Mightier Than the Sword: **Uncle Tom's Cabin** ***and the Battle for America***

By David S. Reynolds

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Reviewed by Henry S. Cohn

David S. Reynolds' *Mightier Than the Sword*, published on the bicentennial of Harriet Beecher Stowe's birth, is a "biography" of Stowe's 1852 novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was the most popular work of fiction in the 19th century. Reynolds discusses not only the role that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* played in causing the Civil War but also its influence on art and literature to the present day as well as on U.S. and world politics.

Reynolds describes the steps that Stowe took to initiate the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and informs us of the book's triumphant reception. The first American edition of the novel earned Stowe $30,000 at a time when skilled artisans, mechanics, and craftsmen earned only $400 to $800 a year. Three decades later, in the 1880s, Stowe's royalties averaged $2,400 a year.

Reynolds also tries to track down the actual persons who served as models for characters in the novel, such as Uncle Tom, Eliza, and Simon Legree. Reynolds' investigation shows that Uncle Tom was based in part on Josiah Henson, a slave preacher who was brutally assaulted by his master and later made his way to the North in the 1830s. Henson wrote a narrative of his experiences, to which Stowe wrote an introduction. Henson's suffering in silence became an element of Stowe's novel as Uncle Tom endures Legree's blows. Reynolds points out that Tom's nonresistance has always led to criticism of the book, but that Stowe believed that Tom's passivity was justified by Christian principles. Another possible source that Reynolds presents for Uncle Tom was Thomas Magruder, a devout black man from Indianapolis whom Stowe may have interviewed when she visited her brother, Henry, who lived in Indianapolis in the 1840s. Reynolds notes that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* also appears to owe much to an 1846 volume that contained two autobiographies by escaped slaves from Kentucky, Milton Clarke and his brother, Louis Garrand Clarke.

Simon Legree was based on several cruel overseers whom Stowe had read about in the Northern newspapers. The famous story of Eliza running across the ice-filled Ohio River was told to Stowe by an abolitionist minister, John Rankin. Stowe was careful not to hint at her source in the novel or in her later book, *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, because Rankin was still actively involved in conducting slaves from the United States to Canada. Another conductor of fugitive slaves, John Van Zandt, was the basis for the character John Van Trompe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Van Zandt was defended by Salmon Chase (whom Abraham Lincoln later appointed chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court) for violating the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. In *Jones v. Van Zandt*, 46 U.S. 215 (1847), Chase was unsuccessful in urging the Court to obey a higher law, declaring, "No legislature can make right, wrong or wrong, right," or "disregard the fundamental principles of rectitude and justice."

Reynolds emphasizes that Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for the same reason that she wrote her other novels and biographies: to preach on paper and be like her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, who delivered sermons each Sunday from his Plymouth Church pulpit in Brooklyn, N.Y. In 1851, another minister brother of Stowe's, Charles Beecher, delivered one of the strongest pronouncements against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, equating breaking that law with godliness.

Reynolds notes that there are "tensions in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* between the subversive and the conventional. ... Stowe wanted to reach mainstream readers in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* while making forceful points about both slavery and women. She did so by packaging daring ideas and images in conventional wrapping." Thus, Stowe portrayed some Southerners in a favorable light and made Uncle Tom a Jesus figure, who, Reynolds writes, "forgives his enemies and announces a gospel of love" before he dies. On women's issues, Stowe occupied a middle ground between that of her sister, Catharine, who signed a petition against awarding women the vote, and her half-sister, Isabella, whom Reynolds calls "a notorious agitator" for women's rights. Therefore, Reynolds writes that "[t]he proslavery reviewers who called the novel lewd or licentious failed to recognize that ... in promoting reform, ... it never crossed the line into the kind of commercialized sensation-mongering that characterized some reform writing. To the contrary, its message of uplift and reform redirected it toward middle-class mores and heartfelt religion."

Religion is among the variety of 19th-century issues besides slavery that Reynolds shows lie beneath the surface of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In the novel, Stowe tried to convey the nature of her Christian beliefs, putting herself "squarely in the tradition of American Puritanism, which she associated with radical independence and rebellion against authority." She adopted many of her religious ideas from her father, Lyman Beecher, a popular New England minister, who played down the role of sin and emphasized good deeds as the factors that pave the road to salvation. But she was never far from orthodox Catholic belief, with her visions of Christ suffering on the cross at Calvary. She was led to these visions by the deaths of her brother and two of her sons. Near the end of her life, Stowe became an Episcopalian—"the nearest to a Catholic," Reynolds writes, "that a Protestant could be."

Uncle Tom's Cabin is also a temperance tract. Stowe's father had no use for the hard-drinking members of his parish community, and Stowe brought his views into her novel. Augustine St. Clare and Simon Legree are both

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at their worst when they are under alcohol's ravages. Slave catchers in the novel are "hot with brandy, swearing and foaming like so many wolves."

Uncle Tom's Cabin also reflected the importance to Stowe of marriage and the contented home. She wrote a book on the domestic household and helped popularize the home as the center of virtue. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* looks favorably on characters that value the healthy home, and the association of motherhood with religion permeates the novel. Stowe shows that slavery ripped apart family life and sometimes caused black women to become their masters' sex slaves. Stowe was also appalled by what she called "trash literature," which based its sales on stories of bawdy men and scandalous women. She intended *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to undercut such literature.

Much to Stowe's surprise, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was overwhelmingly well received by American readers. Immediately after the book was published, merchants began to issue "Tomitudes," which were merchandise items that represented characters or scenes from the novel. Plays by George H. Aiken and H.J. Conway based on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became standard fare for traveling troupes of actors in the period before the Civil War. Reynolds shows the excitement that the plays created both in large cities and in small towns and hamlets throughout the country. The Aiken version remained close to Stowe's plot and had huge sets and sensational scenes. The Conway version added characters from the minstrel show tradition and even used dogs on stage. Both plays delighted audiences with the character Topsy and her memorable line, "Never was born, ... Spect I grow'd." More people saw the plays than read the novel, and thus the plays had an even bigger effect than the novel had on Northern attitudes toward slavery in the pre–Civil War period.

At the advent of the 20th century, the novel began to have a major influence in Western Europe, especially in Russia, where it appealed to Tolstoy's Christian socialist views, and Lenin remarked that it was his favorite book as a child. In the United States, by contrast, appreciation for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* decreased after 1900. The public was caught up in the thrill of the novel, *The Clansman* (1903), and D.W. Griffith's movie spinoff, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), which made heroes of Ku Klux Klan members. Stowe, however, had the last word, so to speak, with the success in the 1970s of the book and television miniseries *Roots*, which Reynolds calls "a massive mea culpa for the American entertainment industry."

Reynolds' achievement in *Mightier Than the Sword* is his success in conveying in full measure the mythic status of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* throughout its history—from its background, to its immense impact on 19th-century America, and to its continuing influence even today. **TFL**

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Citizenship, Borders, and Human Needs

Edited by Rogers M. Smith

University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA, 2011. 492 pages, $65.00.

Reviewed by R. Mark Frey

The migration of peoples to the United States and other countries is a topic of great interest and concern to many around the world. Numerous questions abound. Why are "they" here? Why can't "they" be like us? Why are "they" all breaking the law? Why are "they" all on welfare? What are "they" actually contributing to the common good?

Immersed in the minutiae of daily casework, those of us who practice immigration law—whether for the government or otherwise—may lose sight of the broader context in which the migration of peoples takes place. Why are people immigrating to the United States and other wealthy countries? Why are people leaving their countries of origin, giving up virtually everything to embark on a new life journey in a strange land? What does that strange land have to offer that's an improvement over their country of origin? Our answers to these questions will inform our overall approach to immigration. Should we focus more on enforcement and border security to protect the homeland or, given the growing irrelevance of national borders and the fact that so many "illegals" get in anyway, should we just open the borders?

Immigrants come from different cultures, ethnic backgrounds, economic classes, languages, and religions. That means diversity, and with diversity comes conflict—conflict that results from each group's ignorance of the other. (See, for example, the Islamic headscarf (hijab) controversy in France.) Is diversity good for a society? (Think of such heterogeneous nations as the United States, China, or Russia.) Or is a society better off with a homogeneous population? (Think of such nations as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Japan, or South Korea.) Diversity and conflict often give rise to the cry that the immigration system is broken and needs to be fixed.

But how do we fix it? Should we pressure immigrants to assimilate, or should we support their maintenance of a unique and separate identity? Will the latter option lead to segregation of immigrant groups and their lack of identification with their new home country? If immigrants do not identify with their new country, then won't they feel little investment in the system and be less likely to contribute to it? What are the social costs of such marginalization? Can assimilation and maintaining a separate identity be balanced? What degree of identification and investment in the new nation is appropriate?

Given the interconnectedness and interdependence of our global community, shouldn't we permit some level of immigrant flow? If so, should we be more selective concerning whom we let in? What about family immigration? What degree of familial relationship should allow one to immigrate? Only the spouse and children? What about parents or siblings? And, what about

the immigration of workers? Should we allow skilled workers only? Won't unskilled workers take away jobs? But aren't those jobs left unfilled because people already here will not take them? What about a guest worker program? If we allow a guest worker program, what should the rules of the game be? What rights should guest workers have while here? Should we provide pathways to eventual citizenship or only entry for a fixed period of time to work, after which the immigrants must return home with their wages? If the latter, then will we create an underclass of workers on which the country grows increasingly dependent? (See, for example, the Gulf states of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman.) But, if we don't limit the stay of guest workers, then won't our country and others be swarmed by throngs of immigrants contributing to a burgeoning population exceeding carrying capacity, which, in turn, will lead to environmental degradation and destruction of valuable natural resources?

And what about various forms of immigration based on humanitarian relief? Are we letting in too many people who ask for political asylum and refugee status? Aren't these people just economic migrants? (Look at Poland's experience with those immigrants from Ukraine and Belarus.) What about empathy overload? Must the United States be the solution to all the world's problems? How do we control for those who lie about their situation in their home countries? Isn't fraud rampant? (See, for example, the revelations about asylum fraud in the United States as published in the *New York Times* in July 2011.) Finally, how do we recognize asylum applicants who have legitimate grounds to claim that they will be killed upon returning to their home countries if we deny them relief?

What is to be done? This is the starting point for Rogers Smith's *Citizenship, Borders, and Human Needs*. Sixteen scholars specializing in a variety of disciplines—including law, political science, sociology, anthropology, international relations, and economics—were asked to consider one of four questions:

1. "[W]hose and what economic needs are helped and harmed by current patterns of immigration flows and immigration regulations?"
2. "[W]hat should we make of the much-discussed cultural dimensions of current immigration issues, in regard to the cultures of members of sending countries, receiving countries, and the immigrants themselves, in all their diversity?"
3. "[W]hat are the political choices in terms of institutions and policies faced by both immigration-receiving and immigration-sending nations?"
4. "[W]hat, in the end, are the normative precepts that should guide policy making on immigration in the twenty-first century around the globe?"

The resulting essays seek to provide the reader with a sense of what is taking place as people move about the world in greater numbers and frequency as well as what to expect in the future. Although numbers and frequency may be higher than before, Smith observes that, "as a percentage of the world's population, there are not actually more immigrants today than there were at the start of any decade since 1960." Furthermore, he writes, "even though the countries of North America and Europe are host to some 110 million immigrants and receive several more each year, it is Asia—for economic, demographic, social, and other reasons—that is likely to be the largest receiver of immigrants in the decades to come."

The value of *Citizenship, Borders, and Human Needs* lies not so much in the answers that the essays provide as in the questions that a close reading raises. The book fosters a more mature and nuanced examination of immigration policy in this country and elsewhere. Instead of providing answers, the book prompts one to engage in a dialogue with oneself, raising questions that lead to more questions until the process yields a sense of the interconnectedness of the various issues that surround immigration.

It is a given that the United States is a nation of immigrants. But should we continue to welcome the flow of new people? If not, how do we decrease or stop the flow? If we continue to allow the flow, what types of immigrants do we want to receive in this country? This dialogue needs to take place, and I fear that, for far too long, it has been the proverbial can kicked down the road for future leaders of the country to tackle. All sides of the debate agree that comprehensive immigration reform, not a patchwork of legislative bits and pieces cobbled together, is called for and, indeed, necessary. But, how to carry out comprehensive immigration reform is the fly in the ointment. The solution will require us to arrive at a vision for the country and its immigrants as we travel down the path of the 21st century. This vision will have to address such issues as race and diversity as well as economic justice explicitly. Let us hope that we act on this responsibility. **TFL**

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Known and Unknown: A Memoir

By Donald Rumsfeld

Sentinel (Penguin Group), New York, NY, 2011. 815 pages, $36.00.

Reviewed by John C. Holmes

Now well into his 70s, Donald Rumsfeld took nearly four years to write this autobiography, his first book. Rumsfeld is unique in having been both the youngest and the oldest U.S. secretary of defense in history under Presidents Gerald Ford and George W. Bush, respectively. In the latter service, he was at first applauded for his candor and wry sense of humor, which contrasted with George W. Bush's stiffness. However, as the contentious aftermath of the invasion of Iraq dragged on and fighting continued in Afghanistan, Rumsfeld increasingly became the target of those opposed

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to these wars, and, upon his retirement, he was surpassed only by Vice President Cheney as the most disliked member of the Bush administration. Rumsfeld's memoir seems to be an obvious attempt to overcome this negative image, as nearly two-thirds of his book is dedicated to his recent tenure as secretary of defense.

Concerning the book's title, Rumsfeld explains that, when a journalist asked him about reports "suggesting the absence of a link between Saddam Hussein's regime and terrorists seeking weapons of mass destruction" at a Pentagon press briefing, the secretary replied that there are "known knowns," "known unknowns," and also "unknown unknowns," which are "gaps in our knowledge that we don't know exist. Genuine surprises tend to arise out of this category." As an example of such a surprise, he cites the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and how they radically changed history.

Growing Up

Donald Rumsfeld was born in Chicago in June 1932, in the midst of the Great Depression. Of his native city, Rumsfeld writes: "There was some truth to the notion that the city was not for those with delicate sensibilities. The city gave America Al Capone, the St. Valentine's Day Massacre, the Black Sox Scandal of 1919, and its legendary machine politics—denizens of its cemeteries were known for voting early and often. Chicago's residents took a certain pride in their rough-and-tumble ways. It was a city where one's value was measured not so much by pedigree but by sweat."

Rumsfeld's mother, a teacher by training, though kindhearted, was also a formidable taskmaster, insisting that Donald learn proper grammar and his division tables. His father, George Rumsfeld, was "the most honest and ethical person" the author knew, as well as a hard worker whom he looked up to and whose advice he often sought. Donald had a typical boyhood, playing third base on the village hardball team, joining the Cub Scouts, hiking, fishing, and canoeing. He held many odd jobs, such as delivering newspapers, mowing lawns, delivering sandwiches to workers, and selling magazine subscriptions. His comfortable childhood was rudely interrupted when, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, his dad, at age 38, volunteered to join the Navy and became a commissioned officer after a 90-day training assignment. Donald's mother followed her husband as best she could, setting up house in Washington state, Oregon, and California with Donald and his sister Joan, even though their father was at sea most of that time. Upon being discharged, George Rumsfeld returned to Chicago and rejoined the real estate firm he'd left. The experience left Donald Rumsfeld with a lasting awareness of the sacrifices made by those who serve the country in the military as well as by their families.

College and Naval Aviation

Rumsfeld felt fortunate to get a full scholarship to Princeton University, whose student body was all-male and all-white when he was admitted in 1954. He studied diligently, played on the school's football team, was an outstanding wrestler, and helped pay his expenses by joining the Navy ROTC program. He also corresponded with his high school sweetheart, Marion Joyce Pierson. The morning after he arrived back in Illinois after graduation and having already been accepted into naval flight school, Rumsfeld abruptly excused himself from the breakfast table, found Joyce, and without fanfare proposed marriage.

Stationed in Pensacola, Fla., after flight school, Rumsfeld enjoyed flying, and he and his wife welcomed their first child. Although he might otherwise have stayed longer than the three and one-half years to which he had committed, the responsibilities of being a father with a wife who had contracted hepatitis convinced Rumsfeld to seek a civilian job. The best offer came from Rep. Dave Dennison of Ohio. When Dennison lost the next election, Rumsfeld went to work for Rep. Robert Griffin of Michigan. Two years later, Dennison, whom Rumsfeld held in high esteem, asked him to work for his campaign to regain his congressional seat. Rumsfeld did, but Dennison suffered a narrow defeat, and Rumsfeld had to go back to Chicago without a job and 0-2 in electioneering.

Congress

Thinking that he had permanently turned his back on politics, Rumsfeld found a job in banking. A year later, however, in 1962, the member of Congress representing Rumsfeld's district unexpectedly retired and the 30-year-old Rumsfeld entered the race to succeed him. Despite his youth and inexperience, Rumsfeld, with an enthusiastic, loyal, but novice campaign staff, won the primary election, beating six opponents with an amazing 67 percent of the vote, and then he won the general election. Upon his arrival in Congress, fate again smiled on Rumsfeld, as his former boss, Rep. Griffin, called to enlist him to support his Michigan friend, Rep. Gerald Ford, in an internal battle for Republican leadership of the House of Representatives. Ford would later assist Rumsfeld's career.

Rumsfeld campaigned and mostly voted for limited government and tax relief, in opposition to many of the Democratic administration's Great Society programs. However, he voted for President John F. Kennedy's Peace Corp legislation, and Rumsfeld was particularly proud of his leadership in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which President Lyndon Johnson promoted with strong Republican support. These positions earned Rep. Rumsfeld the label of "liberal" in some circles. He found Kennedy warm and charismatic and found Johnson's aggressive personality larger than life but viewed him as overzealous in expanding government and tragically skewered in his Vietnam War policy.

Rumsfeld again actively and successfully campaigned for Gerald Ford, this time for House minority leader. Rumsfeld became known as a leader of the "young Turks," who attempted to wrest control from congressional Republican leaders whom they believed had become stultified and overly reactive. Rumsfeld thoroughly enjoyed the policy battles and work-

ings of Congress. Although he recognized Richard Nixon's limitations, he was proud to campaign for Nixon in the 1968 presidential election, even neglecting his own campaign for Congress.

Executive Branch

Surprised when President Nixon asked him to chair the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Rumsfeld mentally listed reasons he should not accept the offer: he had voted against the bill that created the agency in 1964, and he had no desire to leave Congress. Nixon's insistence, however, finally convinced him to join his administration. Democrats harshly criticized the appointment, and Jack Anderson, a widely read syndicated columnist, falsely accused Rumsfeld of lavishly decorating his office while cutting expenses for OEO programs. Moreover, Rumsfeld was disturbed to learn that the money allotted to the OEO had gone to the Black Panthers, and he redirected funds to projects such as desegregating public schools. Rumsfeld developed a high-caliber staff, one of the most prominent members of which was a young congressional staff person named Dick Cheney. This was the beginning of a long and trusting friendship between the two.

Rumsfeld believes that his tenure at the OEO was fairly successful, but he was not unhappy to leave the agency in December 1970 in order to accept Nixon's appointment as counselor to the President. Rumsfeld soon felt himself a part of a White House inner circle consisting of Bob Finch, Pat Moynihan, and George Shultz. This group appealed to Nixon's "policy wonk" side, and the President often looked to them to formulate policy. The more renowned "Berlin Wall" in the Nixon White House consisted of Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, often joined by Chuck Colson, and acted as Nixon's political advisers and "gatekeepers." Contrary to the popular view of Haldeman, Rumsfeld found him a fair-minded person, who properly reflected the President's viewpoints and interests; whereas Rumsfeld found Ehrlichman to be arrogant and self-promoting, to the President's detriment. Rumsfeld found Colson to be bright, energetic, and loyal, but at times too loyal, as when he did not question the President's sometimes unwise directives.

Rumsfeld generally agreed with Nixon's support for minority rights and his views on foreign policy. However, he was disappointed when, in August 1971, Nixon announced a 90-day freeze on wages and prices and signed "an executive order to create an economic stabilization program, a pay board, a price commission, a health advisory board, a rent control board, and various other new government entities"—all to be overseen by the Cost of Living Council. To Rumsfeld, these actions seemed diametrically opposed to both his and Nixon's belief in free enterprise. Then, on Nixon's behalf, Office of Management and Budget Director George Shultz asked Rumsfeld to head the Cost of Living Council. Rumsfeld told Shultz that he didn't believe in wage and price controls, and Shultz replied that that was why they needed him for the job—Rumsfeld would make sure that the controls were temporary and did as little damage as possible. Rumsfeld took the job, but, the next year, after Nixon won election to a second term, he asked Rumsfeld to become his third ambassador to NATO, a position that Rumsfeld happily accepted.

Of Nixon, Rumsfeld wrote:

> I don't know to this day how to reconcile the man I knew with the tragedies that he inflicted on himself and the nation. ... His administration provided vital support for ... welfare reform, block grants to states, the all-volunteer military, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to name a few. The man loathed by the left and elites nominated the Supreme Court Justice who authored the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade* ... [and] pressed successfully to give eighteen-year-olds the right to vote. The cold warrior ... made a historic overture to Communist China and pursued détente with the Soviet Union. ... The man who so often seemed introverted and lonely, and served by a small cadre of strongmen, also brought into orbit a truly impressive and diverse array of talent who would affect the course of America for many decades thereafter.

Following Nixon's resignation, President Gerald Ford, whom Nixon had nominated as vice president after Spiro Agnew's resignation, asked Rumsfeld to chair the transition team and to become his chief of staff. The Ford administration got off to a rocky start because of conflicts among staff members and the hangover from the Watergate scandal. Moreover, Ford's pardoning of Nixon met with overwhelming disapproval, and his appointment of Nelson Rockefeller as vice president, whom Rumsfeld recommended, soon resulted in conflict because of Rockefeller's arrogance. Despite these difficulties, Rumsfeld was pleased with what he felt was an eventually smooth working administration and with President Ford's performance and decisions. Rumsfeld ultimately could not refuse Ford's decision to appoint him secretary of defense.

Following Ford's defeat by Jimmy Carter, Rumsfeld was out of work, but not without good contacts and a full résumé. Among many offers, he accepted one to head Searle, a pharmaceutical company with worldwide sales, a position he had enjoyed for eight productive years earlier in his career. Although his political advice was periodically sought, Rumsfeld would spend 20 years out of government service. It was his old friend, Vice President Cheney, who encouraged President George W. Bush to appoint Rumsfeld as secretary of defense.

Secretary of Defense Again

In his previous government positions, Rumsfeld had earned a reputation as a moderate, thoughtful, pragmatic, behind-the-scenes problem solver admired for his integrity and honesty by friends and foes alike. As secretary of defense under George W. Bush, however, his image changed to that of a person who was bold, outspoken, and imperious. *Known and Unknown*

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enhances this image. For example, in the book, Rumsfeld emphasizes rather than minimizes the verbal battles and political maneuverings that took place between himself and Secretary of State Colin Powell. And Rumsfeld concludes in nearly every instance that history will support his viewpoint.

Moreover, he is unapologetic about President Bush's foreign policy. Harsh in his condemnation of Islamic extremism, Rumsfeld defends the U.S. reaction to the Sept. 11 attacks, including the use of enhanced interrogation techniques (an issue to which he devotes an entire chapter) and the killing of foreign alleged terrorists even though it frequently caused the deaths of innocent bystanders. He shows compassion for American service personnel killed or wounded in the Middle East, but not for the victims of American actions.

Rumsfeld is clear in his opinion that American intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan was justified and was militarily and politically the correct course of action, and he goes into great detail to explain events and circumstances involved. He acknowledges the often successful attempts of the terrorist enemies to use the media for their own glorification. In a 2004 memo, he wrote, "If it is an ideological challenge, our task is not simply to defend, but to preempt, to go on the offensive, and to keep the radicals off balance. ... Simply by not giving into terrorist blackmail—by being [d]riven out of the Middle East—we will demonstrate over time that the extremists' ideology cannot deliver."

On several occasions, recognizing that his views were polarizing the nation, Rumsfeld urged Bush to accept his resignation. Until the middle of Bush's second term, after the congressional elections in 2006, the President refused, acknowledging Rumsfeld's firm and decisive leadership and appreciating that criticism of Bush's own leadership in foreign policy was partially deflected onto Rumsfeld.

Conclusion

Known and Unknown is extremely thorough, well researched, and well written. It is yet another product of a prominent personality—be it in sports, show business, or politics—seeking to cash in on his or her high profile by writing a tell-all book. Such authors usually have ghost writers and researchers to assist them, and their books can become best sellers even in an age when more people seem to be reading text messages than books. That said, this book has Rumsfeld's unmistakable imprint. I found Rumsfeld's discussion of the early years of his political career more interesting and persuasive than his defense of his role as Bush's secretary of defense; others may find the opposite. In any case, the book is insightful, frank, and valuable in understanding American government, politics, and foreign policy, and Rumsfeld's role in them over the past 50 years. **TFL**

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