoning law introduced urban planning and set the "fixed formula for tower setbacks" that was to become the epitome of the New York style. Growing upward, the city's sky-