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## Book Reviews

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## BOOK REVIEWS

THE CRIMINOLOGIST: CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL. Edited by Charles E. Reasons. Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1974, Pp. 413. Paper \$7.95.

Let us forgive Charles Reasons the title of his book (and forgive his publisher for presenting him as author and not editor), for he has produced a good volume for which there is a real need. But since he has so inappropriately mistitled it (in fact, I cannot figure out what the title is supposed to mean, much less its applicability to what follows), the first necessity is to enlighten the reader on the contents. This is a collection of articles giving a radical perspective on crime, police, and corrections, or perhaps a liberal-to-radical perspective, depending upon the individual article that is examined. It might have been entitled *Radical Criminology*, and then both the work and the perspective that it reflects could have been held under scrutiny; and perhaps, following Sykes, criminologists should be speaking of "critical criminology," not radical. An examination of this work, its accomplishments and its shortcomings, reveals just how fitting is the linguistic change suggested by Sykes.

Here are eighteen articles and six introductions to the various parts, in which will be found voices of analysis and protest, scholars who call attention to the evils that inhere in a criminogenic society, in its system of policing, and its network of prisons (but there is an inexplicable lacuna: almost nothing on the criminal justice system, which somehow escapes the lashes inflicted upon all other agencies and institutions associated with the problem of crime). And evils do inhere. The spokesmen do not overstate their case: their discussions of racism, corporate crime, radical trials, agents provocateurs, the activities of police during collective urban disorders, among many other aspects of a broad subject, are illuminating. It is a message worth stating again, although I wish there were more here that had not been stated before.

Nevertheless, if there is one article in the book that does not fall into the sphere of radical criminology, it is Walter Miller's "Ideology and Criminal Justice: Some Current Issues." From a viewpoint of scholarship, of adding to knowledge and understanding, rather than arousing the indignation of the reader, it may be the highlight of the book. Certainly it is worth the cost of admission. What Miller has done here is to construct a one-dimensional scale, running from five on the right to zero in the middle and then up to five on the left. Then he shows that partisans who can be placed in each of the ten positions have an ideological view on such matters as the sources of crime, modes of dealing with offenders, and policies with respect to criminal justice agencies. If the Miller scale were to be applied to the authors of all of the other articles in the book, it would be found that they fall on the left, and in each position from one and five.

One of the problems with critical or radical criminology has been its substitution of rhetoric for analysis, description and criticism, a fault which it shares with conservative voices. Many of the articles in the collection suffer in this manner; they are infused with anger, and sometimes the arguments, built up with scholarly citations, leave the reader (or at least this one) with the feeling that the author cannot be for real. It is difficult to believe that Mark Kennedy is not writing with tongue in cheek when, in "Beyond Incrimination," he argues that there is no difference between the acts of lawbreakers and of their punishers; in other words, that punishment is a crime (not in the sense that Menninger meant it, referring to its lack of humaneness, its inability to rehabilitate), a repressive act with no more moral justification than the repressive acts that persons adjudicated criminal have performed against their victims. The only difference is that the police, judges and turnkeys are beyond incrimination, that they perform their repression with impunity. That the author builds up this thesis with a great deal of anthropological and legal

references is a tribute to his skill (he should be a lawyer), but the net effect of his argument is unconvincing, although the reader is left with some new doubts about the universality and the necessity of punishment for social control.

To summarize, one by one, the other sixteen articles in the collection, and to subject each to evaluation, is beyond the scope of this review. Most of the articles are worth careful reading; there is hardly one that would not be the subject of an exciting day for classroom debate. Gary Marx makes an excellent summary, in which he deliberately seeks to challenge his own bias about the activities of police in collective violence. His case for police prejudice, police incitement to riot, and other misbehavior, is the most impregnable that I have read on the subject. Andrew Karmen narrates the activities of agents provocateurs in the leftist movement; it is a careful piece of scholarship (I may be prejudiced, for he did this work under my supervision when he was a graduate student), but he fails to come to grips with the need for the control agents of the society to know of planned violence and other criminal acts, nor how such knowledge can be obtained without disrupting, provoking, and repressing collective, peaceful, and democratic protest. For Karmen, I suspect that the problem does not exist; any infiltration is wrong, no matter what violence or illegal activity is planned (unless by the right, of course). David Sternberg makes a trenchant analysis of the political trials of the 1960's, with their challenge to the sacred character of courtroom and judge, their spectator involvement, and their attack on the legitimacy of the system, in which the accused become the accusers. If Sternberg seems to be dealing with the buried life of American society, something that came and disappeared, Marx, Karmen, and many others are addressing themselves to issues that have not gone away.

Charles Reasons does not speak for radical criminology, although he is one of many young and quite a few older people in this field (myself included in the latter category) who have become recognized in some semi-official manner as criminologists and who describe their politics as radical. It is in a sense a healthy sign that there is no monolithic movement, no

bureaucratic center that dictates the acceptable and the unacceptable. The radicals argue among themselves, and if at this moment in history they are not denouncing one another as was the case in the 1930's, they are not reluctant to articulate their differences. All of which is as it should be. All the more distressing, then, was to find Reasons writing that the authors "correctly recognize" one thing, and "correctly" take note of another. Surely, no one has appointed Reasons (neither Schur, Geis, Quinney, Platt, nor myself) to give an imprimatur of correctness, from the sanctified halls of a Kremlin or an American radical center, to the views of anyone. It is only a small linguistic change from stating that authors are correct and incorrect, to stating that one agrees or disagrees with them, but for a person who has lived through and survived the Old Left, it is frightening to see the reappearance of language that would better be forgotten.

What informs all of these articles is a sense of outrage, a cry against injustice, a warning that the social institutions of America, the power elites, the controllers, are at fault. It is a cry against fraud, corporate crime, racism, and inhumane prisons. As such, this work is welcome, and its message cannot be taught too often.

What more can one ask? A great deal. First, there are gaps that cannot be explained by oversight or by the presence of more pertinent materials (as in the lack of articles on the courts); they are gaps that can only be explained by the failure of radical criminologists to address subjects embarrassing to them, or on which they have little to say. I refer to the matter of political crime, on the one hand, and of the breakdown of urban safety, on the other. This reader is not satisfied with statements that the emphasis on crime in the streets is a deflection from the true criminals of our society. Nor that institutionalized racism creates an embittered group that turns its rage upon the society, and that the enemy is racism, not its victims. All true. But it is still necessary to know how the quality of life can be raised, and how the everyday life of each of us can be safeguarded while we work for the day when capitalism and racism will have given way to a better world.

All of which leads to the greatest dilemma

of radical criminology, and perhaps the way out of the problem is to call it critical criminology, and be done with it, for there are no answers in the book. Not one author suggests how the present problems can be alleviated, how crime can be reduced (possibly excepting Geis and Schur, both of whom urge a frontal attack on corporate criminals). I wonder if in reading a collection of articles by radical economists, one would be satisfied to learn nothing more than how widespread is unemployment and how deplorable is poverty. This is not to suggest that criticisms are unneeded. Even if the critics have nothing more to offer than always to expose everything that is wrong, they are doing a good job. "My intention, quite clearly," writes David M. Gordon in one of the many excellent pieces in this book, "is to argue that we cannot realistically expect to 'solve' the problem of crime in the United States without first effecting a fundamental redistribution of power in our society." And my intention, Dr. Gordon, is to argue that much as I find a need for the fundamental redistribution of power that you advocate, as a citizen I cannot wait, as a criminologist I would be shirking my responsibility if I urged others to wait, and as a radical I cannot realistically be certain that even a redistribution of power and wealth will "solve" the problem of crime in the United States.

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MODERN CORRECTIONS: THE OFFENDERS, THERAPIES AND COMMUNITY REINTEGRATION. By *Harjit S. Sandhu*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1974, Pp. xv, 342. Cloth \$10.95, paper \$8.95.

In his unusual experience, the author personifies two kinds of interaction vital to modern corrections. As a university teacher in the United States and a prison executive in his native India, he has advanced linkages between the campus and correctional institutions and across international boundaries.

The book begins with a condensed survey of theories of crime causation. Although excessively terse, the topical outline is particularly useful. Chapters two and three present a rather adventitious sample of offender typologies. The

remaining ten chapters concentrate largely on correctional practice.

Two chapters outline the patterns of the prison community, such as the inmate social system, riots, prisonization and staff-inmate relationships. Two chapters are devoted to a variety of individual and group treatment strategies. One chapter takes up illustrations of therapeutic communities. Two chapters are concerned with probation, parole, residential centers, volunteers and prevention as aspects of community-based corrections.

As an undergraduate text or in-service training resource, the book's greatest potential is an introduction to corrections. The attention to community-based corrections is particularly timely. Dr. Sandhu provides the benefit of his studies of prison impact, guard perceptions, and therapeutic community in Punjab. The chapters on causation theory and offender typologies provide insufficient relevant and supportive information. Their space could be more profitably devoted to corrections—the field where the author's experience is particularly germane.

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PRISONERS OF LIBERATION. By *Allyn and Adele Rickett*. New York: Doubleday, 1973. Pp. vii, 344, \$2.50.

PRISONER OF MAO. By *Bao Ruo-wang (Jean Pasqualini) and Rudolph Chelminski*. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1973. Pp. 318. \$8.95.

*Prisoner of Liberation* by Allyn and Adele Rickett and *Prisoner of Mao* by Bao Ruo-wang and Rudolph Chelminski are accounts of life in Communist Chinese prisons. Both books are interesting and informing reading with comparable theses: properly administered "thought reform" is an extremely effective method for altering behavior.

Allyn (Rick) and Adele (Dell) Rickett went to China in 1948 under a Fulbright scholarship. Before they left the United States Rick was contacted by Naval Intelligence to collect data on the Chinese Civil War. He accepted the assignment primarily because he was patriotic and had served as a Marine Corps Intelligence Officer during World War

II. Three years later, after the takeover by the Communist Chinese, the Ricketts were arrested in Peking as spies and would be in jail from 1951 to 1955—*Prisoners of Liberation* describes their prison experiences and the effect of thought reform (“brainwashing”) on their personalities.

The Ricketts were subjected to interrogation over many months (years) in which both confessed to engaging in espionage activities in China. The interrogations were of two varieties: official ones by a State agent and interrogation through criticism and study sessions with fellow inmates. Prisoners were in cells with three to five people and a cell leader. Daily study, criticism and struggle meetings were held. Every prisoner had to confess his crime to his fellow “students” and then attempt to change his character so he could be accepted back into the new society. Prisoners were responsible for “helping” each other reform. The cell meetings consumed almost the entire day (ten to twelve hours) and the cell leader reported on the process of reform as well as being carefully monitored by officials. The only hope for release was a true change in the prisoners’ attitude. It was impossible to fake reform because one was subjected to months, or years, of intense discussion and reexamination.

Torture was *never* used to obtain confessions simply because the Communist Chinese believe it is an ineffective instrument. The Chinese believe a person acts according to his background. A man is not bad but rather that background. It is possible to alter a person’s beliefs and future behavior through extended discussions in a controlled group where the individual must change in order to obtain group acceptance and eventual release.

After almost three years both Rick and Dell admitted to major changes in their attitudes and were almost enthusiastic about Communist China. The book, written two years after their return to United States, praised the Communist Chinese and the authors’ obvious change of attitude could not be attributed to force but rather to conviction.

Bao Ruo-wang, a prisoner in Communist China shortly after the Ricketts’ release, had similar experiences but his account (*Prisoner of Mao*) varied with theirs on several points. Bao, a man with dual nationality (half-French

and half-Chinese), was arrested in December 1957 for counter-revolutionary activities and was sentenced to twelve years of “Reform Through Labor.” He was released after serving seven years of his sentence and deported to France. *Prisoner of Mao* recounts his experiences in the prisons and labor camps as told to Rudolph Chelminski.

While Rick and Dell Rickett declared they were never mistreated and always had sufficient food, Bao’s experience was the opposite. According to Bao, food was the “single greatest joy, chagrin and motivating force” for all the prisoners. Food was scarce particularly during the famines of 1960 and 1961 when the prisoners were on starvation rations which consisted of bread “fortified” with non-nutritional substitutes such as paper pulp. Even in good years, rations were meager and near starvation levels by Western standards.

Bao’s account did collaborate the Ricketts in the area of ideological thought reform. Every prisoner had to “voluntarily” confess his crime and truly attempt to change his attitudes. During the first fifteen months of his imprisonment, Bao was held in an interrogation center where he was forced to discuss every aspect of his life with state agents and fellow prisoners. He slowly accepted the idea that his life had been “rotten and sinful” and that he deserved punishment. Eventually every prisoner writes his own confession before his trial and the government then only has to decide what is a proper sentence for his crimes.

Most prisoners were transferred to labor camps after confessing and being sentenced. “Ideological” reform continued in the labor camp where the prisoners, after working ten to sixteen hours a day, were required to engage in study sessions. “Prison is not prison,” the Communist Chinese declare, “but a school for learning one’s mistakes.” “The almost never-ending studies,” Bao believes, “constitute the great Chinese invention in penal theory . . . . A Chinese prisoner is practically never left alone to think his independent thoughts. Studies of one type or another occur every single day of his jail life.” As in the case of the Ricketts, no prisoner is allowed to abstain at the study sessions. Everyone has to contribute and if he is deviating his “schoolmates” help him correct his attitudes. A prisoner who re-

fuses to alter his behavior and attitudes can be punished by solitary confinement, by a special conference with the warden, by possible extensive "correctional" sessions with his fellow prisoners, or even by an intense "Denunciation Session" where he is verbally abused by his "schoolmates." Bao, as the Ricketts, became convinced through these "studies" that his actions had been wrong and as a counterrevolutionist he truly deserved to be in prison.

*Prisoner of Mao* was written several years after Bao was deported to France, yet he, as the Ricketts, did not declare the Communist Chinese evil. Admittedly, his tale is often shocking, particularly his descriptions of living on starvation rations, the ideological reform sessions, and his occasional incidents of mistreatment; yet, Bao was still impressed with the Communist Chinese who he declared had their "own special sort of integrity." Although perhaps misguided "fanatics," Bao believed most Party members were humane and extremely "scrupulous, straight and honest" people.

*Prisoner of Mao* and *Prisoners of Liberation* support the thesis that thought reform through "group therapy" can be an extremely effective instrument of rehabilitation. Bao and the Ricketts assert that their experiences illustrate that *any* individual will "reform" his social, economic, political and personal beliefs under properly controlled conditions.

KENNETH RAY YOUNG

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#### IMAGES OF CRIMES: OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS.

Edited by *Terence P. Thornberry* and *Edward Sagarin*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974. Pp. v, 148. \$12.50.

Thornberry and Sagarin have co-edited an interesting reader. The book should prove to be an excellent supplement to a beginning course in criminology. Although the authors have projected names not too well known in the profession, the articles are, nevertheless, well-written and scholarly. More importantly, the articles can be understood by the average person. All too frequently, criminology readers are much too esoteric for the general public to comprehend. Also of considerable importance is the fact that this reader can contribute edu-

cationally to the upgrading of the law enforcement profession. The book, though highly theoretical, provides stimulating reading. As is the case very often, readers are very difficult to integrate with textbooks in criminology because the topics are frequently not relevant. The book *Images of Crime: Offenders and Victims* is aptly titled because it is an exception. This is a somewhat unique little book because it projects crime as a major topic with some added dimensions. More specifically, the image of crime is shown in direct relation to offenders and, even more importantly, to victims. This orientation is a novel one because it projects a configurational typology. Although at times the implication is conveyed to the reader that there are too many legalisms, this in no way detracts from the value of the book.

The authors should be accorded special commendations because they have considered it worthy to pull together some of the important papers read in 1972 at the Second Interamerican Congress of Criminology held in Caracas, Venezuela. As clearly stated in the Preface, this was a conference sponsored by the American Society of Criminology in cooperation with international and Latin American organizations for the purpose of sharing ideas on crime, delinquency, deviant behavior and corrections with scholars all over the world. It is, however, somewhat unfortunate that the authors chose, for one reason or another, not to include the works of at least a few foreign scholars. The inclusion of foreign scholars would have provided a more thorough cross-fertilization of ideas concerning crime in general.

The subject matter of the reader is diversified and provocative, although it would have been preferable, at least in some instances, to include more lengthy papers (or articles). This criticism, however, becomes highly unimportant when the reader is exposed to a cross-section of topics. The first chapter serves a very useful purpose in setting the tone of what is to come. Very few readers provide this in the way of an introduction. The diversity of subject matter under discussion include these topics: The Fence, Contingencies and Risk in Criminalization, On Cyclical Behavior, Socialization for Khaki-Collar Crime, Some Factors and Observations on the Upsurge in Gambling

on Spectator Team Sports, Labeling and Deviant Identity, Advertisements of Self, Making the Crime Victim Whole, Interracial Rape in a North American City, Victimization and Criminal Behavior in a Birth Cohort, The Effect of Perceived Circumstances on Judgments of Offense Seriousness, Status, Images, and Consequences, and Who Do They Trust?: Teenagers' Evaluations of Drug Information Sources. The articles on rape and spectator team sports are very timely. Congress is already looking into the idea of possible legalization of gambling in spectator team sports. The American Bar Association is taking a long and hard look at the legalistic implications of rape. Also of considerable interest is the article on khaki-collar crime involving "military training as criminalization process." The papers on "Victimization and Criminal Behavior in a Birth Cohort" (Thornberry and Figlio) and "The Effect of Perceived Circumstances on Judgments of Offense Seriousness" (Riedel) are sound methodological studies. Of particular significance also are two interesting articles on burglary and robbery.

This is only one of a series of comparable books published by Praeger Special Studies. There is no question but that Thornberry and Sagarin have co-edited a very readable and timely text. Undoubtedly, *Images of Crime: Offenders and Victims*, although a small book, will make a considerable impact on the field of criminology.

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THE CRIMES OF POLITICS: POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE. By *Francis A. Allen*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1974. Pp. vii, 105. \$6.95.

This book is actually a collection and elaboration of three lectures the author was invited to deliver in March, 1973, at the Harvard Law School as the Annual Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures. In the first essay, "Of Scholars, Crime, and Politics," asserting that the twentieth century is "preeminently" an age of politics, Allen writes: "today people are highly receptive to political analyses and explanations . . . explanations that other times might . . .

have been expressed in the language . . . of science, theology, or philosophy." (p. 2) The agencies of criminal justice are under attack not only by political dissidents, but by the academic community as well. Although Allen does not deny all validity to the politically committed, he argues rather eloquently that the rejection of traditional perceptions of criminal law and the administration of justice, especially when accompanied by "aggressive rhetoric" and political polemics, can contribute little of positive value for the maintenance and effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

The middle essay, "Misadventures of a Concept," is the most important section of this thoughtful book. Allen attempts a definition of political crime and in the process draws some important distinctions between political crime and ordinary crime, political crime and "crimes against humanity," and the political criminal and the political prisoner. His impressive knowledge of contemporary American and international law lead him to conclude that "the concept of 'political crime' has played no significant part in American legal history. . . ." (p. 25) He then suggests, by devising broad yet distinct categories of conduct, how the political offense concept could serve as an effective measure in the prosecution of politically motivated crimes.

The final essay, "Reflections on the Trials of Our Time," is what gives this collection of essays its overall coherence. Allen interrelates previously identified appeals to "the integrity of the scientific enterprise," "moderation, in the behavior and vocabulary of protesting groups," and the need to develop a political offense concept that can serve *useful* purposes. What emerges is a tightly woven doctrine of liberal utilitarianism. In the scholarly tradition, Allen appeals to the best in us when he argues for a wise, dispassionate yet courageous approach to the political turmoil of the last decade.

The main import of the book can be found in the closing paragraph of the first essay. Allen counsels us as scholars in an age of politics to be like the fiddler on the roof: to somehow balance traditional concepts of law and justice with the ideological transformations that he believes are taking place among scholars who study crime. He cautions us against

"fall[ing] off the roof without knowing it." (p. 23)

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CONTROLLING DRUGS: INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK FOR PSYCHOACTIVE DRUG CLASSIFICATION. By *Richard H. Blum, Daniel Bovet, James Moore and Associates*. San Francisco and London: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974. Pp. xx, 378. \$25.00.

Existing drug classificatory schemes reflect cultural, professional, and political bias and a multitude of personal and practical considerations quite as much as scientific judgements. Nevertheless, such classifications, particularly those based upon pharmacological evaluations, form the major basis for evaluating psychoactive drugs for the purposes of social control. The papers in this volume address a number of issues bearing on the problems created by this situation, and are intended to provide "information useful to lawmakers, officials, professional people and citizens whose duties or interests have to do with the control of psychoactive drugs." (p. xi)

Contributors from a number of European countries as well as the United States and Canada and from a number of academic disciplines are separately responsible for papers on topics such as the problems of drug screening,

the respective roles of epidemiological, laboratory and field research in evaluating drug-abuse potential, the application of cost-benefit analysis in this area, and the relationships between the classificatory process and legal control.

The quality of these papers varies considerably, and the volume as a whole is unnecessarily tedious to read because of the substantial amount of repetitive and redundant information included. Yet the data presented do provide much support for Birdwood's contention that this whole area forms "a dream-world peopled by pharmacological bureaucrats: an in-game for experts." (cited p. 49) Perhaps the volume's major contribution is to point up some of the hazards present at the interface between science and social policy. In the area of drug control, there is substantial "pressure to make very limited scientific classification systems applicable to very broad social and moral issues." (p. 26) As a consequence, "a classification system representing the best efforts of competent pharmacologists leads, because of the law and administrative practice, to a linked control system that has no scientific basis," (p. 52) but which *appears* to have such a basis. Thus the moral and political considerations which actually dictate policy are obfuscated and protected from scrutiny.

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