The American Socialist

Pioneering in Cooperative Medicine

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CLIPPINGS

AT this writing, the national Westinghouse strike, involving 55,000 CIO and UE workers, is 100 days old. The company has gone all-out in giving the unions the Mohawk Valley treatment. Organized strike-breaking with all the trimmings has been tried at Columbus, Mansfield, and Sharon, in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The stunt successfully practiced in the Perfect Circle strike of setting up a company union and having it petition for NLRB bargaining status is being tried at Mansfield and East Pittsburgh. And, as in the Perfect Circle situation, strikers at a number of plants have been notified that they are fired. One Columbus striker was so badly slugged by the cops that he shortly died. Police brutality and strike-breaking are going on at a number of other plants.

Despite the union's acceptance of proposals for arbitration, and the pleadings of three governors, numerous congressmen and most of the mayors of the cities involved to go along with arbitration, the company is hanging tough, contemptuously turning down all compromise offers, and trying to force the striking unions to their knees.

The big newspapers run the Westinghouse ads giving its side of the story, and news and editorial columns all but ignore the strike. The government, which boasts of its neutrality in labor-management disputes, by sheer coincidence has awarded $11 million in government contracts to Westinghouse, while Attorney General Brownell has hauled one of the striking unions, the independent UE, before a government board as a "communist-infiltrated" organization.

There have been many heartening signs of solidarity and support from individual local unions, and some internationals have donated sizable sums. But this is not enough. If the present secret negotiations do not result in an honorable settlement for the union, the whole labor movement faces a catastrophic setback, in the event that the Westinghouse strike goes the way of the Perfect Circle and Kohler strikes. This is not just alarmist talk. It is sheer disgrace that the united labor movement has not come into the picture in a forceful manner, and that labor's national power has not been brought to bear against this arrogant corporation. Militants are correctly demanding that the first point on every local union agenda must be how to get Meany and Reuther off the dime.

PROGRESS in the Negro's fight for full civil rights during 1955 was assessed by various groups last month, and the weight of opinion was that it had not been a good year. While the conservative Tuskegee Institute did its best to squeeze a little comfort out of the progress in school desegregation in a number of cities, Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, cut closer to the facts by declaring: "The harsh truth is that even though there were some notable pronouncements and advancements, the bad overshadowed the good in 1955," and went on to sketch the story of the unleashing of Southern terror.

William Oliver, co-director of the United Auto Workers' Fair Practices Department, was even more forthright: "The year 1955 has been a year of terror and chaos in the United States, and the Eisenhower administration has failed to bring decency, law, and order to Mississippi." Meanwhile, in the last week of 1955 a white-supremacy group was organized at a secret meeting in Memphis. Led by Mississippi's Democratic Senator James O. Eastland, and participated in by hundreds of leading Southern politicians, this new "Federation for Constitutional Government" is dedicated to a last-ditch effort on behalf of Jim Crow in all its most reactionary forms. It should not be mistaken for a lunatic-fringe organization, as its sponsorship, large-scale organizational plans, and dead-serious approach mark it as the most important effort of the top Southern Bourbons since the Dixiecrat movement of 1948.

But the opening new year also saw many good signs. Among them: the projected February 6-7 gathering in Washington, D.C. of a National Civil Rights Mobilization sponsored by the NAACP, the UAW, and thirty other organizations; and a militant boycott by thousands of Montgomery, Alabama, Negroes of a bus line which had a woman jailed for violating the Jim Crow ordinance by riding in a "white" seat.

THE annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union cited gains made in 1955, especially in the field of segregation and denial of passports by administrative action. But "a terrifying lot of unfinished business will face us for a long time to come."

James Kutcher, legless veteran deprived of his pension, now has his pension back as a result of a strong wave of public protest on his behalf. But Kutcher still does not have his old job at the Veterans Administration back, and is still threatened with eviction from his home. Communists Robert Thompson and Saul Wellman are still fighting to have their disability pensions reinstated.

A blow against the witch-hunt was delivered with the clearing of William Henry Taylor, supposedly a member of a Treasury spy ring, of charges of espionage and subversion. This ruling throws the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, which was the basis of many prosecutions and jailings, into disrepute.

In Boston a federal judge acquitted Leon J. Kamin of contempt. This is an important decision, since he admitted former membership in the Communist Party, but refused to become a stoolpigeon. In a Smith Act case in Connecticut, the judge has ruled that the defense can examine FBI reports, which is a step in the direction of restoring the right of a defendant to be informed of the evidence against him. One of the original Smith Act defendants, Louis Weinstock, has been acquitted of perjury charges by the District Court of Appeals in Washington.

The Eastland Committee's attempt to intimidate the press, aimed especially at the New York Times, has finally brought a small voice of protest from the American Newspaper Publishers Association, after a long silence. ANPA president Richard W. Slocum got indignant enough to ask this mild question: "Is the sub-committee sincerely and solely interested in finding out whether subversion exists in the press? Or is it aiming at certain newspapers with the thought of reprisal or intimidation?"

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Twilight of Empire In the Middle East

WITH the first Geneva conference of the Big Four heads, an official seal was put on the understanding that the atomic deadlock had made a new world war an impossible adventure at present. But the cold war, which abated for a half-year thereafter, has flared up again in novel form. In a policy statement on January 11, the United States delegation to the UN General Assembly put it this way:

> *The present period in history may one day be recognized as a major turning point in the struggle between communism and freedom. It appears to be clearly a shift in the cold war, in which economic and social problems have moved to the forefront.*

And British Prime Minister Anthony Eden voiced the same thought in a speech a week later: "In these last months the character of the contest between the Communist powers and the Western democracies has changed," and then he added a lugubrious footnote, "not for the better."

When the attempt to translate the general agreement (that a deadlock existed) into concrete compromises broke down at the second Geneva conference, the stage was set for a renewal of the tug-of-war between East and West. The Russian leaders quickly went over to a more aggressive policy, and their rapid-fire moves bear the character of hammer blows demonstrating that imperialism—despite its still enormous power—is in its historic twilight. The unprecedented mass outpouring of humanity to greet Bulganin and Khrushchev in India and Burma, the latter's razor-sharp denunciations of imperialism, and the joint declarations issued in both these countries, and later by the Russian and Afghanistan leaders, constituted, if anything, an even more dramatic notice than the Bandung Conference that a great shift is under way in the world political balance.

THE London *Economist* paid sour tribute to the new developments by calling them the merging of the spirit of Geneva with the spirit of Bandung, by which was meant that the understanding arrived at in Geneva gave free rein to the forces of insurgent nationalism, symbolized by the conference of Asian-African nations held last spring at Bandung. The characterization is apt and accurate, and the fears which this new situation has aroused in the breasts of Western statesmen shows plainly how mortal is the threat to Western capitalism.

This threat, which has centered for the past years in the Far East, has now erupted with uncontrollable force in the Near East. Since World War I days, Anglo-French, and more recently, American imperialism, have considered this part of the world as their private preserve. As British and French power waned sharply after the second World War, the U.S. and Britain embarked on the strategy of gathering the Middle East nations together into a solid anti-Russian alliance. The area is at present dotted with Western air and ground-force bases, pointing like knives at the heart of the Russian bloc, but the imperialist powers feel keenly the basic insecurity of their position there, and have sought to reinforce their hold with a large-scale alliance.

In pursuit of this end, they have pushed ahead blindly for some time, failing to give due recognition to the growth of Arab nationalist sentiment which, far from favoring a Middle East alliance under British-American control, wants to push the West out entirely. Thus the Allied Middle East Command was proposed in 1951, and the Middle East Defense Organization brought forward in 1953. Both were stillborn. Both had provided for a military arm hinged on the Suez Canal base, but, even while these extravaganzas were being drawn up, Britain was in the process of losing control of the Suez Canal to the rising Egyptian revolution.

FINALLY, having failed to pull together the entire Middle East into one bloc, the West decided to split it, take what it could get into an alliance, and force the recalcitrants, led by Egypt, into line. In February 1955, a pact was signed between Turkey and Iraq, and to this were later added Iran, Pakistan and Britain, to form the Middle East Treaty Organization, or the "northern tier" alliance, in November of 1955.

This turned out to be a serious blunder. Having made it, they found that they had succeeded only in capturing themselves, and had aroused a storm among the rest of the Middle East nations and in Asia as well—a storm so great that Iraq, upon which Britain and America depend as a rival for Arab leadership against Egypt, found itself isolated by hostility and greatly the loser in the matter.

Developments followed with dramatic suddenness. Egypt accepted a Soviet-bloc offer of arms, and Egypt's Premier Colonel Nasser became the most popular man in the Arab world, by virtue, as a *N.Y. Times* commentator put it, of having "kicked the West in the teeth" and given the entire colonial world a lesson in independent dealings. And the Russians, having easily vaulted the supposed barrier of the "northern tier" into the heart of Arabdom, forged quickly ahead with other moves.

The West meanwhile, throwing good money after bad, proceeded to try to incorporate Jordan into the METO alliance, and here met with one of the most serious setbacks of all. Demonstrations in Jordan overthrew the government of Hazzah Mahali in less than a week, and effectively checkmated the British. The dramatic nature of this defeat cannot be understood without recalling that the Jordanian kingdom has been a British puppet since the mandate under the old League of Nations in 1922. The Jor-

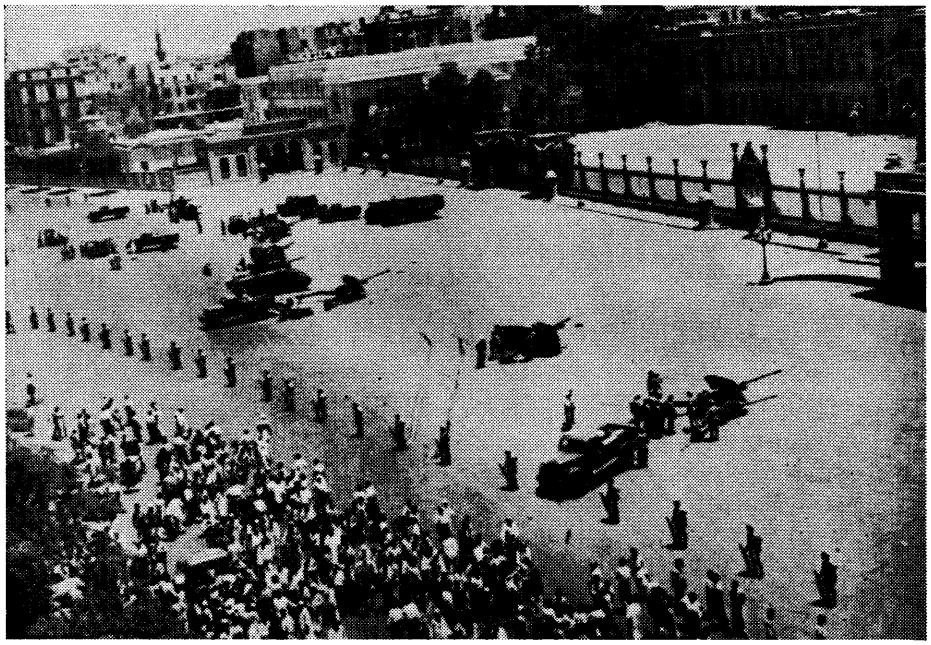
dan Arabs whom T. E. Lawrence had led in the famous desert revolts against the Ottoman Empire in World War I proved to be a sword that could cut two ways where their national aspirations were involved, and they wanted no part of the METO pact.

THE setback to the Western military organizers in the Middle East is thus very great. An aroused Arab nationalism is on the march to clean out all Western influence, and is in full swing of dealings with Russia to see what it can get out of the antagonism between the great powers. Whatever the vicissitudes of the contest may be, the days of Western monopolistic hold of the Near East are now coming to a close.

The West has been dealing, blindly and clumsily, with forces which it only half understood and which it has tried to ignore. The Arab countries have long been among the poorest in the world, and still are. National incomes are, throughout the region, in the $35 to $100 per head bracket, and the UN surveys still rate them at the world's lowest living-standard levels. In Egypt, most industrialized and advanced of the Arab countries, life expectancy is only 30 years; in Iraq over one-third of the babies die in infancy. Behind these conditions are the basic scourges of the world's colonial regions: an inadequate development of the natural resources necessary to provide sustenance—imperialism always neglected these for the sake of those natural resources on which it could turn a fast buck—and a feudal agrarian structure which leaves the mass of the people land-hungry while a handful of pashas, sheiks, sultans and kaids monopolize huge tracts of the best.

In Egypt, due to neglect of irrigation and land reclamation, 95 percent of the people are crowded into only 3½ percent of the land; more than 85 percent of the population is landless, and most of the rest owns half an acre or less each. In the entire land there are only 60,000 or so farms large enough to sustain a modest prosperity, plus a group of 1,200 large landholders who dominate the economy. Half the national income, it has been estimated, goes to the top 1½ percent of the people.

This situation, typical of the entire Arab world, dates back hundreds of years. For four centuries, the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire held the region in a grip of medievalism, broken only as the empire itself was smashed before and during World War I. As modern imperialism—British, French, Italian, German—moved in, an attempt was made to consolidate a new alliance with the old feudalists, and this attempt succeeded for a while. But the same familiar story which has been traced in the histories of the Chinese, Indian, Indonesian, North African and other nationalist movements, began here as well. Imperialism, despite itself, opened a window on the world, and thus planted the seeds of dissatisfaction with the old, and aspirations for a drastic change. A native business and professional class was created, and a thin layer of educated youth and radicalized city workers came into being. The landless and peasant mass was thus given a conductor through which the currents of the changing world could flow, and the basic prerequisites of a nationalist and revolutionary movement were thus found.



King Farouk's one-time summer palace at Alexandria being taken over during the Egyptian revolution of 1952.

GROWING anti-imperialist insurgence in the Arab world, under way for three decades, reached a turning point with the Egyptian revolution in 1952 when, in the midst of the negotiations with the British over the Suez Canal and the Sudan, an officers' revolt overthrew the Egyptian monarchy and opened a new stage in Arab relations with their former masters. The January 21, 1955 *Business Week* described the result very acutely:

> *The Egyptian revolution, though still far from complete . . . is undermining the feudal pattern in the rest of the Middle East—the thing on which British control rested. An awakened middle and professional class is beginning to wonder about the advantage of being ruled by kings, sultans, pashas, sheiks and kaids. More and more, the feudal rulers must listen to the voice of this class, which is quite ready to call out the mob in its support. . .*
>
> *This class may have different local goals from country to country but it has at least three in common: (1) an ambition to establish national governments that will serve its interests; (2) a burning desire to get rid of Western political controls; (3) a growing resentment of Western control over the region's vast oil resources.*

In the light of this, it is not hard to see why the West enters the contest with the Soviet bloc over the Middle East with great handicaps. The Arab nations are engaged in a rebellion against the control of imperialism, and in every case it is not the Soviet Union which is involved, but Western capi-

talist powers. The Western statesmen and journalists may cry that the Soviet Union has far worse designs upon the Arabs than imperialism ever inflicted, but that remains purely in the realm of speculation so far as the Arab nations are concerned.

Where every move of the West is regarded with suspicion and hostility, the Soviet Union is in the favorable position of its policy not clashing with the needs of the Arab nationalists. The capitalist countries insist upon alliances and commitments because Western policy aims at imperialist exploitation and the establishment of a hostile encirclement of the Soviet bloc. The Russians, by contrast, tell the Arabs to do precisely what they want to do and are trying to do: "Be independent, be neutral, join no blocs, build up your own strength, industrialize, and we will help you without placing any demands on you." And, since Arab nationalism would have no aims in an anti-Soviet war, and would have everything to lose, the current of feeling is not only against joining any blocs but of getting rid of the present American and British bases which would draw fire in a war.

ISRAEL, in the center of this cockpit, finds itself in a tragic position. This nation came into being very largely as a result of the same cause which touched off the Greek and Turkish crises of 1947 and the Egyptian crisis of 1952—namely, the decline of British power in the Mideast area and the consequent power vacuum. With American help, the Jewish leaders, aggressive, competent, Westernized, with many resources to draw upon in the major capitalist countries, managed to set up the Israeli state and defend it against Arab attacks.

From the first, Arabs of almost every class and political persuasion looked upon the new state with unrelieved enmity. There is no question that when Egypt's Premier Nasser said recently that "After World War II part of the Arab heart was snatched from the Arab body," he is speaking the mind of the overwhelming majority of Arabs. The Israeli claim that the hostility expressed by Arab leaders is nothing more than a lightning rod to distract the attention of the people from their own troubles is largely rationalization. While that element may enter into the game in many cases, there is no doubt that the anger at Israel is an integral part of the rising Arab nationalist feeling in the Mideast crescent.

Israel represents to the Arabs a Western enclave in their own land, and Israel's military superiority a threat which prevents their control over their own region. Israel, they feel, cannot be restricted to its present area, especially as long as large-scale immigration continues, and, Israel's industrialization would lead it to play the role in the area of an exploiting nation as an agency of Western imperialism. With the fervor displayed by every nationalist movement, they oppose the very existence of Israel, and, far from wanting to come to satisfactory terms with it, want nothing less than its extinction. The tragedy of this situation, involving as it does many Jews who have just recently fled from a European charnel-house in which the Jewish people was being exterminated by the million, need hardly be elaborated.

MOREOVER, the world is being treated to a new demonstration of how power politics works ruthlessly in the pursuit of its own ends, and how small nations become pawns in the game. Despite its present fleeting military superiority, Israel, with under 2 million inhabitants, cannot possibly dispose of the bargaining power available to an Arabdom of almost 40 millions. Russia's decision to trade in arms with Egypt has caused the Western powers to put the squeeze on Israel which they had hoped to use as a tool of imperialism in the area, and to turn to an ardent wooing of the Arab nations.

Israel's position is thus precarious in the extreme. Can it extricate itself? While advice handed out from a distance of thousands of miles may be easier to give than to follow, friends of the Jewish people can only hope that the nation will find a way to cut loose from the Western bloc, a position which is becoming increasingly untenable. No more than the Arabs does Israel have any stake or aims in either an encirclement of the Soviet bloc or a war arising from such an encirclement.

It may be objected that a neutralist course on Israel's part would not succeed in appeasing the Arabs, and would only put an end to present aid from the West. There may be much truth in this, but a break with imperialism would at least open up room for maneuver, and pave the way for a possible understanding with the Arabs as time goes on. Israel as an enclave of the West in the Arab heartland faces a very dim future; as an independent entity with a Yugoslav-type freedom of action it can hope to achieve a *modus vivendi.*

THE new crisis and the rekindling of the cold war finds the Anglo-American statesmen in a state of bewilderment, and without a coherent policy. Presumably, Eden's visit to Washington is designed to fill in this lack. After the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to India and Burma, the Washington policy makers began screaming about cold war again. But since the contest has shifted, at least in many cases, to the sphere of economic and social maneuvering and competition, they have not yet succeeded in filling their indignation and alarm with a specific content. Dulles, at a time when his "massive retaliation" strategy is hopelessly outdated, appears still to be fascinated by it, and neglects the fact that it never worked out even in its best days. His trial balloon in *Life* magazine for a return to the strategy of bluster, bluff, and blackmail hardly survived Eisenhower's press conference the week after.

The colonial revolution, passing like an electric shock through Asia, has now struck the Near East. Radical changes are in the making as another segment of humanity rises to its feet.

A Plea for Amnesty

THE Christmas petition of 46 prominent Americans, including Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Henry Steele Commager, Elmer Rice and Lewis Mumford, asking Eisenhower to amnesty the 16 Communist Party leaders jailed under the Smith Act, and for a postponement in the cases of 180 others who are on trial, awaiting trial, or on bail awaiting appeals, is one of the most heartening developments since the start of the witch-hunt.

While the long arm of reaction has claimed innumerable victims in all spheres of life, and each and every one of them is entitled to our unstinted support, the rationale of the whole witch-hunt rests on denying the Communist Party the rightful status of a minority political organization and defining it instead as a criminal conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. The cases of the Communist Party leaders therefore furnish the underpinning of the present hysteria, and the movement to amnesty these people constitutes a most fundamental attack on the witch-hunt itself. To back this plea for amnesty is more than an act of simple humanity and justice. It can be said that to the extent that the amnesty campaign reaches out into the broadest stretches of the country will the tide of reaction be halted and then forced back.

ALL the major legal frameups in American history have evoked a great flood of liberal protest, and it was under the banner of an amnesty plea to free the thousands of political prisoners jailed during the first World War and Palmer's Red Scare that the witch-hunt was turned back in 1921. Although a veritable lynch spirit was raised in 1886 against the Haymarket Martyrs and everyone who dared lift a finger in their behalf, within a few months after the execution of four of them, an amnesty campaign, joined by many prominent liberal figures of that day, secured a commutation of the remaining sentences, and the hysteria was quashed. The feeling manufactured against Debs and the many Socialist and IWW radicals in 1917 and 1918 was probably as virulent as any set loose against the victims of McCarthyism. Yet the prosecution confronted almost from the start a veritable wave of protest from the ranks of liberals, stalwart democrats, progressive trade union officials, and on Christmas day of 1921 President Harding responded to the pressure by releasing Debs and some two dozen other political prisoners.

The trials and subsequent jailings of the Communist Party leaders which ushered in the current reaction breaks this previous pattern of American experience. Outside of their own ranks, their immediate supporters, and a handful of left wingers, hardly anyone rose to defend the Communists from the frame-up charges on the simple and time-honored ground of civil liberties, the right to dissent and to uphold unpopular ideas. Not only did prominent liberals and even civil liberties organizations who prided themselves in the past on their record of defense of radical dissenters doggedly maintain a grim silence, but many, to their shame, joined in the witches' dance and added their mite to the blazing bonfires of bigotry, intolerance and dictatorship. The first Communist victims of a patently unconstitutional thought-control law, proven guilty of no unlawful acts, found themselves in an unprecedented isolation compared with reaction's victims of the past, not only during their trial, but for the whole five years of their subsequent imprisonment.

FUTURE historians in trying to determine the reasons for this moral debacle of Americans in the first decade of the cold war will probably assign 80 percent of the explanation to the sheer terror of the times, and the diabolically effective sanctions meted out by those in authority against anyone who dared protest, or had the temerity to speak a word on behalf of those caught in the dragnet. But the future historian will assign the other 20 percent of the reason to the Communist Party itself which, during the thirties and forties, when it wielded some influence as a political organization, outraged so many, from liberals to trade unionists, with its policies of chicanery and fraud, its callousness where civil liberties of political opponent groups and individuals were concerned, its demonstrable lack of interest in democracy except for itself. Undoubtedly this record helped, even if in a secondary way, to break the past tradition of solidarity, and to dig the labyrinth into which the Communists were plunged when the evil day came.

But this is not the time for a review of that record, because as Milton Mayer stated in a great article in the January *Progressive*, "There is a context of time and place that determines, not truth, but the order of truth." And the present time calls first of all and above all for generous support to the victims of the witch-hunt. The Christmas appeal is an additional sign that the pall of fear is beginning to lift and that the tide may be slowly turning. May the amnesty plea of 46 Americans grow and grow until it can no longer be resisted by our high officials! May the doors unlock on all of our political prisoners! For the sake of the victims and their families, and even more, for the sake of all the rest of us!

Signers of the Amnesty Petition

MRS. Eleanor Roosevelt; Norman Thomas; Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Columbia U.; Elmer Rice, playwright; Lewis Mumford, author; Roy Finch, Sarah Lawrence College; Donald Harrington, Community Church; Charles R. Lawrence, Brooklyn College; Paul E. Scherer, Union Theological Seminary; Rowland Watts, Workers Defense League; Roland H. Banton, Yale U.; Gustave J. Bischof, City College; Stephen G. Cary, American Friends Service Committee; Albert Sprague Coolidge, Harvard U.

Henry H. Crane, Central Methodist Church, Detroit; W. J. Faulkner, Congressional Church, Chicago; Richard B. Gregg, author; Georgia Harkness, Pacific School of Religion; Alfred Hassler, editor of *Fellowship;* Rev. John M. Krumm, chaplain Columbia U.; Kent Larrabee, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Paul Lehmann; Princeton Theological Seminary; Sid Lens, Chicago AFL-CIO official; Henry Lofquist, South Presbyterian Peace Fellowship; Paul G. Macy, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Allen O. Miller, Eden Seminary; Paul S. Minear, Andover-Newton Theological School; Jerome Nathanson, Society for Ethical Culture; Hazel L. Perkison, B'way Congregational Church, New York; John Henry Randall Jr., Columbia U.; Constance H. Rumbough, teacher, Harrisburg, Va.; Culbert G. Rutenber, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary; John Nevin Sayre, Int'l. Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Mark R. Shaw, Democracy Unlimited; Emil Parker Simon, Baltimore Peace Section; Arthur L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary; John Swomley, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Loren Walters, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Phila.; Robert F. Weiskotten, St. John's Lutheran Church, Queens, N. Y.; Norman J. Whitney, Syracuse U.; Herman Hill Jr., Fellowship of Reconciliation; Charles F. Forman, Yale U., Walter Mitchell, retired Bishop of Arizona; Robert H. Hamil, Ottawa Street Methodist Church, Joliet, Ill.

"The most inspiring area in the United States today is the old South," writes civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn in this fighting article for Negro History Week, February 12-19, 1956.

The Southern Negro Stirs

by Conrad Lynn

About the Author

A COURAGEOUS attorney who has fought many important segregation and civil liberties cases, Conrad Lynn was co-counsel with Arthur Garfield Hays in the only court test of armed forces Jim Crow to be carried to the U.S. Supreme Court. That involved the refusal of Winifred Lynn to submit to induction in a segregated army during World War II. He later (1947-49) was counsel in the case of mixed Negro-and-white groups to test the legality of segregation in Southern transportation. That campaign, in which Mr. Lynn participated directly, took place in four states, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, leading to a number of arrests and, in some cases, chain-gang sentences.

His most important recent public cases have had Puerto Rico as their setting. He defended pacifist Ruth Reynolds against a charge of collaboration with the Puerto Rican Nationalist movement in alleged advocacy of the overthrow of the U.S. government. Mr. Lynn is also attorney in the cases of the Puerto Rican Nationalist leaders who are being prosecuted for sedition; an appeal in one of these cases is now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court.

In recent months, Mr. Lynn has joined as counsel in the Braden-Wade case in Kentucky.

THE most inspiring area in the United States today is the old South. The rest of the country exclaims in horror at the Till mutilation-murder and the sickening whitewash of its perpetrators. The cowardly Belzoni shootings, the bullwhip and shotgun reigns of a Sheriff McCall in Florida, or a Byrd, or Strider of Mississippi, expose the hideous visage of race dictatorship for all the world to see. Who can blame other Americans for decrying the hanging out of such dirty linen? But they view the scene from only one angle of vision. While the masses of Negroes accepted an economically depressed, socially inferior status, it was seldom necessary for the ruling class openly to employ such brutal tactics. Lynching was the prerogative of the poor white and the petty shopkeeper. It served the function of keeping the Negro in his place while the upper class remained carefully off stage. Now, such aloofness can no longer be pretended. A social structure is being shaken and the Southern aristocrat may soon have his back against the wall.

The Southern "way of life" was constructed around the turn of the century after the Negro had enjoyed a shortlived emancipation. The Southern pattern was less of a crazy quilt than the more hypocritical Northern accommodation. A tiny Negro business and professional class was permitted to exist but in a strictly segregated locale. It was reasoned, with some justification, that pressure from below could thus be siphoned off and the educated Negro could be given a stake as a minor partner of Jim Crow.

But two world wars have loosened the grip of the traditional ruling classes everywhere and at last the semi-feudal rulers of the South are confronted with the handwriting on the wall. The cotton-picking machine has chased the poor white from the fields as tenant farmer or overseer, and he has found employment in the Texas oilfields or in

the many new industries that find his labor cheaper than in the unionized North. He is even painfully learning in the sugar refinery strikes in Louisiana and in the longshore struggles of the Gulf ports that he has a fundamental identity of interest with the despised blacks. The lesson is being learned slowly but inescapably.

IS it any wonder, then, that the ruling class in the South has openly assumed the helm in the savage struggle to smash the Negro back? The amalgamation of the White Citizens Councils into the Federation for Constitutional Government finds a score of ex-Governors and ex-Senators lined up with such active politicians as Talmadge, Eastland, Fielding Wright, Griffin and Strom Thurmond. Appropriately, a major industrialist, John U. Barr, is its chairman. One of its first acts was to put out feelers for alliance with Rumely and Mervin K. Hart. Thus, a special brand of American fascism appears on the scene.

Numberless anonymous little Negroes who trudged to the polls to vote, who dared to challenge Jim Crow on buses, who petitioned for non-segregated schools, are compelling a polarization of forces. In most instances these actions have been without the sanction of their major spokesman, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Winfred Lynn was denied support when he refused to submit to induction in a segregated Army. Irene Morgan did not have official approval for sitting in the "white" section of a bus in 1946. The national office of the NAACP hesitates to endorse the fight of Andrew Wade and his white friends, the Bradens, for a home in an unsegregated neighborhood of Louisville.

What is true of the national body, however, is not true of the branches of this organization. When the writer was jailed in Petersburg, Va., in 1947, for refusing to move to the "colored" section of a bus, the local branch of the NAACP was quick to come to his aid. Local Negro leaders of the battle for equality in the South almost uniformly come from indigenous chapters in the various states. McCoy and Howard of Mississippi, the youthful Carl Gray of Montgomery, Ala., Simkins of Columbia, S. C., Calhoun of Georgia, to mention only a few, are all active NAACP members.

Until the recent past the NAACP has been dominated by its Northern constituents. The Northern middle-class Negro has accepted a second-class status which is for the most part not as galling as that suffered by his Southern brother. At the same time, influential in his councils, are liberal whites like Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and H. B. Lewis, whose hearts bleed for the Negro but who are anxious that the Negro not be too ready to bleed for himself. Inevitably the influence of this faction must wane as the struggle in the South intensifies.

WHY is it that among the most prosperous Negroes in the South we find many of the most militant fighters for social emancipation? A glance at Morocco, the Gold Coast, or Indochina, affords a clue to the answer. In many respects the situation of the Negro in the South is analogous to that of oppressed colonials. Regardless of his economic station, he is barred in many crucial areas from participation in the national life. From this circumstance, however, we need not adopt the Communist deduction of "self-determination for the Black Belt." As much as any non-accepted group, the Negro in America seeks integration into the general body politic.

While the leadership of the current struggle has come from the educated middle-class Negro, as the fight deepens, the Moses Wrights among the downtrodden masses come to the fore. This is a sure sign that this campaign differs fundamentally from all that have preceded it. Every previous upsurge of the Negro has resulted in a compromise with his inferior status consolidated at a slightly higher level than that which existed before. Now his fight coincides with the stirring of that vast world of color in Asia and Africa, awakening from a millenium of apathy. The lowliest Negro veteran remembers his experiences in Asia and Europe. The impact of a changing economic organization arouses obscure impulses for more participation in society's benefits. "The Negro in America is the great proletarian. The white worker can dream of rising to middle-class status but the Negro is a worker in uniform, so to speak, a uniform he cannot take off: his skin. When such a group, deliberately kept for generations at the bottom of the social structure, begins to stir and raise its head, the whole edifice feels the shock." (D. MacDonald, *Politics,* February 1944.)

IN the South, the Negro knows that his battle admits of no further compromise. The basis of the decision of the United States Supreme Court that segregation, *per se,* is discrimination, makes this implicit. That decision was itself only a recognition of the world struggle for men's allegiances. Any doubt that the final contest for integration has been joined can be resolved by a visit to a Southern Negro church, such as the one in Lake City, South Carolina, which was burned to the ground by the blind and desperate mob. In this cultural center of the Negro one is likely to hear on any occasion the singing of "O Freedom":

And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord
And be free.

The conflict assumes innumerable forms. In Augusta, Ga., the Negroes win the right to vote and throw out of office a reactionary Board of Education wedded to segregation. In Montgomery, Ala., a young Negro woman refuses to heed an order of a bus driver to give up her seat to a white woman. Three policemen drag her in chains to jail. Three days later Carl Gray leads a boycott of 40,000 Negroes who walk as much as five miles to work rather than submit any longer to Jim Crow on buses. The Negro taxi-drivers cut their fare for their brothers to ten cents and even some white employers, in grudging admiration, call for their Negro servants in their own cars.

In Orangeburg, S. C., the White Citizens Council decrees the firing from jobs of Negroes who sign a petition for an unsegregated school system. The Negroes, who are in the majority there, place a selective boycott on the leaders of the Council. Economic ruin stares these worthies in the face. The Godchaux refinery in Louisiana hires armed thugs to break up the strike of Negro and white workers. The union quietly provides all its members with the weapons of self-defense.

In Louisville, Ky., a white man, Braden, sells a home to a Negro friend, Andrew Wade, in an unsegregated neighborhood. Hoodlums stirred up by the real estate interests fire shots into the house. Friends of Wade, Negro and white, volunteer to move into his house with guns to protect home and family. In the dead of night a bomb is thrown under the home, partially destroying it. Wade sends his wife and baby away and grimly stays on with his rifle.

In Milford, Del., young white toughs set out to beat up Negroes in the black ghetto. They are thrown back and punished so severely by the erstwhile lowly blacks that the police have to rescue them. In Mississippi a bloody showdown impends as the whites and blacks sweep the hardware stores bare of guns and ammunition and the white banking authorities announce that they will no longer extend credit on the crops of the Negroes this spring.

NOR does the Negro stand alone in the area of the fight. Small groups of dedicated whites all over the South risk everything to stand by his side, foreshadowing the ultimate reawakening of the disadvantaged whites. The history of Populism and of native socialism in this region is ample testimony to the revolutionary potential of the Southern masses. Don West in Dalton, Ga., the Bradens in Louisville, Charlie Jones in Chapel Hill, Minter, Cox and Editor Hazel Smith of Mississippi, have but taken up the cause of their forebears.

Finally, the remainder of the country is profoundly affected by the course of this crucial struggle. For the first time, any obscure region in the South knows that the acts of the hooded mob in the dead of night may be exposed by a Murray Kempton, or a Desmond, or even an anonymous field hand in Mississippi who writes to a Chicago paper of the terror in his neighborhood. Unquestionably the Negro will experience attacks of mounting intensity as native fascism plays its last cards. But who can doubt the eventual outcome?

Fish Story

FISH may lead the way to peace on earth if the research work of a Michigan State University zoologist pays off.

The fish are Bettas, or Siamese fighting fish, considered among the world's most ferocious.

The zoologist is Prof. James C. Braddock.

Dr. Braddock's project, reported Wednesday to the American Institute of Biological Sciences, is to study social behavior, with special emphasis on aggressiveness. . . .

Until we know what makes animals, individuals and nations act the way they do, he says, peace is only a vague hope.

To study man himself, Dr. Braddock says, is difficult. . . . Animals are simpler. . . .

The zoologist draws a parallel between some of the fish he studies and the rise of Hitler and Stalin.

Some male fish, he claims, can be taught not to fight. There is hope, he says, that man too can be taught to be less aggressive.

Detroit *Free Press,* Sept. 8, 1955.

Negro Voters Face 1956

by W. E. B. Du Bois

THERE will be in 1956 about nine million persons of Negro descent 21 years of age and over, of whom two-thirds live in the South. Only between one-half and two-thirds of the American voting population go to the polls; and in the South most Negroes are still disfranchised, despite recent increases in the number of Negro voters. We may guess therefore that in 1952 about three million Negroes will vote. This will be roughly five percent of the votes cast. But in certain urban areas like New York City and Chicago, the Negro vote reaches ten percent or more. This vote therefore, while not proportionally large, will be influential for the future of the nation. How will it be cast?

Before the election of 1912, it was cast as a block for the Republicans as the party of Lincoln and emancipation. But in the South the Negro vote was not counted and in the North it was not courted but taken for granted; so the Negro got less and less attention from the Republican Party and was slowly disfranchised in its councils. In the election of 1912, Woodrow Wilson, although a Southerner, promised Negroes to see "justice done to the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling." More Negroes voted Democratic in 1912 than ever before. But Southern influence made it difficult for Wilson to fulfill this promise, even if he had continued to want to. This and the landing of our marines in Haiti forced the Negro vote in 1916 back into the Republican ranks.

The first World War and the rumor of Harding's Negro descent led the Negroes to support Harding and Coolidge, and agitate for freedom in Haiti. But the election of 1928 threw the Negro into confusion bordering on despair. It was a curious situation. Al Smith, the Democratic candidate, was handicapped enough by his religion not to dare risk alienating the South on the Negro problem. Herbert Hoover disliked all colored peoples and wooed the South by support of the "Lily Whites" in the Southern Republican ranks. Both parties ignored or maligned the Negro. Negro leaders of every alignment from Tuskegee to the NAACP complained bitterly in a nationwide appeal:

> *The emphasis of racial contempt and hatred which was made in this campaign is an appeal to the lowest and most primitive of human motives, and as long as this appeal can successfully be made, there is for this land no real peace, no sincere religion, no national unity, no social progress, even in matters far removed from racial controversy.*
>
> *We are asking, therefore, in this appeal, for a public repudiation of this campaign of racial hatred. Silence and whispering in this case are worse than in matters of personal character and religion. Will white America make no protest? Will the candidates continue to remain silent? Will the Church say nothing? Is there in truth any issue in this campaign, either religious tolerance, liquor, water-power, tariff or farm relief, that touches in weight the transcendent and fundamental question of the open, loyal and unchallenged recognition of the essential humanity of twelve million Americans who happen to be dark-skinned?*

WITH the New Deal the tide turned. During the depression the Negro suffered discrimination, but new measures were developed, until never before in America

The Negro as a voter: How has he voted and what are the prospects for the 1956 elections? Another Negro History feature by a noted scholar and analyst.

LAST month, the *American Socialist* published the Debs Centennial speech of Dr. Du Bois. This month, we are privileged to bring our readers this article by the noted Negro scholar and author giving his views about the role of the Negro people in the coming national election. Dr. Du Bois, one of the founders of the American Negro movement for full equality, writes from a background of familiarity with the history of the Negro's struggle gained from first-hand experience and long study.

had he been so recognized as an integral part of the nation. His vote from 1932 to 1944 went with increasing unanimity to the Roosevelt Democrats. In 1948 Truman held the Negro vote because of his promises following the recommendations of his Commission on Civil Rights, headed by C. E. Wilson and including two prominent colored members. The Progressive Party under Wallace attracted a large number of intelligent Negroes who distrusted Truman. But the rising anti-Communist hysteria induced most Negroes to vote for Truman as the heir to Roosevelt.

In 1952, the red-baiting and witch-hunting frightened the Negro voter more and more. Already Negroes were losing hard-earned jobs on accusation of "subversive associations." The intellectual leaders of the Negroes were yielding place to a new bourgeoisie whose object was to make close alliance with Big Business. The Negro newspapers, either for fear of reprisal or for money, almost unanimously supported Eisenhower, avoided an unknown and silent Stevenson, and refused any third-party connections. Probably nine-tenths of the Negro vote went to Eisenhower.

The most spectacular occurrence during the Eisenhower administration has been the school anti-segregation opinion of the Supreme Court. This was hardly a Republican measure, since seven of the justices were appointed by Democratic presidents and only two by Republican. Indeed it is doubtful if Eisenhower with his Southern birth and political ties to the South welcomed this unexpected decision. He has never hailed the decision and his administration has done nothing to carry it out.

The Eisenhower administration has allied itself with the South in doing nothing to enforce rights for Negroes and little to force a Fair Employment program except Nixon's phony meeting. The Attorney General and FBI have made no effective move in the outrageous Till murder, on Mississippi lawlessness, or on the open threats of nullification of federal law by demagogues like Eastland. The Department of Justice has hounded organizations like the Council on African Affairs out of existence, has driven West Indian Negroes out of the country when possible.

Eisenhower has made two major Negro appointments to office, but also has dismissed Horne from his position of power in federal housing. Eisenhower has pleased Negroes by entertaining socially three Negro heads of governments; but Dulles, with the President's acquiescence, has been contemptuous of colored peoples like the Chinese; has let Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. ignore dark Krishna Menon, and has ruined our ties with Nehru and India. Segregation of Negroes in the army has lessened under Eisenhower, but slowly and with many bad results. Moreover, the high taxation of the Eisenhower administration falls with crushing force on Negroes, nearly a quarter of whose families get less than a thousand dollars a year.

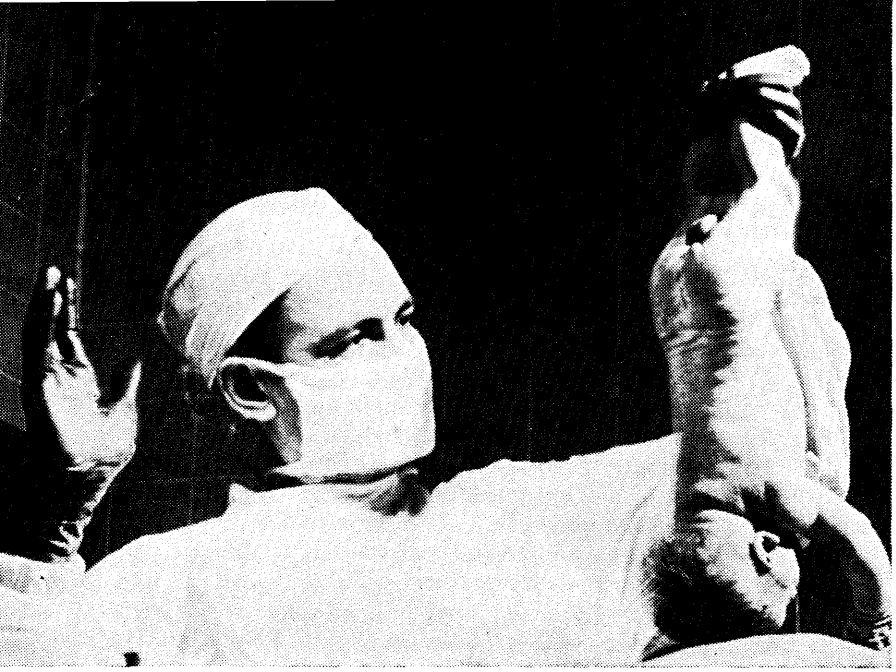
FINALLY, the American attitude toward Russia smarts. There are few Negro Communists and not many more Socialists. Only a few Negro scholars and labor leaders realize the surge of socialism and most of these dare not risk their jobs by talking frankly. Negroes by and large have been firmly grounded in individual initiative and private profit. That was the meaning of Booker Washington and his crusade, and of the powerful white forces behind him. But Negroes who hear of the lack of color prejudice in the Soviet Union are deeply impressed. Few whites in America realize that the thing which daily hurts in Negro experience more than disfranchisement or exclusion from social clubs is the hundred daily insults which a dark skin brings on the innocent and unassuming on the streets of every American city from New Orleans to Boston.

I remember once hearing a brown girl—a college graduate—say of Paris: "The thing I like here is going out in the morning without having to plan where I'll be able to get lunch!" Common decency on the street is what the Negro craves and he cannot think that the nation which grants this without question is such a threat to civilization. Negroes are tired of hearing their bribed emissaries testify abroad that the race problem in America is "settled"! One black American who tried that fairy tale in India, where plenty of dark folk have had personal experience in the United States, was nearly mobbed. Frankly, Negroes are tired of fighting for "their country." They do not willingly sing, "My country, 'tis of thee!" Increasing numbers are beginning to question if there may not be more to socialism and communism than the newspapers print.

For these reasons and unless the very busy Attorney General and the liars hired by the FBI can find some way to punish murder in Mississippi, the Negro voter will not be attracted to Republicans in 1956.

But if he does not vote for Eisenhower, Tricky Dick, or Chiang Kai Knowland, for whom can he vote? Stevenson unfortunately has learned nothing about the race problem since the day of his grandfather. The pictures of him and Georgia's Talmadge do not attract Negroes. Kefauver is coy, and Harriman much too eager. There is no third party. The ADA can protest everything except the things which hurt fifteen million black folk. There is one thing which both the black and white voter can do next November, and that is to stay at home, just as forty million Americans usually do.

But the day must come, if not in 1956, then some time in 1960 or 1964, when the American people get tired of spending most of their government funds on war and insist on education and homes; when they will refuse to be stampeded by fear into crime and insanity, and choose the rule of a third party instead of supporting one party with two faces which are exactly alike.



Paradoxically, our health needs have been growing while our length of life increases, because chronic diseases of old age are naturally much more common in an older population. What is the answer to defects and shortages in U.S. medical care?

Pioneering in Cooperative Medicine

by Dr. Jay W. Friedman

ONE index of the level of a nation's health is life-expectancy. The longer people live, the better their health—in a sense. Actually, this is not entirely correct as longevity is not equivalent to health. Rather it indicates a certain success in conquering death-dealing diseases. As the population ages, chronic diseases involving a more subtle breakdown of the body assume paramount importance. It might therefore be said that longevity results in more sick people, requiring more complex treatment due to the greater complexity of chronic and old-age diseases.

In the United States, the average life-expectancy in 1900 was 49 years. Today it is close to 70. In countries such as China, Egypt and India it is about 30 years. Thus the health problems in the U.S. are different from those in the undeveloped countries.

The revolution in China is an attempt to shortcut the transition from an archaic feudal economy to a modern industrial nation. Instead of a hundred years or more of gradual industrial development, China is jumping into the twentieth century with all the fury and dedication that characterized Russia's development. The corollary revolution in health care means primarily the *prevention* of disease rather than symptomatic treatment, and it is interesting to note that this is the great present concentration of the new regime. Symptomatic treatment is not only too costly, but there are not sufficient personnel and facilities to treat the diseases on a man-by-man basis. As an example, malaria is a major health problem in China, India, Burma, etc. Its cost in terms of death as well as lost productivity is staggering. To treat individually in these parts of the world is pratically impossible. The cure lies in prevention: the destruction of the malaria-transmitting mosquito. Needless to say, this is a public health problem, and public health is socialized medicine in its broadest aspects.

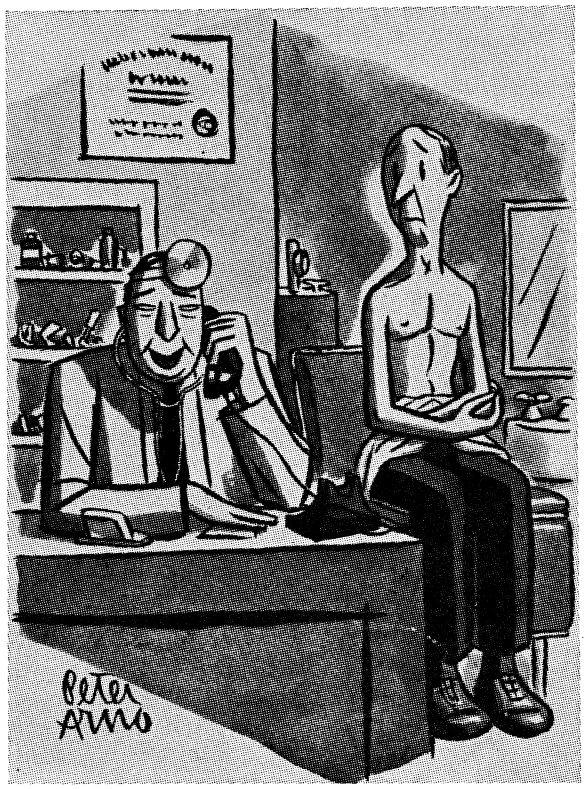
HOW different are the health problems in the United States! To be sure, there are still diseases which reach epidemic proportions, but public health procedures have already eliminated most of them. Typhoid is a rarity; syphilis, tuberculosis, diphtheria are fairly well under control. It is clear that public health (preventive medicine) has done and is doing a job that private medicine (symptomatic treatment) cannot do. But, as the complexity of symptomatic treatment of the individual has increased, and as the chronic and old-age diseases have grown in importance, the health needs of the population have far outstripped the supply of health-care personnel and facilities—despite an improvement in the doctor-population ratio in recent years.

As a population ages, its health problems change, and therefore the socio-economic relationship between the people and the health facilities (doctors, technicians, hospitals) must also change. Acute bacterial diseases no longer decimate the U.S. population. In their stead are chronic debilitating diseases, such as arterio-sclerosis, heart disease, rheumatic fever, cancer, dental diseases (which affect 98 percent of the population), arthritis, and mental diseases (this last being most symptomatic of our socially ill world). Thus, despite our longevity—commonly used as a measure of our statistical good health—we are all of us afflicted with some disease, whether it be mental decay, major organic decay, or tooth decay.

Dr. Friedman is employed with the Group Health Dental Cooperative of Seattle, the only independent dental cooperative in the country.

In order to cope with the increased complexity of illness, modern medicine is being forced from private (solo) practice to group practice. The general practitioner of yesterday can no longer cope alone with constantly expanding medical knowledge and changing techniques. The GP is gradually being replaced by the internist—the specialist in diagnosing and treating "internal" disease, and the solo practitioner is gradually teaming up with other specialists (surgeons, psychiatrists, ophthalmologists, pathologists, virologists, etc.) in group practice. Only in this manner can the medical problems in complex industrial societies be properly handled. For a doctor to work at solo practice today is as archaic and inefficient as plowing by oxen. The rationale of group practice is also dictated by other important factors, such as the increasing utilization of laboratory procedures and expensive equipment, and the greater frequency of hospitalization for improved treatment and observation.

DESPITE its essential economic planlessness, our society is based on a certain plan, which is to take the most and give the least, or to "charge what the traffic will bear." Our citizens possess a brand of free choice best characterized by the saying: "Them what has, gits." The American Medical Association has made a specialty of propagandizing the myths and inanities of "market freedom" and "the American Way," and has partially succeeded in confusing the issues. It lobbies in our Congress, bullies state legislatures, and fights all progressive medical developments. Despite much energy and loose use of money, the AMA has been defeated in numerous court battles in which it has attempted to further its monopolistic practices, and recent years have witnessed progress in the field of health care. The AMA has been pushed back not so much by court action as by the will and determination of the public consumer of medical services not to be exploited, not to be abandoned until catastrophe strikes him down.



New Yorker

"By all means, dear—buy it if you really want it. We'll find the money for it somehow."

It is easy to talk in a vacuum about socialized medicine, to theorize, but perhaps it is better to look at current developments for insight. The current popular demand for new health programs to cover a greater segment of the population is the best proof that the public's health needs are not being met satisfactorily by private and government medicine. What are the major group health plans in this country?

1.) *Voluntary health insurance plans* such as Blue Cross and Blue Shield are designed to protect against catastrophic illnesses which produce large hospital and surgical bills. They by no means cover all—or even nearly all—sicknesses, but some protection is better than none.

2.) *Union heath and welfare funds* vary greatly in their application. Some provide a form of insurance, others direct health services to their members, and some combine health insurance and direct health-service methods. The AFL Medical Service Plan of Philadelphia serves 24 local unions with a population of 31,000. The plan provides complete medical service to ambulatory patients. There are no charges, direct or indirect, to the worker or his family. All costs are covered by payments of the various affiliated unions.

THE Sidney Hillman Health Center of New York serves about 35,000 union members, who, with their wives, pay an annual fee of $10 while employers contribute an additional one-fourth of one percent of the payroll. Preventive, general medical, specialist, diagnostic, and therapeutic services are provided in the Center to ambulatory patients only.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast has established a pilot study in conjunction with the Washington State Dental Society, in which the ILWU pays for the dental needs of its members' children under age 16. The first year of experiment has been a happy one. The ILWU proudly points out that this pilot study is not intended to lower standards of quality (nor fees), and is content to support the local private dentists. The St. Louis Labor Health Institute, however, is doing the same and much more (for it includes adults as well) on a considerably smaller budget by simply hiring its own dentists.

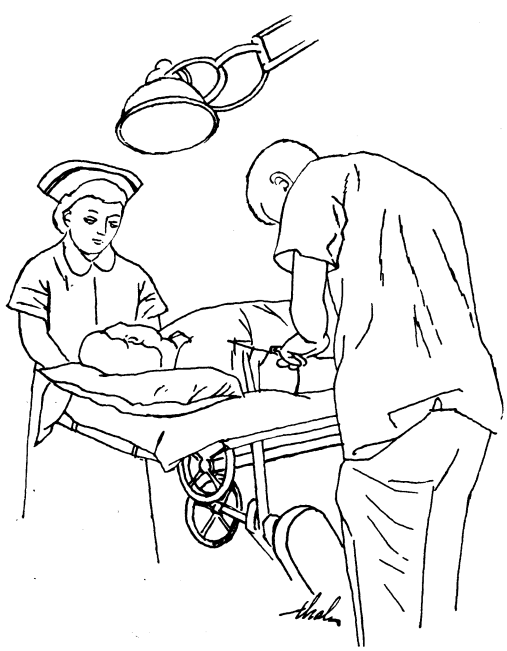
3.) There are the *Group Health Cooperatives,* such as Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, Group Health Association of Washington, D.C., Group Health Cooperative of Seattle, and the St. Louis Labor Health Institute. The name of the New York Health Insurance Plan can be misleading, for HIP is not a cash indemnity or reimbursement plan. Two aspects of the insurance principle—advance payment and pooling of risk—enable HIP to provide its subscribers with medical service as they have need for it, regardless of how serious the illness or how extensive the treatment. It accomplishes this by means of large-scale group practice. No physical examinations or waiting periods are required for joining, and no age limi-

tations or exclusions for particular diseases or conditions (other than the standard ones: acute alcoholism, drug addiction, extensive psychiatric care, conditions calling for placement in an institution, workmen's compensation and military-service-connected conditions) are enforced. At least half the premium of a group enrolled in the Plan is paid by the employer, and the rest by the insured employees. HIP does not cover hospital charges, and therefore requires all individuals to have some kind of hospitalization insurance. Service is provided by 29 groups of doctors affiliated with the Plan. HIP contracts to pay a stipulated sum for each subscriber who chooses to come under the care of that group of doctors. The doctors divide the money as they see fit.

GROUP Health Association, Inc., Washington, D.C., and Group Health Cooperative, Seattle, are so similar they may be described jointly. They are pre-payment plans, enabling members to pay the cost of their medical care by regular monthly dues, providing not only treatment for sickness and disease but preventive health care as well. They include on their staffs general practitioners and "family physicians" as well as all the major specialties, and are democratically controlled by their members, with the facilities and assets cooperatively owned by the subscribers. Together, they provide comprehensive medical care including hospitalization for over 55,000 people. Membership in the Seattle cooperative costs a family of four $15 a month. Considering what is provided, it is the best buy for those who can afford it.

The Group Health Dental Cooperative of Seattle is the only independent dental cooperative in the country. At present, two dentists care for approximately 400 families. The aim is to provide a pre-payment dental care program of high quality at reasonable cost. Still in its infancy, GHDC's independence provides opportunity for experimentation and flexibility, and should provide much research data in the future regarding actual costs of dental services in comprehensive health programs.

Last, but by no means least, is the St. Louis Labor Health Institute. LHI is the most comprehensive pre-paid health program in America today. It provides *both* medical and dental care (a strong indication of its completeness) for a very-low-income group (average weekly wage approximately $60). The employers of members in the various local unions involved pay five percent of their gross payroll to a health fund. This was won as a fringe benefit in collective bargaining, and provides a quality and extent of treatment for these workers and their families which they could not otherwise afford.



These brief samplings should be sufficient to give an idea of the types of health programs being developed throughout the United States today. There are many others (about which information may be obtained from the Cooperative Health Federation of America, 343 South Dearborn, Chicago 4, Illinois). Thus it is clear that, whether the AMA likes it or not, there is a push in the direction of "socializing" medicine, at least through cooperative endeavor.

ALTHOUGH these programs are progressive, they possess inherent limitations. They are mild reforms which do not seriously challenge the basic economic inequities of today's medical practice. Most still contract doctors on a fee-for-service basis. Their relatively high cost in most cases excludes the majority of low-income workers and their families.

In all aspects of the medical problem, one feature stands out as the major difficulty: *the shortage of medical labor.* The shortage is not easy to assess; there remain unresolved questions as to the exact number of doctors and auxiliary personnel, the number of hospitals, clinics, and laboratories, etc., required to satisfy all medical needs. Answers to these questions are dependent in large degree on what standards of quality are established, and there is still much debate regarding these standards. But the fact that such questions exist and are as yet unanswered should not belie the vast need for more facilities.

And then there is the fact that trained personnel cannot be mass produced. If organizations like the American Medical Association represent decadent economic philosophy, they must still be credited with a sincere dedication to superior technical training. Admitting this shortage of medical labor, one must also admit that socializing the medical industry would not *of itself* solve our health-care problems. But it is also true that, in the face of today's monopoly control by organized medicine, it will not be possible to expand on a truly significant scale the numbers of schools, doctors, technicians, hospitals, etc., and thus eliminate the chronic shortage of medical labor, until the profit motive is eliminated.

The chief subject of discussion in recent years has not been socialized medicine but national health insurance, which is something different. People who received treatment would not pay their doctor or dentist directly; instead, the latter would send their bills for payment to the common insurance fund. The doctor would still be paid on a "fee for service" basis.

Socialized medicine means something entirely different. It means the complete abolition of the profit system in medicine and the building of a medical structure similar to the free school system or post office. All physicians,

dentists, nurses, hospital attendants, etc., would work as salaried employees of the government, and medical care would be free to all who require it.

IT is clear that for such a system to succeed, democracy must prevail, and democracy exists only when it is conscious and operative on the local level. If we cannot have socialized medicine *en masse* today (and I doubt if I would look forward to it under Republican or Democratic mismanagement), we can work towards it by developing cooperative health programs. Fundamental to these programs is the elimination of the profit motive and the "fee for service" charge. Such programs must be governed by a board of trustees elected from the membership, they must be completely democratic, maintaining one vote for one member regardless of investment or patronage, there must be no proxy voting, and they must be directly responsive to the desires of the membership which they serve.

What does a scheme of socialization—either on the small-scale cooperative level or on a large national level—mean in terms of doctor-patient relationships? The implications of health care without exploitation are far-reaching. First, it is a return to the philosophic ideal that the doctor's prime goal is to serve humanity, not to exploit its sickness. Second, by eliminating the need for a doctor to be a business man (as he most certainly is in private practice—selling his goods much as a merchant sells his wares, and then becoming involved in credit and collections), he can devote his full energies and skills to his patients. Third, there is a great reduction of economic anxiety on both sides. Socialization insures the patient against catastrophic medical illness and accumulated dental illness, and at the same time, as experience has shown in other countries, tends to raise and steady the income of the mass of doctors.

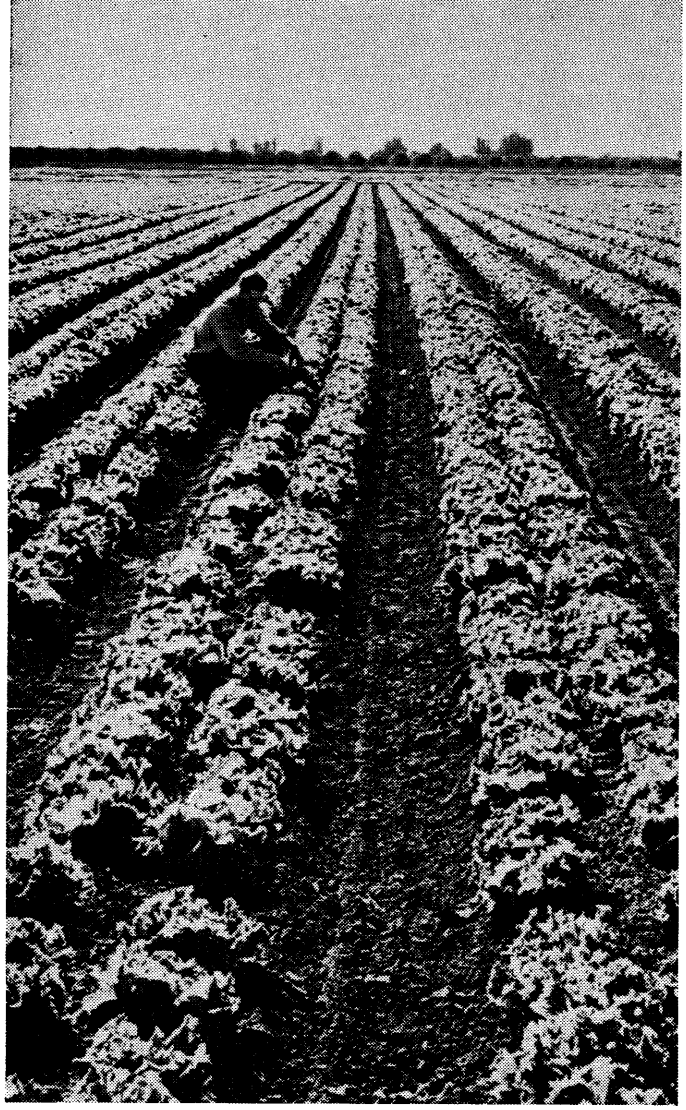
One of the chief criticisms leveled against socialized medicine by the AMA is that it eliminates the "free choice of your doctor." This is pure nonsense. A large segment of the population today has no choice because of inability to pay. Furthermore, a lay person, in these days of medical complexity and division of the profession into specialties, is hardly qualified to choose a good doctor. His chances of receiving good treatment are greater when he partakes of group practice. In these programs the poor doctors are weeded out by the doctors themselves. It is easy for a doctor to practice poor medicine in a private cubicle, but when his work is under the surveillance of a group, with a group director responsible for maintaining high standards, he will not last long. Thus socialization promises not only a wider choice of doctors, but a better choice.

WHAT would all this cost, and can we afford it? The St. Louis Labor Health Institute provides complete medical services and basic dental treatment at a cost of approximately $85 per eligible person (1953). The Group Health Cooperative of Seattle provides complete medical (not dental) services for a family of three at a pre-payment cost of $156 a year.

Now, in 1954 a three-person family with $4,000 income paid a federal income tax of $356 (this does not include state, local or indirect and hidden federal taxes). Half of that tax would pay for a first class health and welfare program, but, as is well known, about 70 percent of it was actually spent for wars—past, present and future. The financial resources of this country are immense. It is only a question as to how this wealth shall be utilized and distributed. It does not cost as much to train a doctor as to train a trigger-happy jet pilot, and medical centers can be constructed for the price of atom bombs. The real question is: Can we afford not to do it?

In a period marked by a depressing decline in social consciousness, political integrity and civil liberties, it is encouraging that in at least one area there has been some progress. The cooperative health movement has gained impetus in recent years. It is guided and inspired by men dedicated to the elimination of exploitation from the health field, men who have been willing to risk their professional reputations and fight with courage and vigor the reactionaries who control the medical monopolies. Needless to say, few of these men are Socialists with a capital "S" and many would protest against even a lower-case "s" socialist label; yet they are doing much to further the cooperative commonwealth, and this is more important than cloakroom debate. Many are doctors, many lay persons—all are dedicated to the relief of suffering society.

In the face of the overwhelming problems of atomic destruction, revolutions, reaction, etc., none of this is too impressive. Minor reforms along the lines of a few cooperatives here and there will not save us. But they will serve as a reminder of how it can be done, an inspiration of how it must be done, and if anyone should be so blind as to say "It can't be done," we have only to look at the Group Health Cooperatives and say "It is being done!"



The newest farm census, just out, shows a sharp acceleration of the trend to more concentration in agricultural holdings. On the other hand farm tenantry, which had been increasing up to the mid-thirties, has gone down to an all-time low.

Big Business Moves in on The Farmer

by Harry Braverman

DURING 1954, the Bureau of the Census conducted its regular survey of U.S. agriculture, and the preliminary returns are just being made available. The picture they paint is truly startling. In particular, a comparison with the census of 1950 shows a pattern of change in extraordinarily clear and decisive form. It is very rare that a giant social trend can be isolated plainly in statistics covering so brief a period. The reason, in this case, is that the long-term tendencies of American agriculture, observed in slow-motion over the past half-century, have moved into high gear in the recent few years.

In 1950, there were 5,382,162 farms listed. In 1954 this had fallen to 4,782,393, a decline of 11.1 percent. In order to grasp the significance of this drop, it must be compared with the long-run trend, as shown by Table I. From many points of view, 1920 was the turning point for American agriculture. That was roughly when the previously unlimited foreign demand for American farm products seemed to collapse, when the U. S. demand levelled off, when mechanization began to make its sharpest effects felt on the farm, and when the farming class appeared to go into a historic decline, relieved from time to time by spurts of recovery. It is not accidental that 1920 marks the rough turning point when the number of U. S. farms stopped growing and started falling.

But the speed of the trend has now been greatly accelerated. From 1920 to 1950, the number of farms declined from 6.40 million to 5.38 million, or about 15.5 percent. This drop, which seemed so ominous to all observers writing about the matter up to a few weeks ago when the new census figures appeared, has now been dwarfed by a steep downturn of 11.1 percent *in only five years.* Students of the problem have demonstrated that the previous trend of American agriculture was not fortuitous. But the past five-year period furnished the acid test,

TABLE I
Number of U. S. Farms
(In millions)

1850	1.45
1860	2.04
1870	2.66
1880	4.01
1890	4.57
1900	5.74
1910	6.36
1920	6.40
1930	6.28
1950	5.38
1954	4.78

Census Bureau

In last month's AMERICAN SOCIALIST, *present farm dilemmas relating to prices and income were traced in an article by Michael Burns, "Farmers in Trouble." A future issue will carry a discussion of the current farm programs.*

TABLE II
Change in Number of U. S. Farms, 1950-54
(By size)

	Percentage change
Under 10 acres	minus 0.1%
10 to 29 "	minus 16.4
30 to 49 "	minus 20.0
50 to 69 "	minus 18.9
70 to 99 "	minus 16.6
100 to 139 "	minus 15.1
140 to 179 "	minus 11.8
180 to 219 "	minus 6.5
220 to 259 "	minus 2.6
260 to 499 "	plus 0.8
500 to 999 "	plus 5.1
1,000 and over	plus 7.5

Calculated from Census Bureau figures

for it was a period of relatively high prosperity for the farmers, in spite of the price declines they suffered during the last two years of the 1950-54 interval.

AS we look a little more closely into the census returns, they become even more striking. They may not be exactly what the farmer wanted for Christmas, but they are a statistician's dream in their unalloyed purity. Not only did the number of farms in the country as a whole fall off, but the decline hit every section of the country. There were fewer farmers in every state of the Union with the sole exception of Florida, which gained a few hundred as a result of the boom in cattle ranching in that state. The drop hit all but 180 of the 3,067 counties in the United States! In order to find a time when the number of farms in the U. S. was as small as it was in 1954, you now have to go all the way back to 1890.

The pattern of the decline is equally explicit. The poorest farmers suffered the most; the family-size commercial farms were not far behind; while the giant factories in the field alone among all the classifications of farms increased their hold and scope considerably. In 1925, the average size of a farm was 145.1 acres; in 1950, 215.3 acres; and in 1954, 242.2 acres. If this last average is compared with the figures in Table II, it will be seen that it is just about at this point that the worm turns. The number of farms in all the classifications below the present average size declined in every case, with the worst decline registered in the smaller size-groups, while in the three classifications that are clearly above average, the numbers have increased, especially in the largest categories.

Table III shows the same trend even more clearly and reliably, for in the last analysis a classification by money income is more significant than by acreage. All the farmers up through the middle group in terms of farm income are losing their place in the structure, while the farmers in the giant categories are gaining rapidly.

The same tendency is plain if we look at it in racial terms. About one-tenth of the nation's farmers are Negroes—the poorest among the farmers, it goes without saying. While white operators of farms declined in number by a little over 10 percent, non-white declined by almost 17 percent. The important movement of Negroes to the cities, particularly in the South, is here highlighted.

THE information available to us makes it possible to get a general picture of the farming classes. First, of the 4,782,393 farms, some 1,455,718 or 31 percent make so little economic contribution either to the nation or to their owners that they are not even classed as "commercial farms." This group includes many types. The very poor, who sustain themselves on an annual cash income of less than $250, are in it. Those for whom the farm is a place of residence and part-income provider, and who work more than 100 days a year off the farm are in it. For others, the farm is a place of retirement, and is supplemented by other forms of income. Hardly any of the total value of farm output is accounted for by this group.

This leaves 3,326,675 farms as the total of the commercial farming class. At the bottom of the pyramid are the poorest farmers, with cash sales between $250 and $2,499. There are 1,225,701 farmers in that situation, a great many of them in the South. Together with the non-commercial farms, this group accounts for about 10 percent of the total output. On top are about 100,000 huge factories in the field, under 2 percent of all farmers, producing about 26 percent of farm output. And in between, there are some 2 million farmers, ranging in income status from that of the skilled worker in the city to that of the well-paid professional, producing the remaining three-fifths of the farm output. That is the general picture.

IN 1933, the historian Louis M. Hacker, then a Marxist, wrote an article the title of which has been much quoted: "The Farmer is Doomed." He concluded that article with the following remark:

> *American commercial agriculture is doomed. No gifts of clairvoyance are required to foretell that the future of the American farmer is the characteristic one of all peasants for whom, in our present system of society, there is no hope.*

TABLE III
Change in Number of U. S. Farms, 1950-54
(By value of product)

$ 250 to $1,199	minus 40.7%
1,200 to 2,499	minus 14.8
2,500 to 4,999	minus 8.0
5,000 to 9,999	minus 2.6
10,000 to 24,999	plus 13.9
25,000 and up	plus 27.0

Calculated from Census Bureau figures

The expectation of that day was that the course of American farming would be marked by three main tendencies: concentration of ownership and thus a decline in the number of farms, growing tenancy and absentee

ownership, and the division of the farming population into a capitalist class and working class, with the growth of farm factories matched by the growth of an agricultural proletariat. While the decline of the farmer has been marked, the scheme drawn up in advance by Hacker, Lewis Corey, and others turned out to be too simple.

Concentration of ownership, and a decline in the number of farms, there surely has been. But the smaller farmer, as he has been wiped out, has not been "proletarianized" in the expected form, either as a tenant or as a farm worker. Instead, he has been proletarianized as an industrial worker in the cities. This aspect of the matter is very important, and is worth looking into more closely.

Up until the time when Hacker and Corey wrote, farm tenancy as a proportion of the nation's farms had been growing steadily. In 1880, the first year in which the census reported on the matter, 25.6 percent of all farmers were tenants, in 1900 over 35 percent, in 1920 38.1 percent, in 1930 42.4 percent. These were the figures available to the Marxist writers of the thirties. But the depression itself started to reduce the previously growing percentage of tenants, and by 1940 it had dropped to 38.7 percent. During and after the war, more tenant farmers and sharecroppers were squeezed out, and the industrial boom enabled many to move to the cities. Others managed to acquire ownership or part ownership of farms —just how many is not clear, but apparently not many. By 1950, tenancy had shrunk to 26.8 percent of farm operators. By the 1954 census, this was further reduced to 24.4 percent, or below the 1880 level, so that farm tenancy is now at the lowest figure recorded as long as statistics on tenancy have been kept. Clearly, the farmer was not being converted into a European-type "peasant" either in terms of tenancy or cramped size of acreage.

SUCH declining ratio of farming tenantry to the farm class as a whole should not be taken to mean that the tenants were becoming owners in any large numbers. The federal farm ownership loan programs reached only a tiny percentage of the farmers. Between the start of the program in the thirties of giving loans to carefully selected farmers and June 30, 1953, only some 60,000 farmers, a negligible percentage of farm tenants, were able to take advantage of it. A more accurate interpretation would be that, as the smaller farmers were being squeezed off the land, the tenants were getting the axe at a far faster rate than the owners or part-owners. Federal agricultural benefits hardly trickled down to the tenants, and, to the present day, the biggest farmers manage to snap up the lion's share of federal payments. Market competition was hardest on the tenants and smaller farmers, especially since they could not mechanize the way the bigger farmers could, having neither the capital nor the land area to make this feasible. And finally, the war industries opened up a place in the cities for the small farmer and tenant, who, stripped of cheap family labor by the draft and with his back to the wall as a result of mechanized competition, often had to take this one out that was open to him.

Was the farmer becoming a wage worker on the factories in the field? Here also, the evidence is clear. Figures for the fall of 1954 show that during the high seasonal time for farm employment, 2,731,321 hired workers were employed on farms. This is probably an understatement, as so large a proportion of migrant labor is bootlegged across the Mexican border and fails to get recorded on any books, and other figures go higher—as high as 3.7 million. But this seasonal high is sustained for only a few weeks, and it was determined in 1952 that only as few as 1 million workers were employed on farms for more than 75 days in the year, and only 2 million for more than 25 days. The bulk of these workers, some 60 percent, worked for that top 9 percent of the farmers producing a cash value of more than $10,000 a year. Aside from the major factories in the field, which are growing but which do not yet predominate throughout American agriculture, it can hardly be claimed that the typical worker-capitalist relationship of our urban industries has been reproduced.

WHAT has happened appears to be this: The great rise in the productivity of a farm family with a large enough acreage and sufficient luck and capital to mechanize has permitted some 2 million family farms to survive through the ups and downs of recent decades, and to survive on a family-operation basis. A farm with a capital value of $60-80 thousand can be operated today with very little or no hired labor, provided the members of the farmer's family permit their unpaid labor to be exploited mercilessly, and can produce a return in the $5-10 thousand bracket; this is the upper third of the 2 million family-commercial farms that produce the bulk of our farm products.

But American capitalism, in its insistent workings, has added a proviso to this equation. Mechanization permitted such farmers to exist, but it also limited their number to a small and rapidly shrinking figure. The rest are truly

being proletarianized—not on the farms but in the cities, in the factories and mills.

Nor does this complete the story. The pride of the American farmer and the pride in the American farmer was that he represented an enclave of independence in our increasingly trustified economy. The measure which had to be taken in the past quarter-century to ensure his survival has put an end to the much-vaunted independence. Very large numbers of the remaining commercial family farms would collapse on the morrow of any removal of present government props and assistances. Thus if, to return to Hacker's phrase, the farmers were not all doomed when he wrote it, many of them proved to be, and of the rest it can be said that the *independence* of the farmer was doomed and will never again play the social or political role that once loomed so large in our national life.

These conclusions may be drawn from the statistical trends up to this point. What is to happen in the future? Is it possible that the trend to tenancy will be reversed again, and the farmers fall in greater numbers into that dependent status, as had been expected in the early thirties? That does not appear likely, as the tenant setup lends itself only to small holdings cultivated with little machinery, and the technological trend is against it.

CERTAINLY, the commercial family-farm group will continue to decrease. At the very moment when the Census Bureau was releasing its figures showing the depth

of the drop as of 1954, the farm pundits strongly influential in federal policy were pointing out that the number of farmers in 1955 is far too great. And the bulging warehouses holding $7.5 billion in surplus farm products—in spite of the Eisenhower administration's reduction of price levels at which it would buy these products—seemed to prove the point. It is estimated that the nation needs, instead of its present three and one-third million commercial farms, only two, or even one and one-half, million.

The decline in the number of farms will therefore probably continue, and the smaller family farms will be hit hardest, as usual. Will the trend be, then, towards the eventual creation of a capital-wage labor structure in agriculture, with huge farm factories taking over the major part of production and the remaining farmers—or most of them—going to work as hired labor?

Those who see this as the ultimate end will find much backing in the facts, and could put up a strong case that if American capitalism lasts long enough to work out the trend to its logical finish, that is just what will happen. It is true that the middle-sized family farms still produce three-fifths of our output. But farms of 1,000 acres or more, which were only 67,405 in 1920, expanded to 121,362 in 1950, and, although they are only a little more than two percent of all farms they produce one-quarter of farm output, and had taken over fully 43 percent of farm acreage in that year. There is still a long way to go for these agricultural capitalists to take over most of farm production, but the trend is there. They have an increasing capital to work with, and are ready to step in wherever the small farmer falters.

BEFORE the vigorous entrance on the scene of the modern industrial working class, all of the major movements of social protest in America were dominated by the farmer. Social revolt of significant dimensions practically had to be farm revolt, in view of the largely unorganized state of the working class and the overwhelming numerical weight of the farmer. When the Constitution was adopted, more than 90 percent of our population was rural and agricultural. At the height of the Populist revolt, it was about 40 percent. Today only some 10 percent occupies that position. The most recent figures only underscore what has long been apparent: The financial and industrial oligarchy has decisively won its epochal battle with the American farmer, a battle which once looked so hopeful to democrats.

The fact that this battle was won not by reducing the farmer to the status of a Europeanized peasantry or a Southern cropper tenantry, but instead by making industrial workers of most and mechanizing the rest on increasingly large farms is a very hopeful portent for the future. A peasantry proved to be a great revolutionary social force in Asia and many parts of Europe, but a terrible handicap where property relations were transformed to a socialist basis, as in Russia, China and Eastern Europe. In those countries, the process of rapidly modernizing and mechanizing the village, while at the same time getting enough crops to feed the city, has proved a costly one which holds entire nations back. American agriculture, on the other hand, may truthfully be said to be prepared—in economic and technological terms—for social or cooperative operation. Whether the farmer himself will be easily prepared for such a change is another matter beyond our present scope—his present thinking is certainly heavily capitalist or small-capitalist in character—but the evidence of past farm crises shows that the farmer can change his thinking rapidly under the impact of critical events.

Carlos Castillo Armas, U.S. puppet-dictator who replaced the legitimate government of Guatemala in June 1954 after a Washington-backed coup, has been cutting into popular rights and destroying labor and peasant organizations ever since he took over.

Dulles-Style Democracy In Guatemala

by J. Geller

CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS

LAST November, Carlos Castillo Armas, the State Department's puppet president of Guatemala, paid a visit to this country to receive the plaudits of his Washington bosses, and to solicit a few more million dollars to bolster up his regime. Hailed by Eisenhower and Dulles as a "saviour of democracy" in Latin America, his service to humanity was further recognized by two institutions of learning which hung him with the garlands of honorary doctorates of law.

At Columbia University, President Grayson Kirk described the colonel as a "soldier who inspired his fellow citizens to overthrow the rule of a despot; a statesman who is their leader as they re-establish constitutional and democratic government." Dr. Kirk made this statement knowing full well that the very first act of the Castillo Armas government was to suspend the constitution and put all power into the hands of a military committee of safety; there are no civil rights whatever in Guatemala today.

The other university officials gathered the peanut dictator to their bosoms with equal aplomb. Commenting that Guatemala is the first country to have overthrown a communist regime, the president of Fordham stated that the eyes of the world were on that country, since "there in miniature" is fought the "essential struggle of our time." The dignitaries of this Catholic university appeared well satisfied with the way the struggle is going, since not a single political party other than the government group is allowed to function in Guatemala.

It is indeed true that the eyes of a good part of the world, especially the Latin American and colonial world, are upon Guatemala. Subject masses are keenly interested to see what a government sponsored—and maintained—by the United States does to solve the pressing problems of the people.

THE overthrow of the Arbenz government in June 1954, far from being the substitution of a democratic for a communist government, actually halted a 10-year development toward an independent liberal middle-class government, a development that began with the revolt against the bloody dictator Ubico in June 1944. Ex-President Arbenz, then a captain in the Guatemalan army, was part of a revolutionary junta which threw out the Ubico dictatorship, whose all-powerful leader was famed above all for two things—his statement that "I execute first, and ask questions afterwards," and his complete subservience to the United Fruit Company.

The Revolutionary Junta of 1944 convened a constituent assembly to erect a democratic constitution and government. The assembly was made up primarily of middle-class elements: students, lawyers, and military men of similar family background. The workers and peasants, unorganized at the time, were not directly represented. There were no communists in sight anywhere near this government in 1944.

The first president of the new government, inaugurated in March 1945, coincidentally with the enactment of the new constitution, was Dr. Juan José Arévalo. He was a humanist intellectual, of mildly liberal turn of mind, strongly anti-communist and only moderately nationalistic. But the radical wing of the middle-class revolutionaries who had turned out Ubico, had a strong hand in the government, and pressed for national independence, land reforms and the extension of democracy. Legislation was passed legalizing labor unions, social security laws went into effect, a widespread educational campaign was inaugurated, especially to combat the illiteracy of the Indian majority of the population.

No moves were made in the direction of agrarian reform, or against the monopolistic position of the United Fruit Company, until the retirement of President Arévalo and the election of Arbenz. Arbenz has been identified by the American press as the key figure in a "communist conspiracy" which seized the government in March 1951. The fact is that he was elected in a democratic vote against several opponents, polling 266,778 votes, more than twice the total received by the three other major contenders. His backing came from the nationalist-minded middle classes, and the labor movement, which by then was already well organized. In contrast to this democratic procedure, Castillo Armas replaced Arbenz by overthrowing a fully legitimate government by force and violence. The choice was not popular even in the military cabal which engineered the counter-revolutionary effort.

Three important things which happened under the Arbenz government precipitated a crisis in its relations with the United States. First, the trade unions were greatly strengthened and their representatives became participants in the government. Second, the agrarian workers were organized into strong unions. Third, an agrarian law was passed beginning the break-up of the old feudal system under which 2 percent of the population owned 60 percent of the best land, and one of the first to feel the effects of land reform was the gigantic United States-owned United Fruit Company.

AGRARIAN reform was aimed primarily at the tremendous landed estates where the bulk of land was not even under cultivation. The United Fruit Company, biggest landholder in the country, tilled only one-seventh of the soil it held. Under the new law, all its uncultivated acreage was repossessed by the government, with compensation to be paid according to the valuation placed on the land by the company itself in its tax declarations. (This valuation was less than United Fruit and the State Department thought it should have been. United Fruit became a victim of its own crookedness.)

It is interesting to note that during the agitation which followed the passage of the Agrarian Law, the daily press of Guatemala, much of it speaking for the rich capitalists and landholders, conducted a running attack on the government. In December 1953, the newspaper *Impacto* denounced the land seizures: "Guatemala is on the verge of the most terrible anarchy and the government is doing nothing to halt the wave of crimes. . . ." Neither this newspaper nor any other was suppressed or interfered with. At this time the country was in a state of virtual civil war. For the owners of the great estates fought against the new law with guns in hand, and the peasants fought back in kind.

It was inevitable that land reform would be focused on United Fruit and its grip on the economy of the country. First of all, it owned a total of 3,000,000 acres, with about a half million acres devoted to the growing of bananas, sugar, cacao and other crops, and pasturage for its 77,000 head of livestock. It owned 1,700 miles of railways and tramways, upon which the entire country depended for transportation. In its original contract with the government the company was exempted from the payment of any duties, charges or services on the import of any materials. Its general tax payments were pitifully small. United Fruit was the biggest single company, and the symbol of Yankee imperialism.

WHEN Washington intervened in favor of United Fruit and demanded a payment 30 times greater than the official valuation, it became obvious that the United States government was determined to stop the Guatemalan reforms. When Arbenz refused to capitulate, the State Department began its brutal maneuvers to overthrow his government. The whole process begun in 1944, when a democratic republic replaced the Ubico dictatorship, inevitably brought about a crisis between the rising nationalism of the Guatemalan people and the imperialist interests of the United States.

The aim of the overthrow of Arbenz was not primarily to purge the country of its small minority of Communists, and their influence in the government. It was to stop the agrarian revolution, which endangered the interests of

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RED DESIGN FOR THE AMERICAS, by Daniel James. John Day Company, New York, 1954, $4.50.

SUBTITLED "Guatemalan Prelude," this book has as its theme that the Communists in Guatemala, learning from Mao Tse-tung, infiltrated and took over the nationalist movement of the country. By trickery and stealth, they wormed their way into the seats of power, and set up a "Little Cominform" to direct similar conspiracies all over Latin America.

The author erects a fabrication intended to prove that the Communist Party ran the whole show under Arbenz—and in the process goes much further than the State Department White Paper, which admitted the Communists were few in number and had very few posts of importance.

Most interesting for those in the labor movement should be his long apology for the United Fruit Company, which he paints in Kiplingesque terms as the carrier of enlightenment and bounty to the ignorant masses of this backward country. After all, he points out, United Fruit took out a mere $44 million in profits in 1953—which represents 8 percent on its capital investment. That this sum was greater than the government reserve somehow doesn't find its way into his report.

The author, a former editor of the *New Leader,* demonstrates that there is no chore too dirty for the ex-radical, turned professional anti-communist, to handle. Some day he should be brought before a committee of United Fruit Company workers to plead this case.

J. G.

U.S. capital, and might, if permitted to continue, set the whole Caribbean area aflame.

Some writers (see note to this article) have compared the Guatemalan Communist Party to the Chinese movement which overthrew Chiang Kai-shek. This is a fantastic exaggeration. It is true that the Communists were influential in the labor movement and in the agrarian unions. But they were a tail to the Arbenz regime. They had no organized military force of their own, as the three-week military uprising of Castillo Armas amply demonstrated. That a tiny military force, equipped with arms and planes shipped by Washington to Nicaragua and Honduras, could sweep into power in so short a time with no organized opposition to halt it, underlines sufficiently the limitations of the Guatemalan Communist movement.

What are the practical results of this Washington-organized coup? A new military dictatorship which is moving as fast as it dares to retrace the steps of history back to the time of the butcher, Ubico.

The Guatemalan Confederation of Labor, but recently over 100,000 strong, has been wiped out. Its leaders are in jail, in exile or have been killed. The farm unions have been outlawed. (The U.S. State Department White Paper on Guatemala claimed only one of the thirty top officers of the National Peasants Confederation was a Communist.) Land reform has been stopped dead. Even to talk about land reform, according to reporters, means arrest. The chief of police under the old Ubico regime was reinstated by Castillo, and according to *Time* magazine (August 1954), he has perfected a head-shrinking steel skull-cap to crush improper political thought.

All organizations of school teachers, students, and cultural groups have been suppressed. Thousands of dissidents have been arrested, hundreds shot after summary military "trials." In the fake election held to name Castillo as President, seventy percent of the population was disfranchised. The balance were allowed to vote by voice only, publicly passing by armed guards at specified "polling" places, shouting "Yes" or "No".

The country is held under the terror of a "Committee for National Defense Against Communism." This committee can jail anyone for six months on suspicion without trial. If released, a critic of the government can be picked up again at any time, any number of times, and held again in jail for another six months without trial.

The ambitious road-building program, housing projects, and public works of all kinds begun by the Arbenz government have been halted. The result has been a steep increase in unemployment. As under Ubico, Guatemala City is filled with ragged and barefoot beggars. Wages, according to Carlton Beals, an authority on Latin America, have been cut in half in the short space of a year and a half.

The agrarian program has been frozen, but United Fruit has been given back 130,000 of its expropriated acres. Other landowners have repossessed their lands by force—but Castillo Armas has not yet dared to openly defy the land-hungry peasantry. Legally the land relations are to remain at the status quo until January 31, 1956, when Castillo Armas and the latifundia owners hope the terror will have sufficiently conditioned the country for a complete return to feudal relations.

GUATEMALA'S present situation was summed up shortly after Washington's puppet regime took power by the British *New Statesman*: ". . . the decade of reform in Guatemala [is] over. The way is now clear for the suppression of the trade unions . . . the repeal of all legislative nonsense about labor conditions and land settlement, and the restitution, in cash or in kind, of nationalized land-owning 'rights.' Mr. Dulles can sleep undisturbed by fears of the 'communist threat' in Central America. . . ."

The *CIO News* declared last August that the Castillo Armas government "was turning back the clock of social progress." Protesting that union workers are being victimized under the cloak of the anti-communist campaign, the *CIO News* stated, "About half the Communist Party members in Guatemala (reported to number about 2,000) have either taken refuge . . . or fled the country. Yet it is estimated that between 5,000 and 8,000 people have been thrown in jail. . . . The new land law not only stops the process of giving unused land to poor peasants, but now makes it possible for the rich landowners to re-open their cases and get their lands back." All this is having a "disastrous effect upon the people of other Latin-American countries who are watching closely the way things develop in Guatemala."

Daniel James, former managing editor of the *New Leader,* in his book on Guatemala written after the Armas counter-revolution, outlines a policy for the United States to follow, to justify what he admits was U.S. intervention. He proposes:

1. That the United States see to it that a progressive and democratic regime by maintained. "We cannot afford to have a return to anything resembling the Ubico period." But Castillo, Ubico's heir by family as well as policy, has already marked a clear path, blessed by Dulles, straight back to Ubico as fast as his guns will clear the way.

2. See that private U.S. business interests do not return to "business as usual." James suggests that the United States government, which acted as the lawyer for United Fruit in its claims against the Arbenz government, act as a father confessor to both the company and the new regime, and get them to mend their ways and give the workers a break. In this direction, United Fruit, according to the *CIO News,* has led the way by drawing up a huge blacklist of union workers, who are being fired by the company in wholesale lots.

3. As a last point, James requests that the United States contribute economically to Guatemala's welfare, to lift it out of the morass of economic misery which the one-crop system and feudal economy have brought upon its people. No doubt some American dollars will be sunk in this cause—but with the proviso that the social status quo which brought about the economic prostration, remain intact.

Up to now there has been nothing in the actions or policies of Washington to recommend itself either to the Guatemalan people, or to the millions in similar condition throughout Central America. The experience can only lead to further and more determined efforts to rid themselves of imperialist overlords and their native servitors.

A Review-Article

When the Farmers Raised Hell

by Bert Cochran

THE POPULIST REVOLT, By John D. Hicks. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1955, $6.
THE AGE OF REFORM, by Richard Hofstadter. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1955, $4.50.

Before the rise of the CIO in the mid-thirties, the most important challenge laid down to the rule of the financial and industrial oligarchy was the Populist revolt of the 1890's—a movement of insurgent farmers relying on the ballot box and legislative redress. This farm rebellion has left a deep imprint on American political attitudes and found a secure place in the country's literature and folklore. It represented, as Hicks suggests, the farmers' last stand "to save agricultural America from the devouring jaws of industrial America."

This classical study, first written in 1931 and now again reprinted by the University of Minnesota, begins with the frontier background of the revolt. No sooner did the Civil War end than there began a frenzied expansion Westward leading to an unprecedented speculative boom. From 1870 to 1900 more new farm land was taken up than in all previous American history (from 408 million to 839 million acres). The railroads received lavish grants in land and money and with the subsidized help of newspapers and public officials began to entice a veritable army of settlers into the virgin territories. The influx was like an avalanche, and concomitantly, easy credit money poured in from the East as the craze was on to secure high-interest farm mortgages.

"SOME OF THE 'ANARCHISTS' WHO RAISE OUR WHEAT"

[Drawn for the New York *Journal;* reproduced in the *Review of Reviews,* September, 1896.]

"According to William Allen White, agents in Kansas with a plethora of money on their hands drove about the country in buggies, soliciting patronage and freely placing loans on real estate up to its full valuation, pointing in justification to the steadily mounting price of land. . . . It was not their own capital that was at stake but the capital of distant investors, and the more they lent the more they made for their own profits." If newspaper advertisements of the period are any guide, increases in land value of 400 to 600 percent were by no means unusual from 1881 to 1887. By the latter year the bubble burst and the deflation started. Boom towns collapsed even more rapidly than they had sprung up. As news of the farm crisis spread, Eastern investors tried to get out from under, and countless real estate men, mortgage vendors, railway promoters and bankers were cleaned out. "Hard times settled down upon the whole frontier, not to be shaken off for a decade."

Along with the catastrophic drop in the price of wheat and corn came the drop in cotton, and, therewith, the crisis struck the South, which was still dependent on the cotton economy. After the Civil War, the old planters evolved into and fused with the new class of landlord-merchants. The crop-lien system became dominant, the effect of which was to impose a condition of peonage throughout the cotton South. The farmer, black or white, who gave a lien on his crop, delivered himself body and soul to the merchant who held the mortgage. He had to get all his purchases approved, he could buy only what the merchant chose to sell him at monopoly prices, he had to market his crop through the merchant until his entire debt was satisfied. Estimates varied, but according to Hicks, three-quarters to nine-tenths of the farmers of the cotton South were ensnared by the crop-lien system.

As foreclosures increased with the mounting crisis, as many small farmers lapsed into tenantry, or were driven off the land, and many farms were getting concentrated in the hands of merchants, loan agents or wealthier farmers, a frenzied cry went up for a new deal, and the decade of struggle of the "embattled farmers" began. Farmer insurgency was not a new thing. There had been plenty of it in the 1870's which saw the formation of the Granges and the Greenback Party. But it had never attained the dimensions and aggressiveness of the 1890's.

Hicks rests his explanation for the revolt on Turner's "frontier theory" of

American history: "Those earlier days were the days of cheap lands, and when things went wrong the disgruntled could seek solace in a move to the West. There was a chance to make a new start. . . . Now with the lands all taken and the frontier gone, this safety valve was closed. The frontier was turned back upon itself." Hofstadter, relying upon many recent researches, convincingly refutes this as the main explanation. "The entire conception of exhausted resources," he writes, "has been re-examined and found to be delusive; actually an abundance of new land was available after the so-called disappearance of the frontier in 1890. During the decade 1890-1900, in which the discontent was most acute, 1,100,000 new farms were settled, 500,000 more than the number in the previous decade."

The old Turner concept further assumed that the Homestead Act passed during Lincoln's administration had been successful in creating a freehold system that agrarians dreamed of. But Hofstadter declares: "Its maladministration and its circumvention by speculators and railroads is by now well known. From 1860 to 1900, for every free farm entered and kept by a bona fide farmer under the act there were about nine bought from railroads or speculators or from the government itself. . . . As it worked out, the Homestead Act was a triumph for speculative and capitalistic forces. . . . The promise of the Homestead Act was a lure for over-rapid settlement in regions where most settlers found, instead of the agrarian utopia, a wilderness of high costs, low returns, and mortgages."

According to Hofstadter, the larger and more important answer to the causes of the rebellion is to be found in the economics on the international scene where the entire European as well as American world was shaken in the 1890's by an agrarian crisis. The revolution in the latter part of the nineteenth century in internal and international communications and the enormous advancements in agricultural technology made possible extensive and mechanized cultivation. Agrarian depressions, formerly of a local or even national character, now spilled over into international dimensions. "With them came international agrarian discontent, heightened by the almost uninterrupted international price decline

"THE SILVER WAVE HAS RECEDED AND LEFT THE POPOCRATIC FISH HIGH AND DRY"

[Drawn for *Judge;* reproduced in the *Review of Reviews,* November, 1896.]

that occurred from the early 1870's to the 1890's. It is hardly accidental that the products of the American staple-growing regions showing the highest discontent were the products most dependent upon exports."

After the decline of the Granger movement, a new organization, the National Farmers Alliance, began to grow in the late seventies and throughout the eighties in the northwestern states, and a similar but separate National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union in the South, with a Colored Farmers Alliance functioning alongside it. These farm organizations became a powerful force by the late eighties in mobilizing huge masses of farmers of both regions and pressuring the old-line politicians to act on their grievances against the railroads, the elevator monopolies, the crushing burden of debt. But the various state laws to regulate rail rates that the Alliances succeeded in having enacted, and the various "friends of the farmer" in the old parties that they helped elect proved singularly abortive in improving the farmers' lot. With the deepening of the farm crisis it became inevitable that a cry should go up to transform the Alliance into an independent political party. Hicks says: "In the years 1889 and 1890 new members flocked into the order as never before. . . . The Alliance had the strength now to enter the political field directly, and since its nonpartisan efforts had failed, what else was there left for it to do?"

In the 1890 state elections the Alliance men throughout the Northwest put tickets in the field and started their supreme bid for political power. There were People's Party or independent tickets in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Colorado, Michigan and Indiana, while Iowa and Illinois were absent from the roll call solely because no state elections were due there that year. In the South the tradition was still powerful against forming a new party in order not to break

the front of white solidarity, but the Alliance men either directly or through fusion arrangements ran whirlwind campaigns in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas and Alabama.

Elizabeth N. Barr described in later years the nature and quality of the uprising in Kansas: "The upheaval that took place . . . can hardly be diagnosed as a political campaign. It was a religious revival, a crusade, a pentecost of politics in which a tongue of flame sat upon every man, and each spake as the spirit gave him utterance. For Mary E. Lease, Jerry Simpson and half a hundred others who lectured up and down the land were not the only people who could talk on the issues of the day. The farmers, the country merchants, the cattle herders, they of the long chin-whiskers, and they of the broad-brimmed hats and heavy boots, had also heard the word and could preach the gospel of Populism. The dragon's teeth were sprouting in every nook and corner of the State. Women with skins turned to parchment by the hot winds, with bony hands of toil and clad in faded calico, could talk in meeting, and could talk right straight to the point."

The campaign produced a number of talented mass agitators who became renowned throughout the country as Populist lecturers and spokesmen: Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease of Kansas, "a tall, slender, good-looking woman of thirty-seven years," who told the farmers to raise less corn and more hell, Jerry Simpson, a Canadian by birth who had settled in Kansas, Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, James B. Weaver of Iowa, and a score of others. In the South the struggle was even more vitriolic despite its being encased within the Democratic Party. The campaigns of "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman in South Carolina, Colonel Polk in North Carolina, Thomas E. Watson in Georgia, were class crusades of the impoverished farmers determined to seize the machinery of government from the hitherto entrenched Bourbons.

The results were startling and badly frightened the vested interests. In Kansas and Nebraska, although the Alliance lost the governorships it elected majorities in one or both houses of the legislatures, and a number on Congressmen. In South Dakota, Minnesota and Indiana, the Alliance showed great strength. Throughout the South, the old guard of the Democratic Party was flung back—completely routed in Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee, and seriously hurt in Alabama, North Carolina and Missouri.

Although many expected big legislative results from these victories, the Alliance officials were not able to accomplish very much right away, frustrated as they were by the inexperience of their people, the machinations of the lobbies, the ability of the old-party machines to sabotage their proposals. After the Newberry Bill to regulate railroads was vetoed by the Governor in Nebraska, Jay Burrows threatened revolution in the *Farmers Alliance*: "We send the plutocrats a grim warning. . . . The twin of this oppression is rebellion—rebellion that will seek revenge with justice, that will bring in its Pandora's box fire, rapine and blood. Unless there is a change and a remedy found, this day is as inevitable as that God reigns, and it will be soon. . . ."

The electoral successes of 1890 as well as the difficulties of cutting through the organized resistance of the monied power on a simple state level pushed the farm leaders inexorably to the formation of a national party. When the Democratic Party convention of 1892 pointedly slapped the farmers in the face by nominating Grover Cleveland for the Presidency, the last obstacle to the creation of a new party was swept away in the South as well. In July 1892 a great convention meeting in Omaha launched the People's Party amidst scenes of unrestrained jubilation. Upon the adoption of the platform, according to one reporter, "the convention broke over all restraint and went wild in a demonstration that had a likeness of the enthusiastic Bastille demonstration in France."

The Omaha platform excellently portrayed both in its tone and content the thinking of the Populists, as the document was a careful codification of the proposals that had been adopted over the past several years at important Alliance conventions in both the North and South. The preamble was an indictment as well as declaration: "The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. . . . We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. . . . They have agreed together to ignore in the coming campaign every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of mammon."

The platform called for nationalization of railroads, telegraph and telephone, a flexible national currency issued solely by the government, the "sub-treasury plan," free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio to gold of 16 to 1, a graduated income tax, postal savings, prohibition of alien ownership of land by railroads and speculators. The convention further demanded the Australian secret ballot, the initiative and referendum, direct election of U.S. Senators, and limiting the office of the Presidency to one term. It expressed its sympathy "with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor"; condemned "the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties."

The new party emerged out of the memorable 1892 campaign with a garland of achievements. General Weaver, its Presidential candidate, polled over a million votes, 8½ percent of the national total. He also won 22 electoral votes, the Populists being the first new party to break into the electoral college since the Civil War, and piled up a third of the popular vote in nine states.

Ten Congressmen were elected on the straight ticket and a larger number owed their election to fusion deals and endorsements by the Populists. Governors were elected in Kansas, North Dakota and Colorado. It was estimated at the time that not less than 50 state officials and 1500 county officials and members of state legislatures would owe allegiance to the new party.

Even the failure to break into the "solid South" was due as much, or more, to fraud and violence as to the whipping up of the white population with race chauvinism. Governor Oates of Alabama publicly admitted in later years that in the heat of the Populist revolt he had said: "Go to it, boys. Count them out." As C. Van Woodward explained in his remarkable recent study, "The Strange Career of Jim Crow," the Bourbons, while denouncing the Populists for breaking the solid front of the whites and effecting a unity with the Negroes, utilized at the same time their dominant position in the Black Belt to swamp the Populists with the Negro vote on behalf of white supremacy. This vote was sometimes simply counted for the ticket, or the Negroes were regimented to the polls for the vote against themselves either through intimidation, or bribery, or both.

All in all, the results added up to a considerable victory for a fledgling party, which was heightened by the even stronger Populist showing in the 1894 Congressional and State elections occurring while the worst of the 1893 depression was wreaking its havoc. These very successes put the leaders of the People's Party face to face with the necessity of finding new allies, as Populism was unable to break out eastward. Even in the older settled states like Illinois and Wisconsin, its attractive power proved small, and in some of the mountain states, its appeal was limited to the issue of free silver.

The ideal alliance would have been with the workers in the cities, an alliance which would have given Populism both an all-national character, which it lacked, and deepened its anti-capitalist attitude. The Omaha platform had stated: "The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical." Unfortunately, the workers in the cities were practically without organization at this time. The Knights of Labor, which had worked at times with the Farmers Alliances, was in a state of decomposition. The AFL was just getting started and its craft leaders were suspicious of any entangling alliances. The most active and influential labor elements in the larger cities were reformers and Socialists. But when in Milwaukee and Chicago, where the left elements were strong, it looked as if a farm-labor alliance might actually be swung, the essentially conservative Populist politicians, scared of being labeled as socialists, made deals with all sorts of crooked or reactionary union officials to block the fusion. Farm-labor unity, the very thought of which gave the plutocratic elements many a sleepless night, never got beyond the stage of pious hopes.

A solution along these lines being barred, the People's Party leaders started instead their ill-fated flirtation with the Free Silver movement. Ever since Civil War days, tinkering with the currency has had a strange fascination for a certain class of reformers, and even in our own times, many "funny-money" groups persist and sometimes flourish. After the so-called "crime of 1873," numerous reformers advocated a free coinage of silver, and the Farmers Alliances for many years had free silver planks in their platforms, but it was considered of secondary importance, never as one of the basic reforms. Events between 1889 and 1893 brought this issue sharply to the fore. The dollar had been steadily rising in value from 1865 until thirty years later it was worth three times as much, causing the debtor classes to raise the demand for monetary inflation. Then, in 1889 six new Western states with strong silver movements—Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming—were admitted to the Union and considerably expanded the Silver Bloc in the Senate. Just four years later, the 1893 depression hit the silver mining states with particular acuteness, and a great outcry went up that something must be done for silver. The repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act at the instigation of President Cleveland was the spur for the silver magnates to counter-attack.

The silver interests subsidized editors, politicians and pamphleteers. They organized annual silver conventions and innumerable "friends of silver" mass meetings. Under the aegis of the American Bimetallic League, they flooded the country with propaganda until it became accepted in wide circles that "free silver" was the sure-fire panacea to cure the country's ills. The Populist leaders, opportunistic and hungry for fast success, started playing around with the free-silverites, and soon were soft-pedalling most of their own program, and even dropped overboard the more radical planks in order not to antagonize their new allies. None of the Populist leaders believed the Free Silver propaganda, but Taubeneck, the party's chairman, and his friends, were deathly afraid of being outflanked by this new reform movement, the way, as he said, the Abolitionists had been outflanked by the Republican Party. Numerous were the voices raised in warning and alarm, as the memory of the Greenback Party's dissolution was still fresh. But the Populist leaders maneuvered with their ranks, and even before the ill-starred St. Louis convention of 1896, they virtually had the People's Party on the auction block.

Even as opportunist politics, Taubeneck's scheme did not rate very high. The whole course was staked on a false card. The Taubeneck crowd were calculating that both parties would reject the Free Silver program, and would suffer splits as a result. The Populists would thereupon unite with both the Republican and Democratic dissidents, automatically creating a new major party in the field. The Republicans did actually suffer a small defection, but the Free Silver forces took over the Democratic convention and pushed forward Bryan as their standard bearer. The People's Party was thus left high and dry, with the Democratic Party having taken over the program which the Populists had pretended was the answer to the country's needs. Even so, the top clique had to gag and machine-rule the St. Louis convention to put the endorsement of Bryan across—and with that to ring down the curtain on a glorious chapter in American history.

Just as it had been the respectable thing to revile and abuse the Populists at the height of their struggle, so it later became popular to sentimentalize them and make exaggerated claims on their behalf. William Allen White, who was in the forefront of the journalistic

Can the American producer, already heavily weighed down, stand the additional burden of the Permanent Gold Standard ?

A POPULAR SILVER POSTER

[From the *Review of Reviews*, November, 1896.]

wolf-pack against the Populists, wrote in later years, "They abolished the established order completely and ushered in a new order." Nothing could be further from the truth. While much of the Populist platform was actually taken over by the old parties, and a lot of it—as a matter of fact, most of it —was eventually enacted into law, the course of American capitalism cannot be said to have been decisively altered by these legislative accomplishments. Hicks and others are undoubtedly right in a formal sense when they say that the "Populist principles" eventually won out. What they miss is the spirit of the thing. The Populists were not out to secure the victory of a couple of disconnected planks in a platform. They wanted to restore America back to that idealized period when the farmer was supposed to have been a free-born independent citizen in a free republic, beholden to no man and unentangled by monstrous financial and industrial combines which dictated to him his conditions of work and his way of life. On this score the Populists were thoroughly beaten by the corporate interests and have never been able to take a similar independent stand again.

Professor Hicks' book has been considered since its first appearance as the authoritative reference work on the Populist movement. It is undoubtedly rich in factual material, but it is not well organized, and the thread of the story is often lost, and at times gets completely blotted out, by the welter of unnecessary detail. The spirit and tang of the times is not often caught and the Southern movement is not given its just due. Hicks often misunderstands the nature of the struggle between the Bourbons and the Populists for the allegiance of the Negro.

Hofstadter's "Age of Reform" is free from the defects of Hicks' book, but suffers from an entirely opposite set. Hofstadter, a young professor of history at Columbia University, obviously a talented writer and well acquainted with the literature on the subject, has a definite viewpoint which he relentlessly seeks to drive through in a book that is unquestionably the work of a virtuoso. But he has succumbed like so many of his confreres to the cynical, worldly-wise Tory spirit of the American campus today. And he discusses from a vantage point where the excitations and passions of the Populists—as indeed all excitations and political passions—appear slightly silly, partially misguided, faintly amusing, and certainly excessive.

"Only two years after McKinley and Hanna inflicted their overwhelming defeat on the forces of agrarianism," writes Hofstadter, "the American commercial farmer entered upon the longest sustained period of peace-time prosperity he has ever enjoyed. . . . Thus the 'final' victory of industrialism over the farmer was ironically followed by the golden age of American agriculture. . . ." Hofstadter seeks to leave the impression that once the farmers dropped the rhetoric of the downtrodden and settled down like businessmen to learn the tricks of their trade, went in for scientific farming, manipulation of prices and pressure politics, they too were able to partake of American prosperity with the rest of the business community. To get away with this sleight-of-hand Hofstadter stops his statistics at 1920. But his chapters on the farm movement make it clear that he is fully cognizant of the agricultural trend as witnessed by his own factual presentation. He just insists on jamming the facts into a cynically conceived conceptual mold.

Hofstadter makes much of the fact that "In 1870, 53 percent of the nation's gainfully employed population earned its living from agriculture, and in 1945 only 15 percent; yet in the latter year the upper strata among the farmers had more political weight as a class than they had had in 1870." This

is presented in order to show that if the farmers were legislatively under-represented and mistreated in those days, today they are over-represented and enjoy "exorbitant power." There is a bit of truth in the former assertion and a germ of truth even in the latter, but both propositions are placed in a false framework and are out of focus as well. Industrialism has surely conquered and driven the farmers down to a fraction of their original number. It has surely destroyed the independent position of the farm class, politically and economically, so that the very possibility of a Populist resurgence is ruled out today. Within this context, the industrial rulers have struck a political deal with the upper levels of the new commercial farmers, and have often utilized the latter for their own innumerable purposes.

The pages of Hofstadter's own book are liberally sprinkled with such information that in all the present farm organizations "including the more 'radical' Farmers Union, membership is dominated by farmers of high economic status (and to a lesser degree of medium status) and that low-status farmers are a negligible part"; that the effort of such New Deal agencies as the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration on behalf of the poor farmers "met the implacable opposition of the lobbyists and wire-pullers of the Farm Bureau Federation, who finally succeeded in destroying it"; and that the business class, frightened by the Populist upheaval and its potential of farm-labor unity, "began consciously to woo the farmers and to build that rapport between the two interests which is now so characteristic of American politics."

That is the truth: The oligarchy succeeded in maintaining a kind of alliance and equilibrium with agriculture (by supporting the rich farmers) from the turn of the century to the present, if we disregard such interludes as the post-World War I difficulties, the La Follette movement, and the breakdown of the thirties. But now once again the farm problem has reared its troublesome head—and in the midst of general prosperity, at that. And the problem that Professor Hofstadter imagined solved—if not for all time, for a good long time—is unsolved again.

The Shape of History

HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY by Isaiah Berlin. Oxford University Press, New York, 1955, $2.

THE question whether history falls into any significant and comprehensible patterns, or whether it is all an accidental and indeterminate jumble of meaningless events, has long occupied the thoughtful. Such a dispute may appear abstract and academic, but in the last analysis it is far from empty in its implications.

The anti-determinists pride themselves that they give man a wide latitude of free choice. If, they assure us, there are no discoverable laws in human social development, then we are in a position to determine everything by an effort of will. This ultra-simple syllogism is very appealing by virtue of its surface plausibility, and has inspired more than one college sophomore, undergraduate as well as faculty, to raise his voice in protest against the "Marxist rigidities" which would leave us no area of free will.

Like all pat answers to complex questions, however, the revelation of the anti-determinists turns out to be something less than useful the moment an attempt is made to put it into business on a cash-and-carry basis.

FREEDOM of the human will, if it means anything at all, means the shaping of events in accordance with a pre-conceived plan. It is here that man differs from the animals, which possess this faculty in rudimentary form, if at all. Freedom of the will in the sense of haphazard, capricious, or accidental choice is no attainment at all; it is an attribute of any ass. The freedom of the human will, both individual and social, to make its decisions in terms of a conscious apprehension of the results is what is plainly in question.

Those who can see in history no way of discovering a pattern or series of patterns, a lawfulness, a comprehensible relationship between cause and effect, have, far from awarding us any real freedom of choice, obviously put us in a greater difficulty. Insofar as their view is accepted, we have no real way of determining the consequences of our actions other than by trial and error, which is precisely the way the bear found out where the beehive was.

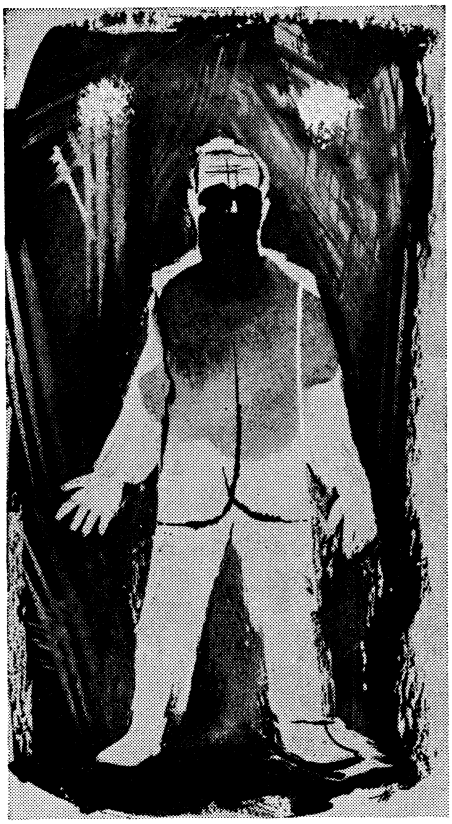
The student of history can benefit greatly from an understanding of just what it is that distinguishes science—and hence the free will—in our dealings with nature. Scientists only manage to achieve control over the consequences of their actions as they begin to understand the laws governing the behavior of the subject matter they are dealing with, whether it be atoms or kidneys. It never occurred to men—aside from the mystics and supernaturalists—upon discovering that they were bound by the laws of gravitation to the earth or by the laws of biology to an oxygen-carrying atmosphere, to rant that they had lost their "freedom." On the contrary, in the discovery of his limitations and conditions of life, man was able to find far greater freedom in his environment, and control over it.

The medical practitioner is rigidly bound by conventional methods of work that have arisen from knowledge of the properties and functioning of the human body. Take away that knowledge on the ground that the body is an unpredictable and capricious mechanism, and all the control is gone. The doctor is now "free" to sprinkle a wound with dirt instead of sulpha, but he has lost all his freedom of decision as to whether the patient shall get well or not. Construct an airplane on the theory that we are not bound by any laws of gravitation or aerodynamics, and it will most likely stay on the ground. All of which goes to show that there can be such a thing as too much freedom from lawfulness; humanity, even if granted the boon of absolute freedom of choice, would find itself rather helpless if it were compelled to exercise that freedom in an environment that is chaotic, patternless, and unpredictable.

NOW all of this is no answer to those who contend that history is truly chaotic, a trackless waste which swallows up the wanderer who tries to find a road. If history is like that, so be it, and we're just not in luck in the matter. We'll have to imitate the camels who fill their stomachs at any chance waterhole and start out again trusting to whatever Providence it is that watches over camels. It *is* an answer, however, and a pretty conclusive one, to those who think that looking upon history this way is a great liberating act, and come crying the glad tidings that henceforth we are free to do what we please.

Isaiah Berlin's little book on this subject plumps flatly for the anti-determinist view of history. This reviewer, after hearing a radio critic praise it as the last word in brilliant Marx-refutation, and after reading the high praise passed out for it in the London *Economist,* came prepared to find much of interest even to an opponent—but the expectation was disappointed. It might have been such a book had the author himself been less confused, but as it is, the book is like Mr. Berlin's own concept of history: chaotic, pathless, pointlessly repetitious, and with very little structure.

Mr. Berlin appears to have gotten fascinated with two ideas. One is the notion outlined above, that we can best preserve our freedom of action by deriding the notion that there is any pattern in history—



and the less pattern the freer we are. The second is the rather minor, even feeble, point that, if there is such a thing as an objective structure to history, we certainly don't act that way, since we all still hold people accountable for their actions, and take them to task when they do something we don't like, instead of excusing them on the ground that all is pre-determined.

IN brief, Mr. Berlin advances the following thesis: During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, overpowered by the great successes of the natural sciences, men decided they could make a science of history. Others sought a mystical pattern in history. Both were equally bad, since both sought a structure. He writes:

"From the days of Herder and St. Simon, Hegel and Marx, to those of Spengler and Toynbee and their imitators, claims have been made widely varying in degree of generality and confidence, to be able to trace a structure of history. . . . But this is not, and can never be, accepted by any serious historian who wishes to establish the truth as it is understood by the best critics of his time, working by standards accepted as realistic by his most scrupulous and enlightened fellow workers. For he does not perceive one unique schema as the truth. . . . The same facts can be arranged in many patterns, seen from many perspectives, displayed in many lights, all of them equally valid. . . ."

His foundation firmly laid in this bog, Mr. Berlin feels prepared to carry out a rather free-swinging assault on all forms of historical determinism, all attempts to find a skeletal structure in history. His chief line of attack is based on a confusion between the free will of the individual and the "free" (lawless) development of history and society. Thus, he seems to believe that, if he is able to demonstrate that persons have "an area" of free choice, his task is done so far as proving that societies as well can choose freely and arbitrarily their own paths of development. The confusion stems from the old and discredited notion that society is nothing more than the simple arithmetical sum of the wills of its individual members.

FOR example, from the point of view of your corner grocer, every man has the free choice under capitalism between becoming a wage worker or grocery man. But this doubtful proposition turns out to be very little help the moment it is recognized that the very existence of capitalism presupposes a class structure in which the vast majority work for hire and not as owners. The fact that individuals have a limited freedom of choice is really beside the point in finding out what the society is going to look like, as that is shaped by forces bigger than the decisions of any individuals.

In our world, decisions are not governed by pure chance; chance is at best an important subordinate element. The various relations which men and groups of men enter into with one another for the purpose of carrying on their labors and providing for their needs are so widely pervasive, embrace such vast numbers and areas of human activity, and penetrate so insistently into even the smallest crevices of our lives that they can be said to give the basic skeletal structure to our society and guide its direction of development. While this approach can be ridiculed by those who, like Mr. Berlin, vulgarize it into the small change of "individual free choice," as a view of the broader reaches of history, society, and politics it has been brilliantly vindicated by both researchers and practical politicians.

Mr. Berlin is greatly angered by any thought of "historical inevitability," deeming this a most pernicious view which paralyzes men's minds and stays their hands from decisive action. He quotes approvingly a remark attributed to Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis: "The irresistible is often only that which is not resisted." Those are brave words, good for many situations, but not for the one under discussion, as Mr. Brandeis might himself admit ruefully were he able to glance over our present America. If Brandeis did actually produce this *bon mot,* he might well have reconsidered it as he looked back on his vain lifelong struggle against the trustification of American industry and for the preservation of small-holding capitalism—during which he was repeatedly advised by the socialists of his day that he was attempting to resist the irresistible.

OF course nothing is inevitable outside and independent of human actions, as men do, in the last analysis, make their own history; it is not made for them by supernatural agencies or pre-set fates. But human social action is carried on by each generation under conditions and within the framework of a social structure produced by centuries of previous development, and no generation can jump out of its collective skin into a social order devised by the pure power of will. By discovery of the laws of the social structure and by determining what is both possible and necessary within them, a given generation can take forceful social action. There is no greater insult to man's "free will" implied in this than in the discovery of the pioneers of heavier-than-air flight that they could never fly by flapping their arms in imitation of the birds. On the contrary, the recognition of necessity is the beginning of freedom.

H. B.

Farming Facts

CAN WE SOLVE THE FARM PROBLEM?; An Analysis of Federal Aid to Agriculture, by Murray R. Benedict. The Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1955, $5.

THIS comprehensive survey, a companion volume to the author's "Farm Policies of the United States, 1790-1950," shows once again how helpful the Foundations can be when they back a competent scholar in getting and setting down the facts. All of the recent federal farm programs are explained and analyzed in great detail in this volume, and precisely at a time when it is important to know about them, as the farm difficulties again grow more onerous.

If there can be any major criticism of the book, it is this: It divides itself, rather mechanically, into lengthy chapters on each and every type of farm program: research and education, credit aids, food subsidies and surplus disposal programs, conservation and soil building, and price supports through loans and purchases. The result is that farm programs which in their sum have had very little overall effect and importance in American agriculture are given as much space as the single farm program—artificial price supports—which has had a real effect and which should, by rights, occupy the major portion of the book. But this fault is not too important, as this is a book of the kind which is more referred to than read straight through. And as a reference work it is eminently satisfactory in its completeness and authority.

Mr. Benedict does not write about any of the farm programs with great enthusiasm. He points to the great imbalance between farm productivity and market demand, and expresses pessimism about the ability of any of the farm programs to effect a basic correction. Such improvement on a large scale as there was in the past 15

years he attributes in the main to the exceptional demand during the second World War and during the Korean war.

A CONCLUDING chapter is appended to the book consisting of a report written by a consultative committee on agricultural policy established by the Twentieth Century Fund. It is a statement which, as two of the members of the committee point out in a dissenting footnote, "fails to come to grips with the major issue." The two dissenters from the committee of eminent authorities, Harry B. Caldwell of the North Carolina State Grange and Donald R. Murphy, editor of *Wallaces' Farmer & Iowa Homestead,* had a few things to say that are worth quoting:

"As things stand now, farmers are again plagued with surpluses clear across the board. These surpluses seem likely to be a continuing problem. . . .

"Moreover, the increases in population will not automatically solve this problem. Production in agriculture is increasing faster than population. . . .

"What is plainly needed is a program to improve diets and stimulate consumption both at home and abroad. We should be experimenting boldly with food stamps, with expanded school lunches, with better marketing devices and with other methods to keep abundance from being a curse both to producers and to the national economy. . . ."

A. S.

Do You Belong?

PSYCHOLOGY OF INDUSTRIAL BEHAVIOR, by Henry Clay Smith. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1955, $6.

HENRY Clay Smith, an associate professor of psychology at Michigan State College, has written this weighty work as a textbook for college students embarking on careers as personnel men and psychological consultants to industry. If plant committeemen and stewards were on their toes, they would take note of this professor's efforts; he reveals that brain-washing in industry is already a solidly entrenched practice, and is growing as fast as the campuses can turn out indoctrinated practitioners of the art.

An industrial psychologist is a man trained to know all about mass anxieties, group neuroses, machine-created frustrations, and the relationship between economic position and infant experience in giving rise to grievances.

If you think this stuff is all hogwash you'd better keep it quiet, because it will only serve to prove that your scorn stems from a suppressed desire to be a time-study man.

Now, to get down to business. Let's take the matter of strikes. "Managers called union leaders 'dishonest, unscrupulous, greedy, emotional and egotistical,'" our author reports, in discussing a survey which sought to determine the cause of a strike. "Union leaders called management leaders 'unintelligent, stubborn, arrogant and hypocritical.'" What is the scientific conclusion? "These descriptions tell us that the leaders on one side were considerably annoyed with those on the other side." But that isn't all. Scientific methods further discovered, Professor Smith reports, that "the study gives no reliable information as to what traits the two groups of leaders really had or why they were frustrating to each other." You just have to dig deeper, that's all.

PERHAPS you think the bad relations and resulting strikes are caused by wage differences. "The reason most frequently given for strikes is 'higher wages,'" writes the professor. But that's much too simple. "Such an explanation," he says, "does not tell *why* the workers want more money." The fact is, our author states, the demand for higher wages conceals needs only dimly recognized by those involved. "The frustration of these needs may be only loosely and indirectly related to inadequate wages."

A case history is given to prove the point. A plant had knit together a good healthy, well-adjusted group of workers who rarely had any suppressed desires expressed in the form of wage demands. Then one day management broke up the group by introducing some new machinery. No longer did the men feel part of a social group; no longer did a strict hierarchy of job classification and promotion prevail. New managers from out of town were imported. Under these conditions of abrupt social maladjustment and break in comfortable routine, mass psychosis developed, and workers began asking for dough. It could all have been avoided with the expenditure of a few dollars to pay the salary of an industrial psychologist. A period of indoctrination should have preceded the new machines; a mood of companionship between the men and the machines should have been implanted by educational means, building up the great benefits bound to come from the new methods of production displacing skilled craftsmen, and the like.

This theory is called *multiple causation.* When a strike takes place all kinds of factors come together to cause incompatibility, like a couple going to divorce court with mutual charges of infidelity. Our professor puts the tried and tested methods of the marriage counselor to work on industrial relations. Low wages, like a little adultery now and then, takes its proper place but strictly as one of the lesser causes of friction in the social unit.

The conclusion of the psychologist is that men really do not work for wages anyway. They work for self-fulfilment, in order to "belong," to feel "needed," to "have status." Professor Smith explains that once the belly is assured of being "chronically filled," the order of human needs progresses upward from the physical to the spiritual. When a worker has enough to eat, a place to live, clothes and a means of transportation, he develops other needs. True. This distinguishes man from the machine. These needs the author groups in categories of *belonging, status* and *self-expression.* He suggests the advertising techniques used by companies to sell their products by directing their appeals to higher needs, be used in the plant to sell the workers on life at the iron works. "Soap is not recommended to keep one clean," he writes, "but to establish one's belonging status."

Such slogans as "Without you, the world could never watch the Fords go by!"; or, "A little bit of you has gone into every Swift Premium Sausage!" even at current Madison Avenue prices, are cheaper than strikes caused by that empty feeling of not being wanted.

IT would take many pages to give a full sampling of all the wisdom packed into the 477 pages of this wondrous book. Take the problem of hiring techniques, to get away from strikes for a moment. How is management to know whether it is getting a good, well-adjusted worker, when it picks at random from the labor market? He pays a pretty standard price, but is never guaranteed uniformity of the commodity, as when he buys sheet steel, for example. Well, industrial psychology has a contribution to make here, also.

Questionnaires—and we are all familiar with the old-style forms, dealing with the last twelve places of employment—are being brought up to date. This takes two forms; first, the essay form. In this technique workers are asked to write a little literary work for purposes of self-revelation to the employer. General Motors did this in a competition for prizes given the workers who composed the best essays on "My Job, and Why I Like It." Of course, it can be said that the subject limited the participants to those either already very talented in certain directions, or to malcontents who would take a perverted pleasure derived from deep abnormality in making mock of this battle of the workmen's pens. "The results," says Professor Smith, "were used to inform General Motors about the attitudes of their employees." And that is why GM is now embarked on a feverish campaign of automation. It is said a new automatic screw machine is now available which when fed a questionnaire into its electronic brain, responds with brilliant essays on the endless sources of self-satisfaction it finds in obeying orders.

Another company asked very interesting questions to determine whether its supervisory employees were pro- or anti-labor. For example: "During 1948 the number of unemployed in the United States averaged around: a. One million b. Two million." If you answered one million, you were pro-company, because you "underestimated unemployment." If you answered two million, you were pro-labor because you "exaggerated unemployment." It's a completely fascinating science, and bound to grow.

It is suggested to the professor to write an essay on a saying which Oliver Wendell Holmes loved to quote: "Give us the luxuries of life, and we will dispense with its necessaries." On the basis of his effort we will decide whether his logic has gone to his head.

J. G.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Union Man and Socialist

I am a stationary engineer, a good union man, and a Marxian socialist (or, at least, I try to be). I belong to the International Union of Operating Engineers, but can see no hope for the working class emanating from the reactionary AFL and CIO bureaucracy. Nevertheless, we must keep up the struggle, for one day it will bear fruit. Your magazine helps a "plug" worker like me to understand what is going on. It is the most informative and progressive Left publication I have so far seen. Best socialist and fraternal greetings.

D. C. *Canada*

As a public school teacher I want to thank you for your January editorial, "Crisis in Education." The school situation is becoming one of the major issues of American politics and I'm glad to see the *American Socialist* reporting on it.

Most of your facts and figures on the depth of the crisis agree with current statistics appearing in the educational journals. If anything, your figures are on the conservative side. Your conclusions, also, seem to me to be generally correct.

Let me take friendly issue with one point, however. You seem to imply that progressive education, Deweyism, is something of a flop under the present economic system. I can't agree with that, and neither would most other teachers. Progressive educational methods have broken down only where overworked, underpaid teachers have tried to teach overcrowded children in over-age schools.

What is needed is not a changed teaching method but a changed national budget. It is going to take over $50 billion dollars during the next ten years to rehabilitate the educational system. Probably the only place that kind of money can come from is the military budget.

Labor, educators and parents have their work cut out to force the politicians to make this shift in the national budget. But they'll have to do it because this crisis is going to get worse, not better. The whole situation shapes up into one of the major issues of coming years.

J. P. *Chicago*

As a high school student, I feel that the youth of America has lost the fire it has possessed from time to time in the past. Students seem to accept more and more without questioning, and those who question do not have the nerve to speak out what they believe.

What we need is some spark to ignite that suppressed power of reasoning-for-yourself which I believe is to be found in every boy and girl in America.

I would like to express my admiration for the *American Socialist*. I must congratulate your entire staff for putting out a magazine that gives news clearly—news one cannot find in most other periodicals—and, more important, gives interpretations of the news based on logical reasoning and intelligent deduction. Among the socialist publications I have read, the *American Socialist* is by far the best and receives my wholehearted support. Please enter my subscription for the coming year. . . .

D. C. *Great Neck, N. Y.*

The *American Socialist* is one of the best liberal and radical journals being published in America today—and I am acquainted with most of them.

I was converted to socialism and freethought in 1931 when I was in high school. Rapidly became a rebel of the Joseph McCabe type and think that the greatest causes worth working for are the spread of socialism and freethought, humanism, rationalism, etc. I worked in the Socialist Party for more than 10 years, and would love to see a real, honest, sincere left-wing movement organized in this U. S. A. in the very near future. Socialism is coming; no reactionaries can stop it.

R. D. M. *Toledo*

If the American Socialist is determined to make Stalin responsible for everything to which it takes exception in the period of his leadership, one would expect that it would at least give him the supreme credit for all the advances which it recognizes as having also taken place in the USSR in the period of his leadership.

Instead, although his name is brought frequently into its pages, never is a good word to be found about him in the *American Socialist*. If there is no intractable objection, I would like your Letters page to pass on to its readers, along with these observations, my recommendation that they read the following four books of Stalin's, all slender, inexpensive, and available under the imprint of International Publishers: (1) the collection of speeches and articles entitled *The October Revolution;* (2) *Foundations of Leninism;* (3) *Problems of Leninism;* (4) *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

I urge this request in the interests of the *American Socialist,* not against them. If there is anything in the recorded works of Stalin which is other than scientific or noble, the *American Socialist* will show confidence either in the ability of its readers to detect it, or in its own to be self-critical and flexible.

W. R. *New York*

Post-Election Beating

IN the United Steelworkers of America, the big question since President David J. McDonald defeated an opposition in the special election to fill the union's vice-presidency has been whether punitive action would be taken against the insurgents who had challenged the tradition of monolithism and top dictatorship. During the AFL-CIO merger convention in New York, the question was partly answered. James G. Griffin, leader of the insurgents in the Youngstown district, who had been squeezed out of his position as head of the Ohio CIO by McDonald, was badly beaten in his hotel room by several unidentified assailants. But McDonald is still cautious insofar as firings of union jobholders are concerned.

In your excellent editorial on education ["Crisis in Education," January 1956] you omitted one point—the *degree mania*—which also helps cause the teacher shortage.

Colleges hardly take a professor today with only an M.A. Yet there are thousands of M.A. people and even B.A. people more capable than the Ph. D.'s. The cost of getting a Ph. D. makes it discouraging—and so many refuse to enter teaching at all.

Higher salaries is part of the answer, free higher education through the Ph. D. degree is part, and getting schools to judge a teacher by his articles, books, recommendations, etc., and not just by his degree, is a big part.

Colleges are obsessed now with Ph. D.-itis, and this stuffed-shirt approach is not improving the colleges.

H. W. *Boston*

Till Case Touched Off Again

"The Shocking Story of the Approved Killing in Mississippi," in the January 24 issue of *Look* magazine has touched off once again the entire Till case in the Negro community in this city. On the other hand, T. R. Waring's article, "The Southern Case Against Desegregation" in the January issue of *Harper's* shows that the white supremacists have calculated plans in the North.

Unless the labor and liberal movements, in collaboration with the Negro organizations, take serious and sustained action, the Mississippi poison will spread to the North. An alarm should be sounded.

D. L. *Detroit*

I have read every issue of the *American Socialist*. I feel that your magazine is the best radical magazine in this country. I like to read it and find it very helpful.

J. G. *Brooklyn*

I find a great deal of interest in your publication, and I am definitely interested in the socialist viewpoint you have consistently maintained.

G. V. C. *Providence*

Enclosed find my two-year renewal. . . .

I must say that yours is the best labor monthly by far. Keep up the good work.

J. H. *Donora, Pa.*

A Free-Book Offer

LAST month, we offered to readers who would send in for friends four subscriptions to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST—six-month introductory at $1 each—a free copy of Ray Ginger's excellent biography of Eugene V. Debs, "The Bending Cross." We thought the response was quite good, and want to repeat the offer. However, since our supply of Ginger's book is exhausted, we now offer Isaac Deutscher's important analysis: "Russia, What Next?". Mr. Deutscher's book, which attracted much attention and comment when it was first published in 1953, traces in broad outline the vast changes in Russia during the period of industrialization and collectivization, and charts the possible political trends to come as a result of these changes.

This offer is of great value to both this magazine and those who respond to it. It introduces the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to new readers, which is our vital interest—and yours as well. And it gives you a chance to get a copy of an important book for yourself. What you do is simple: Sell, or donate to friends, four introductory subscriptions. Send us the four names and addresses together with $4. And include your own name and address, so that we can mail you the book.

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