

ning schemes be needed to shape the larger landscape? Martinson doesn't say enough about these and other questions. But he has seen into the heart of his subject and pointed the debate over sprawl in the right direction.

—STEVEN LAGERFELD

THE CHINESE.

By Jasper Becker. Free Press. 464 pp.
\$27.50

Becker has been a resident correspondent in China for 10 years, far longer than the typical reporter's tour, and is now Beijing bureau chief for Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*. In *Hungry Ghosts* (1997), he provided the first book-length account of the 1959–61 famine that killed at least 30 million Chinese. In his equally admirable new book, he turns his attention to the China of the past two decades and considers the urban and rural economies, the army, the intellectuals, and the Communist Party and its officials.

Becker has traveled extensively through China, and his anecdotes make the book particularly valuable. In the back of beyond, for instance, he was speaking to people whom time had passed by when a policeman approached and warned that he should not

be there. The policeman "is too poor even to afford shoelaces but everyone cringes and falls silent." Elsewhere, Becker interviews a writer who spent 22 years in labor camps. The man describes the behavior of his fellow prisoners, all of them intellectuals: "They lied, sneaked, and betrayed each other all the time. They stopped at nothing to try and prove their loyalty to the Party. . . . For all their high-flown ideals, they behaved with grovelling servility."

I have never met an ex-prisoner, even one safely abroad, who has voiced such sentiments; anecdotes can be misleading. In addition, some of Becker's judgments are overstated or simply wrong. He writes, for example, that "China is now a society in which everyone seems to be engaged in deceiving and cheating one another." In fact, one of the more striking features of Chinese life during the past 50 years is how many dissidents tell the truth even when they know the consequences could be fatal. The sourcing is often insufficient, too. When Becker provides statistics on business failures and unemployment, for example, the footnote directs us to his own article in the *South China Morning Post*. I have no reason to doubt the author's facts, but I want to know how he discovered them.

—JONATHAN MIRSKY

HISTORY

HENRY M. JACKSON: *A Life in Politics.*

By Robert G. Kaufman. Univ. of Washington Press. 548 pp.
\$30

A man for whom the term *Cold War liberal* might have been coined, Henry "Scoop" Jackson (1912–83) is remembered today largely for his hawkish views on the Soviet Union and his determination that America would not just wage but win the arms race. Those positions gave rise to a nickname he detested, "the Senator from Boeing," though his devotion to the interests of the biggest employer in



Jackson won the 1976 Massachusetts Democratic primary.

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his state of Washington no doubt helped ensure his election to the U.S. Senate for six terms.

In this solid if sometimes pedestrian biography, Kaufman, a political scientist at the University of Vermont, reestablishes Jackson as an outstanding domestic legislator and an environmental pioneer. He took a leading part in the battle against McCarthyism, fought for civil rights legislation, helped enact laws that vastly expanded the national parks, and campaigned for a national health system, sponsoring what became the Medicare legislation. These liberal credentials notwithstanding, large sections of the Democratic Party couldn't forgive his support of the Vietnam War or his attempt to preserve the bipartisan tradition on foreign policy in general.

Jackson was wooed by Republicans—Richard Nixon tried hard to persuade him to become secretary of defense, and the Reagan campaign in 1980 made rather more oblique promises of cabinet office—but he stayed in the Senate. There, he was a pivotal figure in the critique of Henry Kissinger's détente policies during the 1970s, in the parallel emergence of the neoconservative movement, and in what eventually became the Reagan strategy of forcing the Soviet Union into an arms race it could not sustain. As early as 1957, Jackson had defined "the essence of the Soviet dilemma: The Kremlin must grant some freedom in order to maintain technological growth but allowing freedom undermines communist ideology and discipline."

Kaufman illuminates the personal background to this extraordinarily influential career. A young Republican who was converted to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal Democrats by the Great Depression, Jackson was an instinctive isolationist. As a freshman House member in 1941 (he moved to the Senate in 1953), he even voted against the Lend-Lease legislation to help equip Britain against Hitler. The war converted him to an almost messianic faith in America's global role and to a firm belief in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization alliance.

Jackson sought the presidency in 1972 and 1976, but few Democrats rallied to so militant a cold warrior. For that, the Democratic Party paid a price: Its perceived weakness on national security helped limit the

party to a single White House term in the 24 years between 1968 and 1992. By then, of course, the Cold War had ended. Jackson may have lost many battles, but he can lay claim to a significant share of the deeper victories in the Cold War and in the long campaign for the soul of his party.

—MARTIN WALKER

THE DARK VALLEY: A Panorama of the 1930s.

By Piers Brendon. Knopf. 795 pp.
\$35.00

The sudden, baffling economic depression of the 1930s brought worldwide unemployment, poverty, and despair—the 20th-century equivalent of the Black Death. Those in brief authority remained perplexed. Nobody could get the unemployed back to work or deliver what the farmers were producing to the people who were starving. Democratic capitalism no longer seemed to function. The solution, when it came, turned out to be World War II.

Brendon, Keeper of the Churchill Archives and a Fellow of Churchill College, Cambridge, gives the 1930s a wonderful summing up in this chronicle of how the Great Depression affected the great powers (the United States, Germany, Italy, France, Britain, Japan, and the Soviet Union). He could have called his book an unauthorized biography of the decade, for, along with reviewing the specialized and revisionist studies, he has mined all the gossip from diaries and memoirs. In a style that combines the authoritative speculations of A. J. P. Taylor with the amusing ironies of Malcolm Muggeridge, Brendon tells us what people wore, what they ate, what they read.

He is particularly interested in the manipulation of public opinion, which the new media of radio and motion pictures took to unprecedented levels. "Propaganda became part of the air people breathed during the 1930s," he writes. Public spectacles and entertainments around the globe were crafted with a propagandist intent: "King George V's Silver Jubilee celebrations and his son's coronation were a democratic riposte to Hitler's barbaric pageants at Nuremberg. Stalin's purge trials dramatised a new kind of