political elite" for its conservatism; ever since, the mainstream of black politicians has reflected this perspective. Black elected officials have mostly been drawn from the "petty bourgeoisie" and they have used their offices to improve their own "social class position." Whether nationalist or integrationist, they have generally accepted the basic dominance of capital over labor (pp. 155–56).

Of the three Washington marches, Marable approves of the first and the third but not the second. The threatened 1941 march established new methods of protest; the 1983 "jobs, peace, and freedom" rally was the first to incorporate leftists and feminists into its activities. The famous 1963 march, however, was too tame, and its organizers too willing to placate the white powers that be; the result was that younger blacks were frustrated and the chasm between the moderates and militants grew deeper, helping to split the Movement irrevocably. Marable is pleased by the reemergence of activism evidenced in the Washington and Jackson campaigns, but he also questions the limitations of the power of black mayors and is disturbed by Jackson's ideological inconsistency, "organizational sloppiness and self-promotion" (p. 266).

This is committed history from a leftist perspective. Its tone and conclusions remind one of a black version of Richard Hofstadter's *The American Political Tradition* (1948). Unfortunately, it is not nearly so well organized as Hofstadter's classic study. Marable's inclusion of social movements as aspects of politics makes the subject matter too broad. As a result, three of the chapters meander over the historical landscape, providing interesting insights but no clear sense of direction. And despite the wide range of the author, there is no mention at all of the rise of ghetto-based northern black politics during the 1900–1930 period; instead, Marable skips from Booker T. Washington to the New Deal. The chapters on Washington and Jackson are incisive critiques that raise many important questions. It is unfortunate that the rest of this book did not take this kind of case study approach.

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***Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations.*** By Howard Schuman, Charlotte Steeh, and Lawrence Bobo. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985. xi + 260 pp. Tables, figures, appendices, notes, references, and index. $22.50.

This comprehensive study examines the development of American racial attitudes since the 1940s by analyzing the survey research trend data that can be drawn from the thirty-two questions that one or another polling organization asked of a national sample of Americans at more than one point in time.

The authors' guiding question was "whether and to what extent the American people, in their beliefs and attitudes, have moved toward bridging the 'pervasive gap' between our democratic ideals and our racial practices" (p. 2).

In large part, Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo's findings are upbeat and encouraging. "The predominant finding of survey research on racial attitudes has been that things have changed greatly for the better" (p. 4). Forty years ago, the initial data was starkly discouraging. "More than half of the white population surveyed in 1942 assumed that blacks were less intelligent than whites. At the same time, 54 percent opposed the integration of public transportation, and 64 percent supported racially segregated schools" (p. 9). Since then, white attitudes have changed significantly. "The major change in the past four decades has involved rejection of absolute racial segregation and acceptance of the principle of movement by blacks into previously all-white spheres of life" (p. 116).

Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo are careful to stress, however, that the overall picture is not simply one of growing and all-but-complete acceptance of racial equality. The most complex part of the picture, as scholars familiar with survey research literature on civil liberties and civil rights attitudes will correctly anticipate, concerns the long-recognized divergence between popular endorsement of certain principles and the significantly lower levels of endorsement accorded any efforts to implement or apply those very same principles to specific, concrete situations. "The implementation questions," the authors report, "present a picture of relatively low levels of support for translating principles into practice, and only partial signs of that support increasing over time" (p. 104).

The authors devote extensive consideration to these divergences, and generally offer a distinctly less harsh and more sympathetic reaction to these differences than have many prior scholars. Rather than accepting the lower levels of support for implementation questions as clear evidence that many white Americans are hypocritical bigots, Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo argue convincingly that answers to implementation questions—from black as well as white respondents—reflect a distaste for endorsing government enforcement actions that is detectably distinct from issues of race *per se*. The authors also offer a persuasive and sophisticated discussion of how percentage-sensitive white acceptance of racial integration actually is; a black presence that begins to approach majority status in any situation draws much, much more white opposition and discomfort than does merely a token level of integration.

Without exception, the authors' analyses and conclusions are carefully-honed, thoughtfully considered, and voiced with such deliberation that some readers may perceive a pattern of purposeful understatement. That very evident care and scrupulousness, however, plays a substantial role in making this book an impressive and comprehensive scholarly study. For anyone seeking to examine the evolution of American racial attitudes since the 1940s, this painstakingly precise book is the place to begin. Only at the very end, after articulating many qualifiers and limitations, do the authors allow themselves to voice a straightforwardly brief evaluation of white America's attitudinal evolution with regard to race over these past four decades: "what has happened is a mixture of progress and resistance, certainty and ambivalence, striking movement and mere surface change" (p. 212).

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***The Chinese Experience in America.*** By Shih-shan Henry Tsai. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986. xvi + 223 pp. Maps, illustrations, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography and index. $29.95.

***The Chinese American Experience: Papers from the Second National Conference on Chinese American Studies*** (1980). Edited by Genny Lim. San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America and Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1984. iv + 322 pp. $24.95.

Because popular narrative histories about the Chinese-American experience that make use of Chinese language materials are still rare, it is especially welcome that Shih-shan Henry Tsai has written *The Chinese Experience in America.* Drawing upon Chinese publications from Taiwan, mainland China, and the United States, Tsai, as a historian of modern China, is able to go into greater detail about Sino-American relations and their consequences for the Chinese in America than such writers as Stan Steiner and Betty Lee Sung. In six chapters he traces this relationship from the nineteenth-century immigration experience until the present day. At the same time, he also seeks to explore "an American national character that is filled with paradoxes" as it "gradually overcomes bigotry and racial prejudice, and grows into maturity" (p. xv).

This two-faceted approach by Tsai has much that is commendable, for it recognizes the importance of linkages between international relations and domestic ideology and politics. From Qing dynastic prohibitions against emigration, through the visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek during World War Two, down to the establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Beijing, Tsai maintains a keen eye upon Sino-American relations and its implications for Chinese Americans. He is most impressive in charting the efforts of Qing governmental officials and Chinese immigrants as they opposed American