

Yet this does not mean that dependency theorists argue that conflict grows from a power imbalance. Barbieri concludes that instead of power imbalances resulting in greater conflict between states, states with symmetric ties were in fact more likely to experience conflict. In the end, while Barbieri has made a significant contribution to the field, she is willing to admit that while her findings are useful, questions still remain, and more research is needed to understand the exact nature of the interaction between trade and conflict. It is a noble admission from a scholar who has provided a spirited insight into this complex and important field.

The Liberal Illusion is not without its shortcomings, however. Although it is very dense, the book is, in fact, rather short, running to only 137 pages of text. There are sections in the book which provide some excellent analysis on how the Great Powers related to each other in terms of conflict and trade over the last century: The reader would appreciate more of this insight. Moreover, although it is brief, the book devotes considerable detail to explaining the nuances of Barbieri's methodology. While important, readers would likely have traded the extensive equations for more examples that actually address real world relationships and conflict. As a result, the book reads like a dissertation (it was), which, while brilliant, could have been expanded and refined somewhat. It also might be appreciated more by political theorists than historians, who will find the rigorous methodology and extensive data somewhat removed from historical events.

Nonetheless, the book provides a dynamic contribution to an important discourse that has far reaching implications. In the light of recent debates over the utility of bodies such as the World Trade Organization, or the nascent Free Trade Area of the Americas, Barbieri forces the reader to reconsider fundamental assumptions about the very nature of trade and conflict in our world. While Barbieri does not necessarily disprove Secretary Hull's dictum that "If good can't cross borders, armies will," she has certainly cast doubt on what so many have held as conventional wisdom. This is the essence of good scholarship.

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Jennifer A. Delton, *Making Minnesota Liberal: Civil Rights and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

Minnesota produced an array of leaders in the civil rights movement including Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Clarence Mitchell, Jr., lobbyist for the NAACP; Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban

League; and Hubert Humphrey, who as mayor of Minneapolis gave the speech at the 1948 Democratic National Convention credited with aligning the party with civil rights and prompting southern democrats to walk out and form their own Dixiecrat Party. Yet Minnesota was an unlikely place to produce national civil rights leaders. Its black population was small, fewer than ten thousand people (0.9%) in 1940, and its traditional divisions were between the various European natives that made up half of its population as late as 1930. “[A]nti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism were rampant” as was unwillingness to hire African Americans or allow them to join unions (49). Nevertheless, between 1938 and 1948 the state’s political apparatus changed dramatically, producing for the first time a senator from the Democratic party – Humphrey – and a consensus within that party that African Americans were to be included and their inclusion to be promoted nationally. Delton’s book explores the local and state politics behind those changes and concludes that Humphrey and the liberal Democratic Party that he helped shape used civil rights as a way to recast FDR’s Democratic Party into the party of Democratic Liberalism. In that decade Minnesota’s minuscule Democratic Party would merge with the Farmer Labor Party, wean its members from their openness to communists, and build a party that supported the New Deal’s expanded role of the federal government and replaced bossism with “interest group pluralism” even while it espoused anti-communism.

The Republican Party had dominated Minnesota politics until 1930 when voters elected the Farmer Labor Party’s first governor, the charismatic Norwegian Floyd Bjornesterne Olson. Olson was a radical. He made a Popular Front alliance with the Communist party and called for a change in the economic system that had produced the worst depression in U.S. history. Upon his sudden death in 1936, voters elected another radical Farmer Labor governor, Elmer Benson. But by 1938, Republicans again controlled the governorship with Harold Stassen at their helm.

Meanwhile, at the University of Minnesota, a group of professors and graduate students was developing an alternative to both the isolationist, peace radicals of the Farmer Labor Party *and* to the conservative, rural-based Republicans. Their alternative would be the new Democratic Party of Minnesota, formed in 1944 by a merger of Farmer Labor Party and the state’s Democratic Party. Following the merger the intellectual elites leading the party weeded the Farmer Labor Party membership to isolate its more radical members and exclude any communists. Hubert Humphrey, Orville Freeman, Max Kampelman, Arthur Naftalin, Eugene McCarthy, and later Walter Mondale all belonged to the group that wrought this revolution.

Delton’s thesis is that the University of Minnesota liberals – led eventually by Hubert Humphrey who earned his B.A. there in 1939 and returned in 1941 to pursue a Ph.D. in political science – embraced civil rights as a way 1) to court

the progressive Farmer Labor Party, 2) to demonstrate to Minnesota's small black community that their interests could be served within the Democratic party, and 3) to separate Minnesota's and the nation's Democrats from the southern racist, segregationist Democrats who controlled Congressional committee leadership positions.

Delton writes well, documents extensively, and tells a story that starts a new thread in the scholarly study of the contest of political ideas in the immediate post-World War II period within one key state. As Liberal Democrats replaced the radicals of the Farmer Labor Party and became the other major party in Minnesota politics, the political center shifted to the *Right* in Minnesota since the Farmer Labor Party had been one of the state's two major parties from 1930-1944. The center also would shift nationally as these same Liberal Democrats accepted Henry Wallace's endorsement of their senatorial candidate, Hubert Humphrey, but rejected Wallace for president. One consequence was the election of Harry Truman. Truman continued as president but, thanks to Humphrey's persuasive civil rights speech at the Democratic National Committee meeting in 1948, with a civil rights platform plank that he never wanted. Truman also acquired the support of Liberal Democrats for his anti-communist interventionist foreign policy. The newly powerful Democrats in the state of Minnesota had brought about a realignment of politics at the state and national level aided by the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a relationship Delton examines in some detail.

Making Minnesota Liberal is a fascinating, well written book that combines a state study and analysis of the contending ideas behind the 1944-48 political realignment that is its centerpiece. Especially useful to civil rights scholars is her material on Cecil Newman, the publisher of the black newspaper *Minneapolis Spokesman*, who was determined that blacks would function as an interest group that shifted its support according to which elected officials truly served their interests; no party should be sure of their support. (Parenthetically, what happened to Newman in the following two decades? Was he a part of the Young Turks movement within the national NAACP that tried to oust Roy Wilkins for abandoning that organization's nonpartisanship by endorsing Lyndon Johnson for president?) Delton traces the interrelationships between individuals in leadership in Minnesota and the development and modification of the ideas that would shape American politics for more than a quarter century. Her discussion of the tactics used by the ADA to weed out radicals and communists is particularly interesting.

Delton's suggestion that students and professors carried a grand design for liberalism into Minnesota politics seems in places overstated and conspiratorial. She seems to begrudge Humphrey the strong support given him by African Americans and paints with a broad brush that obscures differences between liberal Democrats over peace and civil rights. Surely Minnesota Democrats were

not all anti-communist hawks? Yet her analysis is generally strong and she admirably develops her “pieces of evidence.” Some errors intrude on an otherwise provocative and very useful work: 110,000 not 70,000 Japanese Americans were interned by the War Relocation Authority and Nixon’s “southern strategy” was his *reelection* strategy, not his strategy in 1968. Walter Mondale was not a key player in the compromise presented to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964, although Joseph Rauh of the ADA was. Why is there no discussion of Israel as a factor in the ADA or Minnesota politics in 1948? The book would be stronger if it ended after the eighth chapter and left out the Epilogue that attempts to carry the story from 1948 to 1968. The author also periodically uses the first person, which produced in this reader an urge to get out the old red pencil! However, these inadequacies are minimal beside the book’s important exploration of the relationships and ideas that account for America’s steady movement to the Right since, Delton argues, 1948. Keep writing, Professor Delton!

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Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1956* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Becky Nicolaides’ history of South Gate, a working-class suburb bordering Los Angeles on the southeast, opens with the powerful image of its residents standing guard over their homes, “some on rooftops, others on porches, some brandishing weapons” as one of the worst urban riots of the 1960s is raging across the railroad tracks in Watts. The book traces the journey of these white residents from suburban homesteaders, primarily concerned by issues of economic survival, to their transformation into the more conventional post-World War II suburbanites, concerned by race above all. Given the tremendous transformation that the suburb underwent since its first lot was sold in 1920, and the thoroughness of the book’s reach -- it examines every aspect of the residents’ lives from work to consumption and worship -- it is an ambitious goal which is, on the whole, successfully met.

The book’s first part on the interwar period is the most original. The fascinating story of working-class families building their homes themselves in order to get access to the advantages of suburban living has been told elsewhere -- one is reminded, for instance, of Richard Harris’s *Unplanned Suburbs* -- but Nicolaides weaves together economic, cultural, social and political strands to provide a complex picture of a suburban community not only dominated by a