

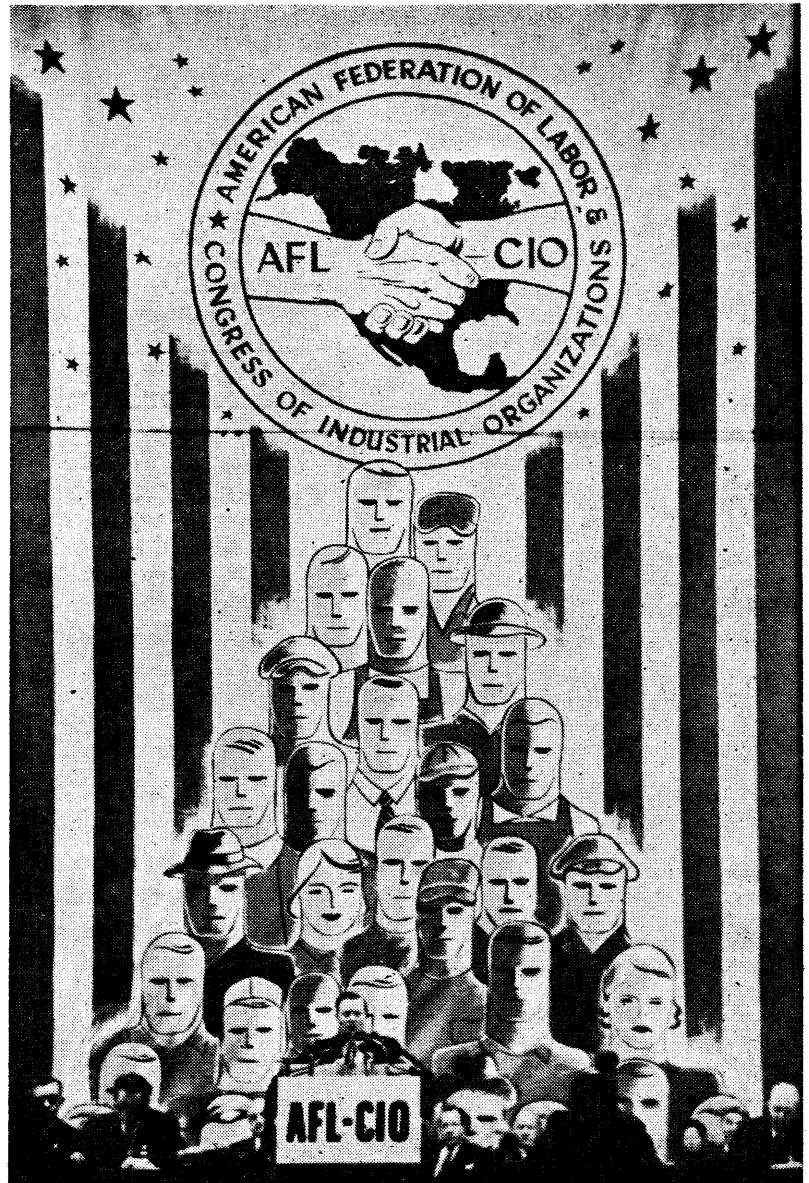
The American
Socialist

A Speech by W. E. B. Du Bois:

**If
Eugene Debs
Returned**

AFL-CIO Merger

***Bond of
Solidarity
or
Rope of
Sand?***



JANUARY 1956

25 CENTS

CLIPPINGS

A STRIKE of 50,000 CIO Independent Electrical Union workers and an additional 10,000 from the independent UE against Westinghouse has turned into a major labor battle against Big Business. Forewarned by the poor 5-year contract signed by the union at GE, the ranks determined to do better at Westinghouse, and at the same time, resist the company's sustained assault on work standards. The nation-wide strike has now been in progress since October 16, and is becoming a fierce contest between labor and capital. The company has already tried out the Mohawk Valley strikebreaking tactics on a number of the weaker locals in Ohio. It hasn't gotten very far, as yet. Labor simply cannot afford in a big situation like this one the kind of debacle the auto union suffered at Perfect Circle last month.

It's ironic that at the 1952 convention of the CIO Electrical Union, President James Carey introduced Gwylm A. Price, Westinghouse head, to the delegates, and said: "What is important is that we've found a way to sit down, discuss, argue, and then resolve those differences in the truly American spirit of give and take. . . . That is the spirit and only justification for collective bargaining. We are looking forward to a better era, more productive relationship, as time goes on."

THE tug-of-war continues on the witch-hunt front. Some court decisions deal telling blows to the organized lawlessness, and some rulings and acts are designed to keep it alive at all costs.

The ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco holding unconstitutional loyalty-security regulations which permit the use of faceless informers calls into question the screening program in the maritime industry under which the Coast Guard barred literally thousands of militant seamen from their jobs. The ruling also has a far-reaching implication for all loyalty-security regulations which rest in large measure on the unverified evidence of faceless informers.

At the same time, Senator Eastland and his Internal Security Committee are back in New York City trying to intimidate the New York Times and other metropolitan papers that dared criticize McCarthyism. The newspaper owners are unfortunately folding up under the attack and telling their employees to cooperate with the witch-hunters or face dismissal.

Attorney General Brownell's latest tidbit is to request the Subversive Activities Board to declare the independent UE a "communist-infiltrated" organization. If the union is so declared, it will lose its rights under the Taft-Hartley law, and 20 percent of the membership can move to kick out its officers. Brownell previously filed a similar petition against the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union when that organization was engaged in a major strike against the copper bosses. It is a curious coincidence (see Westinghouse strike item above) that he should move against the UE at this particular time.

MOST recent outrage in the witch-hunt has been the action of the Veterans Administration in "The Case of the Legless Veteran," James Kutcher. In August 1948, Kutcher was fired from his job as clerk in the Veterans Administration Newark office because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, and he has since been fighting off attempts to evict his father, mother and himself from a public housing project because he could not sign a loyalty oath denying membership in an organization on the Attorney General's blacklist. As a special Christmas present, the Veterans Administration informed Kutcher that his \$329 monthly disability award would be stopped because of some remarks he was alleged to have made at a summer camp.

After the public protest, the Veterans Administration reversed itself in part and announced the disability pension would continue pending a hearing. In another phase of his legal case, the Supreme Court of New Jersey ruled that a tenant's refusal to deny membership in an organization on the Attorney General's blacklist was not sufficient ground for eviction. The New York Times featured the story on its front page, and the New York Post carried a complete account of this persecution by its columnist, Murray Kempton, as well as the Veterans Administration correspondence to Kutcher, and an excellent editorial which stated: "As Kutcher has said, the fact that he

lost his legs is not the great point of the debate. The point is that he has lost his rights. But because he lost his legs his case dramatizes finally and beyond dispute the cruelties and idiocies of the security program."

A CHRISTMAS plea to grant amnesty to all Communists imprisoned under the Smith Act has been sent to President Eisenhower, signed by 46 prominent individuals, none of whom have any remote connection or political sympathy with the Communist Party. The signers include Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, the Rev. John M. Krumm, chaplain of Columbia University, Henry Steele Commager, historian, and Elmer Rice, playwright. The present move represents the first real effort from non-Communist sources to start an amnesty campaign. This welcome move was conceived and organized by the Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Rev. Muste is one of 19 pacifists just convicted in New York Magistrate's Court for refusing to take shelter in an air-raid drill and contesting the constitutionality of the New York State Defense Emergency Act.

RECENT census reports show that of nearly 42 million American families, 3.7 million had incomes under \$1,000 in 1954, 8.3 million had incomes under \$2,000, and 13.3 million had incomes under \$3,000. The median money income was \$4,173, meaning that half of the families of the nation had an income below that amount. Only about five percent of the families had incomes of \$10,000 or more.

The American Socialist

January 1956

Vol. 3, No. 1

Published monthly by American Socialist Publications, 863 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: WATkins 9-7739. Subscription rates: \$2.50 for one year; \$4.50 for two years. By first class mail: \$3.75 for one year; \$7 for two years. Foreign rates: \$3 for one year; \$5.50 for two years. Single copy: 25 cents. Second class mail privileges authorized at New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bert Cochran, Harry Braverman, J. Geller
BUSINESS MANAGER: Elaine Roseland

CONTENTS

CRISIS IN EDUCATION	3
AFL-CIO MERGER by Bert Cochran	6
IF EUGENE DEBS RETURNED (A Speech) by W. E. B. Du Bois	10
VEBLEN ON MODERN INSTITUTIONS	12
SOVIET SCIENTISTS AND THE NEW COURSE by Our European Correspondent	13
FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND NEGRO RIGHTS	15
FARMERS IN TROUBLE by Michael Burns	16
DECLINE OF A UNIVERSITY by Martin Hall	20
CALIFORNIA'S "POLITICAL INQUISITION" LAW by Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz	23
IVORY TOWERS AND WATCHTOWERS	24
BOOK REVIEW	26
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	31

Crisis in Education

ONLY yesterday, it seems, the nation was talking about the "juvenile delinquency crisis" and the "flood control crisis"; the day before it was the "housing crisis," and before that the "health and medical care crisis." Today it is the "education crisis." As the country moves through this round of crisis discussions, it is apparent that we have become involved in an overall crisis of our social services. A quarter-century of labor ferment and popular protests has succeeded in modifying the free-wheeling buccaneer capitalism of the nineteenth century by imposing certain welfare activities upon it, but the apparently permanent crisis of inadequacy which affects those welfare activities is there to remind us that social responsibility and capitalist enterprise don't mix well.

The crisis of American education is all-embracing. By general agreement, it includes a serious shortage of school classrooms as well as a frightening dilapidation of many of the existing school buildings; a serious shortage of qualified teachers; a statistical trend which shows that shortages in both areas are bound to grow much worse in the immediate years ahead unless rapid and massive action is forthcoming; and a widespread dissatisfaction with the present aims and methods of education.

Ambitious many-million-dollar surveys have been carried on in the past few years, and while one is often tempted to suspect that surveys of this kind represent a mark-time occupation postponing the inevitable question "What is to be done?" still they have mapped out the situation in neat statistical charts. Grade-school enrollment, the charts show, has leaped from 20 million children in 1945 to 29 million

today, and the expectation is an enrollment of 35.7 million by 1965. In the high schools and colleges, the picture is proportionally similar, and the high-level birthrate since the end of the war is given as the chief cause of the leap.

NEGLECT of the problem since 1945 comes on top of a wartime curtailment of educational expansion, which in turn followed a depression slump in this field. For those to whom the problem is merely "temporary," this fact should have the greatest significance. The test has bridged a twenty-five year period, and has included a depression time of great unutilized resources, a period of wartime expansion, and a decade of unprecedented post-war boom. It would therefore appear to be conclusive.

The result has been a shortage of teachers amounting to 140,000 or more today and growing with every school term. To overcome this shortage, it has been authoritatively estimated by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, half of the liberal arts graduates from our colleges for the next ten years would have to go into teaching; in the past few years only one-fifth have been doing so. The recent White House Conference on Education pointed to a present shortage of 203,000 classrooms, and a need for an additional 170,000 by 1960.

Almost half our children attend schools which are over 30 years old; two-fifths of them try to learn in classrooms containing more than the optimum 30 children; one-fifth attend schools that do not meet minimum fire-safety standards. A million and a half school children are getting their educations in classrooms supported by a total money outlay of less than \$2,000

a year; one can imagine what the teacher's salary is after all other expenses are deducted. The effects of all this are beginning to be seen. During one year of the Korean war, fully sixteen percent—one out of every six—of all men called for induction were rejected because they couldn't pass the low minimum literacy standards of the Armed Forces Qualification Test.

TO discuss this situation and how to meet it, a special White House Conference on Education was called last month. Headed by a soap executive (Neil McElroy of Proctor and Gamble), and organized along military chain-of-command lines, it left little to be desired if one is a believer in the Wall Street-Madison Avenue-Pentagon way of doing things. First, there were hundreds of local conferences, followed by a series of state gatherings in the last six months. Then, with much fanfare, the gathering assembled, and was found to include 1,782 delegates, 422 observers, and no fewer than 300 press representatives. The delegates were divided into 166 tables, and turned loose on one facet of the subject at a time, with work sheets to guide their thinking. After 2½ hours of discussion, the 166 tables sent their chairmen off to 16 other tables, where they then chewed on the matter for a while longer and in turn sent *their* chairmen off to two semi-final tables. The finalists emerging from this Olympiad were two chairmen, presumably stuffed with the accumulated wisdom of the entire conference.

The distillation thus accomplished turned out to be nothing more than a series of watery compromises. Federal aid for the building of new schools was favored, but only for the inanimate bricks and mortar, under the theory that if the federal government extended its aid any further it would be in the business of dictating ideas to the people (a scruple of conscience which should be called to the attention of our Brownell-Hoover Justice Department). The troublesome issue of the teaching of religious doctrines in the schools was gracelessly sidestepped. Altogether, the conference can hardly be said to have done much about the vexing educational crisis which, as the Fund for the Advancement of Education set up by the Ford Foundation

has warned, cannot be solved in present terms.

SOME have stepped outside of present terms in making sweeping recommendations on the educational system. Cola G. Parker, newly elected president of the National Association of Manufacturers, took the limelight briefly when, early in December, he branded free public education as a step towards communism advocated by Marx. For this gentleman, obviously, the problem is easily solved. Kenneth Royall, formerly Truman's Secretary of the Army and now Harriman's head of the N. Y. State Committee on Education, let loose a blast to the effect that the schools are too ambitious, in a speech which *Time* magazine summarized—"Royall's advice: Contract the educational system." Others propose putting the children on a three-shift system, either around the year so that "summer" vacations would be staggered into mid-winter, or around the clock so that children would leave for school when their daddies were coming home from work.

But, apart from these silly-season suggestions from tax-stingy industrialists, it appears as though we will get some kind of federal bill providing a slight amelioration—although certainly not a solution—of the scandalous condition of U. S. education. The reasons for this are clear. We are in an election year, and the pressure of the Democrats upon the administration as they search for some kind of "difference" with Eisenhower is considerable. The scandal is becoming too extreme, and many of the teachers and educators of the nation are up in arms. Eisenhower's administration is responding slightly to these pressures, as witness the removal of Mrs. Hobby from the secretaryship of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which meant the dumping of the extreme rightist, oil-millionaire wing in favor of the more cagey Eastern industrialists, represented here by Eastman Kodak's Marion Folsom. And, in all of this, our old friend the cold war should not be overlooked.

How Russia and the cold war get into this domestic argument is very simple and can be added up in one word: fright. Just as the revolutionary turbulence throughout the world has scared Washington and Wall Street on

the race-discrimination issue, on foreign aid, and on various domestic economic issues, just so have they been frightened by the strides of education, and particularly technical education, in the "other half." Without going so far as to say that Khrushchev is our children's best friend, still one is tempted to hail the stimulating effect of a little competition to make our smug and arrogant rulers sit up and get scared.

WITHIN the past year, innumerable alarms have been raised in the American press about the progress of Soviet education. A fair sample of these is an interview by *U. S. News and World Report* of two American educators, Homer and Norton Dodge, just after they got back from a first-hand study of Russia's schools. In 1954, they pointed out, the Soviet Union graduated some 50,000 engineers, while the U. S. graduated only 22,000; in the field of scientist-graduates, the U. S. is still slightly ahead but losing ground fast. Russia is aided in this race by a centralized state school system which pays the way for all higher-education students who maintain satisfactory grades, which about 90 percent do. Grade-school children are on a six-day week, and come out better educated, according to the Dodges, after their ten-year course than ours do after 12 years. In explanation, they added:

There is a tremendous drive for education in Russia, far more than you find in America. The whole society is structured to encourage a boy or girl to climb as high on the educational ladder as he or she is capable of. As a result, very little talent is wasted. In this country, on the other hand, only half of the young people with an intelligence above that of an average college graduate receive a college education.

Propagandists have tried to reply by making much of the defects in Soviet education: the absence of academic freedom as we (are supposed to) enjoy here; the bizarre narrowness of social science training; the lack of attention to liberal arts and the humanities. But the trouble with this reply is that the propagandists have failed to calm even their own agitated nerves with it, as the race between the two

world powers is, for the present at any rate, primarily technical and economic. This is said not at all to excuse the various grotesqueries in Russian educational theory and practice, but to highlight the main problem as it is universally recognized.

WHY have the American schools fallen so far behind that their lead is endangered in the very sphere where they would be thought strongest—engineering? The answer can be given in two general categories: economics and ideology. To consider first economics. We are spending today roughly 2.4 percent of our national product on our schools, and it just isn't enough. The only way to make a real dent, the statisticians say, is to add at least another percentage point to the amount, or about \$4 billion a year, and then to increase this amount steadily during the next ten years.

As any corporate executive will tell you, however, there just isn't any profit in schools. Manufacturers will fall all over each other competing to put cars on the market, or get a slice of the 10-15 percent of our national output which is consigned, profitably for them, to military expenditures, but schools and all the other social services just don't get a look-in. In other words the capitalist system doesn't have any automatic mechanism to guarantee the adequate running of the government-supported social services. All of its inherent mechanisms are pre-set the other way: to guide our resources towards the channels in which profits are to be found, and out of the channels which are commonly agreed to be the social responsibility of the nation as a whole. That is why all of capitalism's welfare activities, grudgingly granted after years of struggle, are generally in a state of crisis, and the battle to keep them going on a decent level is on continuously.

In this battle, the cry of "states' rights" which the reactionaries raise has no real political merit or meaning; it is merely a device to keep control in hands which are both reluctant as well as powerless to do anything. The situation cannot be ameliorated, even with the best will in the world, by the states, as the very states that most need improvement are in the worst position to do anything. In a broad survey made in 1952, for example, it was re-

vealed that the states which have the lowest educational standards, the most ramshackle schools and underpaid teachers—Louisiana, Mississippi, etc.—are the very states which are already spending among the highest percentages of their incomes on education. Their incomes are just too low. Large-scale federal aid is obviously the only answer.

BYOND the economic factor stands an ideological barrier. Societies don't travel in two ways at one and the same time for very long, and it is



characteristic of our society that there is an attitude of hard-boiled mistrust of education and denigration of the educated man. Adlai Stevenson may not be too fine an example of the intellectual in America, but he has been made to serve as a symbol, and the treatment accorded him by our newspapers and propagandists shows the anti-intellectualism in our nation. How dangerous that current can become was made clear in the crucifixion of men like Robert Oppenheimer, Dean Acheson and Owen Lattimore, in which their intellectual status was used as one of the chief weapons against them.

Part of this attitude is rooted in a traditional American mistrust for theorists, intellectuals, and "learning" in general. But just as this began to wear off in the last decades under the impact of wars, revolutions and domestic crises which set people thinking as never before and began to encourage a maturing of the American mind, the present wave of reaction set in to interrupt, or at least impede, that process. Much of the vulgar Babbity of

dollars-and-cents reasoning that was so characteristic of our twenties has risen to the surface again.

The attitude has had its bearing on our entire educational structure, from top to bottom. Whether it shows itself in the irresponsibility of politicians who can crowd 50 students into a classroom that was built for 30, or the narrow vision of universities that have been turning out engineers as trade-school products with an inadequate theoretical understanding of their specialty, the reasoning is the same. It is the kingship of the almighty dollar, and the

total inability to understand anything in other than immediate and "practical"—which always means money—terms. Is it any wonder that education has fallen to a low estate in a society where no value is placed on either learning, culture, intellect or art except as they can be translated into hard cash?

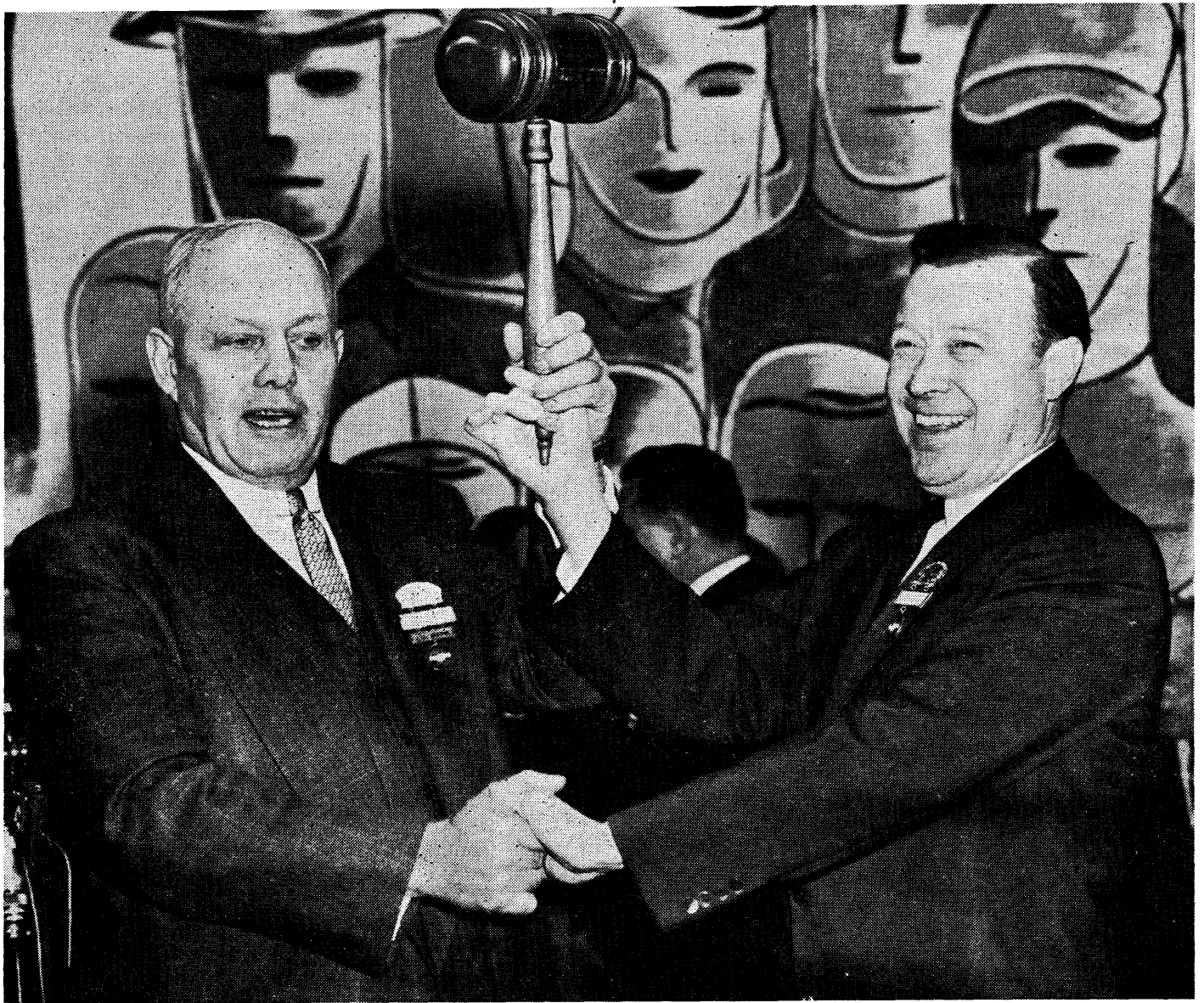
AT the start of this century, a promising progressive movement in education arose to try to change all that. It is true that John Dewey and his followers couched their appeal in typically American "pragmatic" terms—"it will work better"—but the idea was revolutionary. The movement aimed to end the sausage-machine method of turning out fact-stuffed ignoramuses good only for totting-up columns of figures and to place the stress on encouraging the pupil to realize his potentialities as a person.

The returns aren't all in yet, but indications are that the promise of Deweyism hasn't been fulfilled too well. The reason is quite simple. Dewey and

his followers conceived of their type of education as a new departure suited to a new society. Deweyism, after all, was part of the billowing wave of progressivism of pre-World War I days in which the liberals saw a new society arising. Men like George H. Counts and William H. Kilpatrick once posed the question whether the American schools dare lead the way to a new social order. But, in recent years, Deweyism, divorced from this perspective, has only succeeded in giving many educators an excuse for sloppy teaching methods and neglect of the essential disciplines of learning, without measurably improving the ratio of self-realization in our still-acquisitive society. Meanwhile Robert M. Hutchins, foremost among the anti-Deweyans, noted for his theory of learning from "great books" which some have called a return to medieval scholasticism, has at least managed to hold the fort in defense of an old-fashioned American virtue like freedom of opinion, which is more than can be said for some of his opponents.

The truth is, as the experience of John Dewey's progressive education has tended to show, that the dollar-ideology of American capitalism won't be easily transformed by mechanical educational methods. No one can seriously promise changes leading to a flowering of an American humanism without a considerable social ferment in this country. But, short of that, there is still the problem of getting for our children an adequate education even in currently understood terms, and that is not proving too easy.

The labor movement has led the way, as it pioneered our original educational system a century ago, with repeated demands for adequate federal aid to education. The labor movement, moreover, unlike the Democratic Party, has stood firm behind Representative Adam Clayton Powell's demand in the last Congress that this aid not be granted to any state in which the schools are not opened to all pupils regardless of race, without segregation. Labor can again, with the help of middle-class allies, pioneer a great forward movement in popular education as it did with far smaller resources when it successfully fought for the establishment of free education in the last century.



AFL-CIO Merger

by Bert Cochran

Labor unity, as it has shaped up, is weighted to favor AFL. But important possibilities are opened up for the unions on the organization and political action fronts by the merger.

THE merger of the AFL and CIO into one labor federation embracing 15 million organized trade unionists was an event of world importance—and was everywhere recognized as such. Two hundred fifty newspapermen and additional TV and newsreel cameramen converged on the 71st Regimental Armory in New York and flashed the convention proceedings to the furthest parts of the world. Commentators, news analysts, journalistic kibitzers, all had a field day sifting the speeches and speculating on the convention's effects. Whatever the agreements or disagreements about the new organization, everybody went along with the conviction that American labor was plenty important and that the unification spelt something big.

In England when the labor movement got too strong for its enemies to meet it head-on, the Tory spokesmen changed their tactics and started to give "fatherly advice" to labor on how it could cut its own throat. In similar fashion, a lot of self-styled, self-appointed well-wishers descended on the AFL-CIO convention to try to ensure that the offspring would be a tame creature with few teeth and no backbone. Beginning with the invocation of Cardinal Spellman, and on through the speeches of the

politicians, the gratuitous admonishments and warnings flowed on and on.

Unfortunately, the new head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, goes along with most of this middle-class philosophy. He proposed to the business community a "non-aggression pact" in an article published in the *N. Y. Times Magazine* on the eve of the convention, and he followed this up with a personal plea to the National Association of Manufacturers that the two sides enter into a cozy little partnership as it was "silly" for them to quarrel when they had so much in common. As further recommendation that he is a safe-and-sound labor leader, and nobody has any cause for alarm with a guy like him at the wheel, Meany proceeded to inform the NAM gathering of labor-haters and union-busters: "I never went on strike in my life. I never ran a strike in my life. I never ordered anyone to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. So if that's the type of power people have in mind, they should get another fellow for president, because I have no experience with that type of power."

HERE was a real heart-warming exhibition of the American Way of Life, with Labor and Capital, arms securely entwined about each other, jovially laughing away any suggestion of Marxist fantasies like the "class struggle." Unfortunately for this idyllic picture, the employers, as Walter Reuther recently had occasion to note, believe in the Marxist class struggle. Only the labor end of the partnership thinks we are in the new classless society. Charles R. Sligh, NAM Board Chairman, would have none of Meany's harmony talk. He came back at him hot and heavy, and let him understand in no uncertain terms that the owners of Kohler and Perfect Circle are not pariahs, but heroes, to his class. Meany's attempt to launch labor unity on a note of class peace and harmony was thus abruptly rebuffed by the spokesman of the business interests. This incident has meaning beyond its momentary drama, and may well symbolize labor's coming dilemma in the nation. All opportunists, careerists and trimmers to the contrary notwithstanding, the class struggle still goes on.

The fact of the unity, which for a week brought into sharp focus labor's sheer massive strength and unused latent power, is more important than any of the actual agreements concluded, resolutions adopted, or documents signed. The minute you start moving from the potential to the actual and examine the details of the fusion, or of the new federation structure, the weaknesses, divisions, lack of solidarity, and inadequacy of program come painfully into view. As Meany admitted at a press conference: "We are bringing the conflict within our organization."

The new federation represents strictly a top fusion proposition. All the international unions of both the AFL and CIO are now dumped into one federated structure, but the internationals continue as the seats of power, the conflicting jurisdictional claims remain, and the considerable rivalries between different leaders and unions are now simply gathered under one roof. The muffled rumbles of these conflicts continued to be heard in the background throughout the convention sessions.

THE conventions of the Metal Trades and Building Trades Departments gave early warning that the issue

of industrial unionism, which may long since have been settled to some people's satisfaction, is not a settled matter at all so far as the die-hard craft chiefs are concerned. James A. Brownlow announced defiantly that the old craft unionists were still be heard from: "We are sure that craft organizations are not going to yield too willingly to the submersion of their craft into an indefinable mass group of employees." The craft leaders are formally going along with the proposition that both craft and industrial unions are "equal and necessary," but they intend to battle every inch of the way for what they conceive to be their inalienable "rights."

Like the two-bit politicians that they are, their first decisive move was to lengthen the term of office in their departments to four years. This isn't too serious. What is of consequence is that these antediluvians have practically announced that they are going to make a lot of trouble pressing their craft jurisdictional claims in any new organizing campaigns. This issue is all the more pesky as the auto union and some of the other CIO organizations are now having serious difficulties with their skilled workers whose craft consciousness and interests have taken precedence over their general feelings of labor solidarity in this period of boom, and who, in a number of cases, have tried to form separate craft organizations.

This matter of jurisdictional rivalries assumes even more serious proportions because 41 internationals, including such giants as the Teamsters and Carpenters, never signed last year's no-raiding compact, and the new constitution of the federation is very weak on this point. The Teamsters are on a rampage, and obviously intend to use their strategic position in the American economy to gratify their ambitions for power and pelf. Let no one underestimate the danger which this strong-arm school of unions, ridden with racketeering, represents. Its murderous effectiveness derives not only from its position as the transportation link, but its no less close links with politicians and businessmen. Despite the pious indignation of the capitalist press about labor crookedness, managements prefer the business unionism of the Beck-Hoffa variety to that of the CIO. That is the source of so many AFL "sweet-heart agreements" in the past twenty years, and the secret of some of the Teamsters' expansion. It was no freak that the scandal concerning Hoffa's shady financial transactions in Michigan was mysteriously hushed up, and even the Congressional investigation was turned off like a faucet—on the intervention, it was rumored, of Republican officials in the very highest echelons.

A NEW Executive Council of 29 effectively dominates the federation and the old AFL heads outnumber their CIO brethren 2 to 1. But while the conservative craft unionists for whom Meany speaks remain the controlling power, it is incorrect to say that the CIO has simply been swallowed up (and John L. Lewis, who does say so, was busy trying to break up the CIO before the merger took place). There will be new lineups and new cross-currents in the merged Executive Council. McDonald will continue to play peanut politics. Beck will keep on pushing and branching out, as witness his alliances with the Longshore and Mine, Mill and Smelter unions. The ghost of the stillborn Beck-McDonald-Lewis triple alliance may

re-appear in the Council sessions. At the same time, some of the AFL unions will line up with the CIO contingents on the new issues of the day. Moreover, Reuther is ensconced in his Industrial Union Department, and may be able to use it as a forum for his plans and a base for his projects.

The alarms about the power lodged in the new Executive Council may be a bit exaggerated. It will be difficult to centralize too much authority in it, any more than it was possible to do so in the old AFL setup. The international union bureaucracies are all jealous of their autonomous rights and will brook little interference with them. Any effort to get tough on this score will lead to breakaways, as Woodruff Randolph of the Typographical Union has already warned, and as the typographical workers, machinists and others have demonstrated in practice in the past. The notion, however, that the new federation will, as Lewis hopes, "part like a rope of sand," has little foundation. There is an innate tendency to merger and centralization which the whole economic and political trend forces upon labor. This is its manifest destiny, and goes beyond the ambitions or machinations of this or that group of labor leaders.

It is true that the fusion could never have taken place were it not that the CIO had lost its impetus and militancy, and that its policies began to dovetail with those of the AFL. The gap between the two groups, while not closed, became very narrow. Then there was the fact that the CIO was in process of disintegration. McDonald's break with Reuther and his hostile maneuvers against the CIO's integrity undermined Reuther's bargaining power. When taken in conjunction with the stagnation of the CIO in the membership field, so that numerically it was no more and probably a little less than half the size of the AFL, it became obvious to all that Reuther was not in a strong negotiating position. Very likely, he was fearful that the CIO could not long be maintained as an independent labor movement. But though these things were very much in the foreground and in the minds of the negotiators on both sides, the fact cannot be waved away that powerful forces greater than the individual participants were pressing all sections of labor to band together into a defensive alliance against the manifold dangers bearing down upon all of them. These dangers, which will not soon be eliminated, will act to keep the new federation in being despite the divisive forces contained within it.

THE top merger has already given a considerable impetus to unification of some unions—the CIO Packinghouse and AFL Meatcutters—while merger talks are in progress between the rival unions in the shoe, paper and glass industries and between the CIO Utility Workers and AFL Electrical Union. A number of the smaller CIO internationals have already merged this past year in oil, chemical, retail and railroads, to increase their effectiveness and place themselves upon a stronger footing in relation to their AFL counterparts in the field. There are also some negotiations going on for bilateral jurisdictional agreements, the best example of which is the recent compact signed by two AFL unions, the Meatcutters and Retail Clerks, delineating very precisely their respective

jurisdictions, and thus possibly bringing to an end fifty years of bitter strife.

The independent unions which were expelled from the CIO in 1949 are working desperately to get into the act and gain a more protective position than their presently isolated state affords. The Furriers Union has already found a haven inside the AFL Meatcutters, but only at the price of "de-communication"—of having its leaders dumped. This doesn't make unification too appealing to the other independent unions of this background. It is likely, though, that through one device or another, these remaining few independent unions will find themselves inside the "house of labor" within the next period. As a matter of fact, we may see in the next decade the present 141 internationals of the new federation reduced to possibly 100 or even fewer because of the growing difficulties encountered by the smaller aggregates in confronting the giant combinations of American capitalism.

The unification can be said to have shaken up, at least to some extent, the hitherto stagnant pool of labor, and little currents and side-eddies are beginning to stir. One cannot blink the fact that neither labor federation had a top Negro officer, and that the AFL-CIO now has two Negro vice-presidents on the Executive Council, A. Philip Randolph of the AFL Pullman Porters and Willard Townsend of the CIO Transport Service Workers. One cannot ignore that without anyone's conscious intervention Meany started the convention with a proposition to industry for a non-aggression pact, and concluded the sessions with the warning that "this is not going to be any milktoast movement. We are going to seek things in the militant manner our organization was founded." And Adlai Stevenson, briefed on the change in the convention's climate, hastily deleted from his released text the paragraph in which he praised Meany's original proposal to the NAM.

APPROXIMATELY 15 million members are accounted for by the united federation, counting those temporarily unemployed, in transit, etc. If we generously assign an additional 2 million members to all independent unions, we get a total figure for organized labor of 17 million. The country's organizable labor force numbers in round figures something like 40 million. In other words, the unions have enrolled only about 40 percent of their potential membership. This problem has by now taken on critical proportions as runaway shops and re-allocation of plants to low wage areas threaten to undermine the older established organizations in one industry after another. One of the few times during the entire week that this convention of well-padded, middle-aged business agents responded with something resembling genuine fervor was when Reuther delivered his call to organize the unorganized, to take on the Du Ponts and the textile kings, and when he lashed out anonymously but unmistakably against the Beck-Hoffa "private labor empires."

The former CIO unions have already pledged \$4 million toward the coming organization campaign and Meany is supposed to be trying to line up additional finances from AFL sources. There is so much wind in the public declarations of union officials that it is difficult to say how much of an organization campaign John W. Living-



BECK AND MEANY

ston, the new director, will be permitted to launch, and how assiduously the craft chiefs will insist on throwing their weight around. The CIO drives in the past few years even without the bedevilmments from this latter source have been dismal failures. Will the spirit of resistance swell sufficiently in the ranks to push through the many top layers of conservatism, timidity and inertia, and make a go of the projected organization campaign? In one sense, this is the most important problem facing the new federation because it is the one big proposition in which the united organization can conceivably attain its most signal immediate successes.

INTERESTINGLY enough, the question which was agitating the NAM convention above all others was labor's political role. The reason is hardly a mystery. Labor is potentially the nation's first power, and the assembled manufacturers were getting frightened that the unity might wake up the labor ranks to a realization of that fact. Will it do that? Are their fears well founded? The fusions of the state and city AFL and CIO bodies and of the two political action committees will certainly build up labor's political punch; it will eliminate a lot of duplication, waste motion and needless rivalries. But this has not been the main trouble with labor's past political activities, even though Beck has publicly admitted that he voted for Eisenhower in 1952, and the Teamster officials in Michigan paid off a deal by plumping for Ferguson in the last Senatorial election.

The root of the difficulty has been an inadequate political policy, far more than lack of unity, and here the fusion comes up with no new ideas, introduces no basic improvements, offers no new imaginative proposals to galvanize the membership. As a matter of fact, for a little while at any rate there will be a tendency for the former CIO officials to take a few backward steps in deference to their conservative allies. We have already seen something of this sort at the Los Angeles CIO convention last year with Reuther's speech against a third party. Even on the Taft-Hartley law, the CIO people unobtrusively

aligned themselves with the AFL position by abandoning the fight for the law's repeal and confining themselves to "press for the elimination of the evils of the Taft-Hartley Act." And now they are letting Meany saddle the united organization with the Knowland line in foreign affairs.

It is a sorry spectacle to have Secretary of Labor Mitchell making a big pitch at the convention for Eisenhower, the apostle of peace, while Meany a few days later gives the American liberals hell because they aren't anti-communist enough to suit him and don't display the proper amount of hysteria for the cold war. The political program of the new federation is very much the political program of the recent AFL conventions: general adherence to the Democratic Party, advocacy of some welfare legislation at home, a program on civil liberties that doesn't go beyond that of the ADA—if it goes as far—and a policy on armaments, foreign relations and war that hugs close to Knowland—if it does not actually embrace him.

The dependence on the Democratic Party limits labor's possibilities to the receipt of minor favors and concessions; there is no chance by this method of reversing the reactionary tide. And the continual beating of the cold war drums will antagonize immense bodies of people who voted for Eisenhower because he was for peace in Korea, and who last winter in a Gallup Poll spoke for peaceful co-existence 3 to 1. Does the unity then simply mean a better-coordinated labor machine on behalf of the same old pressure politics? On the empirical evidence, it would appear so. But there are intangible manifestations beneath the surface which promise a different course as time goes on.

The unity has imparted renewed self-confidence to the ranks. We will see in the days ahead greater demands on the self-confessed friends of labor, and an accounting on promises so glibly made. We will see shifts in labor's programmatic aims, as we have already seen improvements in recent years on such matters as Negro rights, and on the part of some unions, on peace. The end of the process will witness labor's emergence from the Democratic cocoon and the formation, under its leadership, of a new political party. Even Meany was goaded into threatening that if the workers are relegated to the status of second class citizens labor will form a new party. This is an empty threat as an immediate proposition. But it tells the story of the path that labor will take if the capitalists continue their reactionary push—and they will! Bourbons never learn.

WHEN the CIO was driving ahead on all fronts in 1937, the merger offer of the AFL at that time had to be weighed from the standpoint of whether unity justified slowing down the forward pace and the industrial unions losing their impetus. Lewis scornfully rejected the AFL terms of 1937, and he was absolutely right. Even the present type of unification would have at that time been too high a price to pay for one labor federation. But the picture is altogether different in 1955. Today the fusion is a step forward in the light of existing conditions, and may very well ease the process by which labor matures in its thinking and perfects its techniques to beat back reaction.

If Debs could have returned to life for his Centennial, he would have found much progress towards socialism, but a grim battle still ahead, especially in his native land.

If Eugene Debs Returned

A Speech

by W. E. B. Du Bois

IN the year 1920 when 919,000 American voters wanted Eugene Debs to be president of the United States, the socialist platform on which he ran demanded in general terms that eventually the ownership of the means of production be transferred from private to public control. The steps toward this end were not altogether agreed upon. But Debs demanded the supreme power of the workers "as the one class that can and will bring permanent peace to the world." He declared that then "we shall transfer the title deeds of the railroads, the telegraph lines, the mines, mills and great industries to the people in their collective capacity; we shall take possession of all these social utilities in the name of the people. We shall then have industrial democracy. We shall be a free nation whose government is *of* and *by* and *for* the people."

If tonight Mr. Debs should saunter back to celebrate with us this his one-hundredth birthday, he would feel considerable gratification at the progress of his cause in 35 years. Capital is still mainly in private hands but not entirely. Increasing public control of capital is the rule in the United States while over most of the world public ownership is rapidly increasing. In our country public regulation of utilities, including railroads, water power and communications, has increased. We direct private business in numerous instances; we tax wealth in new ways, we defend the right of labor to organize and we pay out \$1,500 million a year in social insurance. This is not yet socialism, but it is far from the uncontested rule of wealth.

EUGENE Debs, however, being an astute man and a logical thinker, would not be inclined to spend his birthday in celebrating the triumph of socialism in the United States. He would, on the contrary, see clearly that this nation, despite its advances toward socialism, is spending more money utterly to destroy socialism than it spends on education, health and general social uplift together.

He would realize with distress that advance toward the objects of socialism does not necessarily mean that the socialist state is at hand. Socialism includes planned production and distribution of wealth. But a completely socialistic result depends on who does the planning and for what ends. A state socialism planned by the rich for their own survival is quite possible, but it is far from the state where the rule rests in the hands of those who produce wealth and services and whose aim is the welfare of the mass of the people.

If Mr. Debs, during his absence from this earthly scene, has followed events of which we are too painfully aware, he will know that not all that is called socialism is socialistic in the sense that he used to understand it. He will know of Hitler's National Socialism, which, indeed, built a magnificent system of roads and excellent public hous-

A Note About the Speaker and the Occasion



WILLIAM Edward Burghardt Du Bois is undoubtedly the greatest Negro scholar and teacher yet produced in this nation. Born in 1868, he was already a professor at two Southern universities before the turn of the century; in Greek and Latin at Wilberforce and in economics and history at Atlanta. He edited *Atlanta University Studies* for over a dozen years, and, in the thirties and forties headed Atlanta's Department of Sociology.

He played an important part in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and served it in

many leading capacities for several decades. His major published writings, starting with the publication in 1896 of "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," include also "The Philadelphia Negro" (1899), "The Souls of Black Folk" (1903), "John Brown" (1909), "The Negro" (1915), "Black Recon-

struction" (1935), and in the forties "Color and Democracy" and "The World and Africa." He also served as Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of the Negro* from 1933-1945.

Dr. Du Bois delivered the speech which is printed here at the Debs Centennial Meeting held in New York at the Fraternal Clubhouse on Monday, November 28, 1955. The audience greeted Dr. Du Bois' appearance with a sustained standing ovation, tribute to his many decades of work.

THE Debs Centennial celebration, initiated by the editors of the *Monthly Review*, *National Guardian*, *I. F. Stone's Weekly* and the *American Socialist*, attracted more than 500 persons, who listened intently to Dr. Du Bois' speech and to Clifford T. McAvoy, I. F. Stone, Bert Cochran and Leo Huberman. James Aronson, Executive Editor of the *National Guardian*, served as chairman. All the speakers dealt with the meaning of the Debs heritage and the current problems of socialism and progressivism. Bringing together on one platform representatives of various viewpoints, the meeting marked a new departure for the American Left. A collection taken at the meeting made it possible for the committee to send approximately \$400 to aid in the defense of Carl Braden, victim in the Louisville "sedition" frameup.

ing, controlled finance and wages, owned railroads, telegraphs and telephones and yet was *not* socialism as Debs envisioned it. He would note that widespread socialist methods in Britain, France, Holland and Belgium have not prevented these nations from exploiting labor in Europe, Asia, Africa and America and that their own laboring classes have been willing to base their increased wage and higher standard of living on the poverty, ignorance and disease of most of the working people of the world. This again can hardly be called socialism, and Debs would know that socialistic methods in the United States have succeeded in staving off financial collapse and may continue to do this for a considerable time, but that this social effort is for and by Big Business and financial monopoly and not for the farm and the shop. It bribes organized labor with high wages built on war industry and by this very act threatens the welfare of the mass of the people of the world.

The matter which would, I think, bother Eugene Debs most in the present scene would be the failure of democracy to change all this. If he arrived in time to look in on the polling places during our recent election, he would have seen with dismay that most Americans who have the right to vote do not make any effort to use it. It is unusual for a majority of voters to attend elections, not to mention the millions legally disfranchised by color and poverty.

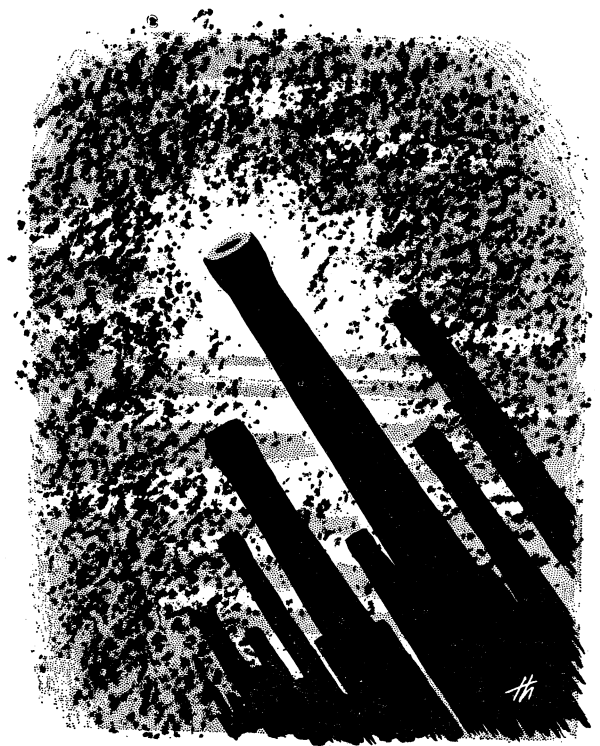
NOW, the socialism of Eugene Debs was founded on the democratic state in which the law of the land was to be determined by the will of the people. If and when this prerequisite of the socialist state failed, I am sure that Mr. Debs, like Charlie Chaplin, would not think of returning to America, even for this celebration.

If then, Mr. Debs is nonplussed by the apathy of voters, he would learn in any barroom, barbershop or prayer-meeting, or even in the subway, that the reason lay in the fact that Americans have had no chance lately to vote on the matters in which they have the greatest interest. We have not had a chance to vote on peace or war, and will not next year, if we must choose between Eisenhower and Stevenson, or Nixon and Harriman. We have never voted on universal military service. We never voted to spend more than half our income on war; we never voted to make war in Korea. We never voted to beg, borrow or steal one hundred military bases all over the world to overthrow communism.

Why then should we vote if we cannot vote on matters which seem of greatest importance to us?

Mr. Debs' reaction would be: If this be true, then it is our own fault that we have not talked to the people. He would say: Tell them the truth! Publish books and pamphlets; agitate! And then if Eugene Debs, forgetting that he is dead, should attempt to hire a hall, or stage a mass meeting on Union Square, or get time on radio or television, or get a book on the shelves of the Public Library, he would find himself guilty of subversion, proven a Communist quite unnecessarily by Budenz, Bentley and Philbrick, Inc., and since the courts have almost said that all Communists are criminals set to bring on violent revolution, Debs would soon be back in the very jail where imprisonment had already killed him.

BUT naturally, before Debs started on this impossible effort, we his friends and admirers would have coached him on the facts of life as we know them in this our America of today. It is not only true that Johnnie does



not learn to read, but even if he could read he would have difficulty in reading the truth; that the vast monopolies which collect news from all over the world omit what they do not want known, distort what they submit and often deliberately lie about the rest.

"But," I imagine Debs saying, waxing a bit hysterical, "why do not people insist on knowing the facts?" Our only answer would be that since we have become a nation of the rich, run by the rich for the rich (a statement which Mr. Stevenson says he did not originate but merely quoted) the voters do not and cannot know that their best interests are not paramount aims of government; that as their education deteriorates during this the most illiterate government we have endured since Jackson, as their news becomes tainted, suppressed and slanted, it is increasingly difficult for science and good will to usher in the state where the welfare of the mass of the people is the aim of government, where capital is owned by the people, where private profit is *never* the sole object of industry and where exploitation of labor is always a crime. We are no longer a democracy free to think, but a frightened people scared of the socialism and communism which we dare not know nor study. We are threatened by mounting crime and facing jails full not only of criminals but increasingly of honest men whose fault is that they believe in the socialism for which Debs gave his life.

In the midst of this losing of our moral and intellectual integrity we are permitting almost unchallenged a concentrated power of industry and commerce and a monopoly of wealth and natural resources which is not only a threat to the United States but so great a threat to the

world that the world with increasing unanimity is resenting it and organizing to oppose it. However, we could assure Mr. Debs that at times public opinion bursts the bonds of organized politics and wealth-control, and screams. We would for instance today be in the midst of a third and fatal world war if Nixon and Knowland had not been stopped in their tracks by an extraordinary avalanche of letters which made even the dumbest politicians in Washington realize that the nation wanted peace even if they got no chance to vote for it.

But this, Debs would say correctly, is not enough. It may come after some outrageous occurrence. However, for the long run and the continuing education of the people, Debs must learn that few reputable publishers today will take any book that deviates from respectable lines of thought as laid down by the National Association of Manufacturers; that no reputable book store will carry books advocating or not attacking communism; that public libraries will neither buy nor place books of which the FBI does not approve, and that none of our leading literary journals would mention a book by Debs himself should it appear today with a Heavenly imprint. Debs would learn with distress that the tendency apparent in his day of the readers of newspapers and magazines refusing to pay for the full cost of what they read has today sunk to the place where they expect to have their news and literature furnished them free and with pictures and gifts by the purveyors of tobacco, neckties and toothpaste.

IF Debs were still able to listen, he would learn that our representatives in Congress and legislature, our scientists, our preachers, teachers and students are afraid to think or talk lest they starve or disgrace their families

and friends. Thus our basic culture patterns are vitiated.

To which Debs would reply: Those who believe in truth and know from slavery, poverty and crime what falsehood can do, must if possible save the truth from burial. Such action is not mere alms-giving, it is a great crusade. Without unpaid crusaders and unknighthed chivalry we plunge back into new Dark Ages, where "Guys and Dolls" regale us with a crap game in a sewer.

And so Eugene Debs, returning with both sorrow and relief to the blessed peace of Heaven or the genial warmth of Hell (this depending on whether one reads the *Times* or the *Worker*) will, I imagine, after a season of rest and reflection, look carefully about and say:

"What really I fear for America is not merely loss of freedom, degeneration of schools, failure of the free press or failure of democracy. These, reason in time will combat. Rather I fear the threat of insanity; the loss of ability to reason. You'd hardly believe this, he'd say, but intelligent Americans cannot today see the direct connection between war, murder, lying, stealing, and juvenile crime. Their leaders actually propose to gain peace by war, to stop poverty by making the rich richer and to prevent force and violence by preparing force and violence on a scale of which the world never before dreamed anywhere at any time.

"And furthermore, (this you will never believe, but I swear it's true)" says Debs, "the man who succeeded me as leader of Socialism in the United States and ran on the Socialist ticket for president five times, is today the most bitter and hysterical enemy of the only governments on earth which approach complete socialism. Brethren, I firmly believe that what my country needs today above all else, is more and better insane asylums strategically placed."

Veblen on Modern Institutions:

The Businessman, Governments, and War

MODERN (civilized) institutions rest, in great part, on business principles. . . . Because of this settled habit of seeing all the conjunctures of life from the business point of view, in terms of profit and loss, the management of the affairs of the community at large falls by common consent into the hands of business men and is guided by business considerations. Hence modern politics is business politics, even apart from the sinister application of the phrase to what is invidiously called corrupt politics. Legislation, police surveillance, the administration of justice, the military and diplomatic service, all are chiefly concerned with business relations, pecuniary interests. . . .

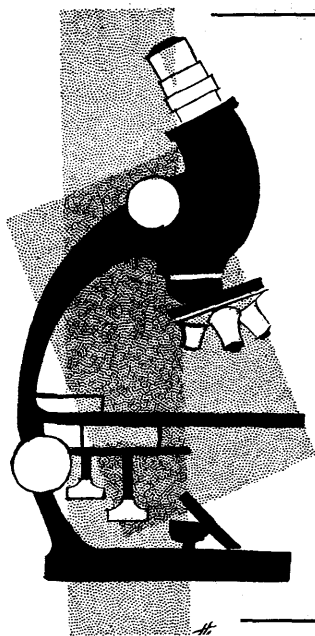
Representative government means, chiefly, representation of business interests. The government commonly works in the interest of business men with a fairly consistent singleness of purpose. . . .

The manner in which business interests work out in government policy may be shown by following up their bearing upon one phase of this policy. An extreme expression of business politics, and at the same time a characteristic trait of the higher levels of national life in Christendom, is the current policy of war and armaments. . . . The definitive argument of those who speak for armaments (in England and America) is that the maintenance of business interests requires the backing of arms. . . .

Business enterprise is an individual matter, not a collective

one. So long as the individual business man sees a proximate gain for himself in meeting the demands for war funds and materials to maintain the courtly and official establishments that go with military politics, it is not in the nature of the business man to draw back. . . . So long as the pecuniary inducements held out by the state, in bidding for funds or supplies, overbalance the inducements offered by alternative lines of employment, the business men will supply these demands, regardless of what the ulterior substantial outcome of such a course may be in the end. Funds and business enterprise are now of so pronounced an international or cosmopolitan character that any business man may, even without fully appreciating the fact, lend his aid to the fisc of a hostile power as readily as to a friendly power or to the home government; whereby an equal and comprehensive exhaustion of the several communities involved in the concert of nations is greatly facilitated. Barring accidents and untoward cultural agencies from outside of politics, business, or religion, there is nothing in the logic of the modern situation that should stop the cumulative war expenditures short of industrial collapse and consequent national bankruptcy, such as terminated the carnival of war and politics that ran its course on the Continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

—Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of Business Enterprise," 1904.



Soviet Scientists and the New Course

by Our European Correspondent

THE scientist holds a unique position in modern society which is founded on a union of industry and technology. He is indispensable but he is also "subversive." His triumphs over nature open new vistas of well-being for man. At the same time, so long as the immense wealth thus created remains private property, the inequalities of class rule are aggravated. As the handmaiden of industry but the servant of capitalism, science liberates man from the bondage of nature only to subjugate him under the oppression of other men. Driven in the process to dissidence, science is itself subjugated.

It has been argued that this oppression is inherent in industrial civilization where, to use the well-worn phrase, the machine has mastered man. The plight of Soviet scientists, subjected to narrow-minded, ignorant bureaucrats, denied the conditions of free enquiry, is sometimes cited as proof that the new collectivism is finishing the subjugation of the scientist that capitalism has only partially carried through. Up to a few years ago, the argument appeared unanswerable. Since Stalin's death there have been signs of a change which while not yet very broad point unmistakably in a new direction. The scientists were the first to benefit from the new course. Once persecuted, they are today speaking out more freely, demolishing prejudices and taboos. Eventually this must extend to all of society or be confined in an area too narrow for survival. We have in fact been witnessing a coincidental stirring of the same kind in literature, music, painting, the writing of history. For the moment, however, it is sufficient to take the trend at its starting point, in the sphere of biology, where developments throw the strongest light on the changing reality in the Soviet Union.

SOME years ago, the name of T. D. Lysenko flashed across the Russian scientific horizon. Overnight, his theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics be-

came the dogma of Russian geneticists, with Lysenko their priest and czar. In the opinion of Western scientists, he was at best a practitioner in one school of botanical theory, at worst a quack. But in the Soviet Union he decreed theory and prescribed practical research. Those who opposed, questioned or doubted were stigmatized as representatives of the decadent capitalist doctrine of Malthusianism, and hence as obvious obstacles to the development of socialism, and either felt the heavy hand of the state, or were forced to humiliate themselves in public recantations and in tributes to Lysenko's genius.

Lysenko's meteoric career was so typical of Stalin's regime as to be almost a caricature. Leadership is neither the reward of works nor wisdom—it is proclaimed. Thereafter the words of the leader, ignorant or tendentious as they may be, become oracular. No argument can be considered at its face value, no fact can be taken in its objective framework. The attitude taken toward the pronouncement of the leader becomes the gauge of loyalty toward the regime regardless of the sphere of endeavor involved, remote from politics though it may be. The system did incalculable harm to Soviet development in all fields. But the state of health of the sciences has immediate consequences for industry and agriculture.

The first warnings were heard in the fall of 1952 at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party, which celebrated prodigious economic achievements. Technology had reached a point where dogmatism in the sciences was becoming a positive obstacle to the further growth of industry. It was not however until the following year, after Stalin's death, that Lysenko, the arch-symbol of the Byzantine system, came under fire. A two-year discussion ensued, in many ways a microcosm of developments in the post-Stalin era, and from which several important conclusions emerge:

1. The liberalization, no matter how limited, is gen-

uine. Lysenko was not torn down from his pedestal in order to put another made-to-order God in his place.

2. The old system dies hard. The forces of progress are obliged to give constant battle to vested interests which have not been reformed out of existence.

3. It is not a mock struggle full of double-talk of "criticism" and "self-criticism." There are clearly two sides, and one side at least relies on facts and arguments, not citations from authority, appeals to faith or arbitrary political characterizations.

4. It is not purely a technical discussion, although that of course is the starting point. But it quickly crosses the frontier of biology into philosophy, that is, from science to ideology. It is, above all, a discussion about the methods of discussion—or, in other words, a muffled battle for freedom.

THESSE various aspects all appear in a lengthy article published in *Botanical Journal (Botanichesky zhurnal, No. 2, March-April 1955)* which now finds further evidence to substantiate its summary one year ago of the discussion of T. D. Lysenko's "new teaching on the species." At that time it said "it has now been conclusively demonstrated that the entire concept is factually unsound and theoretically and methodologically erroneous and that it is not of practical value."

The first third of the article is then devoted to the supposed verification of Lysenko's propositions by experiment. These proved that alleged cases of "engendering species," showing the inheritance of "acquired characteristics," were actually examples of hybridization; that "the laws of mutual relationships among plants in natural and man-made conditions are far more complex than the pattern advanced by T. D. Lysenko"; that a five-year test of planting trees in clusters on the theory that intra-species competition does not exist in the organic world "caused tremendous losses to the state threatening to discredit the idea of erosion-control forestation" and was rejected in a conference "expressing the collective view of the entire army of Soviet foresters"; that Lysenko's opposition had resulted in "the cessation of work on polypoids in our country . . . definitely detrimental to our agriculture."

These conclusions are the fruit of an intensive discussion, based on serious thought and experimentation, in which there was wide participation of the scientific and academic world. Some 50 articles, the editors say, could not be published for lack of space. One of the papers, culled from the discussion at the Leningrad University, deals with the history of ideas on the origin of the species. The author, I. I. Puzanov, shows that "Lysenko is resurrecting in our science not so much views of the anti-Darwin evolutionists, Koelliker, Bateson, Korzinsky and de Vries, as the naive transformist beliefs that were widespread in the biology of antiquity and the Middle Ages and that survived to some extent up to the first half of the nineteenth century."

The editors then turn to "the philosophic aspect of the teaching on species." They welcome a discussion begun in the journal *Voprosi filosofii (Problems of Philosophy, No. 6, 1954)* but they warn the philosophers that to be of assistance to the scientists they "must study present-day biology thoroughly—its entire cumbersome, complex, and

contradictory factual material and its ideological content—and that they must be entirely free of dogmatism and pedantry."



The article then makes an important refutation of one of Lysenko's chief points as follows:

. . . the struggle Lysenko and his followers are waging against "Malthusianism" in Darwin's teachings merely weakens our position in the conflict with present-day Malthusians. T. D. Lysenko's argument runs as follows: Malthus attributes the impoverishment of the working people in a capitalist society to overpopulation. If we admit overpopulation, and, as its result, intra-species competition, in nature, we thereby justify Malthusianism—a reactionary political doctrine. It is quite clear that the argument is based on equating the laws of development of nature and of society, an argument that Marxism long ago condemned.

The importance of the discussion, the editors say, goes beyond the problem itself, that is, "establishing the unsoundness" of Lysenko's views. They see it as "implementing the Communist Party's instructions to eliminate monopoly in biology, to create conditions that will insure free creative discussion and free research in all branches of our science. . . . The attempts that were made to stop the discussion at the very outset, by administrative influence, intimidation and other methods, might not be worth mentioning if such attempts were not being made today, too, in veiled form."

"ONE way to suppress criticism," they say, "is to ignore it." A case in point is a pamphlet, one of a series of aids to lecturers, by G. N. Khrushchev on "Achievements in Soviet Biology." In dealing with Lysenko, the writer completely ignores the discussion. The editors say he has the right to take the position "his sci-

entific conscience dictates," but "in addressing a large audience and instructing literally thousands of lecturers he has the obligation to say that the views he shares with T. D. Lysenko have been subjected to severe criticism and have been rejected by most Soviet biologists."

The editors next take to task the editors of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia for giving a "distorted picture of the situation in world biological science and of the level of Soviet biology." This "discredits" such "a responsible publication as the Large Soviet Encyclopedia" but "the most annoying factor here is that so many Soviet readers are misled."

One of the Encyclopedia writers, in criticizing the biologists, raised the familiar Stalinist herring as follows: ". . . it is clear to any biologist who knows the subject that the central problem that for many years has divided biologists into two irreconcilable camps, and will continue to do so as long as capitalism and its ideology exist, is the problem of the inheritance of traits and characteristics acquired by plant and animal organisms during life." This is the old purge language and the editors are vigorous in their rejoinder:

What does this statement mean? Criticism of T. D. Lysenko's views on species could not be stopped; discussion had been begun and continued, and led to definite conclusions. Now A. N. Studitsky raises a barrier before free discussion of part of this scientific problem . . . by scaring Soviet biologists with "the ideology of capitalism." However, the doctrine of the inheritance of "acquired characteristics" appeared long before the rise of socialist or even capitalist ideology. It has proponents among both Soviet and foreign biologists. . . . Some bourgeois scientists . . . draw just as anti-scientific,

reactionary sociological conclusions from the doctrine of the inheritance of 'acquired characteristics' as do other scientists from modern genetics, which denies this phenomenon.

INTIMIDATION of this kind, the editors say, has had harmful effects. There has been "almost no research on the evolution of any group of plants, genus or family." Scientific circles have been poorly informed of the work done on evolution abroad. There have been no translations of foreign monographs on Darwinism nor of reviews of books published abroad on the question. Lysenko's followers, ignoring modern writings, criticize foreign views of 50 years ago while the editors appeal for criticism of contemporary "idealist and metaphysical theories in foreign countries." They want to "appropriate everything that can be useful" from them, thus aiding "the development of evolutionary study in our country" and "strengthening Soviet scientists' influence on foreign science."

The editors proudly point to the fact that, because the independent scientists stood their ground, *The Journal of General Biology*, *The Annals of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Biology Series* and *The Achievements of Modern Biology* "finally allowed the opponents of the teaching of the 'engendering' of the species to appear on their pages. . . . Every biology journal should pose new, basic problems for discussion, broaden the front of discussion and fight against dogmatism and the canonization of any scientific hypothesis and theories. . . . It must be remembered that discussion in science is not a short-lived campaign. Free evaluation of and struggle between scientific concepts is the means by which science exists and develops."

For Freedom of Thought and Negro Rights

A 330-PAGE brief has been submitted by Carl Braden and his attorneys in an appeal from his sentence of 15 years' hard labor and a fine of \$5,000 in the Louisville "sedition case." The brief, filed in the Kentucky Court of Appeals, has an importance beyond that usually connected with legal documents, as it sets forth the facts and arguments of the defense in one of the most notorious frame-ups in the present period of hysteria.

As the brief explains, Braden was railroaded for defying Southern Jim Crow conventions and helping a Negro acquaintance to purchase a home in a lily-white section. The house was subsequently bombed by racist hooligans—to this day not apprehended by the authorities—and, in the turmoil which followed, Braden was indicted and convicted for allegedly holding "seditious" opinions. The facts and significance of the case have been set forth in an article by Mr. Braden in the November issue of the *American Socialist*. The outrageous and transparent fraudulence of the proceedings against Mr. Braden are so apparent that his is rapidly becoming one of the most broadly supported cases in the current wave of injustice. In particular, labor organizations are beginning to come to his defense on a significant scale.

The Braden case involves a combination of two important fights—for freedom of opinion and for Negro rights. The appeal clearly nails down its essential and convincing argument: that Braden was indicted and convicted only on the

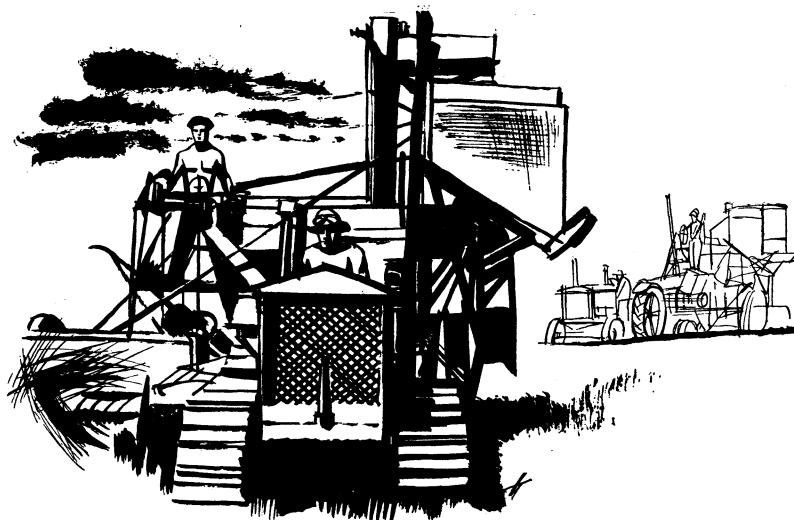
excuse of the Kentucky "sedition" law, but in reality because of his courageous aid to a Negro who appealed to him for help.

"We submit," argue Braden's attorneys Louis Lusky and Robert W. Zollinger, "that the Wade house evidence was, as a matter of practical reality, the central element in the case. Had the defendant not bought the house and protested its destruction, he would never have been prosecuted. The very fact that the prosecution thought it necessary to give the Wade house such a prominent place in the evidence and argument implies a tacit recognition that the evidence of the defendant's alleged CP membership, and his possession of books alleged to be dangerous, would not have been sufficient to produce a guilty verdict.

"The essence of the case was, rather, that the defendant had insulted the prevailing views of the community on the question of racial segregation."

The cost of printing the Braden brief was underwritten by labor, religious, social and civic organizations and by many individuals concerned about civil liberties. Copies may be obtained by writing to Anne Braden, P. O. Box 1302, Louisville 1, Kentucky. The brief deserves the widest possible circulation, particularly among lawyers and active civil libertarians. Those requesting copies are urged to enclose a contribution towards the cost.

Mechanization and mergers on the farm have driven millions of farmers out of business, and jammed many of the rest against the wall. Present "parity" policies have hit a dead end; are not reducing the glut of farm products. Needed: A new program.



Farmers in Trouble

by Michael Burns

IN the days after the Civil War, "40 acres and a mule" was the slogan of millions of Americans who took Horace Greeley's advice and poured into the newly opened farmlands of the West. Since that time, growth in acreage and productivity has made American agriculture one of the most important forces in world food production. With less than one-fiftieth of the world's agricultural population, it produces about one-seventh of the world's food.

Despite this vigorous growth over the past century, the picture of the American farmer in recent decades has, on the whole, not been one of abundance and well-being. In crisis after crisis, beginning in the 1880's, large sections of the American farming class have been pressed to the wall, their farms foreclosed or abandoned and they have been driven to seek new employment, if available, in the cities. The recent drop in farm prices once again brings the American farm problem to the fore and points up some of the underlying tendencies that have created it.

There has been a 30 percent drop in net farm income since 1951 and it is still continuing. Though this smaller income now goes to a smaller farm population the drop *per capita* is considerable. The farmer's cost-price gap is widening. He continues to pay about the same amount for the things he must buy, but he receives almost one-third less for what he brings to market. This means that the farmer now gets far less of the retail food dollar, and the middleman, the packer, the processor and the bank get more. Where in 1946 the farmer's share of the retail food dollar was 52 percent, it is now only 40 percent.

THE most impressive sign of the farm difficulty is the growing pile-up of unsold and unsalable agricultural products. This government-held glut has almost quad-

rupled in the last three years. By March 1955, the U.S. Government's investment in surplus farm commodities had reached over \$7 billion, with about \$1-million-a-day cost for storage. There were enough surpluses paid for to provide every family in the country with sixteen hundred loaves of bread, an almost equal amount of corn, enough cotton for one hundred shirts or dresses per family, about six pounds or more of butter, and enough cheese, wool, cottonseed oil, barley, beans, tobacco and other products to literally make this country "a land overflowing with milk and honey." Secretary of Agriculture Benson has stated:

A train loaded with all of the wheat, corn, flaxseed, soy beans, and small grains in which C.C.C. (Commodity Credit Corporation) funds are today invested would be 8,123 miles long. It would reach one-third of the way around the world.

The farmers who produced this abundance in the last three years, especially the small farmers, were not any better off. Neither, for that matter, are large sections of the consumer market. One-fourth of all American families, about 12½ million, with incomes below \$2,000 a year, are not able to afford an adequate diet. Nor are the hungry millions abroad able to share in this abundance: U.S. agricultural exports have declined sharply from their wartime and post-war peaks.

Though the glut of farm products has only appeared in its full force recently, its development reaches back over a century. Technological improvements began around the 1830's, prompted by the high proportion of land per person and the shortage of labor. First came the steel

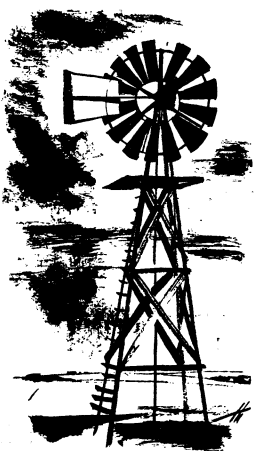
plow, then the gradual introduction of harrows, threshing machines, grain binders and other equipment. Until the 1920's, however, these machines still relied mainly on animal power, which reached a high of some 25 million work animals in 1921.

AMERICAN farmers were sustained during all these years by two main forces: the boom in the domestic market due to industrialization and urbanization and the immigration into the U.S.; and the practically unlimited European demand. During periods of price decline and drought, the farmer pulled through by virtue of the cheapness of the labor of his family. But by the 1920's, the domestic market leveled off, and European demand weakened sharply—Big Business tariff policy weakened it further. And the bigger farms began to mechanize on a gigantic scale.

By 1925 even his own cheap labor and that of his family was no longer sufficient to enable the small farmer to compete with the new mechanized farms. The ascendancy of the gas- and diesel-engined tractor, which permitted practically all plowing, seeding, cultivating and harvesting operations to be done through various mechanical attachments, forced prices below the level on which a farm family could exist without mechanization.

By the 1930's mechanization of farms had reached a level where it utilized over one million tractors and 5 million other vehicles. The labor saved through these devices at that time was estimated at over one billion man-hours per year, enough to account for half a million workers. In addition, 60-70 million acres of land formerly needed for the feed of draft animals were now able to be turned over to other purposes.

The collapse of industry in the Great Depression of the thirties put the final skids to a whole section of the farming population. A farm labor force estimated at from one to three million was thrown on the open road, and the major portion of those who remained on the land were left heavily in debt and on a greatly lowered standard of



living. By 1933 the index of farm prices had fallen off 40 percent from that of 1929 and persons on farms received a total net income less than one-third of the 1929 level.

To find anything similar one would have to go back to

the Enclosure Acts of England of several centuries ago which removed large sections of the English farming class from the countryside and threw them into vagabondage. These were the years of the "Okies" and "Arkies," of "The Grapes of Wrath" and "Ill Fares the Land."

ECONOMIC relief which World War II gave to the country through a manpower shortage, increased national income, and large exports of farm products boosted farm prices, and for a short period the agricultural crisis disappeared. Productivity, however, continued to climb and was reinforced by many new agricultural techniques.

The introduction of hybrid corn in the early thirties led to the production of record-high corn crops. Almost every year in the forties and fifties has seen a 3-billion-bushel crop of corn. By contrast, before hybrid corn, a similar crop occurred only twice (1906, 1920), and then by the planting of 15 million more acres than at present.

The development of improved, disease- and insect-resistant strains of wheat, oats, barley, etc., has also revolutionized production. The potato crop, as a result of improved techniques, has yielded as high as 700 bushels per acre on many farms, as compared to 100 bushels per acre in the pre-World War I period.

Improvements in breeding and selection were also extended to the field of animal livestock. New breeds of sheep, hogs, and steers have been recently introduced which promise unexampled yields in wool, meat, and hides. New techniques have increased the milk and butterfat yield from the average dairy cow by about 20 percent since 1930.

Thus while the farm working population has declined by over 50 percent since 1900, productivity per man-hour of farm labor has more than doubled, and in food grains (wheat, barley, etc.) it has more than tripled with only a relatively small increase in acreage. But the same factors that acted in the twenties and thirties to limit the American market for farm products have continued to operate. As Louis Hacker then pointed out:

1) Population growth was slowing down. 2) Profound changes in dietary habits were taking place. 3) Improved methods of heating homes and the growing elimination of the need for hard physical toil made it possible for men as well as women to dispense with foods with high caloric contents. 4) Cotton was being replaced by rayons and other chemically produced fabrics.

Once the war-time and Marshall Plan demands for food snapped, these tendencies were soon reflected in a fall in farm prices. Producing as independent units, the 5½ million farmers are unable to withhold production in times of glut, as industrial corporations can, and wait for a future rise in market demand. The devices of industry, such as "retrenchment," which involves firings and layoffs, and "capital reinvestment" in new, more profitable enterprises, are cut off for most farmers, who could only fire themselves or their families. The dilemma of the small agricultural entrepreneur confronting a market over which he has no control is illustrated by the fact that a small surplus of 5 percent of eggs last year resulted in a 20

percent drop in farm egg income. And the farmers' reaction to falling prices, unlike the retrenching capitalist, is to *increase* his output in an attempt to hold his own, thus aggravating the surplus and driving prices still further down.

TO subsist in the midst of monopolistic industry and a narrowed market requires a commercial farm which is a far cry from the days of "40 acres and a mule." A W.P.A. National Research Project reported in 1938:

Mechanization of the farm involves more than the purchase of a tractor. It practically calls for a reorganization of the farm on a different scale, the acquisition of new equipment, and a higher degree of planning. It also involves a higher capital investment and a greater dependence of the farmer on credit resources and manufactured products in the form of power units, parts, and fuel. Commercial farmers who are not in a position to mechanize face increasing difficulties resulting from competition of the mechanized farms.

To gain a satisfactory living from farming, the required investment nowadays, according to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, is between 50 and 75 thousand dollars.

The concentration of land in fewer hands, though not as strong a tendency as industrial concentration, has risen noticeably during the last thirty-five years, and has split the American farming class into a number of sections. Since 1920 the number of large (1000-acre or more) farms has doubled, and those of 250 acres or more has also considerably increased. The small-farmer group of 180 acres and less, which had once constituted the overwhelming majority of American population and owned most of the country's acreage, had by 1950 shrunk to ten percent of the people of this country (two-thirds of the farms) owning only one-fourth of the country's acreage. In contrast the large-farmer group of 250 acres or more made up less than one-fourth of all farms but produced about three-fourths of the value of all farm products sold.

Through cheap unorganized labor and large capital investments, reaching as high as \$60-70 thousand per worker in the Wheat Plains and Corn Belt, these large "farm factories" have become the dominant element in the farm community. They have diversified into such fields as ranching, cattle-raising, canning, processing and packaging. In many cases, the small farmer has become merely a sub-contractor to these giant associations.

CONSEQUENTLY, agriculture today presents a far different picture from fifty years ago. The number of farms is reduced to 5.4 million, down more than a million. Further, some 2.2 million of these, in the under-\$1,000-class when grouped according to value of product, are not really in the running as farms; they figure in the picture largely as rural slums of a degraded nature, or places of retirement or semi-retirement for elderly people, or part-time occupations supplemented by other income. From the point of view of economics, the number of American

farms has been reduced to only about 3.2 million. But within this number, only about half a million farms produce an annual product the value of which is over \$10,000, and this top 9 percent of the farmers brings to market more than half of the farm products sold.



At the bottom of the farm pyramid stands the agricultural laborer, numbering a force which varies from 2 to 4 million, most of whom are hired by the top 9 percent of the farms that dominates the farm economy. The wage worker on the land represents the lowest-income sector of the American working class, with an average wage, according to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, of about 66 cents an hour. Due to seasonal fluctuations in the demand for labor he is lucky if he can get six months work a year, and his average annual income, including outside non-farm work, is about \$1,000 a year.

The small farmer has been finding himself more and more in competition with these low-paid agricultural workers of the large commercial farms. With his limited equipment and therefore relatively inefficient methods of production, he in some ways resembles the artisan of the early days of capitalism, who was brutally replaced by the more rationalized production methods of the manufacturers.

The problem of the marginal farms—45 percent of the 5.4 million American farms produce only 5 percent of the cash crop sold in America's markets—is one aspect of the farm problem. But, considered from another view, the entire farming industry of America is one vast problem, which may be stated as follows: Like capitalist industry, capitalist farming tends to out-produce the market. But the farmer has never been able to develop the compensatory regulators that the industrialist has. All of his attempts to combine to fix prices have failed. He is forced by his whole setup to produce more, instead of less, when prices decline.

To find an answer for the farmer's ability to produce so magnificently, the government has been forced to work out a complicated series of farm relief measures. War production orders cannot be directly used today to bolster

the farm economy. As a matter of fact, the proportion of military buying of a basic crop such as wheat has decreased to about one-fifteenth of the 1947 level. The measures which have been developed since the 1930's boil down to a system of restrictions on the quantity of the product which is permitted to reach the market. First, the farmer must comply with acreage restrictions worked out by the government if he is to become eligible for parity loans or payments. This restrains output. Then, the Commodity Credit Corporation is in the market to buy up and store enough of each product to keep the price up to a certain "parity" level—which, in simplified terms, is a level which gives the farmer a purchasing power comparable to that which he had in a certain base period of the past. Marketing quotas and direct payments to leave land lie fallow (soil conservation) are also used. To pay for this program, tax monies to the extent of a billion dollars a year are expended.

In sum therefore, the people of this country must pay taxes to ensure that the prices which they pay for their farm products are kept high; and on top of this they must pay over a third of a billion dollars a year more to take care of storage costs on these surplus products!

IN the thirties, when parity price supports were first introduced, the object was to sustain farm income in any possible way. The farm crisis, however, remained, and even deepened after 1937 when farm prices fell 20 percent. The drought and crop failures of the middle thirties had some effect, but that soon wore off and by the latter part of the decade farmers were once again producing surpluses far above the capacity of the market.

The notion that parity price supports combined with crop reduction can solve the farm problem and preserve the 3 million family-size farms has been consistently refuted. The drop in farm prices since 1951, the mounting agricultural surpluses, and the decline in the total farm population by another five million since 1947 are signs of that. For all of these reasons, a leading expert on the farm problem, Murray Benedict, wrote in his just-published Twentieth Century Fund study:

The rate of technological advance between 1920 and 1950 was apparently such that this factor alone would have kept farm production high and prices low until the transition had run its course had it not been for the great increase in demand in the 1940's. In other words, there is every reason to think that if the war had not occurred American agriculture would have remained in a relatively depressed condition up to 1950 and beyond, probably in spite of governmental efforts to better its situation.

And for the future, Dr. Benedict holds out this fond hope: "The problem might recede into the background, temporarily at least, if widespread and severe droughts should occur within the next year or two or if new large-scale war demands should arise."

The program of parity payments and other aids to the farmer clearly does not strike at the root of the problem. Through these programs, however, the large "farm factories" with their many competitive advantages have been

restrained from eradicating the small-scale farmer in one fell swoop. For this reason many of the big-farm lobbies, such as the Farm Bureau and the National Grange, are in favor of lowering or removing parity payments and controls. These farm lobbies have convinced most agricultural experts that the small dirt farmer must disappear in time in the interests of a more efficient type of agriculture. Lowry Nelson in his book "American Farm Life" states: "It is not at all beyond the realm of possibility that 10 percent of the nation's total labor force could operate the farms, instead of the present 15 percent, and could even increase agricultural production." L. H. Schoff in "A National Agricultural Policy" estimates that "at least 2 million persons now engaged in agriculture could be released for the production of other goods." And the trend is toward measures which will help this process along.

SHORTLY after taking over the national government, the Eisenhower administration inaugurated its program of so-called "flexible" price supports at lower parity levels. Its objective was threefold: 1. To satisfy the demands of the bigger farmers for a return to competition in the agricultural market, so that they could drive out smaller farmers. 2. To reduce the federal budget. 3. To start extricating the federal government from the business of purchasing farm products to keep the price up, as the warehouses were beginning to bulge with unsalable surpluses.

Of these three aims, the administration has had some success only with the first. Farm prices proved so weak that they slid downhill very rapidly, and the administration soon found itself buying far more surplus stocks than ever before. The warehouses are piled high, and the government is spending more money than ever paying for them and for their storage.

The farm situation can be expected, in the near future, to blow up into a sizable crisis. The attempt to keep prices up by government buying is reaching a dead end, as the flood of commodities behind the government dam has grown so great that it threatens to burst it, and prices are falling anyhow. In casting about for a better answer, very few farm specialists are rash enough to promise, within our present economic system, any solution outside the obvious ones of protracted droughts or a new war. There are those who call, quite properly, for an expansion of the consumption of agricultural products to meet our expanding production, through food-stamp plans, expanded school-lunch programs, and other ways of getting the food to the people, but no one expects such a program to be put into effect by either party on the scale that would be required to make a dent in the problem.

Meanwhile, the labor movement continues to echo in the main the Democratic Party demand for higher parity payments. It is time that people within labor begin to realize that the parity system is in bad trouble, and raising parity payments or even distributing them in a more progressive manner does not hit at the root of the trouble. Forward-looking farmers in collaboration with labor are up against the need of making a fresh study of the basic causes for the farm difficulty and elaborating far-reaching solutions behind which their forces can rally.

A great university, marking its 75th year of existence, shows signs of witch-hunt inroads as it yields steadily on its once sacrosanct principles of academic freedom.

A Case History:

Decline of a University

by Martin Hall

THIS fall the University of Southern California celebrates the 75th anniversary of its foundation. Founded by a group of Methodist ministers and starting in a single building erected at the cost of \$5,000 with an enrollment of 53 students, this institution has grown to be the third largest among the privately endowed universities in the country.

Like practically all private universities USC has its share of government-financed projects, most of them directly or indirectly connected with military preparedness. The percentage of government appropriations compared to the total budget is relatively small—\$1,870,000 out of \$13,769,167—but it seems to have a noticeable effect on academic freedom, due to the ever-growing demands for security checks for all those connected with these projects.

President Fred D. Fagg, Jr., in the university's Bulletin for 1954-55 stated the aims of the University in these words:

The University of Southern California, non-sectarian as its founders would wish, reaffirms its faith in God and the freedom of worship according to the dictates of conscience.

The University believes in the supreme worth of the individual and in a government of limited powers.

The University believes in the democratic tradition of political institutions and free enterprise. It believes also, there is no substitute for individual initiative.

The University believes that the only security which is secure is dependent upon the continuing vision, intelligence, courage, and initiative of our citizens.

The University believes in academic freedom, and—at the same time—it believes that academic freedom should be coupled with scholarly responsibility.

Mr. Hall is a free-lance writer who has written for The Nation, Progressive, Monthly Review, and other periodicals.

The University believes these things and will continue to implement its beliefs in the course of its daily activities.

While the emphasis on "free enterprise" and "individual initiative" could be considered an unnecessary deference to the economic powers-that-be, few would quarrel with President Fagg about most of the rest of the credo. However, the record of USC in recent years shows that there has been quite a gap between these lofty beliefs and their implementation in the University's daily practice.

DR. Fagg might believe in a "government of limited powers," but he has certainly not applied this belief to the field of his own powers as president of the University. Just as his predecessor, Dr. Rufus von Kleinschmidt, ruled the University for years with an iron hand until frequent clashes between him and the faculty made it advisable to "promote" him to the post of chancellor, Dr. Fagg has made important decisions affecting the University as a whole more often than not without consultation with the faculty or the student body.

A recent example of his high-handed methods was his invitation to Governor Shivers of Texas to deliver this year's commencement address. To Dr. Fagg a man of such outspoken racist prejudices as Governor Shivers might not look like a controversial figure. He probably considers Governor Shivers, as does the Rev. Fifield at whose church Dr. Fagg is a prominent and active member, one of today's "great Americans." The majority of USC's faculty and student body certainly don't share this view. They protested strongly against Dr. Fagg's choice of commencement speaker and, when Dr. Fagg insisted on his decision and even in a second invitation apologized to Governor Shivers for the protests that had been made against his appearance, both faculty and students alike stayed away in large numbers from the exercises.

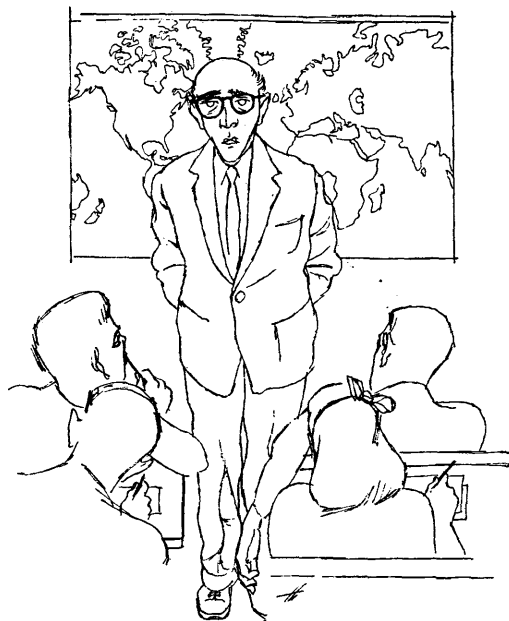
It was in the field of academic freedom where the decline of the University of Southern California became most obvious. Some years ago when the University of California tried to impose upon its faculty a loyalty oath which later was declared unconstitutional by the courts, officials of the University of Southern California pointed out with pride that such a violation of academic freedom would never occur on the campus of a private university such as USC. There is still, to our knowledge, no loyalty oath required as a condition for employment at USC apart from the necessary clearance for work on government projects. But in at least two cases, one in 1952 involving the dismissal of Janet Stevenson as a lecturer in the Drama Department and the other this summer when Andries Deinum was fired as lecturer in the Cinema Department, the University of Southern California has abjectly yielded to the pressures of legislative investigating committees.

IN both cases the teachers were dismissed for reasons which admittedly had nothing whatever to do with their work. Janet Stevenson, a well-known playwright, was hired as a lecturer in the Drama Department of USC in the spring of 1949 and taught continuously until her dismissal in the summer of 1952. When she was interviewed for the instructor's job by the head of the Drama Depart-

ment, William C. de Mille, she was asked unofficially to deny present or past membership in or sympathies with the Communist Party. Mrs. Stevenson's written reply, which in 1949 was accepted as satisfactory and led to her subsequent employment at USC, stated in part:

I feel that you ought to ask and be answered whether I think and write and speak and teach freely that which I believe and know, or thoughts that are dictated to me by others. . . . To the best of my knowledge I do not and have never accepted dictation from any individual or group on what I think or say. . . . I told you how I feel about loyalty oaths. . . . To answer your question the way you put it would, in effect, be to sign such a check. . . . This is something I cannot in good conscience do.

For more than three years Janet Stevenson taught successfully in the Drama Department. There was never the slightest criticism of her work as a teacher and her rare gift to instill enthusiasm for her subject among her students was recognized and praised by faculty and students alike. Then in the spring of 1952 things began to happen. On March 25, 1952, the *Daily Trojan*, student paper at USC, reported that a meeting had been held on the campus upon the invitation of President Fagg, of the California State Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, with representatives of a number of California colleges and universities. Agreement was reached at this meeting that each college and university should appoint a liaison person "to co-ordinate action against subversive campus activities." Some time later



Nathan F. Coombs, Counsel for the California Un-American Activities Committee, testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee on what he called "the voluntary plan of cooperation of the California private and State colleges and universities with his committee" by es-

tablishing a network of informers on each campus spying on both faculty and students. Senator Jenner was so impressed with this testimony that he publicly commended Mr. Coombs for having set an example for all other states in the Union to follow.

A GROUP of members of the USC faculty signed a strong protest against this intrusion by the state into academic freedom, which appeared in the *Daily Trojan* as did numerous letters of protests by students. President Fagg was forced to declare before a meeting of the American Association of University Professors that he too was "interested in preserving academic freedom" and that the meeting with the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities and the agreement reached at that meeting "did not mean that we are giving up that freedom."

Less than two months later Janet Stevenson was called before a meeting and informed that questions of her loyalty had been raised by un-named "associates" and that while no one was questioning the quality of her work as an instructor she would have to "cooperate" by answering questions as to her political beliefs and associations. Mrs. Stevenson refused and after two more fruitless meetings was informed that her contract as instructor would not be renewed.

Protests by faculty members and students were to no avail. In a last, moving speech to her class which was later published in the campus paper together with a large number of student letters protesting her dismissal, Janet Stevenson told her students:

Let's suppose, for the moment, that I answered the questions satisfactorily. Suppose I was able to swear myself into respectability. Suppose I pass. That's today. But what about tomorrow? For, ever since the University conferred last spring with . . . the State Un-American Activities Committee, it has been widely believed that there are official subversive monitors on the campus, faculty and student. . . . So, how am I to conduct myself tomorrow? . . . What about my opinions? Shall I express them or suppress them? How will they sound in the ears of the faceless listener with the long tongue? . . . And then, there are the students. How shall I deal with them? The dilemma is this: Security in one's job is best achieved by the total avoidance of controversy; but controversy is the lifeblood of education. . . . I do not enjoy losing this job. I shall undoubtedly have a hard time finding another in the near future; still harder because I have made this public. . . . But I don't see how, believing what I just told you, I have any choice but to do what I have done. So, I am at liberty. And rocky as the ground is up here, liberty is not a bad place to be.

ONE would like to believe that the days of the witch hunt are now over. The recent firing of Andries Deinum shows otherwise. Mr. Deinum's case is in some respects unique. He did not invoke the Fifth Amendment. He testified freely about the fact that from 1946 to 1950 he had belonged to the Communist Party. He explained that he had joined the party "out of intellectual curiosity"

and left it when he found no more intellectual satisfaction in it. He stated that his party activity had consisted in attending a study class dealing with art, the cinema, and aesthetics in general, and that during the time of his membership he had never observed any signs of subversive or illegal activities on the part of his associates. For this reason he refused to give the committee any names of these persons.

It was for this and for this only that he was summarily fired only a few hours after his testimony and before President Fagg could have seen a transcript of the hearings. Dr. Fagg's letter of dismissal, which was dated on the day of the hearing, stated laconically:

In view of statements you are reported to have made before the House Un-American Activities Committee and in accordance with our policy I hereby notify you that as of this date you are suspended from your teaching job at the University of Southern California.

Andries Deinum was no obscure lecturer. A former successful movie producer, he had in the two years of his connection with the Cinema Department of the University made a name for himself both nationally and internationally. Only a few weeks before his dismissal his promotion to the post of Assistant Professor had been approved by the University for the coming semester. He



was preparing two books on the theory of the film. He had built up the vast collection of film literature at the University's library under the Farmington Plan and his work had attracted attention in many of the leading universities of America and Europe. As an example of the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues we may quote from a letter by Dr. Lester F. Beck at whose recommendation Deinum had been hired, written to Dr. Fagg when Dr. Beck heard of the instructor's dismissal:

To lose him for any reason at the present time would be a crippling blow to the Department and in the long

run for the University as well. For I believe that if Mr. Deinum can continue with the program of research, writing and teaching that he has set out for himself, he will, within a decade, be recognized as one of the world's authorities on film in all its aspects. He is a scholar in the classical tradition who ranges widely in many fields and in many languages.

A letter by Andries Deinum gives an impression of the measure of the man. He wrote to President Fagg upon the receipt of the latter's letter of dismissal and stated the reasons which compelled him to take the stand he had decided upon:

The question of names is basically the only issue that stood between my position and one of utter frankness. The basic reason for my refusal was a moral and ethical one. I could not bring upon people who were to my knowledge innocent of any subversive intent the mental suffering that has befallen me. . . .

The mentioning of names would have saved me a great deal of trouble, but it would have smashed me inside and ruined me as a man. . . . Therefore I chose a position that had not been taken previously, to the best of my knowledge, before this Committee.

PROTESTS against Deinum's dismissal came in fast. The full faculty of the Cinema Department demanded a fair hearing before the Academic Senate. Worried inquiries and protests arrived from other American universities and even from abroad. Within two days 51 students of the Cinema Department signed a petition for Deinum's re-instatement. Foreign students, of whom there are a goodly number in the Department, declared they would have liked to sign too but that they feared to lose their student visa. The *Daily Trojan* carried a strong editorial. Five students sent a signed letter to President Fagg:

If the implication of the suspension is that Mr. Deinum misconducted himself by not naming persons he knew while he was a member of the Communist Party—persons he believes innocent of any illegal action, then . . . does the suspension imply the University's desire to employ and actually prefer informers? . . . Is the implication perhaps that the University fires and hires according to the dictates of public pressures from without? We hope not, for if so we are being done a disservice as students who came here in good faith to study in a department reputed to be the best of its kind in the country.

Dr. Fagg's only reply to this letter was a terse note acknowledging receipt and adding one sentence: "Our concept of what is good for the University seems not to be in agreement."

Perhaps he was too busy with preparations for the highly publicized 75th anniversary of the University to realize that by cheating students of their right to academic freedom he was writing another chapter in the process of decline of a once free university.

A Purged Scholar Tells of the California "Political Inquisition" Law

by Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz

STATE legislation permitting arbitrary political inquisition of public employees is being overlooked by most civil libertarians. The Smith Act is having its day in court. Marauding Congressional committees have been slapped on the wrist and McCarthy is lying low, so liberals think they have licked him. Freedom to travel abroad has been extended a bit. Southern fight-back testifies to genuine gains in civil rights by the Negro. But 27 states and both territories have laws extending public employment supervision to include political supervision.

This sort of legislation seems merely to bar from public employment Communists, Socialists, Quakers, maybe here and there an old-style Unitarian, so why fret about it? Actually, it is concretized McCarthyism; a mass of law permitting political inquisitions that will require years to expunge.

Harry Slochower of New York and this writer of California have cases before the U. S. Supreme Court seeking to test the right of bureaucrats to inquisition public employees politically without show of cause. If this may be done, then it seems to me that no contract with a state is secure, and public-job-tenure rights evaporate with civil rights.

Mr. Slochower appears to have won a hearing. The court will respond to my writ demanding a review of the case any Monday soon. It is necessary to emphasize the violations of rights that are involved in this matter. If I illustrate from my own case, let it be remembered that most of these points will apply equally to most of the 29 laws obtaining in 27 states and Alaska and Hawaii.

THE Luckel Law of California, under which I was the first person called before the inquisition, allows every public employing agency in the state to call any employee at any time and any number of times for any question about his memberships and beliefs that the interrogators think naughty through alleged relation to Communism. I refused, in January 1954, to tell whether I am or ever was one of those people. The reasons I gave, largely brushed aside by California courts, are now before the judicial summit, and can be summarized as follows:

1. I upheld my contract with the state loyally for 23 years. The Constitution says I cannot be deprived without due process

Dr. Steinmetz, now a privately practicing psychologist, was dismissed from San Diego State College for principled non-compliance with the law he discusses here. His fight for reinstatement is being pursued by the Committee for Social Justice of the Community Unitarian Fellowship of San Diego County, of which he is a member.

of law. This requires that cause be shown. To fire me without my violating my contract reminds me of what Professor Stanley W. Moore told Reed College six months later:

The logic of firing for professional unfitness an individual whose fitness has been concretely tested over a period of years, justifying the action solely in terms of political generalities, is illustrated by a story told in another connection by the British journalist, Selden.

A peasant returned home unexpectedly, to find his wife in bed with a neighbor. When he started to reproach her, she fetched him a terrible blow, shouting, "Wretch, to believe your eyes instead of your own sweet wife." The un-American investigators should erect a statue to that peasant woman; she invented their philosophy.

It is now the philosophy of more than half our states.

2. The Luckel and other such laws deprive citizens of their equal rights under the law. California Supreme Court Justice Jesse W. Carter wrote, in his dissenting opinion in my case, that the Luckel Law "makes of the public employee a second-class citizen by denying to him, under penalty of exclusion from his means of a livelihood, the right to refuse to answer questions which might tend to incriminate him—a right guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitutions of the United States and of California."

3. The procedure against me was arbitrary. I was summoned in the middle of my 23rd year with the State College and dismissed in the course of the school year with no regard for the relevance of the summons or the disruption of tax-supported services. Furthermore, like most California public employees I held office under an oath already covering the permissible parts of the Luckel Law, an oath which stipulates that none other can ever be required.

4. Every public employee is subject to double jeopardy or worse in this law, contrary to the clear prohibition of this practice in the Bill of Rights. The law provides no immunity from a call every month, or every week, *ad nauseum*.

5. The state agency that calls a public employee before the inquisition is not required to present an accuser, or for that matter any reason for the summons. This despite the fact that, on November 23, 1953, President Eisenhower said: "In this country, if someone dislikes you or accuses you, he must come up in front. . . . He cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will in-

flict. . . ." A month after this, his California friends came up on me from behind—for in California that is legal now.

6. I took my stand to test the constitutionality of the Luckel Law. For doing this I have been deprived of my position, salary, insurance, and various employee rights; my tenure has been abrogated, academic employability ruined, and even my earned right to retirement has been called into question. No law can so ensure disaffection as one designed to enforce patriotism.

LAWS permitting political inquisition show a sacrifice of ethical pretenses, and a turning-back to ritual, stereotype and taboo. They are reminiscent of the practices during the decay of ancient Rome. J. B. Bury has recorded in "A History of Free Thought,"

When any one was accused of Christianity, he was required, as a means of testing the truth of the charge, to offer incense to the gods or to the statues of deified Emperors. His compliance at once exonerated him. . . . But it must be noted that there was no necessity for any citizen to take part in this worship. No conformity was required from any inhabitants of the Empire who were not serving the state as soldiers or civil functionaries. Thus the effect was to debar Christians from military and official careers.

There were Romans who looked ahead and figured that if this could be done to Christians now it might be done to them later. But most of the rank and file followed reactionary rulers; there was less competition if the Christians were barred from office. So offices came to be filled with willing tools of authoritarian politicians.

Now with the Luckel Law in mind, allow me to paraphrase Bury:

When any one is accused of Communism, he is required, in the tradition of the test oath and inquisition, to swear an oath that he isn't Red and does not advocate changes through the means of the Founding Fathers. His compliance exonerates him, preferably with recantation of all past sins. But it should be noticed that as yet there is no legal necessity, save in a few places, for ordinary citizens to come under the impudent interrogation. Confessions and negative oaths are not required of citizens who are not serving the state as soldiers or civil functionaries. Thus the principal effects of state laws is to debar Reds, Pinks, and those who believe in civil liberties and democracy from military and official careers.

Ivory Towers And Watchtowers

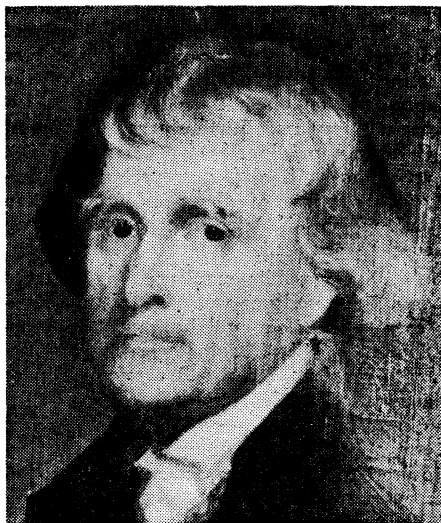
HERETICS AND RENEGADES, by Isaac Deutscher. Hamish Hamilton, London, 1955. (British Book Center, 122 East 55 Street, New York City.)

ISAAC Deutscher is one of the most distinguished political writers on Russian affairs in the world today. His Marxist training wedded to Anglo-Saxon common sense has produced an effective combination: He writes with an authority that can be matched by few others, and his English style (acquired when he was already a mature person) is strong, clear and convincing.

The present book consists of a collection of essays, most of which have appeared in recent years in various periodicals, dealing with such topics as the ex-communists, the life and psychology of a leader of an East European People's Democracy, Orwell's "1984," the analogy between the French and Russian revolutions, Trotsky's biography of Stalin, the Beria affair, etc. All of the pieces in this volume are well written and have something fresh to say. By an analogy with the past, Deutscher often throws a revealing shaft of light on some recent happenings and places them in an understandable historical context; or in critical evaluations of writers as disparate as the satirist, George Orwell, the British historian, E. H. Carr, and Leon Trotsky, he reveals the traits of the true critic. He draws on his considerable erudition to correlate the writings of these men to the literature extant on the subject; he has the necessary sense of history to relate them to the flow of events, and in polemicizing against some of their views, he has the integrity and conscientiousness to try to understand and state their positions honestly, and to clearly indicate to the reader his own approach which

forms the basis for his dissent. All in all, Deutscher's writing stands out as a veritable beacon in the sickly haze and miasma of the unhistorical, slanted and often bigoted political literature of our cold-war era.

THE first essay on the ex-communists, which appeared in the *Reporter* in April 1950 as a review of "The God That Failed," is possibly the most brilliant in the book, and has the character of a personal credo. The ex-communist has become a recognized and necessary component in the West's cold-war endeavors and members of this confraternity bob up in all corners of the world. Even the case-hardened AFL bureaucracy succumbed several years back to the "spirit of the times" and hired a batch of ex-Lovestoneite-communist experts to direct its foreign policy.



JEFFERSON

Deutscher makes mince-meat of Arthur Koestler's boast that "we ex-communists are the only people on your

side who know what it's all about." He retorts, "With equal right a sufferer from traumatic shock might claim that he is the only one who really understands wounds and surgery. The most that the intellectual ex-communist knows, or rather feels, is his own sickness; but he is ignorant of the nature of the external violence that has produced it, let alone the cure. . . . Nearly every ex-communist broke with his party in the name of communism. Nearly every one set out to defend the ideal of socialism from the abuses of a bureaucracy subservient to Moscow. . . . Sooner or later these intentions are forgotten and abandoned. Having broken with a party bureaucracy in the name of communism, the heretic goes on to break with communism itself. . . . He no longer defends socialism from unscrupulous abuse; he now defends mankind from the fallacy of socialism. . . . The heretic becomes a renegade.

"Whatever the shades of individual attitudes, as a rule the intellectual ex-communist ceases to oppose capitalism. Often he rallies to its defense, and he brings to this job the lack of scruple, the narrow-mindedness, the disregard for truth, and the intense hatred with which Stalinism has imbued him. He remains a sectarian. He is an inverted Stalinist. He continues to see the world in white and black, but now the colors are differently distributed. As a communist he saw no difference between fascists and social-democrats. As an anti-communist he sees no difference between Nazism and Communism. Once he accepted the party's claim to infallibility; now he believes himself to be infallible. Having once been caught by the 'greatest illusion,' he is now obsessed by the greatest disillusionment of our time."

IT helps in gaining a historical perspective about this world-wide phenomenon when we realize that something very similar to this occurred in the intellectual world when Napoleon Bonaparte usurped the power created by the French revolution, and when his monarchy replaced the Republic of liberty, equality and fraternity. "There can be no greater tragedy," declares Deutscher, "than that of a great revolution's succumbing to the mailed fist that was to defend it from its enemies." All over Europe, num-

erous enthusiastic partisans of the French revolution who had proclaimed themselves Jacobins, turned their backs on their former idol in disillusionment and disgust. Wordsworth and Coleridge in England who had been in the forefront of the intellectual Jacobin ranks became obsessed with the "Jacobin danger" and prominently joined the witch-hunt of their day.

Deutscher says: "An honest and critically minded man could reconcile himself to Napoleon as little as he can now to Stalin." What course shall socialists then take? Deutscher advises that they get out of the rough-and-tumble. "He cannot join the Stalinist camp or the anti-Stalinist Holy Alliance without doing violence to his better self. So let him stay outside any camp. Let him try to regain critical sense and intellectual detachment." Deutscher hastens to assure us that he is not advocating retirement to an ivory tower, but withdrawal into a watchtower. And he offers as models to follow three great figures of the eighteenth century, Jefferson, Goethe and Shelley.

His distinction between an ivory tower and watchtower is in this context not easy to follow, and the three men he cites are not good illustrations for his argument. "Jefferson was the staunchest friend of the French revolution in its early historic period . . . but he turned away in disgust from Napoleon's 'military despotism.'" True, but Jefferson is the worst example one can offer of a man who took to his "watchtower" and stayed outside "any camp." Jefferson continued throughout the Napoleonic era as a world leader of Republican ideas and ideals, he was the head of the popular party in the United States that finally swept into office and broke the witch-hunt that the American Tories were seeking to fasten on this country. Shelley, in a more restricted and literary way, can be said to have followed a similar path. He scorned Napoleon's despotism, but he remained true to the Jacobin ideal, and to the extent of his possibilities passionately participated in the libertarian struggle of his country. As for Goethe, all his Olympian detachment could not hide his essentially Tory spirit. Goethe was Minister to a German Prince in his working hours, and a patrician in his thinking, despite his great universality. According to Deut-

cher, "All three—Jefferson, Goethe, and Shelley—were in a sense outsiders to the great conflict of their time." Not so, and especially not true for



STALIN

Jefferson and Shelley. These two are indeed splendid examples for socialist intellectuals to emulate, but not in the way Deutscher represents it.

DURING the last few years, Deutscher has become the leading theorist of the concept that Russia, because of its emergence as a modern industrial state, will gradually evolve toward a political democracy of socialism, and that the dictatorship perfected by Stalin, which reflected Russia's isolation and backwardness, will wear away as the Asian economic and cultural heritage is displaced. This thesis is argued thoroughly in his book, "Russia, What Next?" which was issued in 1953, and is backed up by an impressively drawn contrast between present-day conditions and those obtaining in the twenties when Stalin rose to power.

Deutscher attempts to present the problem in a scientific manner, but the very aloofness which has enabled him to gain a broadly based objective picture of the trend plays him false in picturing the mechanics of the coming changes. Deutscher pays a lot of attention to economic advancement, the statistics, the urbanization, the changes in agriculture, the rising living standards, to explain the objective reasons for a democratization trend. But when he discusses Soviet politics, his atten-

tion, like that of an old-style historian, is almost exclusively riveted on the decisions, actions, maneuvers and plans of the high government leaders. From "Russia, What Next?" one would conclude that democratization will take place by benevolent dictators slowly and gradually granting their subjects more and more reforms until finally in its totality it will add up to a regime of political democracy. What about the masses of people? Don't they enter into the picture at all, except as objects of history? Deutscher's gaze is directed exclusively toward the chancelleries—a curious twist for a Marxist. It is undeniable that in a country which has no independent press, or opposition parties, it is not too easy to say what the different layers of people are thinking, and delineate with any degree of exactness the popular political trends. But to virtually ignore this aspect of things is a grievous omission for an analyst who prides himself on being a materialist.

Apparently Deutscher is cognizant of this criticism, and in his essay "A Reply to Critics" (first published in a French periodical in March 1954) he writes: "This is not to say that one ought to expect democratization to be brought about exclusively by reform from above; a combination of pressure from below and reform from above may be necessary. Yet at a certain stage of development it is the quasi-liberal reform from above that may most effectively spur on a revival of spontaneous political action below or create the conditions under which such action may become possible after a whole epoch of totalitarian torpor." Which is quite correct, as far as it goes; but it speaks volumes that this is the only paragraph in the whole book on Russia's "grass roots."

LIKE others who predict coming events, Deutscher often seeks to hedge his bets. Alongside his main thesis, he lists two other possible variants of Russian development: a relapse into Stalinism, or a military dictatorship—which would seem to exhaust all the main possibilities. He considers any prolonged relapse into Stalinism as highly improbable (although he suggests in the March 1954 essay that there has taken place a short, partial, feeble and concealed re-

lapse). But the basic "long-term alternative" he believes to be "between a democratic evolution of communism and some sort of military dictatorship." Though Deutscher insists that "it has never occurred to me that the historic choice will be made very soon after Stalin's death," he did seem in the "Russia, What Next?" book, to project a possible military dictatorship very rapidly. Deutscher reiterates his basic thought however that "A Soviet version of Bonapartism would increase the danger of war or perhaps make war unavoidable."

Here it seems to this reviewer the analogy with the French revolution breaks down and Deutscher's argumentation is faulty. He rests his reasoning on the possible future similarities in the mechanics of power, and ignores the different social bases of the two situations, and the totally different

world relationships. Napoleon stood at the head of a capitalist state driven by all sorts of economic impulses to push out for markets and *lebensraum*. Russia pushed out its spheres of influence after the second World War also, but this was done without war and its motives were primarily strategic and in the quest for reparations. For over three decades Russia's basic economic impulse has been toward internal improvement, not foreign expansion or adventures. France in Napoleon's time was one of the two leading commercial powers of the world. The revolution created new mass armies under the leadership of military geniuses which for a while made them literally invincible on the European continent. Russia still needs several decades to catch up with the United States, and nuclear power has for the time being paralyzed all moves toward major war.

The very concept that the long-term trend in Russia is toward greater democratization implies that Bonapartism is receding, not approaching. It is a possible theoretical speculation that if in the course of democratization a deadlock occurs between the masses and the regime, a military dictator could step into the breach. But Deutscher's idea that this might be brought on by "a war-like threat to Russia from the West" is not convincing. Confronted with such danger one can argue with greater persuasiveness that the people would rally around the existing regime, that it would provoke an outburst of Soviet patriotism.

Limitations of space prohibit further discussion of some of the other contributions. We hope that many of our readers will get the book. It is political writing of a very high order.

B. C.



The Anatomy of Oil: From Well to Market

THE EMPIRE OF OIL by Harvey O'Connor. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1955, \$5.

IN the era of the Robber Barons—the decades following the Civil War when American capitalist industry burgeoned mightily—the biggest and most prosperous of the baronies was that of oil. The lord of this barony, John D. Rockefeller, summarized his career with crisp piety: "God," he said, "gave me my money." But two generations of journalists and historians in the years that followed drew from the records and reminiscences of the time a different tale. And the picture of rapacity and greed, of irresponsible waste, fleecing of the public, political corruption and commercial cynicism which they uncovered has never been erased from the public mind, despite numerous efforts by authorized and unauthorized whitewashers of the Rockefeller dynasty. It became, for the American mind, the perfect symbol of monopoly.

In those days, the oil trust was, in the words of a Congressman from Maine, "a power which makes itself felt in every inch of territory in this whole republic, a power which controls business, railroads, men and

things." It levied a tribute from the pocket of almost every American, and destroyed its competitors with secret agreements made with the railroads that shipped the oil, with bombs and clubs used against rivals who wouldn't knuckle under, and with help from the most august legislative bodies of our land. It owned U. S. Senators from both parties, and, when subjected to a Congressional investigation at one point, contrived to have it placed in charge of a Senator who was a prominent member of the Standard Oil trust. "The Standard," wrote Henry Demarest Lloyd, "has done everything with the Pennsylvania legislature except to refine it."

But if America became pretty well acquainted with that early oil trust, it has remained in the dark about the oil industry of recent years. Beyond vague reassurances that "the jungle practices of those days are no longer with us," beyond the glossy ads in the slick magazines, the people have very little to go by. With this book, however, a startling story rivaling in its shocking implications that of the Rockefellers of the last century has been fully and splendidly told. Harvey O'Connor's most recent work may well take its place as his best.

Had this book or its equivalent been published twenty years ago, it would have won wide critical acclaim and quickly become a standard reference for politicians, unionists, academicians and preachers across the land. It ranks high among the best in the field of socio-economic reporting and analysis, and should win and hold that place if there is any justice in the writing game. Yet its appearance has created hardly a ripple in the big-press book sections. In explanation of this paradox, only two facts need be cited, and most people will find the answer in them: The book is a devas-

tating account of the ways of modern monopoly power; and its author was one of the honorable persons who ran afoul of Senator McCarthy's committee.

MR. O'Connor's book is not a history, it is a current account of the state of the oil industry. It embraces every aspect of the giant octopus, from the well to the service station, from prices and unions to advertising and government, from Texas and California to Venezuela and Iran. It is a book of factual material, and manages to pack an unbelievable amount within its modest size. It is written with convincing authority, and with a deft and dry wit which every connoisseur of good literary vintages will savor.

Thirty non-financial corporations in the United States can boast assets of more than a billion dollars each; of these thirty, ten are oil companies. With another ten companies, these are the "majors" of the industry. This score is buttressed by several dozens of minor oil companies still large enough to be ranked in the summit of the industry; below them are many more "minors." In the face of this seeming multiplicity of concerns, how is it that the prices we pay for gasoline, fuel and motor oil, etc., are so well standardized? With the governmental "break-up" of the original Standard Oil in 1911, and with so many new and powerful companies in the field, one would think that competition would be the rule.

This all-important question is answered by Mr. O'Connor in illuminating detail, particularly in his chapter called "Conservation," which he opens as follows: "Most people conserve when there is too little; the oil industry only 'conserves' when there is too much. In fact, the very word 'con-

servation' when applied to oil must be understood in a Pickwickian sense . . . not to conserve the oil but to conserve the industry's profitability. . . . The purpose of conservation is to limit production to that level which assures the greatest profit to the biggest corporations."

In the name of "conservation," the oil corporations utilize the apparatus of the federal and state governments—presumably committed by law and judicial precedent to an anti-trust position—as their price-fixing mechanism. The U. S. Bureau of Mines issues, each month since NRA days, an estimate of production, by states, that would be needed to meet the demand on the market. Harmless enough: "No one," Mr. O'Connor points out, "is going to indict the U. S. Bureau of Mines for a presumably innocent exercise in statistics," although if the American Petroleum Institute were to do the same the Justice Department would have to get busy under the anti-trust laws. Various state commissions, like the Texas Railroad Commission, co-ordinating their efforts through the quarterly meetings of another federal agency, the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, guide themselves by Bureau of Mines figures. In this way, nearly all the oil states regulate the volume of production within their boundaries, and an effort is now being made to add Canada and Venezuela as full-fledged members.

THIS is the production part of the industry, its most profitable end. But, in order to keep prices up so that production stays profitable, the major oil companies have made sure to exercise domination all

price wars and off-brand pitches, traps the motorist in a web from which there is no escaping. Prices seldom vary between the competing companies in the same region; and the sacrosanct law set down by Ethyl Corporation that "premium" gasoline must sell at two cents a gallon above "regular," despite the fact that the added ingredient costs only one-third of a cent a gallon, has never been destroyed, even after the U. S. Supreme Court held this to be unlawful price-fixing.

Legislative investigations of this price mystery haven't yielded much. "The majors," writes Mr. O'Connor, "buttressed behind learned economists who proved that healthy competition in an open market produces identical prices, befuddled both the investigators and the legislators. When public indignation flared too high, the majors usually eased off a bit on price pressure and cozened up to independent dealers, until the storm passed over. It was difficult indeed for hosts of little dealers and for bewildered legislatures to grapple with a price system dictated from New York by a tight little group of billion dollar corporations."

When compared with the records of the Gilded Age, the relations between the oil industry and the federal and state governments seem, on the surface, far more discreet. But, in the amazing documentary account which Mr. O'Connor has here compiled, our day is also replete with its Forakers and Hannas, its Paynes and McKinleys. There are Texas' late Democratic Senator Connally and current Lyndon Johnson; Democratic Congressman Walter of Penn-

(now Chase Manhattan) as Ambassador to Britain? At the Court of St. James, some of the major transactions involve the negotiations between Standard of New Jersey, and Royal Dutch/Shell or Anglo-Iranian.

The international cartel is among the most important aspects of the industry with which Mr. O'Connor deals. Where Arabian crude oil was estimated to have a cost of production of 30 to 35 cents a barrel, and Texas crude \$1.85, both sell at about the same price. The super-profits accrue to the corporations participating in the international cartel, which sets prices on a world basis. Yet this fantastic price structure has been maintained with the official and unofficial assistance of the U. S. State Department, which, in the oil regions, is heavily staffed and controlled by representatives of the oil companies. The Rockefeller racket of the nineteenth century is not extinct; it has been spread across the globe as a matter of U. S. governmental policy.

IT is impossible to summarize in a review the wealth piled up in page after page of this book. Particularly notable are Mr. O'Connor's chapters on conservation and oil reserves, on jobbers and retailers in the gasoline markets, on the public relations policies of the industry, on the offshore oil steal, on Arabia, Venezuela, Iran and Mexico. The pace never slackens, and the interest of the reader need never flag.

Factual "exposés" have always been the stock-in-trade of American journalism at its best, and the American public has repeatedly shown itself, in its reactions to books and magazines, to be most responsive to that type of literature. Too many exposés have been cheap, spurious and sensational without being solidly grounded. But this is a brilliant *tour de force* that deserves on all counts the widest possible readership.

H. B.

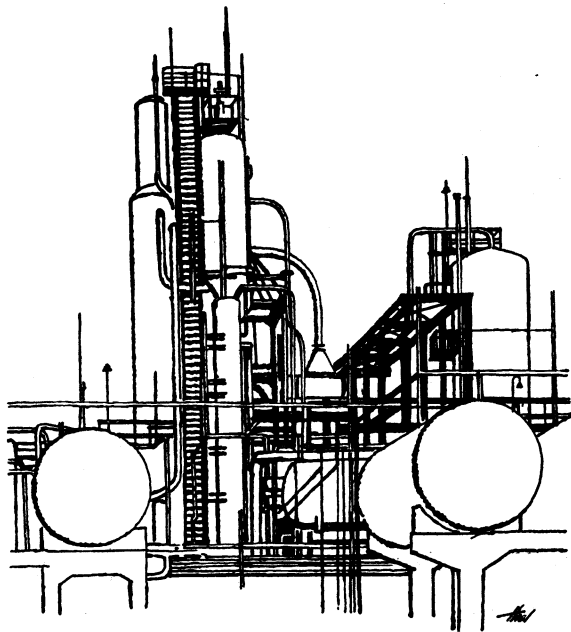
Two Democrats Look at the World

A DEMOCRAT LOOKS AT HIS PARTY,
by Dean Acheson. Harper and Brothers,
New York, 1955, \$3.

THE NEW DIMENSIONS OF PEACE, by
Chester Bowles. Harper and Brothers,
1955, \$4.50.

WE have here two highly interesting books both written by important public figures: Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under Truman, and Chester Bowles, elected governor of Connecticut in 1948 and later appointed Ambassador to India. Both men are exceptionally well educated and informed, they are highly intelligent, and because of their prominence, it can be safely assumed that their thinking reflects, beyond their personal appreciations, the attitudes of certain circles of American capitalism.

Acheson writes with suavity and geniality. The cultured style conveys the impression of a British diplomatic career officer's memoirs tinged with the rhetoric of Walter Lippman. The gist of the first several chap-



the way down to the retail end, which is spread among thousands of small retailers who generally lease from the corporations. The mysteries of gasoline price-fixing have never been fully unraveled, but the results are evident enough: In every region, a deadly uniformity, aside from occasional

sylvania who was in the van in the fight over the "tidelands" offshore oil giveaway. Can the era of the elder Rockefeller offer anything in brazenness to exceed, for example, the appointment of Rockefeller brother-in-law Winthrop W. Aldrich of the nation's major oil bank, Chase National

ters is that the Democratic Party is historically, structurally, and intellectually far better equipped than the Republican Party to guide the destinies of the American ship of state. This is so, argues Acheson, because the Republican Party is the party of Big Business, whereas the Democratic Party is not a "single-interest party" but a "many-interest party." Mr. Acheson dryly points out that proficiency in money-making is no guarantee of effectiveness in government and mentions how even the late Senator Taft observed: "I'm not at all sure that all these businessmen are going to work out. I don't know of any reason why success in business should mean success in public service." As against this, "the processes of a party of many interests are the very processes of government itself, and experience in the management of such a party is apprenticeship in the art of government, the regulation and harmonization of various interests."

There is a lot of truth to Acheson's theory for the United States at present, and that accounts for the fatal attractiveness that the Democratic Party exerts on so many different sections of the population in this still un-class-conscious country. The Populists in an older day expressed the same thought as Acheson in less decorous form and from a somewhat more critical point of view when they called the Democratic Party "the harlot of American politics." But Acheson does not tell all he knows. It's true that the Democrats harmonize and reconcile the various interests that support the party, but the process of harmonization is very uneven. The big-monied groups are "harmonized" by the defense of their special interests. Labor, the small farmers, teachers, the lower middle classes are "harmonized" with empty promises, rhetoric, and when the pressure is sufficient, small reforms. "It is not my purpose," says Acheson at one point, "to write a history or eulogy of the New Deal's recovery legislation. I wish to recall something else—its essential conservatism. Its purpose and effect was to bring new life and strength, to even wider acceptance and participation, the system of private ownership of property."

IN the concluding sections of the book, Acheson joins the ranks of those that believe the witch-hunt has gotten out of hand, and that the stick has to bend in the direction of the protective Constitutional guarantees. His declarations on this score have particular importance as he goes into the origins of the messy situation with a candor that puts most ADA spokesmen to shame. "These practices," he states, "had their root in the President's [Truman's] Executive Order 9835, of March 21, 1947. This order and the Act of August 26, 1950, upon which rests the present Executive Order, 10450, of April 27, 1953, were adopted under a Democratic Administration. I was an officer of that Administration and share with it the responsibility for what I am now convinced was a grave mistake and a failure to foresee consequences which are inevitable. . . . In the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

tures our forefathers learned from bitter experience that this use of secret evidence by the state against the individual led to tyranny, destroyed the liberty of the citizen and was not to be endured. We are in the process of relearning that lesson."

Acheson calls for a reform in fundamental points of view and assures his colleagues that it is "within the practicalities of politics." He adds, "For the Democratic Party it is very nearly within the necessities of politics."

The book adds up to a clever rationale of the Democratic Party and its positions by one of its most cultured elder statesmen—a party of laborites and Northern liberals united with racists and Dixiecrats, a party favoring in a modest way more liberal approaches on the domestic front, but bellowing for more armaments and the return to the cold war in foreign affairs.

THE Bowles book concerns itself exclusively with America's relation to Russia and the rest of the world, and is a more fundamental work. Mr. Bowles has clearly done an immense amount of reading, and in a subject in which people of his background and education are generally not too well versed, namely, Marxist literature and history.

His main thesis runs like this: Our prestige was in great shape after the war ended. Now, 10 years later, "this position of unparalleled strength has largely been dissipated." Why? Because there is a big revolution going on in the world which America does not fully understand and towards which it has not yet aligned its policies.

Bowles then goes into a highly cogent, broadly based and closely reasoned discussion of this colonial revolution, beginning with the origin and development of Russian Bolshevism on through the history and course of the Chinese revolution, Gandhism in India, the ferment in Africa, the Bandung Conference, etc. The author has gained an excellent grasp of the causes and contours of the colonial revolution against imperialism. "Most of mankind has always been poor and oppressed. But now the word is out and spreading like wildfire across a dry prairie that no longer need any people be resigned to poverty and injustice." He understands that the revolution has as its aim not only to cast off the yoke of the foreign exploiter, and wipe out racial and color discrimination, but that the colonial masses are reaching out as well to share in the benefits of industrialism and the rights of modern democracy. He points to Latin America and the Near East as two areas where "formal freedom from foreign rule has seldom meant more freedom for the majority of the people."

BUT after we go through over 300 pages of analysis, reasoning and sympathetic understanding, we get from Bowles a program of proposals for American policy that is just a rehash of ADA cliches. According to him, the Marshall Plan and NATO constituted a first-class combination in Europe, because "we were moving chiefly among

people who saw and responded to the same threat we did." But it couldn't work in Asia because these countries were more afraid of imperialism than communism. Mr. Bowles therefore advances a policy which consists of equal ingredients of the present militarism and alliances, a kind of Marshall Plan for Asia, a shifting of our base of support to India and Japan, and identifying ourselves with the colonial revolution for freedom. How such a policy can be squared with NATO in Europe, with America's own imperialist positions and aspirations, with support of Formosa, South Korea, Thailand (which Bowles proposes to continue), deponent sayeth not. James Reston, *New York Times* correspondent, made an apt ironic comment when reviewing the book: "One wonders whether Mr. Bowles would really be so bold if he were Secretary of State."

But this does not mean that Bowles would do nothing. Mr. Reston had another valid comment: "Mr. Bowles' thinking," he wrote, "is likely to have considerable influence on his party's campaign next year, and if the Democrats are elected, he is almost certain to play a prominent role in the formulation of any Democratic administration's foreign policy." That is why it is possible that as the fear of Russian competition rises among American businessmen, Washington may unloosen its purse strings, and begin pouring out sizable aid and loan programs into the undeveloped countries.

B. C.

Ilya Ehrenburg's New Message

THE THAW, by Ilya Ehrenburg. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1955, \$3.50.

ILYA Ehrenburg's latest novel provides some insights into the changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death. Published in Moscow in the spring of 1954, with the English edition just released in this country, it is a strong indictment of many aspects of Soviet life which were never permitted critical treatment during Stalin's lifetime.

"The Thaw" takes place during the winter of 1953-54 in a provincial setting, and deals with a group of people who had become standardized in the literature that flourished under the Stalin regime: a factory director, an engineer, a designer, a painter, a doctor, an actress, a teacher. There is no portrayal of an industrial worker or farmer; the book's characters are restricted to professionals and technicians who have gained most conspicuously from Russia's industrial progress.

The story is simple, and centers around the love affair between Lena, the wife of a bureaucratic, self-centered factory director, and Dmitry Koroteyev, an engineer. Lena's growing love for Dmitry parallels her increasing insight into her husband's character, and at the end of the novel the two lovers are united.

Most of the action occurs in the depth of winter, but when the hopeful ending comes it has begun to thaw. Volodya, the

frustrated painter, who has been having trouble with his girl-friend, also is reunited with her: "Volodya ran up to the big puddle covered with sparkling ice and kicked the crust. Getting more and more excited, he kicked it harder and harder. Tanechka sat watching him and laughing. And from high up in the spring sky, the sun warmed Tanechka and Volodya, and the lovers on their wet park bench, and the black lawn, and the whole winter-chilled world." The book refers repeatedly to the chills and rigors of the winter, but at the end the author draws an emphatic contrast between the bleakness prevailing throughout his novel and the fresh green life that is straining to burst through the ice as the climate grows milder. There is no doubt that this contrast is meant to extend beyond the literal sense to Soviet society itself.

UNLIKE most novels acclaimed during Stalin's lifetime, Mr. Ehrenburg's book dwells at length on the private lives of his characters. It contains not a trace of earlier practices of presenting one-dimensional, lifeless "heroes" who easily and glibly resolve difficult personal problems in favor of political tasks after a brief and unconvincing struggle with the "remnants of bourgeois ideology" within themselves. Mr. Ehrenburg also reverses the practice of depicting "good" characters as those who display a "positive" attitude toward life: always optimistic, confident, and free of "decadent" emotional conflicts. His most sympathetically presented people are what Ehrenburg's critics call "negative": a Jewish woman doctor who is very withdrawn and hardly an example of the much glorified "Soviet woman," an old painter who is absorbed in the search for genuine artistic expression, an industrial engineer who is very dissatisfied with the way things are conducted and longs for a change. In the course of his narrative, the author castigates the pulling of strings to get soft jobs, the callousness of bureaucratic officials, the glorification of the "Stakhanovite," Komsomol expulsions without trial, distrust of foreigners, the scarcity of consumer goods, bad housing, juvenile delinquency.

There is a moving scene in which Vera Sherer, the Jewish doctor, loses her temper when Lena, who is anxious about her sick child, questions her on the reassuring diagnosis. The doctor exclaims, "If you don't trust me, why did you call me in?" and then begs her pardon: "My nerves are on edge. Sometimes people say such dreadful things. . . . It's since the announcement [of the doctors' "plot"]. . . . It's very bad—a doctor shouldn't behave like this."

The bureaucratic director is presented as an unfeeling, grossly ambitious boor. When his wife Lena told him about the incident with Vera Sherer, he merely yawned and grunted: "Turns out they weren't guilty after all. So your Sherer needn't have upset herself." He gave out with a lot of meaningless lip-service in favor of better conditions and "believed that if you said everything was all right, that in itself would make things better."

WE are presented with a sharply-etched picture of the young artist Volodya, who was fond of saying: "I only back winners." He had studied in Moscow, criticized some party-backed painters, and began to be boycotted. He became cynical and, after abandoning his "romantic" notions, grew very successful: "He wasn't pining after Moscow. . . . There you had to suck up to other artists, watch who was on the up-and-up and who was slipping, calculate and fight ceaselessly for your piece of cake. . . . In his opinion art had once existed but had long since vanished." He is envious of Saburov, a painter who lives in poverty, but paints with integrity and has nothing but contempt for the art of the day. "Saburov lives abominably—at a pinch you might put up with that, but nobody even knows his work; he said I was the first painter who's been to see him. At the Union they think he is abnormal. He is, of course—you have to be a schizophrenic to work as he does, not to compromise, to do exactly what you feel. . . ." The kind of work Volodya is praised for by officials is described as follows: "Now I am portraying a young citizeness, full of the joy of life, holding in her hand a box of mixed chocolates, naturally of the most expensive kind. It is most important that each variety of sweet should be exactly represented."

Volodya's girl-friend "acted in a Soviet play the part of a laboratory assistant unmasking the professor for subservience to things foreign. It was terrible, not a live word in it; when she made her speech flaying the professor the audience laughed and she longed to cry: why did she have to grimace and shout these imbecilities?"

While none of these criticisms are earth-shaking, it has to be appreciated that they constituted a new, bold departure in the stagnant and terrorized atmosphere prevailing in Russian artistic circles. In 1946, under the leadership of Zhdanov, a sharp swing to the right took place in artistic policy. The ensuing line, holding that art must be a handmaiden of the party, criticized non-political attitudes of artists, lack of stress on the "new Soviet man and woman," descriptions of loneliness and unhappy love, and generally, the portrayal of personal dislocations. All these were denounced as alien to Soviet life and art. This new policy received Stalin's full backing and soon some of the country's leading artists found themselves victimized.

After Stalin's death, Zhdanov's policy came increasingly under attack. With the slight easing of the climate in Russia, a number of artists permitted themselves to make criticisms that would have led before to immediate purges. That "The Thaw" was published at all is a reflection of the liberalization. Its contents give for the first time in many years a clearer picture of the actual moods prevailing in the upper strata of Russian society.

WHAT Ehrenburg is in effect saying is this: Whatever the historical justification for the rigidity and iciness that covered large areas of life in our country in

the past, they are now no longer desirable. They have led to much hypocrisy, unhappiness and stagnation, and impede further progress. The Soviet people has grown up, the country is a strong going concern, and people should be allowed to live their lives without heavy-handed bureaucratic interference.

Mr. Ehrenburg's book, in one of its most provocative passages, puts it this way: "You start building a house and there's bound to be a lot of trash left lying about; but now it's time we were getting tidier—the house is being lived in, after all. . . . We have taken a lot of trouble over one half of the human being, but the other half is neglected. The result is that one half of the house is a slum. I remember that article of Gorky I read long ago, while I was still at school; he said we needed our own Soviet humanism. The word has been forgotten, the task is still to be done. In those days it was only a presentiment, now it's time we tackled it."

In a sense this book is a manifesto. In view of Mr. Ehrenburg's exalted position in the Soviet Union, the appearance of his novel was interpreted as a sign that times were really changing, and accounted for the exceptionally sharp attacks directed against both the book and its author. A review in the Communist youth publication, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, stated: "Most of the characters in the novel are spiritually exhausted and broken people. . . . [The old painter] is a man without ideas, divorced from our life, escaping into the realm of 'pure art,' creating his paintings in an ivory tower. . . . He did not present a single genuinely advanced, strong, vigorous Soviet man in the novel. . . ."

AFTER a half-hearted admission that he may have been guilty of some exaggerations, Ehrenburg nevertheless maintained his basic position. In his speech at the Second All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, held in December 1954 (twenty years after the first congress), Ehrenburg defended himself against the many attacks: "Writers who classify the characters of all novels in the required categories of 'positive' and 'negative' are themselves negative phenomena in our literature; too much of the past still survives in them. . . . I know that there is much that is incomplete and not fully realized in "The Thaw," as in some of my other books. However, I criticize myself for far different reasons than those picked by my critics. If I should be able to write another book I will try to make it a step forward from my last one, not a step back." Ehrenburg was re-elected to the executive committee of the Union of Soviet Writers, and on latest information, his book is widely read in the country.

F. G.

There Were Giants In Those Days

THADDEUS STEVENS; *A Being Darkly Wise and Rudely Great*, by Ralph Korgold. Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1955, \$6.

ALL who read and enjoyed Ralph Korngold's brilliant biography of the two great Abolitionists, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, published in 1950 under the title "Two Friends of Man," will be anxious to read his new volume. They will not be disappointed. In this account of Thaddeus Stevens, the lawyer and iron manufacturer from Lancaster, Pa., who in his capacity as Republican leader of Congress during and after the Civil War became the nearest thing to an American Cromwell, Korngold demonstrates the same depth of understanding, broad sense of history, careful scholarship and liveliness of style that made his previous books important events in publishing history.

His subject could hardly have been better chosen. After Lincoln, Thaddeus Stevens was the most celebrated American of his day, and probably also the most powerful. More than any other single individual, he shaped the foundations of American greatness in the decade when this nation was at its decisive turning point. But his name has been covered with filth, because business ideologues have long felt a malignant hatred and fear of the uncompromising radicalism which Stevens represented and without which the goals of the business class itself could not have been attained.

In recent years, the revisionist schools of history have added another sin to Stevens' catalogue. Previously, the conservatives bewailed his radicalism, but were willing to admit that it was exercised in a good cause. Today, with the new reactionary views holding sway, even this grudging admission is missing. The Civil War is portrayed as a vain and needless strife brought on by extremists and demagogues, first and foremost among whom was Thaddeus Stevens.

WE are told today that the Civil War had no real cause beyond the passions of hysterical self-seekers. One great obstacle to this interpretation, it is obvious, is the fact that there existed in the Southern part of the United States the barbaric institution of chattel slavery, which had been wiped out long before in every civilized nation of the globe. The current revisionist historians get around that formidable fact by saying: But slavery wasn't really an issue, as the leaders of the North were willing to let it stand, so long as the Union was not disrupted. They quote the many statements of Lincoln and other moderate Republicans to that effect.

The trouble with that kind of reasoning is that it is too exclusively based upon words and takes too little account of great social and economic facts which have a logic of their own. In the conflict between North and South which raged for a half-century until it was finally settled by force of arms, the central and ineradicable issue from which all the others flowed was that a past peculiarity of American development had planted in the very midst of a burgeoning capitalist-industrialist nation the atavistic throwback of chattel slavery, and had so arranged things that the slaveholding

class exercised control, or an effective veto, over the policies of the federal government. All the forces involved tended towards the decisive settlement of that cardinal issue. In spite of the fact that all of the leaders of the Northern states were disposed to a compromise of one sort or another, and made innumerable efforts along that line, *the underlying issue was not susceptible of compromise.*

Up to the Civil War, Thaddeus Stevens held essentially the same general view as Lincoln; he was not an Abolitionist. The Abolitionist movement considered that nothing less would be right than a complete destruction of slavery. Many even proposed to dissolve the bonds of union and repudiate the federal Constitution, which Garrison called a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

But the Abolitionists had no party. By contrast, the various parties that arose on the slavery issue, the Liberty, Free Soil, and finally Republican parties, were all based upon the idea of confining slavery to its Southern domain, and of wresting control of the national administration from the slaveholders by bringing to bear the power of the growing free states.

WITH respect to the need to preserve the Union, the political parties certainly proved to have understood the issue far better than the Abolitionists. But in respect to the abolition of slavery, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and their followers proved entirely right. Although their insight was based more upon moral fervor than economic and political analysis, they saw clearly that the basis upon which the Southern oligarchy's power rested was slavery and the issue could not be closed without its destruction.

The Republican Party conducted the campaign of 1860 upon the platform that it did not propose to touch slavery where it already existed. The indecision and meekness of the Union commanders in the field at the beginning of the war was a reflection of the waverings of the Lincoln administration. In these first years, as Korngold relates, more than twenty thousand fugitive slaves were driven back to the rebel lines or handed over directly to the rebel slaveholders. The administration was continuing its policy of protecting slavery in the slave states.

The advocates of a militant policy, the Radical Republican bloc, were organized and led by Thaddeus Stevens from the House of Representatives, where, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, he conducted a veritable government within the government, and negotiated with Lincoln as one sovereign power to another. From their entrenched positions at opposite ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, Lincoln and Stevens conducted a great duel of maneuver and pressure. But Stevens had a basic advantage in that Lincoln was out to win the war, and this fact drove him insistently in the direction of Stevens' proposals.

STEVENS' program was basically this: The heart of the slaveholders' power

must be attacked with militant legislative measures. This required emancipation of the slaves, aid to fugitive slaves, enlistment into the Union army of newly freed slaves. "He believed," Mr. Korngold writes, "the best and quickest way to crush the rebellion was to strike at slavery." Lincoln did not, through a large part of the war, agree. Even when he issued his Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, it was carefully contrived not to actually free a single slave, as it applied only to the areas where the Union armies had no control, and was issued in order to forestall Congress, where Stevens was preparing a far stronger dose of anti-slavery medicine. But, as the war proceeded, Lincoln was gradually brought around to Stevens' view by the impact of forces which no man could hold back.

In the Reconstruction period, when Lincoln's fatuous successor had been taken into camp by the South, Stevens' great aim was to complete the work of the war. "The whole structure of Southern society *must* be changed and it can never be done if this opportunity is lost," he said. In this aim, he was only partly successful, and part of what he accomplished was to be undone by the compromise of 1877, when the Northern capitalists and the Southern Bourbonry agreed on a *modus vivendi* in the rottenest deal ever to blight our history—the baleful effects of which are with us to this day.

The story of Thaddeus Stevens is an intensely dramatic one, and Mr. Korngold draws the utmost out of it. Stevens was a remarkable man, possessing fabulous gifts of oratory and lightning wit, and a genius for politics allied with a steadfast passion for his principles. The historians have done their best to obscure his fame and to smirch his reputation, robbing him of the place of eminence he should rightly share with Lincoln.

MR. Korngold has written a passionate and frankly partisan book. This may be charged against him by those scholars to whom it has become a crime to be a "partisan" of the enemy of slaveholders, although no amount of groveling before the slaveholders themselves can seem to get them excited. But, be that as it may, he has taken the essential lines of political struggle as described in the paragraphs above and clothed them with color and excitement. His understanding of the history of the period has been demonstrated before, and is substantially deepened in this volume.

We live in an age of political trimmers, who have made a profession of rounding off all the edges of their thought until all that remains in place of principles is an indistinguishable blur. It may be that this is characteristic of a day in which the genuine issues that confront the nation have been pushed into the background. In Thaddeus Stevens' time, the nation faced an ineluctable issue, and it may be as a consequence of that there were giants in those days. Ralph Korngold has at last done justice to one of the greatest of those giants.

H. B.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Brazilian Elections

Re your article "Behind the Brazilian Elections" in December 1955:

May I point out that candidate Juarez Távora, classified by your correspondent as an "Army and Church" candidate . . . backed by a coalition of right-wing parties" was launched and supported, among others, by the following:

a) The governor of Sao Paulo State, the same governor your correspondent calls "a left-wing reform candidate."

b) The Brazilian Socialist Party.

c) The Christian Democrats (who follow the line of their European similars).

Now let us see: Candidate Kubitschek, backed by remnants of Vargas' oligarchy (similar to Peron, etc.), by the conservatives, and by the Communist Party, has been supported, lately, by the high commands of the Army. And Juarez Távora has been under arrest—the same.

These are simple facts. Not so simple, I agree, but true.

Carlos Lacerda

[Editor Lacerda, whose *Tribuna da Imprensa* led the way in calling for an army coup to prevent Brazil's newly elected president from taking office, will perhaps be more satisfied by the conservative London *Economist's* wording: "the conservative candidate, General Juarez Távora, backed by the Church and the traditional element."
—THE EDITORS]

The *American Socialist* is a splendid magazine. The November 1955 issue has just been given to me, and I couldn't get a better impression of facts in life as in this issue.

The article about the Till murder—those were most deplorable facts. The full Braden story by Mr. Clark Foreman was published also in the February 1955 issue of *The Churchman*. Thanks for your firm stand.
E. S. New Haven

I have recently become acquainted with the *American Socialist* and I think it is great. It's too bad in these times of reaction that the American people aren't told the truth. You are to be congratulated for launching our magazine at the height of the witch-hunt.

Please let me know about your bound yearly volumes for 1954 and 1955. . . . Yours for a lot of Marxist socialism.

M. S. St. Paul

On Socialism and Democracy

My reaction to the questions and answers you published on "Socialism and Democracy" in the *American Socialist* for December 1955 is that both you and the *Monthly Review* seem to overestimate the role of politics and underestimate the role of eco-

nomics in the new social order you discuss.

If we are to build a society of security and plenty, economics will have to supersede politics. . . . There will still be a government, but primarily an economic administration of things rather than a regimentation of persons.

I also sense in the answers a fear of the unsocial nature of some individuals. But human nature at its worst is better than our present scheme of things permits it to be. It is a wonder that we have so few crimes, so few juvenile delinquents, so few insanities, in this insane-criminal arrangement of things. The sordid qualities of a mercenary culture yield both a science and an art low in human values.

The *Monthly Review* mentions rivalry for leadership in a socialist system. The odor of politics is too strong for my nostrils. Why should anyone strive for leadership in a sane, ethical economic order. . . . An economic administration of things is something vastly different from domination over persons, and we shall need to develop new agencies of regional and overall control which will prove themselves not by cleverness in manipulation or by skill in diplomacy but by forthright competence on the economic level.

Existing social patterns are too disingenuous, too incoherent, too much in bondage to privilege to offer an acceptable basis for a sane and free social order. People in general are capable of understanding, approving, accepting and operating much better schemes of organization than any that now govern nations. . . . Moreover, there are enough people competent to prepare and put over the essential reorganization if only they stand together and support one another instead of suffering themselves to be picked off one by one and ruined by the forces of inertia and reaction.

S. D. Penna.

Luck and Expansion

I am pleased to renew my subscription. . . . I liked the *American Socialist* from the first issue. Your clear-thinking intelligence is of much value these days. I wish you all the luck and expansion you deserve.

A. A. New York

Organize Association

Please start sending the *American Socialist*. Check enclosed. Is there an *American Socialist* association in Los Angeles? If not would like to try and organize one.

J. B. Los Angeles

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on the tremendous job you are doing to revive the American Left. May your next years of publication be as successful and constructive.

E. J. T. Missouri

Economic Decline

The economic picture looks prosperous for the coming year. Automobile inventories are at an all-time high (over 100,000) for this time of year, and housing starts are dropping, but this is because of the contraction of credit forced by the administration. On the other hand, spending for new plant and equipment is running at a 31-billion-dollar rate right now, and it is expected that if auto sales and home sales continue to slump, the administration will ease up on credit. . . .

The Gross National Product must rise \$12 billions in 1956, at least, to keep unemployment at its present level. If it rises less, unemployment will grow.

The economy, while expanding, is getting internally weaker and weaker. . . . Since 1947 consumer debts have risen 292 percent while personal income has risen only 75 percent (Standard and Poor figures), so you can see why debt is now out-running savings, why songs about debt are becoming popular. Every one is going in deeper.

But, in my opinion, a real danger of economic decline won't come until 1958 or late 1957.

H. W. Boston

I continue to enjoy the *American Socialist* and like your cooperation with other socialist groups. However I do want to report to you the comment of a friend. He said: "I have liked the appearance of the *American Socialist*. It used to seem as though radicals had fine hearts and had long ago stopped repairing their intellectual baggage and didn't know how to write."

The point of my friend's remark was that a lot of serious, sustained thought remains to be done by socialists, and he wasn't at all sure that that kind of thinking was happening. I find an echo of sympathy for his feeling. In particular, I hope that in reaction against the intellectual socialists of the time of Debs, you don't go so far as to contribute to the literarily acceptable, but anti-thinking, Left. Clear writing can decorate superficial or obscure thinking.

W. H. Minneapolis

Has Come to Count on Us

The overall excellence of the *American Socialist* continually amazes me. Each month, I think you have used all the keen analyses and vital subjects, and the next issue is bound to be of lower quality. But the opposite is always true. I have come to count on it now.

Such editorials as those on the "Free Press" and "Floods and Free Enterprise" pleased me particularly because these issues needed pinpointing so badly. They are the sort of stuff that will build circulation if we get people to read it.

I got the magazine in a couple of new bookshops this month. I intend to put it everywhere I get a chance—the idea being, the more people see it the more support the *American Socialist* will get.

D. P. Detroit

IT'S BETTER TO GIVE AND TO RECEIVE

WE hope and trust that all our readers had a very merry Christmas, and are all set for big things in nineteen hundred fifty-six. As for us, we are grateful for everything our growing public has done to put the **AMERICAN SOCIALIST** on the map, and are all set to justify your support with our very best efforts.

Now that the seasonal outburst of gift-giving and generosity is once again behind us, we must descend to the more mundane habits of life which prevail the rest of the year. Adjusting ourselves to this inescapable fact, we are offering our readers a proposition suitable to the post-Christmas mood—a proposition whereby you are given the pleasure of giving, but at the same time an airtight guarantee that you will receive full value in return.

As a gift, the **AMERICAN SOCIALIST** is a hardy perennial; it's as good to receive in January as it is in December or any other month. If

you have a few friends you overlooked on Christmas, a good way to get back in their good graces is to send them one of our special introductory six-month subscriptions. Or, if you have some acquaintances you think would be especially interested in our publication, but need a little help to get started, our special offer makes it easy.

TO see to it that your generosity carries its own built-in reward, we will send you, upon receipt of four introductory subscriptions to be sent to friends at one dollar each, a free copy of Ray Ginger's excellent biography of Eugene V. Debs, "The Bending Cross." Just fill out the form below, enclose four dollars, and you and your friends will receive gifts simultaneously.

This offer is necessarily limited, because our supply of "The Bending Cross" consists of carry-over stock purchased for our Christmas offer.

American Socialist
863 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.

Please send an introductory subscription to the following four persons at one dollar each:

Name

Name

Address

Address

City State

City State

Name

Name

Address

Address

City State

City State

Please send my copy of "The Bending Cross" to:

Name

Address

Enclosed find \$4.00