

who know it for what it is. Americans elect Presidents in political campaigns which are heated partisan battles, and the man who is elected is recognized as the head of his party. Yet he is expected instantly, once he is inaugurated, to be "above politics." It is elementary that it cannot be had both ways; yet every President strains to make the impossible straddle. Some convey the impression that they have thus risen above their origins; but if they actually have made such an attempt, they almost certainly have lost the power to lead. They cannot exert the discipline needed by the amorphous and often rebellious Congress without the use of party means. And if they do not lead, they disappoint the expectations of the electorate and fade into history as failures.

Using the experience of recent Presidents, Neustadt illustrates the Presidential requirements and shows how very difficult it is to find an individual who can meet them. Such an individual is something of a clerk, which is to say that he must work within an elaborate apparatus that can be expected to have an almost immovable inertia; yet he must try to find the means to move it. He does not have a separated power; he has a shared power; and the sharing is almost the most important characteristic of his office. Yet he can, if, as Woodrow Wilson said, he is man enough, find the leverage to alter the course of events, furthering, as he must believe, the best interests of the nation of which he is the head and symbol. So Mr. Eisenhower may be a Republican, he may be strongly disapproved of by many Americans for one or another reason, and he may be made the subject of caustic comment. But when the head of another State ridicules him, the outrage that seizes Americans is explosive. He is their man.

It is this potential support that a President must know how to gather and dispose for the nation's good. This is his central duty. But there have been many Presidents who have not known how to perform it, and it is a matter for despair to suggest any reasonable way of choosing individuals who will be so gifted.

If the last few Administrations are examined, as Neustadt examines them, none provides a perfect case of Presidential competence. But there are instances of remarkable success as well as others of abysmal failure. The successes, like the failures, are almost frighteningly connected with personal circumstances. Roosevelt was superb in

the first days of the New Deal, but in 1937 he handled the Supreme Court battle as though he had never learned anything about leadership in a democracy. Eisenhower's indifferences to many problems has seemed to originate in a tiredness which grew as his time in office lengthened. Truman's Marshall Plan and Point Four programs were vigorous examples of leadership, but he allowed relations with the Soviet Union to fall into the state where exchanges became hardly more than slanging matches that went on for weary year after weary year while the crisis of atomic armament deepened.

We are led, although this is to go beyond the Neustadt suggestions, to ask whether something more drastic is not needed. That the President may be a hero to his people does not make it less likely that he will fail because he cannot do all that is expected of him. For almost a generation now, the attempts to bolster his performance with administrative aids have been the favored approach to the admittedly serious problem. This elaboration of machinery has tended to conceal the essential truth that a President cannot be changed by assistance. He can be aided by it, but it will not make him any wiser. It will not change the fact that he is one single, often elderly, individual and that he is sometimes tired or ill.

A book which is thoughtful and considerate, as Neustadt's is, makes the conclusion almost inevitable that we have been looking in the wrong direction, trying the wrong remedies, and that presently we shall need to re-examine our situation in much the same way as it was re-examined in Philadelphia in 1787. When we do, we are not likely to conclude that, for modern America, the institutions of a small emerging seacoast power are altogether adequate, more than a century and a half later, for a continental nation. Indeed, if the proceedings are conducted in the spirit of the Convention we are certain to find the institutions insufficient, just as the forefathers found the ones they were revising insufficient.

As a kind of addendum here, of interest to those who are finding themselves at a loss for many of the facts needed to judge how the Presidency has served us, and who wonder what the uniformities are in the processes of election or even in Presidential performances, a most useful compendium has become available in Joseph Nathan Kane's *Facts About the Presidents*. It will certainly be found on every politi-

cal scientist's desk from now on. Careful searching has turned up most useful comparative data about origins, affiliations, performance, and many other relevant matters. They are all here. There are no judgments, simply facts. It is a relief to have them, for once, in uncolored form.

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The Special Theory of Relativity. J. Aharoni. Oxford University Press, New York, 1959. viii + 285 pp. Illus. \$7.20

This book is a technical introduction to the special theory of relativity, written with considerable emphasis on the formal aspects of the subject, and quite apparently aimed at British students of physics and of applied mathematics, whose backgrounds and attitudes vary somewhat from the backgrounds and attitudes met with, on the average, on American campuses. Although the book covers more or less the same ground as any other competent text, the slight change in approach makes for interesting reading.

The chapters are devoted in turn to the following topics: kinematics of the special theory and of the Lorentz group; three-dimensional tensors; Maxwell's theory in tensor formulation; general field theory (nonquantum, to be sure); relativistic particle dynamics and hydrodynamics; and spinors (treated in the van der Waerden formalism). An appendix is concerned specifically with the propagation of light and generally with electromagnetic waves. The author introduces group-theoretical concepts to the extent that he discusses tensors and spinors as representations of the orthogonal group and the Lorentz group and gives some attention to questions of irreducibility of representations. Three-dimensional and four-dimensional notation are used side by side. As far as I can tell, the explanations are straightforward and there are no errors in either the physics or the mathematics. It is quite obvious that the author is considerably more knowledgeable than might be assumed by the neophyte who is favorably impressed by the simplicity of presentation. Though quantum theory is only hinted at, much of the book's work is preparatory to the study of quantum field theory.

Aharoni's book could be placed, as a challenge, in the hands of a first-year graduate student, although such a student would probably need some help in studying it.

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Plant Growth Substances. L. J. Audus. Leonard Hill, London; Interscience, New York, ed. 2, 1959. xxii + 553 pp. Illus. + plates. \$10.

Audus has presented, in readable detail, the background of the nature of plant growth from cell division to the nutritional and hormonal factors affecting development. He has included a discussion of the general physiology of natural auxins, including assay methods, isolation, and identification, and a section on the chemistry of natural and synthetic auxins, relating to structure and activity. From this orientation in fundamental principles, Audus proceeds to a comprehensive coverage and classification of auxins as general growth stimulators and inhibitors, initiators of rooting, stimulators of fruit development, and selective weed killers. He defines their role in flowering and reproduction and their influence in tissue differentiation. The appendixes delineating auxin-treatment responses of plant species from all over the world are a unique feature.

This edition includes material on the advances made since 1953 in the field of plant growth substances and sections on recently isolated and newly synthesized growth substances, the separation and identification of natural plant growth substances, and on new and varied applications which have been tried and evaluated. A chapter on the mechanism of action of auxins is a significant addition, and this, taken with the comprehensive discussions concerning the physiological action of other classes of growth regulators given in succeeding chapters, offers one of the most complete and up-to-date surveys of this kind on the subject.

This book should be accepted with interest and pleasure by the intelligent layman who engages in serious reading for a better understanding of the biological responses of the plants in his environment and, more specifically, for an understanding of the factors involved in regulating these response

phenomena. It is not, as Audus points out, a manual for the specific treatment of growing plants, but rather, a digest of information on the control of plant development by growth-regulating substances. While the professional chemist or physiologist will not consider it a necessary acquisition for his technical library, the student of agriculture or horticulture will certainly find it a most useful reference source. The work contains, in logically presented order, a wealth of information, possibly to the degree that it encompasses too much. It is indeed difficult to collate in one volume material which is intelligible and appealing to the layman and which, by reason of its technical information, is also valuable to the specialist.

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The United States in the World Arena.

An essay in recent history. W. W. Rostow. Harper, New York, 1960. xxii + 568 pp. \$8.75.

W. W. Rostow specializes in the Large View of history. His particular mode of contributing lies in fashioning new points of view from which to analyze past events, present trends, and future prospects. This he did admirably and neatly in his recent book, *The Stages of Economic Growth*. Unfortunately not so much can be said for the present volume.

The author sets about to analyze in one fell swoop the military and diplomatic events of World War II and the Truman and Eisenhower administrations to see how these events fit his conception of America's national interest. He invents a useful notion, "national style" ("that is, the typically American way of dealing with the nation's environment"), as a means of tying together his unwieldy material and relating it to his major theme. He finds serious deficiencies in the national style and suggests numerous reforms which he thinks are urgently needed in view of the political and technological changes which are going on in the world.

The persuasiveness of Rostow's critique depends ultimately on the persuasiveness of his concept of America's national interest. In company with most critics of public policy today, he holds that our national interest has a dimen-

sion over and above simple considerations of geography. Thus, while he says that the United States, "a continental island off the greater land mass of Eurasia," must prevent any single power or groups of powers, hostile or potentially hostile to itself, from dominating that area, he goes further and says that our national interest demands that "the societies of Eurasia develop along lines broadly consistent with the nation's own ideology."

So far, so good, but the trouble is that Rostow is quite unable to articulate anything worthy of being called "the nation's own ideology." Leaving aside the question of whether or not ideology is the right word, he describes the dynamic element of America's national interest in humanistic terms, and perhaps this is why his essay at this crucial point lacks both precision and good philosophical syntax. It remains to be shown that the language of humanism permits the asking of the really important questions which must be answered if one is to articulate our national interest in its dynamic dimension—questions such as "What beliefs make real and rational our concern about the future welfare of other nations and other races?" A simple benevolence toward the individuals who make up the human race is no substitute for philosophy any more than it is a substitute for national interest. Rostow is at pains to avoid the latter pitfall but does not show that he has escaped the former.

But if the author is not successful in coming up with a persuasive and practical definition of the dynamic element in our national interest, he is very successful in illustrating the perils of trying to get along without such a definition. The lack of such a definition, according to Rostow, has been a distinguishing characteristic of our national style in military and diplomatic policy since the beginning of World War II. (Earlier, he says, we alternated between the geopolitical ideas of Admiral Mahan and the idealism of Woodrow Wilson when we were not content with moralistic isolationism, which, he contends, was rarely so.)

The author finds that our national style in military and diplomatic policy came off a poor second to that of the British in World War II and to that of the Russians in the postwar period. As stylists, Roosevelt and Truman get better marks than Eisenhower (whose administration the author finds consistent-