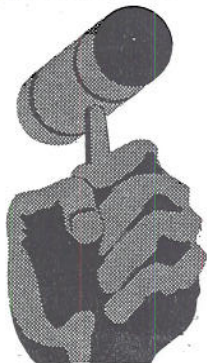


MELVIN BELL

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they'll let me go to jail for ten years," he said. "People just don't seem to care."

Baird is aware that if he wins his Massachusetts case, it will go a long way towards knocking out many of the fornication laws which discriminate against unmarried people. "Unmarried people ought to have the same access to birth control information as married people," he believes. If he had his way, birth control devices would be available to all girls over thirteen, and they would be available in supermarkets as well as drugstores. He persuaded a Massachusetts legislator to introduce such a bill in the state assembly, but it has not gotten very far.

To those who raise their eyebrows at his suggestions, Baird cites a Department of Health, Education and Welfare statistic which notes that 5000 babies were born to girls under fourteen years of age in 1967. He will also tell you about the girl who came to see him after she had been thrown down a flight of stairs in an attempt to induce a miscarriage and save the family "honor," or those who have tried to abort themselves with knitting needles, straws, coat hangers, clorox and turpentine. —ART GOLDBERG

BOOKS**Making Marx Safe
for Social Democracy**

THE ORIGINS OF SOCIALISM. By George Lichtheim. Frederick A. Praeger: New York, Washington. 302 pp. \$6.95 (\$2.95 in paper).

GEORGE LICHTHEIM IS GENERALLY regarded as a man of the left, even as a dangerous radical by some of our more conservative intellectuals. Certainly his account of the history of socialist thought, particularly Marxian socialism, is distinctly sympathetic, and I found myself resonating pleasurably to his characterization of Marx as "a colossus in the midst of ordinary mortals." Yet this new book, even more than his earlier writings (*Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study; Marxism in Modern France*), shows the extent to which Lichtheim is an intellectual of the Old Left. This is shown by his consistent unwillingness—or inability—to appreciate the most radical perceptions of the theorists whose ideas he has chosen to explore, and in most cases to champion. Two of the more illuminating examples are his treatment of Marx's attitude toward revolutionary violence and his handling of the theme of sexual protest in the writings of the French "utopian" socialists.

Lichtheim follows a long line of Western liberals, among them Erich Fromm, who have seen it as their task to rescue Marx from his left-wing disciples in order to make him safe for democracy. This effort has

taken many forms, but certainly one of the most significant has been the attempt to demonstrate that Marx was committed to a gradualist rather than a revolutionary tactic of socialization. This is not an easy position to defend with so many inexpensive editions of the *Communist Manifesto* readily available. Lichtheim's procedure has been to make a sharp distinction between Marx's thoughts before and after the revolution of 1848. The young Marx, he admits, did indeed advocate a violent proletarian revolution; in fact, he wrote the *Communist Manifesto* for a revolutionary organization, the German Communist League, which was preparing plans for just such an upheaval. But Lichtheim insists that Marx learned his lesson from the failure of the revolution of 1848. After settling in England, the "mature" Marx transformed revolutionary communism into democratic socialism; he then argued that the transition from capitalism to socialism would be the peaceful achievement of a proletariat organized into socialist labor unions and political parties, under the aegis of the First International.

This account of Marxian tactics certainly makes Marx more digestible for European and American liberals. But it does Marx no service, and it also does violence to the facts. Marx was a lifelong revolutionary. Lichtheim confesses as much when he repeatedly treats Marx's post-1848 revolutionary pronouncements and enthusiasms as "regressions" (for example, his endorsement of the Paris Commune of 1871). Admittedly, there was an important shift in Marx's tactical ideas following the failure of 1848. He abandoned any notion that the successful proletarian revolution could be a conspiratorial affair brought off by a small group of professionals. But in giving up the idea of a conspiracy, Marx did not abandon his commitment to revolution, even violent revolution. He merely argued that the revolution had to be the work of the entire proletariat: it had to be a public revolution, prepared for by the heightening of proletarian class consciousness in socialist labor unions and parties.

JUST AS HE PREFERS his Marx unrevolutionary, Lichtheim prefers his utopian socialists unsexy. To my mind, what makes men like Charles Fourier and the Saint-Simonians particularly intriguing is their refusal to distinguish between a critique of capitalist economics on the one hand and a critique of bourgeois sexual ethics on the other. Fourier's utopian community, the phalanstery, involved not merely a reorganization of the economy along collectivist lines, but the abolition of the patriarchal family, the emancipation of women from intellectual and physical subordination to men, and a massive escalation of sexual pleasure, in both quantitative and qualita-