

occasion for introducing information that should be of great value and interest to Americans, even if in its extent and in some of its detail this material seems adventitious to Marrero's main theme. We need to know that at the very foundation of Russian Communism there is a non-Marxian element that is so inherent in Russian culture and tradition that Dostoevski could give voice to it without recognizing it as such. Though he is frequently mentioned as one of the spiritual precursors of Communism, he would probably have been very much surprised at the imputation. And the presentation of Unamuno's "Spanishness" suggests that there are certain "grass roots" attitudes of the Spanish tradition that we may well try to understand if our dealings with peoples of that tradition are to rise above the level of the ineffectual. There is more in Marrero's volume than the study of a tortured and rebellious soul whose problems mirror those of our whole western world of today, though this in itself makes it a work of importance.

Reviewed by CHARLES J. ADAMEC

From Welfarism to Chaos

Beyond the Welfare State, From Welfarism to Chaos, by Gunnar Myrdal.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.

BEYOND THE Welfare State? Having heard something of Gunnar Myrdal, having perhaps read his *American Dilemma*, you will easily guess the answer: the Welfare World—or, as Myrdal prefers to say in each instance, the Welfare Democratic World, built upon the "principles" of "freedom," "equality of opportunity," and brotherhood. You will not, however, guess so easily the actual contents of this book, or the drift

of its argument, which is precisely *not* likely to please the American Welfare-statists with whom (wrongly, in this writer's opinion) Myrdal's name tends to be associated. The Myrdal of this volume, whatever the sins he has committed in the past, puts himself forward as no panegyrist of the Welfare Democratic state at all. Welfarism is *not* the wave of the future. (Unlike his supposed American counterparts, of whom incidentally he takes a dim view, he does not, officially at least, credit the existence of waves of the future.) We shall *not* solve our problems by making all states welfare states, or by competing with the Soviet Union in the creation of welfare states. The Welfare State has conferred great benefits, alike from the standpoint of his ideological commitment to the French Revolution, that is, more liberty, more equality, more brotherhood but also—for he does distinguish here—from the standpoint of making everybody (well, nearly everybody) in it enormously better off than he would have been without it. But along with conferring benefits it has intensified, perhaps even made itself directly responsible for, a whole series of problems that it has shown no capacity to deal with. It *does* produce inflation, thus creating justified doubts about its own viability. It *does*, by encouraging selfish behavior on the part particularly of "groups" engaged in "production," subordinate the interests of consumers in a manner that must, in the long run, endanger its own existence. Above all, from Myrdal's special point of view, it *does*, by encouraging selfishness, encourage nationalism, and so makes, within each Welfare State, for policies incompatible with and destructive of that international cooperation which alone can bring to a satisfactory resolution the world problems now clearly visible on the horizon. It has produced "international disintegration" (which, in my opinion, should be read "international chaos") and, short of the accomplishment of a breath-taking "educational program" that would bring its citizens to unlearn much of that which it

has itself taught them, must continue to produce international disintegration.

Myrdal is not about to draw the (for me) obvious conclusion, namely, that the Welfare Democratic State should never have been permitted to come into existence to begin with; but the "international case" against the Welfare State could hardly be better put than he puts it, and there is nothing to keep other persons, more likely to put it to good use, from making of it a formidable weapon in contemporary controversy. American conservatives capable of abstracting from the book's ideological bias can and should take to heart its specifically economic analysis of international instability, and make the most of it—programmatically, in insisting, with chapter and verse citations of a respected Liberal economist, that every advance toward the Welfare State is an advance toward international chaos (which, of course, good conservatives have known all along); polemically, in exposing as false the Liberal claim to a monopoly, or even an aliquot share, of genuine and responsible concern about the soundness and good health of the world economy. American conservatives especially, because one of the strengths of Myrdal's analysis is to be found in his demonstration that the United States is not yet "really" a Welfare State at all, which on his own showing presumably means that it could even now not go ahead and "become" one. That point, established by a writer who wishes America were a Welfare State, is reason enough for recommending the book to conservative readers—most of whom, as I am fond of pointing out, are unduly pessimistic about the extent of the Liberals' "victory" to date.

Reviewed by WILLMOORE KENDALL