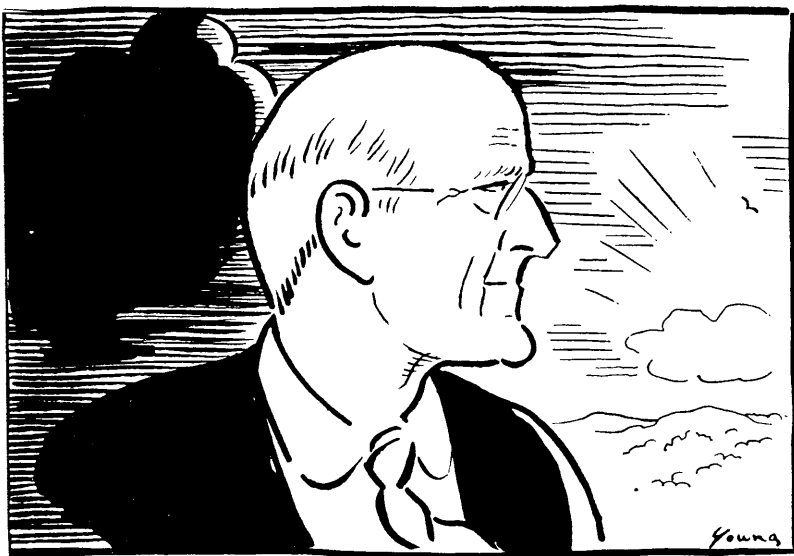


The American
Socialist

Carl Braden On:

**The
Conflicting Forces
In the South**

Civil Rights
After the Till Murder



**Eugene V. Debs
Centennial
Issue**

NOVEMBER 1955

25 CENTS

CLIPPINGS

A HISTORIC stand and decision was made this past month at the Washington trial of Harvey O'Connor, indicted for contempt of Congress because he last year refused to answer questions about his political beliefs or associations before McCarthy's committee. Mr. O'Connor, author of many well-known books, did not plead the Fifth Amendment before the committee, but like Corliss Lamont before him, took his stand on the principle that such questions violated the First Amendment on free speech. Mr. O'Connor in a ringing declaration in the courtroom, reaffirmed the rights guaranteed all Americans under the Constitution.

In answer to the prosecutor's question whether he ever had been a member of the Communist Party, he said: "Your Honor, I was asked a similar question before a Congressional committee and as a matter of principle I declined to answer. I consider the question quite as improper here as anywhere else. When public officials presume to inquire into the political opinions of the citizens, freedom is dead in this country. And for that reason I would take the same stand on principle here as I did before the Congressional committee. However, if the court feels I must answer that question under duress to my public humiliation as a citizen and voter I will answer it."

Federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy ruled that the question was irrelevant, and would not force O'Connor to answer. He will render a decision in the case in November.

THREE hundred and sixty prominent Americans filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the Supreme Court urging that the McCarran Internal Security Act be declared unconstitutional. This law requires that all organizations declared by the Attorney General as "Communist-action," "Communist-front," or "Communist-infiltrated," register their officers and members after such a finding by the Subversive Activities Control Board. The appeal of the Communist Party from an SACB order to register is one of the most important cases to come up before the Supreme Court in this coming session. James T. Farrell, one-time radical, and now chairman of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, disgraced himself irrevocably as a liberal when on behalf of this organization he maligned the 360 signers of the brief and accused them of whitewashing the Communist Party,

reasoning along the same lines employed by the McCarthys.

SENATOR WILLIAM LANGER of North Dakota pledged to Mrs. Sobell before a cheering crowd of 1,800 people in New York's Carnegie Hall on September 29 that "As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I will do everything I can to see that your husband, Morton Sobell, gets justice." Condemned to 30 years on a charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage" in the trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Sobell, who is imprisoned in Alcatraz, is fighting for a new trial. The meeting also gave a standing ovation to Warren K. Billings who was framed with Tom Mooney and spent 23 years in jail before he was finally pardoned.

LABOR is getting another dose of the "Kohler treatment" in the current auto union strike against the Perfect Circle Corporation, which operates plants in New Castle, Hagerstown, and Richmond, Indiana. The union is strait-jacketed with a court injunction which drastically limits picketing, and the governor has sent in the National Guard and declared martial law. Under cover of the bayonets, the company is trying to re-start operations, and break both the union and the strike. Events of this kind throw a fresh light on the theory so often bruted about in liberal circles that the powers-that-be are now permanently reconciled to unionism.

The siege tactics that the auto union has put into effect in the Kohler strike have not worked out too successfully. In the early CIO days, unions were able to repulse this type

of strike-breaking only by the use of militant mass tactics.

GOVERNOR DONNELLY of Missouri has ordered state seizure of the St. Louis Public Service Company after a strike called by the AFL Streetcar-men's union. Under the King-Thompson law of the state, the striking unions can be fined \$10,000 for every day the strike continues, and the officers can be fined \$1,000 for disobeying the seizure order.

In New York, State Supreme Court Justice Walter banned even "peaceful and lawful" picketing if it brings "actual harm" to the employer's business. As Osmond K. Fraenkel, the Civil Liberties Union attorney, remarked, the judge is saying that no picketing is to be permitted if it is effective. District 65 of the CIO Retail union is appealing the decision.

Colonial Sugars in Louisiana has finally settled with the Packinghouse union, agreeing to the demand of a 10-cent hourly wage increase, but the workers are still out at nearby Godchaux Sugars. The strike is going into its seventh month; the union lines remain solid.

The independent Electrical union held its twentieth convention in Cleveland from September 19 through September 23. The gathering denounced the recent five-year contract that Carey's CIO Electrical union signed with GE. This agreement was by all odds the poorest of any of the big CIO settlements, and the union ranks at Westinghouse are now vigorously contesting any attempt to sign a similar agreement.

The UE convention also passed a long resolution on the subject of labor unity, but prospects do not appear bright for the union in this respect. Both the AFL and CIO top leaders seem determined to force the UE into a capitulation, where the local unions individually have to make a switch, and the national UE leadership is eliminated from the picture.

The American Socialist

November 1955 Vol. 2, No. 11

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

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

357

CONTENTS

CIVIL RIGHTS AFTER THE TILL MURDER	3
THE CONFLICTING FORCES IN THE SOUTH by Carl Braden	7
DEBS AND THE "APPEAL TO REASON" by George H. Shoaf	10
THE EUGENE V. DEBS HERITAGE by Bert Cochran	17
A GREAT AMERICAN by Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman	20
WE MUST LEARN FROM DEBS by Martin Gahagan	24
BOOK REVIEW	26
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	31

RESERVATIONS NOW!

BILL OF RIGHTS
DINNER

CAPITOL HOTEL
DEC. 15 - \$7.50

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
421 SEVENTH AVE., N. Y. 1 • OX 5-2863



Civil Rights After the Till Murder

MMUCH violence has calloused our sensibilities in this day and age. Yet there is something about the murder of Emmett Louis Till to touch even the coldest heart. The thought that in this America, full-grown and brawny men would abduct a grade-school child, and beat him in his helplessness until all his teeth were out, his head caved in, his body mutilated with horrible wounds, put a bullet into his brain and drop him into a river—truly, even the most emotionally impervious cannot fail to be aroused.

In a decaying social order, man's inhumanity to man includes man's inhumanity to children. And the children, even in their years of hope and light-heartedness, are forced to taste the bit-

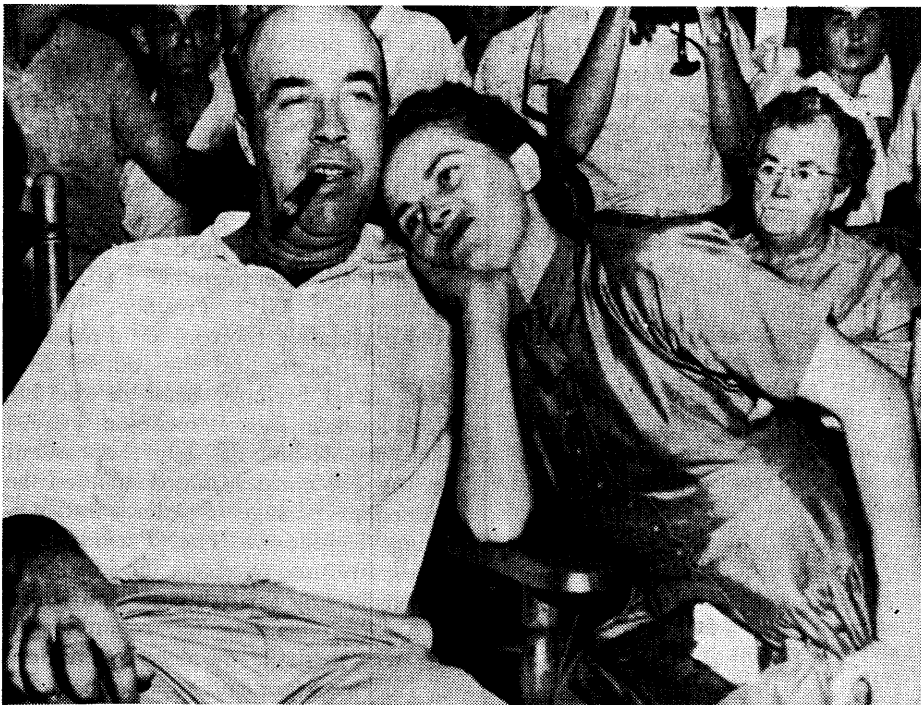
ter fruit of knowledge. During the second World War, one of those public school essay contests in which children are asked to write answers to usually fatuous questions was held, the question being: "How would you punish Hitler for his crimes?" On one paper returned by a little Negro girl, the answer was startling: "I would put him in a black skin and force him to spend the rest of his life in the United States." Here was a pathetic early wisdom. And Emmett Louis Till also, in his final hour, knew more about our Southland and the desperate forces at work in it than any college of sociologists. May we be granted the power to build a world in which our children will be spared such lessons!

Where is the mind so warped that it can fail to see through the wanton arrogance shown by the whitewash court to which the men were rushed for trial so that they may never again be tried on the murder charge; by the barely concealed triumph with which the murderous protectors of the South's peculiar institutions were celebrated; by the \$10,000 defense fund which members of the "master race" had placed at their disposal along with all the lawyers the township afforded?

EMMETT Till's murder is one more signal that a desperate counter-offensive on behalf of white supremacy and *apartheid* is under way. The Supreme Court victory in the school case encouraged a picture of a steady march towards equality. People tended to forget that the reactionaries, fighting with their backs to the wall, are quite capable of reviving barbaric practices which have been on the decline. Where the Tuskegee Institute could boast, for several years running, of no lynchings in the South, it can now report no fewer than *three* lynchings within a four-month period in a single state, all unpunished.

When the Supreme Court school decision was handed down in 1954, the Jackson (Mississippi) *Daily News* threatened: "It means racial strife of the bitterest sort. Mississippi can not and will not try to abide by such a decision." And Governor Hugh White added his gallus-snapping growl: "Not one percent of our people got any respect for anybody on that court. They're not going to tell us what to do."

Seven Southern states where compliance with the Supreme Court decision for integrating Negro and white education would mean the most, have stated their intention of defying the law. Mississippi, just before the murder of Emmett Till, completed a Democratic gubernatorial primary (the same as the election in the one-party-dictatorship South) in which all five candidates competed to see which could come up with the best anti-Negro schemes. The winner boasted of having ensured the electrocution of Willie McGee, and of various other valiant strivings in defense of the chivalrous Southern code that a Negro must always suffer the extreme punishment for any unproven allegation made against him by a white, while a white must never be punished



Co-defendant J. W. Milam, freed by an all-white jury in the murder of Emmett Till after an hour's deliberation, puffs on a cigar as his wife mugs for the camera after jury brought in verdict. Milam and his half-brother Roy Bryant kidnaped 14-year-old Till after the boy allegedly "whistled" at Bryant's wife; three days later Till's body was found.

for any crime against a Negro, even if fully proven and freely admitted.

Late in 1954, Mississippi took steps to halt the increase in Negro voting registrations. A new law was enacted which cut down the number of registered Negro voters from over 22,000 to about 8,000 (out of a Negro population of almost a million). White Citizens' Councils were organized to intensify the terror, by printing in local newspapers the names and addresses of Negroes who signed petitions for school desegregation, by cutting off home-mortgage and other credits to Negroes, and by other malicious stunts. Then followed the three atrocities which the NAACP has briefly described in these words:

On the night of May 7, the Rev. George W. Lee, a clergyman of Belzoni, Mississippi, was shot and killed in his car after having refused under pressure to take his name off the voter registration list. His murderers have not been apprehended.

On the morning of August 13, 63-year-old election campaign worker Lamar Smith of Brookhaven, Mississippi, was shot and killed in broad daylight in front of the court-house after having made open efforts to get out the Negro vote in the coming primary election. No indictment has been returned against the three suspects arrested for this crime.

On the night of August 28, two men kidnaped young Emmett Till from his uncle's home in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Emmett's body was found four days later in a nearby river. The men who admitted the kidnaping were tried for murder and acquitted.

This sequence of events plainly demonstrates that the recent trend of Negro victories is by no means irreversible. As in a war, victory in early battles often merely sets the stage for more decisive encounters. There is now a counter-offensive on foot, and some earlier gains in the form of a decline in lynchings and an increase in Negro voting are now being reversed. We are thus not quite so far advanced in the struggle for equality as we have been led to believe by hasty orators who made the welkin ring with extravagant claims. If the hard-pressed Southern Negro fighters who have been moving forward with incredible bravery

are not given the massive and rapid support they deserve, they are in for some hard days.

BUT the Till case has also revealed something which will prove to be more important in the long run: America has changed greatly. There was a time—not so long ago, perhaps fifteen years—when these murders passed almost unnoticed. The national press was able to enforce its conspiracy of silence. The labor movement was still too provincial to take heed of such national issues. The Negro people were still badly terrorized and disorganized. The country at large was practically deaf to the sound of whip and revolver.

In those days it was only a handful of radicals, isolated and scorned as “nigger-lovers,” who tried to call attention to the atrocities, and succeeded occasionally in making a stir. How different it is now! Millions are aroused, the Negro people have risen to their feet and are demanding full justice. Nobody can fail to be struck by the change.

Big commercial newspapers in major cities have been drawn, by the changed temper of the times, into conducting

“Who Respects Lambs?”

The following letter appeared in the *N.Y. Post* on Sept. 28:

I AM of Southern birth and Negro extraction. I have lived from a young to an old man always a law-abiding citizen. Through the years I have seen the Southern black lambs tacitly giving up their lives to the Southern white wolves. This vicious criminal cycle has continued for 300 years. Long since, I have debated whether it is nobler in mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune or to take arms against a sea of troubles, and, by opposing, end them.

Who respects the lambs? No one. Because they will not fight. Lamb-like peasants have valiantly fought the white man's wars; now may it be said that you will fight for yourselves?

Who gives a damn about the lamb? No one. Because he will not fight back. It is my considered opinion that you have one alternative; when Southern white wolves fire a bullet into your head, you must in turn fire one in his. The minute he learns his head is not immune, and you will retaliate, I swear the truth, he will give pause before he fires on you.

C. Haywood Lovick

around the Till case just such a campaign of investigation and exposure as was formerly the job of small radical journals. For example, the *N.Y. Post*—which, with all its sex, sensationalism and general phoniness, deserves a lot of credit for militant crusading on cases like this one—got right on the job as soon as Emmett was kidnaped, with articles needling the Mississippi sheriff to find the boy. Then, when he was found dead, a great wave of indignation swept the nation. A quarter of a million persons lined up to view his body in Chicago where it was shipped to his mother after early plans to hide it in a Mississippi grave were defeated.

The “trial” was held in the glaring light of international publicity. Reporters from dozens of periodicals were on hand, a delegation from the CIO Packinghouse Union attended, the boy's mother was brought into the courtroom by a Negro Congressman from Detroit. When the so-called verdict was brought in, it was greeted by anger and ridicule in almost every corner of the world. At meetings in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Birmingham, Memphis and dozens of other cities North and South, speakers poured forth their indignation before crowds of thousands.

Labor has entered the case on a broad scale. In many cities, sponsorship for protest meetings came from unions like New York's District 65 of the CIO, the AFL Sleeping Car Porters, the CIO Packinghouse Workers and others. Union spokesmen like David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers sent strong messages to Mississippi officials. Calling the murder a “shocking instance of race prejudice and naked lawlessness,” CIO President Walter Reuther blasted the trial as “a mockery of civil liberties and the judicial process.” Carl Stellato, head of the big Ford local, in Detroit spoke out against the “pseudo-liberals” who kept silent on the Till murder, and demanded the immediate passage of federal anti-lynching legislation. The *Packinghouse Worker* refused to accept the jury's verdict as closing the Till case, and added that “a tremendous movement is under way to shake the very foundations of rule by terror and repression in the South.”

AMERICA has been changing for a number of reasons. The mass

unionization of the past twenty years has played its part, raising labor to a position of strength in our national life, and propelling it forward against race prejudice and discrimination. The industrialization and urbanization of parts of the South and the continued movement of the Negro people into the cities enter into the picture. The radical groups that worked so hard to fight Jim Crow performed a big pioneering service that is now bearing some fruits, for which they are, naturally, not given the credit they deserve.

We have seen an erosion of the Boob McNutt provincialism that was the despair of the cosmopolitan minds of the twenties. More comprehensive ideas of tolerance, less cocksure bigotry, wider acquaintance with the multiple ways and tastes of mankind outside of Main Street, U.S.A., are abroad in the land. In some measure, this is owed to the international turmoil of the past 15 years. Whatever other marks they may leave on the human race, modern wars, cold and hot, have proved broadening in the range of conceptions they have brought to the insular and small-town mind.

Newton's law that every action has a reaction is at play in the cold war: If U.S. capitalism is to appoint itself as a model to the world, then it must expect a merciless world-wide scrutiny. The Till case and all such incidents in our South get international publicity, in many cases more intensive than at home. Communist, Socialist and nationalist movements in Europe and Asia, Africa and South America, use these events powerfully to shame and scandalize our rulers and their pretensions to world hegemony. Is it any wonder that, in sheer self-defense, our ruling class has been forced to make some concessions, to debate the problem, to open its forums and newspaper columns to it?

Despite all of the patrioteering and anti-radicalism of the NAACP leaders, if they had an ounce of fairness about the matter they would admit that the revolutionary turbulence abroad has been their best ally during the past decade, instead of opposing and even slandering it as they do.

THE NAACP has succeeded in gathering a powerful national organization, with a staff of leadership fully competent in the technical sense of the



MRS. MAMIE BRADLEY
Emmett Till's mother

word. This is a great gain and gives the Negro people, especially in the South, a valuable focus for their efforts. But it must be recognized that the NAACP has severe limitations.

In the purely legalistic infighting over the school integration demand, the NAACP leaders were very much at home, and acquitted themselves well. But the more chaotic and difficult fight that the challenge of the Till murder and other recent events open up seems to have caught them flatfooted. The great protest movement that has arisen needs a definite platform and objective, and a tactic suited to win it. These are not being provided. It makes no difference whether the movement is offered *no answer* or whether it is drowned in *too many answers*; the effect is the same. Consider the speech of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York to a cheering throng of 20,000 garment-district workers in Manhattan. He demanded: 1. A special session of Congress. 2. A march on Washington at the start of the next Congress. 3. A new underground railway to bring witnesses to crimes against Negroes up to safety. 4. A national boycott of everything made in Mississippi. 5. A Congressional measure to prohibit all Mississippi Senators or Representatives from being seated. 6. A contingent of Negro FBI agents to investigate violations of the rights of persons in the South. 7. A new party "of, by, and for the people" if the old ones don't come through. He had several other propositions.

Clearly, almost any one of these demands would make a great program, but would also require a vast and determined mobilization, and a coordinated campaign backed by every portion of the movement. Tossing them off by the score to evoke the cheers of the moment and then to forget them, is only to mock the movement one is supposed to be leading.

The idea of a large-scale march on Washington, in which the thousands of participants could mass their power behind a set of demands and dramatize, as never before, their determination to conquer the evil foe, is a good one. This proposition worked brilliantly in 1941, when it was seriously organized by A. Philip Randolph and driven ahead in dead earnest, to be called off only when the Fair Employment Practices Commission was established by reluctant executive order. At the great Harlem meeting which drew 20,000 demonstrators on September 25, one of the speakers recalled this feat, and urged that it be repeated today, only to be brushed off by NAACP head Roy Wilkins with a tasteless joke about "losing most of you at the Hoboken ferry." But if not that, then what? The Negro leadership has no answer.

BEHIND this fault there is the very unfortunate tone of the NAACP leadership. In most cities, the organization is staffed by the middle-class elements of the Negro community, the professionals and small business men. More intellectually aware, these elements have often led in organizing against injustice. But they make for an organization in which the mass of the Negro workers—definitely and by their own repeated testimony—do not feel at home, are made uncomfortable by the pink-tea atmosphere, the collegiate air, the middle-class pretensions of the minority stratum which likes to think of itself as the "black quality" and is vaguely ashamed of its lower-class brethren. This can be seen by looking into the meetings of nine out of ten NAACP branches, even in the most industrial cities, or by following a few issues of *Crisis*, NAACP publication, a periodical from which one would judge that the U.S. is made up entirely of colleges with not a single factory.

The labor movement, in which are

now organized hundreds of thousands of union Negroes, in which many unions possess functioning local and national anti-discrimination committees, can and partly has made up for this defect of the NAACP in some situations. And the labor movement has certainly entered this campaign on the Till case in greater measure than ever before. But even here, while labor's intervention is to be applauded and has made a big impact, it was confined almost entirely to resolutions and statements. No more than the NAACP leadership has the labor movement shown the path to a serious campaign to force Congressional action, to get the federal government to intervene in the lawless South, or for any of the

other needed remedies. And for labor, this has become a matter of pressing self-interest, as the South must be organized to preserve labor's gains, and the South can never be organized except with the solidarity of black and white.

One national union, the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, has taken up the cudgels in a business-like way. An editorial in the September 1955 issue of the union's paper underlines the union's fine approach:

The great task of our time is to forge a powerful movement linking the freedom forces of the North with the forward-looking people in the South itself to restore elementary

concepts of justice and to establish a truly democratic "way of life" under which each and every American may flourish.

Organized labor must take its place firmly in such a movement.

This union has suited its actions to the word by using its disciplinary powers against any of its officials that don't live up to the creed, by its exemplary Louisiana sugar-strike battle conducted on a black-and-white-unity basis, by its energetic intervention in the Till case. When all labor is on that path, the struggle will be on the way to victory, with great good consequences to labor of both races and to the nation as a whole.

New Way to Stop a Union Drive

THE last ten years of witch-hunting have seen almost every one of our basic rights assaulted. But rarely have the reactionary forces shown their whole program at one time. Now, however, in Dalton, Georgia, there is a case which shows what the fake patrioteers really have in mind for America.

Dalton is a textile town in north Georgia. Fifty small bed-spread and rug factories in the area encourage the Chamber of Commerce to claim that this hill town of 15,000 is the "chenille capital of the world." Wages are still 75 cents an hour and won't go up to a dollar until the new minimum wage law takes effect next spring.

Several of the mills have been unionized since 1937. They, of course, enjoy somewhat better wages and working conditions than the others. The contrast has made the non-union workers receptive to unionism. The CIO Textile Workers Union began an organizing drive in August. It met with immediate success.

The mills hit upon a plan for stopping the union drive. They didn't attack the unions directly. Younger Southern workers don't fall for that any more. So the mills created a diversion. The target was a church and its newspaper.

Dalton is a textile town in north Georgia. Fifty small bed-Protestant sect called the Church of God of the Union Assembly. Its 35 congregations are scattered through Harlan County, Kentucky, the textile region of north Georgia, and among the new industrial towns of the Tennessee Valley region. Ninety-five percent of its members, including the ministers, are miners, mill workers or subsistence farmers. "Blessed be the poor" is taken seriously. Communicants are urged to become active trade unionists. The church publishes the *Southerner*, which advocates the unionization of the South, racial justice and world peace. The church has no connection with the Textile Union but has enjoyed friendly relations with several locals for many years.

So the church, and especially its crusading editor Don West, became the targets of a campaign of smear and intimidation designed to confuse the workers about the union. The mills circulated a form among their employees demanding to know their religious affiliations. The Lawtex Corporation promptly fired 28 workers who put down "Church of God of the Union Assembly." The Belcraft Mill fired 23 more for the same reason. The Dixie Belle discharged 5 more, for a total of 56.

The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars began to cry "red" against the *Southerner*. Appointing themselves as political inquisitors, they demanded that Editor West

account to them for every thought and action of his life, including his poetry. They even demanded that he explain all the past associations of contributing editors Aubrey Williams and Dr. Alva Taylor, noted Southern liberals.

FRONT-page editorials were run by the Dalton *News* and *Citizen* against West. They cited no crimes but thundered for the grand jury to "do something" to him. They hinted for violence. It finally came when hoodlums broke the windows of the *Southerner* printing office in a midnight raid.

The mills imported a notorious anti-union evangelist, Alston Calhoun, to set up tent on "Americanism Preferred." He ranted nightly against "communist churches" and "un-American unions."

The church, the paper and the unions have defended themselves courageously. The Textile Union has taken the case of the 56 fired workers to the NLRB on grounds of anti-union discrimination, and to the U.S. Senate constitutional rights sub-committee. It has called mass meetings to explain to the workers that the whole campaign of smear and intimidation is to confuse the issue. Latest reports indicate that most workers are seeing through the textile bosses' tricks and that the union drive is progressing satisfactorily.

One of the companies involved, the Lawtex Corporation, is reportedly Jewish-owned, and the notion of a company owned by Jews firing workers because they belong to the Church of God of the Union Assembly has been sufficient to arouse much of the latent anti-Semitism that is particularly strong in Southern towns. But the *Southerner* has refused to take advantage of reactionary feelings, and has published a strong and educational editorial against anti-Semitism, illustrated by a picture of Hitler's Buchenwald cremation oven. At the same time, it points out to the mill-owners that they are promoting anti-Semitism by an action of this sort.

The *Southerner* and the church that backs it have sought to bring the atrocities committed against them to the attention of national public opinion. With a few exceptions the commercial press of the country has put a curtain of silence around the Dalton situation. But the CIO *News*, *Labor's Daily*, *Railway Labor*, and others have carried friendly stories. The *Southerner* is now actively enlisting support among labor, liberal, and religious circles. Wide public support is needed to halt the firings and get the victimized workers reinstated, as well as to prevent the destruction of the church and its paper.

F. P.

A Southerner who has been victimized for helping a Negro family get a decent place to live takes a look at the forces at work in the South and the prospects for change.

Why I Was Framed:

The Conflicting Forces In the South

by Carl Braden

THE men who control land, industry, and politics in the South are worried. They know that a great social change is due to take place and it may cost them their power. Their desperation is reflected in growing violence against Negro people and against white people who work with Negroes to end segregation and discrimination.

The same kind of violence was practiced against unions before the labor movement became a dominant force in this country. As one of the victims of this new wave of violence, I have intensified my study of its sources and causes.

I had plenty of time to meditate upon this during my

8-month stay in jail on a charge of sedition, because 53 days of that time were spent in solitary confinement. After my release from Kentucky State Prison I took a trip through Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky; I talked with labor and progressive leaders who have devoted a lifetime of thought and effort to fighting segregation.

The men who control the South are not deep thinkers. They act in patterns that have grown up during centuries of slavery and exploitation of the Negro. The blighting effect of such a way of life was noted by Alexis de Tocqueville in his comments about Kentucky in "Democracy In America," in 1835. He wrote:

Carl Braden and the Louisville "Sedition" Case

THE author of this article is the victim of a frame-up which, in the words of a union paper in Michigan (Plymouth *Beacon*) is "so outrageous that it is almost beyond belief."

Carl Braden, a Louisville, Kentucky, newspaperman, was asked for help in buying a house by Andrew Wade IV, a young Negro veteran who could not buy a suitable home because of his race. Braden and his wife, Ann, bought the home that Wade desired, and then sold it to him.

The Wades thereupon became the target of a Ku Klux Klan-type terror campaign of a kind which has become familiar: threats, shots fired into the house, fiery crosses, and window-breakings. A number of Louisville citizens, white and Negro, mostly unionists, mounted a guard on the house in a move reminiscent of scenes from Sinclair Lewis' "Kingsblood Royal."

The episode came to the not-too-unusual climax of a bombing of the Wade house by racist hoodlums. Weeks went by without action by the honest Commonwealth of Kentucky, but finally, prodding by the Wades and their friends produced



CARL BRADEN

a move. A grand jury investigation was turned loose on the white friends of the Wade family, sifted their reading and affiliations, present and remote, and finally came up with an indictment against one of the men who had been guarding the house as the perpetrator of the bombing—even though he had been out of town on that week end!

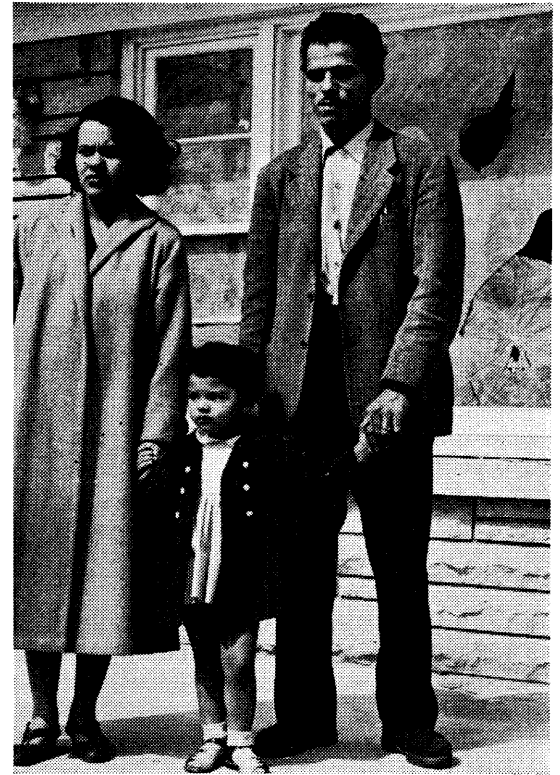
And then, seven more indictments for "sedition" were handed down against Wade's friends under an archaic state law. Braden, the first to be tried, was found guilty and slammed with a vindictive sentence of 15 years' imprisonment and a fine of \$5,000. The State of Kentucky had gone into action and settled the problem of the Louisville dynamiters in its own peculiar way.

Now out on bail pending appeal (his \$40,000 bail is the highest in the history of the state for any crime) Braden is traveling, speaking, appealing to people everywhere to help him fight this brazen injustice. His defense is being backed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York, and the American Civil Liberties Union is aiding in the legal work.

Carl Braden finds it fitting that his article appear in the *American Socialist's* Debs issue. "My father," he writes, "campaigns for Debs in several presidential elections, including the one in 1920. I was very young at the time, but the discussions I listened to made an impression. The long railroad shopmen's strike of 1922, in which my father took part at the cost of his job, also helped make me socially conscious at an early age."



The damage to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV at Louisville, Ky., as a result of the dynamite bomb explosion on June 27, 1954, was about \$5,000. Mr. and Mrs. Wade are shown with their daughter Rosemary, who escaped death or serious injury only by having been away on the night of the explosion. The windows behind the Wades were broken by white neighbors about six weeks before the bombing, with rocks and rifle shots. The cause of these outrages: Attempt to keep Jim Crow in housing. The police action in the case: Indictments for "sedition" against the friends who helped the Wades buy the house!



Upon the left bank of the Ohio [River] labor is confounded with the idea of slavery, while upon the right bank it is identified with that of prosperity and improvement; on the one side it is degraded, on the other it is honored. On the former territory no white laborers can be found, for they would be afraid of assimilating themselves to the Negroes; all the work is done by slaves; on the latter no one is idle, for the white population extend their activity and intelligence to every kind of employment. Thus the men whose task it is to cultivate the rich soil of Kentucky are ignorant and apathetic, while those who are active and enlightened either do nothing or pass over into Ohio where they may work without shame.

The South is still reaping the fruits of this debilitating system. The attitudes of the ruling class have not changed much since de Tocqueville wrote, but the social and productive forces have changed greatly. The rub comes because the rich men and politicians are inflexible. They cannot change with the times. Confronted with a new situation, they react violently. Their fear of the Negro and their anger at white people who work with Negroes carry them to fantastic lengths.

DYNAMITE was used to murder Mr. and Mrs. Harry Moore in their beds in Florida. Fourteen-year-old Emmett Till was lynched for supposedly whistling at a white woman in Mississippi.

Rosemary Wade narrowly escaped being murdered in Kentucky because her family moved into a so-called white neighborhood. The little Negro girl happened to be away from home the night white neighbors dynamited her home near Louisville. These neighbors had been egged on by

their community newspaper, which was backed by banking, building, and real estate interests who profited from segregated housing.

These same forces supported the prosecution of me and my wife and five other white persons who helped the Wade family in its efforts to live in the house of its choice. They applauded and cried "Lynch him!" when I was given 15 years in prison and fined \$5,000 on a "sedition" charge. This charge was brought because my wife Anne and I bought the house for Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV.

The Wades typify the many Negroes in the South who are asserting their rights after 300 years of virtual imprisonment. My wife and I are part of the native white element in the South that is fed up with the poisonous system of segregation. These forces, white and Negro, are combining to resist efforts of the reactionaries to deny Negroes their rights. These forces grow stronger daily, although it may not appear so to the casual observer. The index is the fear of the reactionaries.

Right now the movement toward desegregation appears to be centered in intellectual and cultural circles. The colleges have done a lot to change the attitudes of many people. Integrated military service has added recruits to the core of young people opposing segregation. Supreme Court decisions against segregation in housing and schools have had an effect on those with a tendency to conform, although they have also heightened the fury of the powers-that-be.

If these were the only forces at work, the ruling circles would not be so concerned. What really bothers them is the knowledge that segregation is only skin deep among the working class in the South, and that economic necessity will demolish it. There has always been an underlying friendship among the poor whites and the Negroes in the

South. Many poor farmers have always fraternized with their Negro neighbors. And the poor whites are realizing more and more that the "aristocrats" care no more about them than they do about the Negro.

The Southern ruling class has repeatedly saved itself by playing one race against the other. Periods of racial amity in city and country have been broken up by the use of force, violence, and the big lie. From the days of the Abolitionists, force and violence have been employed against white people who raised their voices in defense of Negro rights. The Bourbons are particularly bitter against a white person who defies segregation because his action dramatizes the artificiality of the color line. Such a person threatens the whole system by exposing it as a hoax.

SO far the ruling class has been able to enforce racial division through its control of industry, means of communication, and governmental machinery. Some of the factors working against continuation of this system have been pointed out but the decisive force is the rapid industrialization of the area. The tendency toward racial amity did not die; it merely went underground. Industrialization is now hastening the end of racial division.

Southern workers are militant and move fast when they feel they are on the right track. The telephone and railroad strikes of last spring showed that. Many white workers have a fundamental decency that is outraged by deprivation of rights of Negroes. They also sense that there is something else wrong with the system of racial division. They realize that segregation is costing them money. But they are confused as to the solution of this problem.

That is why the role of the press is important. The commercial press, upon which most of the workers rely for their information, keeps them ignorant of the fact that other workers are reaching the same conclusion about segregation and discrimination. It also keeps them in the dark about the financial consequences of desegregation. For example, no publicity is given to such items as a report by the CIO Steelworkers Union that employers make an extra profit of \$5 billion a year from the Southern wage differential.

The growing influence of publications like the *Southern-er* at Dalton, Ga., is a hopeful sign. Such papers help dispel the confusion that keeps workers and farmers from seeing who the real enemy is. But they are still a relatively weak voice amid the deluge of lies and distortions.

Southern workers are thus caught in a vicious circle from which they cannot readily escape without help and encouragement from the big mass of organized workers elsewhere in the nation. Really strong trade unions cannot be formed so long as the workers are divided by race, and the racial division cannot be ended without strong unions. Actually, the two must come simultaneously.

Northern workers must move to solve this problem because it is a threat to their own jobs and living standards. The employers and politicians in the South enforce segregation because division along color lines weakens the unions or prevents their formation. This keeps wages low and makes the South a haven for runaway shops from the North and East.

Many trade-unionists in the North have the idea that all Southern workers are like the depraved men who mur-

dered Emmett Till. This misunderstanding has resulted in many grave errors in efforts to organize the South. I have seen organizers and international representatives of unions come into the South and make matters worse by their fears and preconceived notions. There are notable exceptions, of course, but many organizers have helped strengthen the system of segregation. They thought it was expected of them and they wanted to conform. Some were just plain scared.

It will take a couple more generations to organize the South if the next influx of organizers are of this variety. By that time the whole working class of America might be impoverished because the low-wage cancer in the South undermines living standards everywhere. The problem can be solved by bold, principled action by union members and their leadership in the North. I believe such action is in the cards; in fact, some unions are already moving along that line.

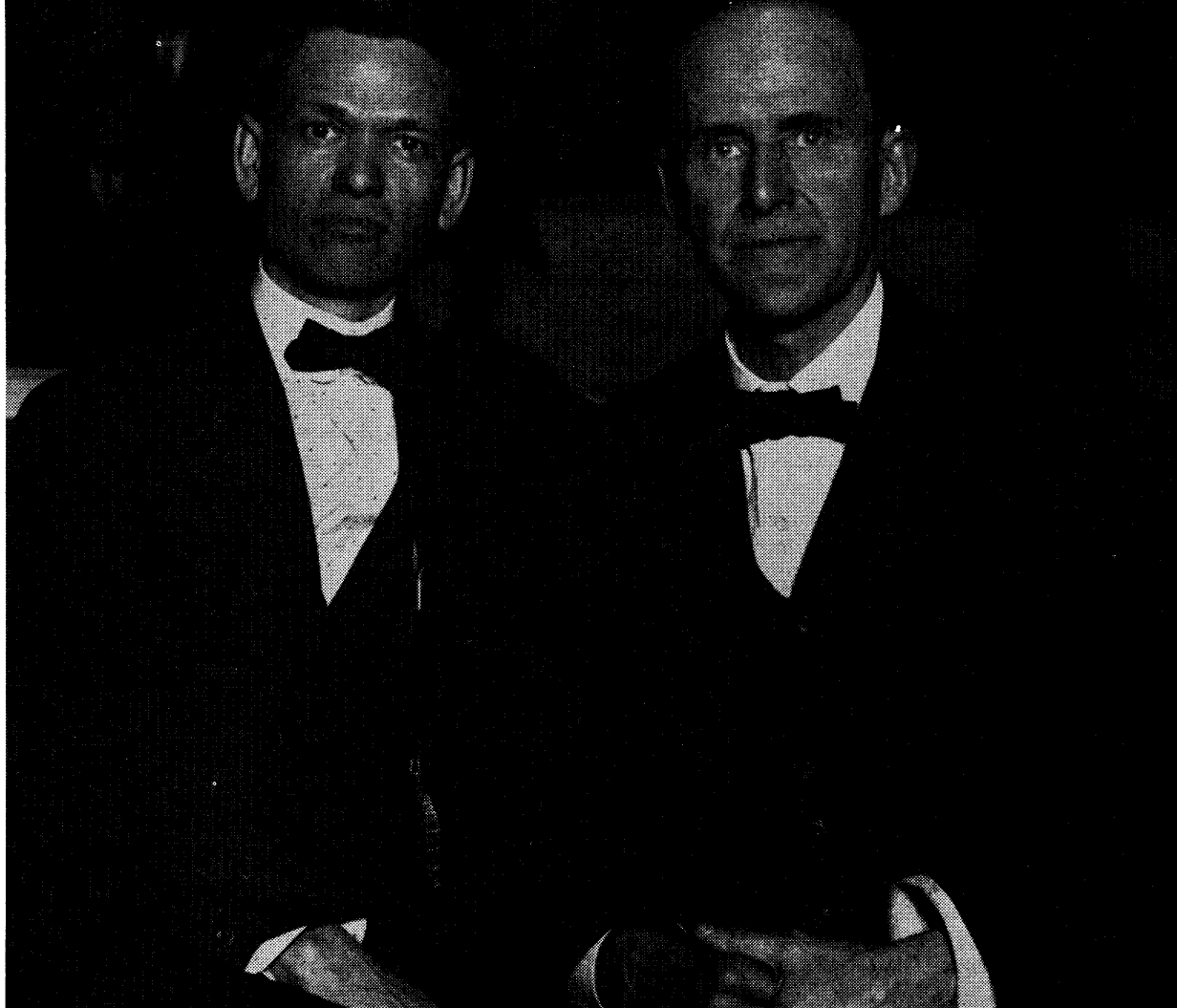
AFTER my trip through the South, I talked with union members and leaders in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, and New Jersey. They understand the meaning of the use of sedition laws against white people fighting segregation in the South. They see that such laws are being used to stop desegregation and this in turn stifles organization of trade unions on a sound basis. They also realize that if sedition laws can be used to fight segregation they can be used to break unions and otherwise weaken the labor movement.

For that reason we are receiving much labor support in the fight to overturn my conviction on appeal. The CIO Packinghouse Union, a number of locals of the CIO Auto Union, especially in Detroit, and the independent United Electrical Workers Union have been particularly helpful. Recently, the Michigan CIO State Executive Board passed a resolution protesting the frame-up.

The Packinghouse Workers are already carrying on a militant organizing drive in the South, coupled with a courageous fight against Jim Crow. Judging from the reaction of UAW men I talked with, many are ready to step up activity in this area. Northern trade unionists will not be able to come South as missionaries and expect to get the job done. Southerners will have to do the bulk of the work with an assist in the way of finances, know-how, and moral support from the North.

Freeing of Southern workers from the blight of segregation will result in a progressive upsurge for the nation as a whole. Strong trade unions will see to it that Negroes are accorded their political rights in the South. Negro workers are a force for progress. Their votes will retire the peanut politicians who rose to high office through a system that keeps most Negroes and many poor whites from voting.

The resulting change will give us a Congress more responsive to the needs of the people. It will open the way for the farmer-labor party that should emerge in the next crisis in this country. This party will be really strong, and retain its strength, in ratio to the participation of Negro workers in it. Therefore the key to progress for the whole country is the ending of segregation. The bulwarks of segregation are in the South. The people who will end segregation are in the South. And they are moving.



FRED D. WARREN AND EUGENE V. DEBS

Debs and the "Appeal to Reason"

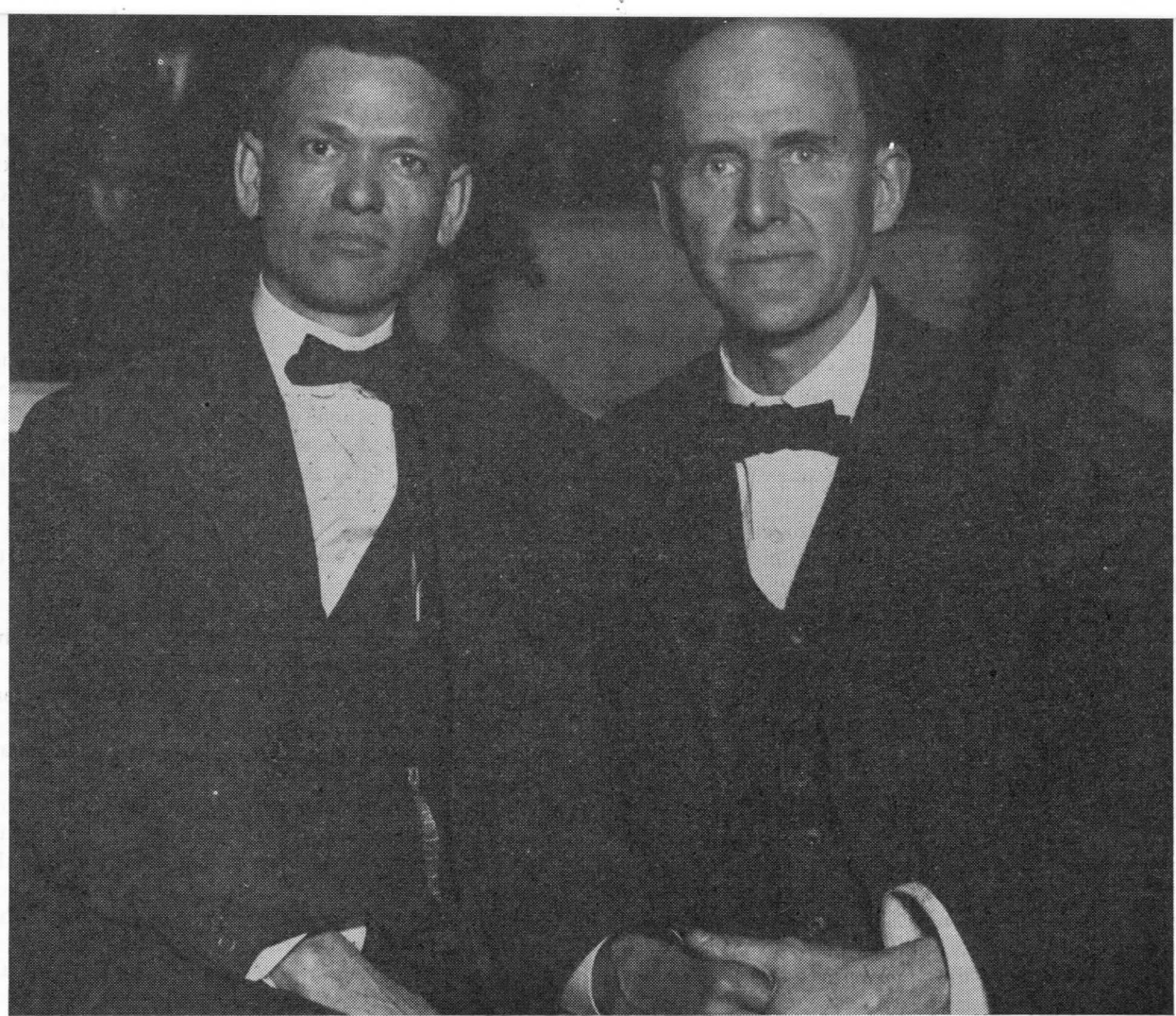
A Personal Memoir

by George H. Shoaf

SOcialism as a political factor in this country attained its summit of success when in one election Americans gave Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate, almost one million votes. When I look back and view socialist agitation and the success it had forty years ago, I first of all recall two things that contributed to and implemented this success. One was the personality and unflagging energy and zeal of Eugene V. Debs; the other was the phenomenal growth and influence of the non-party socialist publication, the *Appeal to Reason*. There were other factors of course, but in my opinion they were minor compared to Debs and the *Appeal*. Both Debs and the *Appeal* were concerned, and unselfishly concerned, not with party politics so much as with the advancement of the cause of socialism through education and aggres-

sive propaganda.

My first contact with Debs occurred in 1898, when on his Southern tour he spoke to a crowd that jammed the Opera House in San Antonio, Texas. I had been frequenting Socialist Labor Party meetings, and was pretty well indoctrinated with socialism. However, I doubted, even at that early date, whether DeLeonist tactics and strategy would meet with a favorable response by Americans. So when Debs announced from the platform that he would be glad to confer with any interested in organizing a branch of the Social Democratic Party (later to form the Socialist Party), I, with 15 others, greeted Debs at his hotel next morning, and a branch was organized. I was elected secretary, and when the Party state convention was later held in Dallas, Lee Rhodes, an old Populist



FRED D. WARREN AND EUGENE V. DEBS

who had turned socialist, was nominated for the governorship of Texas with myself as his running-mate.

My next meeting with Debs was in Chicago, to which city I went bent on doing what I could to help organize and educate the working people in the principles and purposes of socialism and in getting the socialist program adopted through political action. In the summer of 1903, my connection with the *Appeal to Reason* began, and in the following eight years I got to know Debs intimately, to appreciate the sincerity of his convictions, and to regard him as the god of my idolatry.

So many books and articles have been written in which Debs has been described and psychoanalyzed that it would appear presumptuous for me to add to what has been written. But several personal experiences with him that have never been published serve to reveal the true nature of his character which evoked the love of millions while he was alive.

DURING my investigation of the federal judiciary, in which Judge P. S. Grosscup was pilloried in a series of articles in the *Appeal to Reason*, it became necessary to interview Henry Clay Caldwell, the last federal appointee selected by Abraham Lincoln prior to his death. Caldwell was then living in retirement in Los Angeles, and when Fred D. Warren, managing editor of the *Appeal*, suggested I go there, Debs volunteered to go with me, saying his personal acquaintance with Caldwell might aid me in getting what I wanted from the retired judge. Warren consented, purchased two round-trip tickets from

Girard to Los Angeles, gave me \$100 cash for our expenses, and admonished me personally to pay for everything. All of us knew Debs!

On arriving at Los Angeles, we repaired to the U. S. Hotel on North Main Street, a hostelry managed by an old American Railway Union striker, a devoted friend of Debs. Registered, we were conducted to a room which we occupied together. After washing up and getting ready to take a taxi to visit with Judge Caldwell, unknown to Debs I slipped my wallet with the \$100 under a pillow for safekeeping. After conferring with the judge until midnight, we returned to the hotel, walked to the registration desk and asked for the key to our room. The proprietor, Debs' friend, was behind the desk.

He inquired: "Gene, have you missed anything?" Debs felt of his pockets and replied everything was intact. I knew at once what he meant, and asked if he had the wallet with the money. He turned to the safe, got the wallet, and handed it to me, explaining that the Swedish room girl, in making ready our bed, had found the wallet and brought it to the office.

"Ring for the girl," said Debs. "I want to compliment her for her honesty." The girl appearing, Debs insisted I give her the entire contents of the wallet. The proprietor demurred, and so did the girl. "George," said Debs, "give me \$10." I did so, and despite the protestations of the girl, Debs pressed the money into her hands with the injunction to keep it. I have often wondered what we would have done for expense money for the rest of our trip if Debs had had his way.

About George H. Shoaf

THE author of this memoir of the Debs movement is a man probably better qualified, in terms of personal experience, than any other living American to write about it from his own recollections.

George H. Shoaf was born in Texas in 1875, son of a law enforcement officer on the old frontier. He relates that his father, an expert marksman in the Western tradition, killed twenty men, and made most of his money off gambling halls. At an early age he was introduced to Populism by his uncle, John "Dirty Shirt" Davis, a radical orator of the old school, but soon thereafter became a socialist.

As a youth, he worked as a cub reporter under the tutelage of W. C. Brann, the famous "Brann the Iconoclast," got a railroad job and led a strike, and then went to Chicago where he worked first as editor of a labor paper and then on a large commercial daily. He was hired by Fred D. Warren, editor of the most famous of all American socialist publications, the *Appeal to Reason*, as a field correspondent, and, in this capacity and as one of the *Appeal's* editors, wrote most of the sensational stories that made *Appeal* circulation



GEORGE H. SHOAF
In 1908

soar, and came to be known as the "war correspondent" by virtue of being sent into every important class battle in America during those years.

After the *Appeal* years, he wrote for the *American Freeman*, also published from Girard, Kansas, and for Oscar Ameringer's *American Guardian*, as well as many other western labor and socialist periodicals. Living now in Costa Mesa, California, he writes regularly for a socialist monthly called *Simplified Economics*, edited and published by Dr. J. W. Parker in Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Shoaf's autobiography may be obtained for \$1 by writing to *Simplified Economics*; the address is given elsewhere in this issue.

In a letter accompanying his article, Mr. Shoaf writes: "So well has Bert Cochran presented the essentials of the subject under consideration—the American Socialist movement, retrospectively and prospectively—it would appear little remains to be said. As an old timer who went through the experience depicted in Cochran's articles, it may be from memory's storehouse I can throw additional light on many aspects of the situation he discussed." The Cochran articles referred to, which include four that appeared in the June and July 1954 issues, the January and February 1955 issues, plus one lengthy book review in the April 1954 issue of the *American Socialist*, may be obtained by sending 25 cents for each, with the exception of January 1955, which will not be available until the appearance of our bound volume for 1955.

The unusual photographs used to illustrate this article were very kindly supplied by Grace D. and George D. Brewer of California. Grace Brewer was Warren's and Debs' secretary on the *Appeal to Reason*, and also an *Appeal* editor, and George Brewer traveled with Debs on his lecture tours.

ONE summer, I was requested by the minister of the local Christian Church in Girard to fill his pulpit while he was away on vacation. I had graduated as a Christian minister, for a short time held the pastorate of a small Texas church, and members of my family were affiliated with the Girard congregation. Warren urged me to accept the invitation. On Saturday afternoon Debs arrived in town. In the *Appeal to Reason* office, members of the staff assembled to greet Debs and hear his report. After some conversation, Warren asked Debs when was the last time he had attended religious services in a church. Not for years, replied Debs. A new preacher, a young man with a leftist leaning, is going to preach his first sermon in the local Christian Church tomorrow morning. All of us here are going to hear him. How would you like to go with us? asked Warren. Some miners are coming in to give the young preacher encouragement, Warren added. Well, announced Debs, if all of you, including Brother Wayland, are going, I will be with you. The identity of the new preacher was carefully kept from Debs.

Next morning the church was filled. Miners from the Pittsburg (Kansas) district were present. Front seats were reserved for Debs and the *Appeal to Reason* staff. I was seated behind the pulpit, out of sight of the audience. At the proper moment I arose, made some announcements, asked one of the elders to lead in prayer, following which the usual hymns were sung. I will never forget the expression of Debs' face when he recognized the speaker. Warren could not avoid grinning, but Wayland kept a poker

face. *Appeal to Reason* girl employees had much effort to smother giggles, but it was the earnest look on Debs' face that interested me the most. My subject was "Christ, the Socialist." During the hour I spoke, Debs gave me undivided attention, never withdrawing his eyes from mine. With the end of the sermon and dismissal of the congregation, Debs rushed forward, embraced me, and exclaimed: "God bless you, George!" Immediately thereafter, he went to his room and composed a poem, written in longhand, entitled, "He Spoke as His Master Spoke," and personally delivered it to me at my home later in the afternoon.

While Debs was welcome in the homes of any of us connected with the *Appeal*, he refused our hospitality, preferring a room either at the hotel or, and this was the place he liked best, upstairs in a cheap lodging house on the public square. Many a night I have discussed with him in his room until past midnight. Frequently we took long walks down the railroad tracks at night, during which he delivered himself of oratory equalling Ingersoll's best, with myself as his sole auditor.

INCLUDING bundle sales, the circulation of the *Appeal to Reason* exceeded 600,000 at its high point. This circulation was greater than that of the *Saturday Evening Post* at that time. And, often during the years of publication, special editions running into the millions were printed and circulated, one edition, the famous "Rescue Edition," attaining the phenomenal circulation of more than 4,000,000 copies.

In a box at the upper right-hand corner of the paper,

What Debs Told the Jury When On Trial for His Canton Speech

A CENTURY and a half ago, when the American colonists were still foreign subjects, and when there were a few men who had faith in the common people and believed that they could rule themselves without a king, in that day to speak against the King was treason. . . . Washington, Adams, Paine—these were the rebels of their day. . . .

And if the revolution had failed, the revolutionary fathers would have been executed as felons. But it did not fail. Revolutions have a habit of succeeding, when the time comes for them. . . .

At a later time there began another mighty agitation in this country. It was against an institution that was deemed a very respectable one in its time, the institution of chattel slavery. It became all-powerful. It controlled the President, both branches of Congress, the Supreme Court, the press, and to a very large extent the pulpit. . . . And again a few rebels appeared. One of them was Elijah Lovejoy. Elijah Lovejoy was as much despised in his day as are the leaders of the IWW in our day. Elijah Lovejoy was murdered in cold blood in Alton, Illinois, in 1837, simply because he was opposed to chattel slavery—just as I am opposed to wage slavery. When you go down the Mississippi River and look up at Alton, you see a magnificent white shaft erected there in memory of a man who was true to himself and his convictions of right and duty unto death.

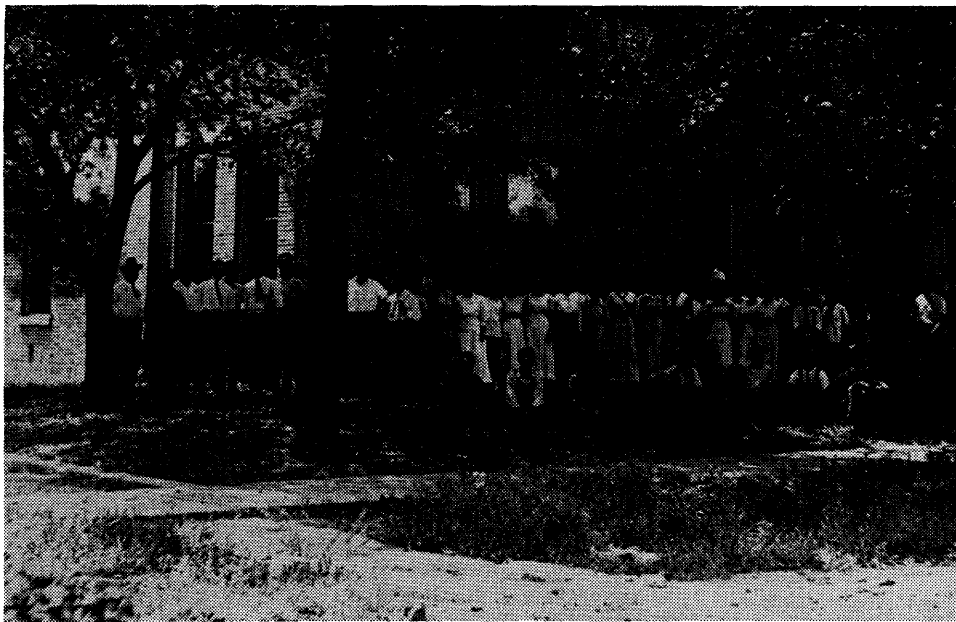
It was my good fortune to personally know Wendell Phillips. I heard the story of his persecution, in part at least, from his own eloquent lips, just a little while before they were silenced in death.

William Lloyd Garrison, Gerritt Smith, Thaddeus Stevens—

these leaders of the abolition movement, who were regarded as monsters of depravity, were true to the faith and stood their ground. They are all in history. You are teaching their children to revere their memories, while all of their detractors are in oblivion.

CHattel slavery disappeared. We are not yet free. We are engaged in another mighty agitation today. It is as wide as the world. It is the rise of the toiling and producing masses who are gradually becoming conscious of their interest, their power as a class, who are organizing industrially and politically, who are slowly but surely developing the economic will and political power that is to set them free. They are still in the minority, but they have learned how to wait, and to bide their time.

It is because I happen to be in this minority that I stand in your presence today charged with crime. It is because I believe as the revolutionary fathers believed in their day, that a change was due in the interests of the people, that the time has come for a better form of government, an improved system, a higher social order, a nobler humanity and a grander civilization. This minority that is so much misunderstood and so bitterly maligned, is in alliance with the forces of evolution, and as certain as I stand before you this afternoon, it is but a question of time until this minority will become the conquering majority and inaugurate the greatest change in all of the history of the world. You may hasten the change; you may retard it; you can no more prevent it than you can prevent the coming of sunrise on the morrow.



The Appeal to Reason building in Girard, Kansas, housed some sixty employees, shown above, and attracted socialist visitors from all over the world. Because of the huge post-office business done by the Appeal, Girard became the smallest town in the U.S. with free mail delivery. Shown at right are George H. Shoaf, author of this article, and Tom Mooney (r.), in a picture taken shortly after Mooney's release from prison.



first page, in every issue, were these words: "No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people."

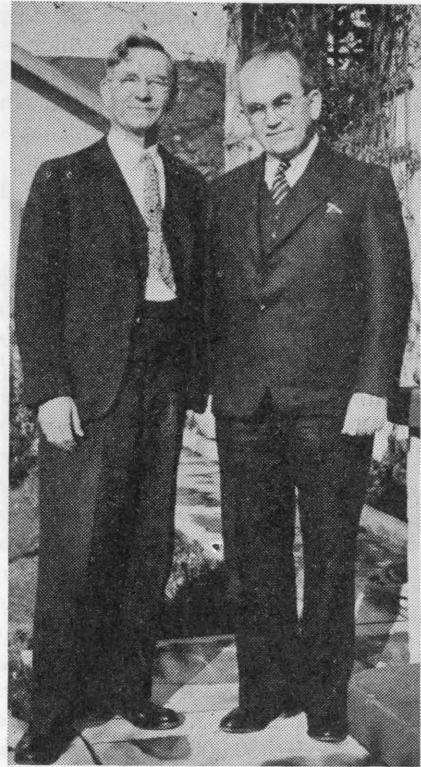
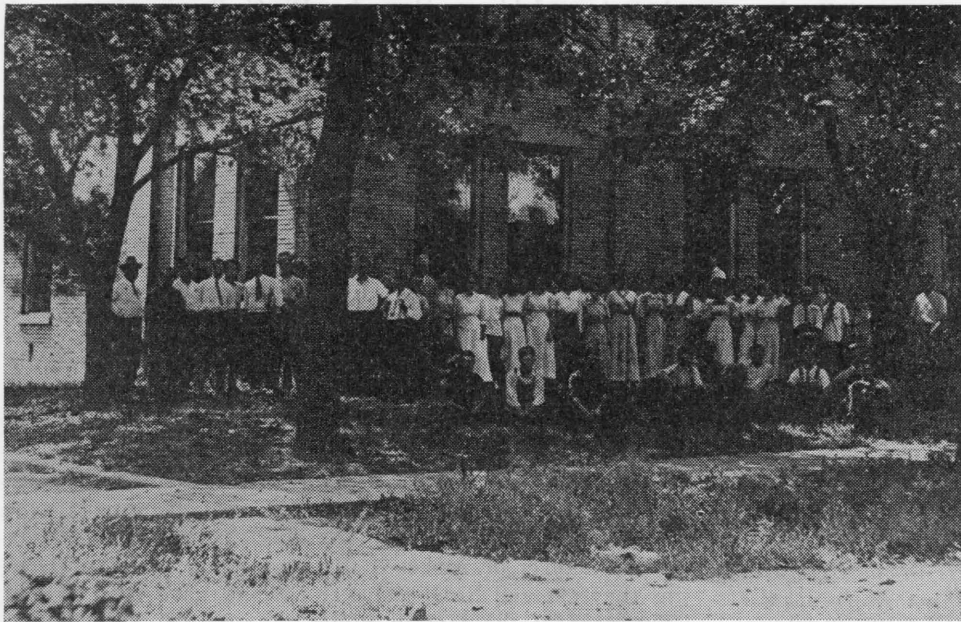
There never was printed in this country a paper that hit harder capitalist institutions, subjected American capitalism to analysis more severe, or exposed the crimes of politicians and industrial bigwigs more brutally than did the *Appeal to Reason*. Not today would any journal, liberal, radical or otherwise, dare to print an editorial and blazon it in red ink on the first page of publication such as that by Eugene V. Debs in the "Rescue Edition" entitled "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" That editorial clearly was a call to armed revolution by the workers of the nation. One sentence, referring to the threat of the plutocracy to hang the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners for opposing the will of the Mine Owners' Association, read: "There have been twenty years of revolutionary education, agitation and organization since the Haymarket tragedy, and if an attempt is made to repeat it, there will be a revolution and I will do all in my power to precipitate it."

Was Debs arrested and silenced for writing this editorial? He was not. Was the *Appeal to Reason* suppressed for printing and circulating it? It was not. And the editorial brought concrete results. By actual count, 25,000 men from all walks of life and from all sections of the nation answered Debs' call by writing to the *Appeal* that they were willing and ready to meet Debs with guns, and march with him to Boise, there to release by force the Miners' leaders who were confined in the Idaho jail. So

overwhelming was the response and so tense the situation that Editor Warren had to say or do something to quiet it. So, taking advantage of the enthusiasm aroused, he inserted in the next issue of the paper an announcement to the effect that, inasmuch as an armed uprising would be premature, the best thing for the volunteers to do to help effect the release of the imprisoned leaders would be to increase the circulation of the *Appeal*; that this action would be less expensive and less hazardous than revolutionary action. During the next several weeks, men and women by the thousands subscribed for the paper, and additional office help was needed to take the names, add them alphabetically to the subscription list, count the money and hand it over to Editor Warren for deposit. Within the month, not less than 50,000 new subscribers were added to the already imposing subscription list.

COULD this feat be duplicated today? Hardly. Where is the present left-wing leader with the personality, sincerity, fortitude and courage of Eugene V. Debs who could win the following that Debs won, or command the mixture of hatred and admiration from the plutocracy? And no less credit must be accorded those who wrote the stirring news columns that plumbed the souls and consciences of readers, and the challenging editorials of Fred D. Warren. With Debs, these writers and this editor feared neither God nor man in their exposition of the crimes of capitalism. They were ready to go to their death for their convictions and, like Debs, they carried forward the propaganda of socialism without money and irrespective of pay.

During the heyday of its influence, the *Appeal to Reason* was looked upon as the sanctuary of socialism in



The Appeal to Reason building in Girard, Kansas, housed some sixty employees, shown above, and attracted socialist visitors from all over the world. Because of the huge post-office business done by the Appeal, Girard became the smallest town in the U.S. with free mail delivery. Shown at right are George H. Shoaf, author of this article, and Tom Mooney (r.), in a picture taken shortly after Mooney's release from prison.

this country, and Girard, Kansas, place of publication, became the Mecca toward which socialists the country over turned and to which they came for inspiration and guidance. Within the entrance of the *Appeal* publishing plant was a huge book in which visitors registered their names. As visitors left the building, they were handed a "visitor's card" containing a brief history of the paper which read as follows:

The Appeal to Reason was established at Kansas City, Mo., August 31, 1895. It did not have a subscriber. It was moved to Girard, Kan., in February 1897. In its growth it is now occupying the fifth building, moving into larger quarters each time. The present building was built for it, and is eighty by one hundred feet, two stories and a basement. It employs an average of sixty employees and has a weekly payroll exceeding \$1,000. It has the finest machinery used in the printing business. It is printed on a three-deck, straight-line Goss machine that prints four hundred twelve-page papers, in colors, folded, per minute, when desired. It has three Mergenthaler linotypes, two book presses, four jobbers, a book-folding machine, a letter folder, cutters, stitchers, etc. Sixteen typewriters are used in the office.

It has today 450,000 subscribers, and the average edition is 550,000 each week. The names of the subscribers occupy 1,400 galleys, each 8x24 inches, and requires fifteen tons of linotype metal to set it up. It uses a railway freight car load of paper per issue, has used as many as six car loads on special editions. Its greatest issue was more than 4,000,000, printed on March 31, 1906, and known as the "Rescue Edition." It printed 25,000,000 papers in 1908 and paid \$22,000 postage. It uses a barrel of ink per issue. It has seven editors who devote all their time to the matter that goes into it: J. A. Wayland, Fred D. Warren, Eugene V. Debs, George H. Shoaf, C.L. Phipper, H.G. Creel, and Grace Brewer. This is the largest corps of editors used by any paper of its size in America. Each of its twenty-one machines is operated by its individual motor, power supplied by the municipal light plant.

The labor commissioner of Kansas reports it as the best plant in Kansas for ventilation, short hours, rate of wages and protected machinery. The shop is union from top to bottom. No one under eighteen years of age is employed. Placed end to end, the papers printed last year would make a ribbon 14,200 miles long and two feet wide.

The postage paid by the Appeal has given Girard, a town of less than 3,000 population, free mail delivery, which is the smallest town in the United States entitled to this privilege. The receipts of the Girard post office are greater than any city in Kansas.

A number of circumstances contributed to create a situation which made possible the *Appeal to Reason*. At the turn of the century, press and speech were reasonably free. An orator could mount the hustings and with impunity speak for or against an issue regardless of the popularity of either. Editors could write as they pleased, and indulge in personal journalism unafraid of government interference. Ingersoll could and did ridicule religion before audiences

that cheered him to the echo. W. C. Brann, vitriolic expositor of political rotteness and business corruption in high places, who projected a monthly journal in Waco, Texas, ran the circulation of the journal from nothing to where in less than a year he had a hundred thousand readers. Organized religion would not tolerate an Ingersoll today. If some one were to write as Brann did fifty years ago, he would be arrested as a Red and imprisoned.

In the heyday of Debs' activity, of the mounting circulation of the *Appeal to Reason*, and of the growth of socialist sentiment, free assemblages went undisturbed. The corner of State and Congress in Chicago, in those days, had the atmosphere characteristic of London's Hyde Park. Socialists, anarchists, single-taxers, as well as devotees of every kind of religion, carried on protected by the police. The Haymarket affair seemed to have been forgotten. As it was in Chicago, so it was in virtually every section of the country, with the exception of portions of some Southern states. Debs drew tremendous crowds whenever and wherever he spoke. If the people had voted for Debs as they cheered his speeches, he would have been elected President of the United States.

In those days, as far as the observance of the Bill of Rights is concerned, to be an American was something of which the average citizen might well be proud. Today, we are a nation of sneaking cowards, afraid to call our souls our own, and the man or woman who dares to stand up for simple human rights is challenged as a traitor to the American way of life. Admit it or deny it, the fact remains that this country has changed to an oligarchy whose political puppets, the nation over, reflect the interests of malefactors of wealth whose habitat is Wall Street and the Cadillac Cabinet.

WHEN J.A. Wayland, who had made a fortune in the real estate game, became converted to socialism, he decided to turn his back on his former activities and do what he could to bring the socialist message to the people of the United States. He set aside \$100,000 for that purpose. Through the medium of a weekly paper he sought to activate himself as a propagandist. He wanted to appeal to the reason of Americans. He would place before them the facts, make his personal comment on the facts, and let his readers adjudge the facts in juxtaposition with the conditions and situations set forth. For a time it was hard sledding. People then as now were not interested in reasoning out matter-of-fact phenomena. But Wayland was not to be defeated. Quietly, he went down to Girard from Kansas City and without stating his purpose bought several business blocks around the public square, and a home in which to live. He converted one of the store buildings into a printing plant, moved into his recently purchased home, and started anew the *Appeal to Reason*.

By this time he sensed the psychology of his prospective readers, their reaction to what they read, and, without diluting the socialist message, he decided to give his readers what they most liked to read. Experience told him most Americans loved to fight or to witness a fight, be it a cock-fight, a dog fight, or a slugging match between pugilists. All right, he would make of the *Appeal to Reason* a fighting paper. For that purpose he employed Fred D. Warren, an experienced news writer, as managing editor



WAYLAND



WARREN



SHOAF

Shown here at work in their offices in the *Appeal to Reason* building are three key figures in that newspaper's career. J. A. Wayland, publisher, conceived the *Appeal* and launched it with \$100,000 set aside from his real-estate fortune, made it a vehicle for mass so-

cialist agitation. Fred D. Warren, managing editor, infused it with a battling sensationalism that aroused the interest of hundreds of thousands. George H. Shoaf, the "war correspondent," was sent into the thick of almost every important conflict of the day.

at a salary of \$15 a week, and authorized him to begin fighting. Warren, also an American from the ground up, possessed an even better understanding of the reactions of Americans than did Wayland, and he determined to sensationalize socialist propaganda and draw public attention.

enemies of the common good. The war was revealed as a class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and battle scenes in that war were depicted in lurid colors, causing the circulation of the *Appeal to Reason* to grow with astonishing speed, from a few thousand to more than a hundred thousand in six months.

Warren's first move was to employ the writer of this article. At that time, I had resigned the editorship of the *Chicago Union Leader*, a labor weekly, and had taken a position as assignment reporter for the *Chicago American*, a Hearst publication, the Hearst press representing at that time a kind of sensationalistic muckraking among the commercial papers, and not what it later became. Warren, with whom I had had some correspondence, one day entered the reception room of the *Chicago American* and requested to see me. The labor war in Colorado was then raging furiously, and Warren asked me if I would go West and report proceedings for the *Appeal*. M. Koenigsberg, my city editor, joined the conference and agreed to release me for one month, saying he would give me credentials for the Hearst press, and that in addition to writing for the *Appeal to Reason* every night I could file copy direct to him for Hearst press circulation. This arrangement was carried out, but instead of returning to Chicago, I remained with the *Appeal* for eight years.

Following the Colorado labor war came the arrest, imprisonment, trial and acquittal, in Boise, Idaho, of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, officials of the Western Federation of Miners. That, unquestionably, was one of the most sensational trials that ever occurred in American history. Amply covered by the *Appeal to Reason*, it aided in the continued climb in the paper's circulation. From 150,000 to 300,000 to 400,000, until it reached the 600,000 mark at the time of the McNamara fiasco in 1911.

With the end of the Boise trial, Warren sent me on one expedition after another. One of my assignments was the investigation of financial skulduggery connected with the building of the Panama Canal in which it was sought to implicate Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, as a conspirator and financial beneficiary. I cooperated with Tim Walsh, financial editor of the old *New York World*, both of us working under the supervision of Don Seitz, business manager. Seitz told me his paper spent \$100,000 in an effort to connect Roosevelt with criminal culpability in financing the digging of the Canal, but all efforts were fruitless. Personally, I do not believe Roosevelt ever profited one penny from the transaction, but the investigation made a good story.

I went to Colorado, and, for the Hearst press filed matter such as I knew it would print, but in the *Appeal To Reason*, I gave the war between the Colorado Mine Owners' Association and the Western Federation of Miners sensational ventilation. I charged the officials of the Mine Owners' Association with virtually every crime in the calendar and submitted proof sufficient to substantiate each charge. The governor of Colorado, Peabody, and the adjutant-general of the Colorado National Guard, Sherman H. Bell, who had placed sections of the state under martial law, were pilloried as scoundrels and

ONE after another, Editor Warren had me investigate and expose the Kentucky Night Riding episode, Southern chattel slavery in Alabama, Georgia and Florida, criminal activities in the record of James McParland, chief of the Western Division of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, the ins and outs of the revolution in Mexico, the ineptitude and corruption in the management

of the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, the state of the federal judiciary—an investigation which caused the abdication of Federal Judge P. S. Grosscup from his Chicago bench—and any number of other investigations, major and minor, most of which read more like fiction than the sober truth but which proved the verity of the old saying that truth is stranger than fiction.

The stories involving these episodes were so sensation-ly written and played up in such fashion that they kept the readers in a state of suspense so that they could scarcely await the next edition of the paper. As a matter of fact, many readers in nearby cities and towns, impatient, did not wait for the arrival of their paper through the mail, but journeyed to Girard where they could get their paper fresh from the press.

Editor Warren and the “war correspondent” (which is what I came to be called) were in their glory. Day and night we labored to sustain and increase interest by unearthing and exposing additional facts anent the crimes of capitalism. On several occasions Wayland, owner, demurred at some of my writings, asserting that if we kept up the lick, action against the paper would probably be brought by the government. Warren never wavered. He overruled Wayland’s objections, and with the exception of Warren’s arrest for offering a reward to any one who would kidnap ex-Governor Taylor (then hiding in Indiana) and return him to Kentucky where he was wanted for complicity in the murder of Governor Gobel, no action was ever taken against the paper.

CONCURRENTLY with mounting *Appeal* circulation began the growth of socialist sentiment and the Socialist Party. While concerned with political action, I was never sent to cover a convention of the Socialist Party, and Wayland never attended a Socialist convention. He reminded me that the *Appeal* was an educational medium designed to awaken and arouse the people to the menace which threatened the liberties of the people by the rise of monopoly capitalism. Others, he said, could and should organize for political action. Nor did he permit the *Appeal* to engage in the squabbles which ultimately rent the socialist movement. He and Warren merely laughed when they read the diatribes directed at the *Appeal* by the *Weekly People*, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

A significant incident connected with the publication was this: Besides sensationalism, Wayland wanted articles in which the economics of socialism would be seriously and scientifically presented and discussed by writers prominent in the socialist movement. He never lost sight of the ultimate object of the paper, and in his column, himself presented the essential principles of socialism, while Warren often did the same in his editorials. So, Professor Ernest Untermann was employed as a staff writer. Untermann had translated Marx from German into English, and was accounted as the man most learned to do the job. Truly, Untermann’s contributions were masterpieces, and were appreciated by those studiously inclined. But for the mass of *Appeal to Reason* readers, what Untermann wrote was over their heads, and their interest declined accordingly. Following Untermann’s dismissal A. M. Simons, a college professor and socialist authority, was hired to take up where Untermann left off. But Simons’

dry-as-dust disquisitions met no better response than did those of his predecessor.

Readers and supporters of the *Appeal to Reason* were small farmers, small businessmen, and members of the professional classes. Editors of labor publications quoted liberally from the *Appeal*, but it was a hard job to get union men to subscribe. Just one organization subscribed for the *Appeal en masse*, and that was Division 241 of the organized street car men in Chicago. I did the preliminary work that resulted in forming that organization and the members considered themselves in a way obligated to me, and also, I was the first editor of the *Union Leader*, official paper of the organization. As an illustration of the composition of the *Appeal* readership, Los Angeles, at that time a scab city as far as union labor was concerned, had a large *Appeal to Reason* circulation, while in San Francisco, a strongly organized union city, the *Appeal* had few readers.

THERE were many reasons why the Socialist vote and the *Appeal to Reason* circulation began to decline, Debs’ failing health, factional party fights, La Follette’s third party, bitter opposition by Sam Gompers and the AFL officialdom, the first World War, and apathy on the part of working people who should have been vitally interested, were some of the outstanding causes for the slump. Since the second World War, extension of Soviet territory, the industrial and military development of Soviet Russia and the communization of China, all of which allegedly constitute a communist threat to the “free democracies of the West” have been seized upon by the Wall Street plutocracy and been given as an excuse for a governmental drive to uproot the socialist idea from the public mind and extirpate the Left political movement.

Following the confession of the McNamara brothers, John and Jim, charged with dynamiting the Los Angeles *Times* building, the circulation of the *Appeal to Reason* began to slump. Thousands of readers, disappointed because of the confession, cancelled their subscriptions, and the slump continued until the subscribers’ lists reached almost the vanishing point. Then, J. A. Wayland died, Fred Warren soon afterward quit, the Wayland boys took over and sold the paper, plant and equipment to E. Haldeman Julius, who thereupon began publishing the “little blue books” with which he stocked the newsstands of the nation. Subsequently, he tried to resurrect the *Appeal to Reason* by getting out a paper similar in policy and objective which he called the *American Freeman*. But the spirit that animated the old publication was gone. After a year or so, the *American Freeman* went up Salt River.

Whether another publication similar to the *Appeal to Reason* in policy and circulation, and another political party similar to the old Socialist Party, can be projected again, is a problem only the future can solve. At this moment, with workers the nation over enjoying comparative prosperity due to the cold war boom, it is evident that activity in either direction will be a difficult undertaking. But it is in the nature of things that something is bound to bust. When the bust comes, provided war is not started to end the depression, perhaps then American workers will be willing to adopt socialism as the only real and sensible way out. Anyway, ’tis a consummation devoutly to be wished.

The Eugene V. Debs Heritage

by Bert Cochran



WE are devoting most of this issue to the Debs centennial. We want to pay our tribute to the greatest spokesman for socialism that has yet appeared in this country. To work for the building of a new socialist movement means to cherish the great working class leaders of the past, and to keep their memories green. This is not merely a matter of historical justice; any movement that is worth its salt must rest on a tradition. But a tradition cannot be arbitrarily devised, or sucked out of one's thumb, or be the tradition of a little circle. It has to derive from the actual course of the working class movement and its experiences.

Eugene V. Debs came closest to leaving an imprint on the collective American mind. Even today in the America of the cold war the memory of his magnificent struggle is not extinct, and provides the natural starting point for the re-creation of a socialist labor tradition.

Let us note that the trade union movement, although 16 million strong, has no working class heroes, that its membership is oblivious of any tradition of plebeian struggle. This is history's ruthless verdict on the business-agent breed of labor leaders. Despite the enormous power of the modern giant unions, the huge treasuries that they dispose of, the impressive new buildings that they are constructing for their headquarters, they cannot tug at the heart-strings of their members. These heroes-for-a-day cannot forge any kind of tradition, because—as they come and go—they cannot stir the working masses beyond the humdrum of everyday affairs. Every now and then, the AFL erects some monument or dedicates some

A full appraisal of Debs by Bert Cochran appears in the current (November 1955) issue of Monthly Review. In the above article, Mr. Cochran confines himself to several salient aspects of the Debs heritage.

Eugene V. Debs, greatest spokesman for Socialism yet to appear in this country, was born on November 5, 1855. What is the Debs heritage, and what can be learned from it by socialists today?

building to Sam Gompers, but it has no importance, because Sam Gompers means nothing to the American workers, and never will. Recently, some of the CIO unions have tried to apotheosize Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, but they will have no more luck with these two than the AFL has had with its past spokesman. True, these were shrewd labor politicians who slugged their way up to become bosses of powerful trade union organizations. But all the wizardry of the make-up artist, and all the effrontery of the publicity professionals cannot transform hard-fisted, small-gauge business agents into crusading tribunes of the common man. The American workers may still be a confused lot, and have succumbed to Babbitry in the decade of prosperity; nevertheless, they cannot enshrine a mean-spirited bureaucrat like Sam Gompers as one of their patron saints. They thereby demonstrate, albeit in a negative way, the great truth that the labor ranks, despite their present sloth, thirst instinctively for a leadership that will voice their profoundest aspirations and give dramatic expression to their desires—sometimes suppressed—for a full life. Were this not so, John L. Lewis could never have attained the immense moral stature that he did in the heroic days of the CIO.

THE American labor movement lacks a line of continuity. This is seen very clearly in the case of Debs, who was the idol of millions in this country but forty years ago, and will now have to be reintroduced to the present labor generation. His writings and speeches are all but forgotten—a sad reflection of the disastrous decline of the radical movement in recent times.

But even in the thirties, Debs was in partial eclipse. This came about because the post-World War I generations of radicals tended to be somewhat supercilious about Debs. He obviously wasn't a theoretician of socialism. His positions and attitudes struck them as a little naive and over-simplified. In any case, it was a commonly held conviction that his type of socialism had been completely left behind by the march of events, superseded in every respect by the wisdom emanating from the Russian revolution, and the message broadcast by the Communist International.

The debacle of radicalism in the past decade has broken some of us of our past arrogance, has taught some a little humility and open-mindedness. And a certain renewed interest has grown among many radicals concerning the significance of the great socialist agitator. After all, here was a man who was able to poll almost a million votes, who became a national figure, and who did it by preaching all his adult life a flaming class-struggle kind of socialism. How did he do it? What was his secret weapon? Can any of his methods be applied again today? The

towering figure of the socialist orator addressing huge throngs up and down the country becomes all the more appealing on the background of the present isolation of American radicalism.

We agree with those who believe that Debs' life and work carry an important message for the present generation. But the last way to go about discovering Debs' message is to cull his speeches and articles for nuggets of wisdom that can be memorized like mathematical formulas or wise men's sayings, and then "applied." Nothing can come of such efforts.

We have to be perfectly clear on what Debs was and what he was not. Debs was not an original thinker and he added nothing new to the theory of Socialism. He did have some very definite ideas about how the Socialist Party ought to be organized and run, and was especially keen in spotting anything that was wrong. His sense of smell was remarkably acute. But even on this question, he never worked out his ideas in any systematic fashion.

AS is further known, he was contemptuous of the middle-class intellectual leadership of the Socialist Party which tried to reduce socialism to a milk-and-water series of welfare reforms. On the other extreme, when some of the left-wingers began playing around with syndicalist doctrines of "direct action," he again became very emphatic. "There have been times in the past," he wrote, "and there are countries today where the frenzied deed of a glorious fanatic like old John Brown seems to have been inspired by Jehovah himself, but I am now dealing with the twentieth century and with the United States." Later on he rejected without a moment's hesitation post-war experimentations with underground conspiratorial organization. As in the previous instance, his objections were not based on considerations of abstract morality; he simply didn't think these methods fitted American conditions. Debs' feel was exceptionally good on the many tactical problems confronting American socialism in his day. But, here again, the circumstances both in the country and in the radical movement have so altered that many of these

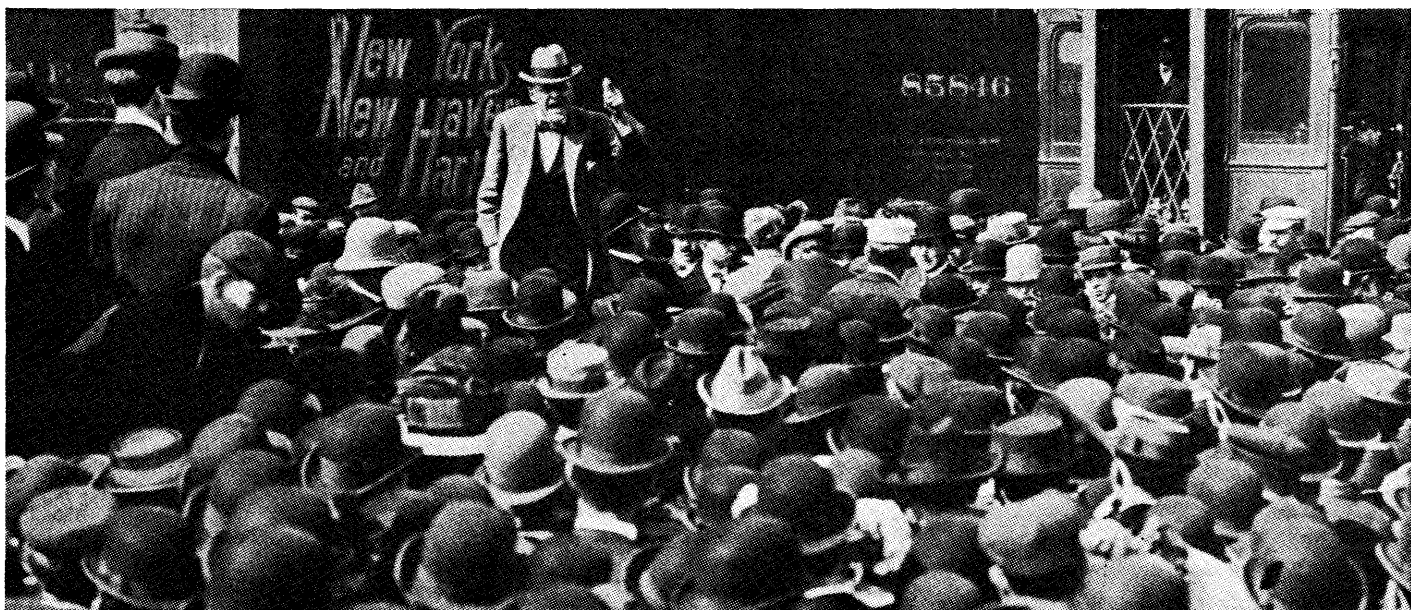
tactical problems are no longer germane, or where they are, their form is so drastically different as to constitute for practical purposes a new problem, and render impossible any mere repetition of the old methods and remedies.

In a word, when dealing with a figure like Debs who was primarily a practical leader and a socialist propagandist, we cannot rest on just his speeches, or writings, or his answers to specific questions current in his time, in an attempt to assess the significance of his contribution, or its possible meaning for today. We have to take the whole man—which means his speeches, his writings, his activities, his works. We have to take it all together.

It was one of Debs' important achievements that the Socialist Party, from the time of its formation in 1901 up to the first World War, was an American movement. By that is meant that it was a genuine expression of indigenous radicalism. It was the Left continuation of the big Populist rebellion, and the natural socialist evolution of its best contingents after the promise of Populism was destroyed in 1896. Debs Socialism rose on the crest of the wave of the progressivism and widespread rebelliousness that was sweeping America up to 1914, because it was part and parcel of this movement. This was a new departure for socialism in this country, because before Debs, socialism was primarily a German proposition, with little contact and less appeal outside of its own community.

PECULIARLY enough, the Communist movement that followed Debs, and became the mainstream of American radicalism in the thirties and forties, lost this trait all over again, and became too much of a Russian movement; not in the sense that most of its members were of Russian extraction (they were not), but because their thought was so largely concentrated on Russia. Their leaders uncritically tried to copy Russian patterns of behavior, and misconstrued socialist internationalism to mean loss of independence for one's own party. A reawakened socialist movement will undoubtedly have to re-create much of the earlier Debs model in this respect.

It can be put down as a fact that people will have to



"A Free Soul in Jail . . ."

I WOULD rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward on the streets. They may put those boys in jail—and some of the rest of us in jail—but they cannot put the socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all of the ages of history for standing erect, and for seeking to pave the way to better conditions for mankind.

Eugene Debs, Canton, Ohio
June 16, 1918

live for many years under socialism before they consider themselves citizens of the world and become genuinely internationalist in their habits of thought. A socialist movement, therefore, if it is to build at all effectively under present conditions of capitalism, will have to take account of the specific national characteristics and peculiar organizational problems of each people. It will have to be indigenous to this country, and its main attention will have to be riveted on this country. Socialist internationalism expresses the essential solidarity of labor the world over, but it does not, cannot, and should not mean that American socialists are to be more interested in the problems of socialism in Europe or Asia than they are in the problems of socialism in this country. Nor can it ever mean that socialists of Europe or Asia can or should run or interfere in the running of the affairs of the American socialist organization. If the socialist movement is ever to amount to anything in this country, it will have to represent a genuine response of American radicalism which throws up an authentic self-reliant leadership out of its midst, democratically selected by and responsible to its own membership.

Another crucial aspect of Debs' life work is the popular image of the movement and of himself that he implanted in the minds of the American people. He created the image of a fiercely honest and democratic personality, the incorruptible man of principle, selflessly fighting for the brotherhood of man. Of course Debs brought incomparable gifts to his work. His personality was an irresistible one and his oratorical talents were of the highest. But his basic technique was quite simple. It consisted in actually being what he pretended to be. It was leadership of a supreme kind because it was leadership by example. The con-man technique employed in American advertising may be highly effective in selling soap, but it doesn't work for selling socialism; because arrayed against socialism are all the forces of power and wealth in this society who will ferret out any weaknesses that the movement may possess, and expose them to the pitiless glare of publicity.

Of course, not everybody by a long shot succumbed to Debs' appeal. Capitalism in the United States has mighty powerful roots, and has spread its philosophy far and wide. Some considered Debs a sentimental Utopian who was five-hundred years ahead of his time, others thought his heart was bigger than his head. The cynics declared him a windbag and a charlatan, the greedy pictured him a dangerous fanatic. But even in these world-wise criticisms or partisan attacks one detected that

socialism was accepted as part of the American scene, even though it was, in the opinion of the critics, a mistaken part.

DEBS grasped what an all-national struggle for socialism entails, all the better as his understanding derived not primarily from an intellectualistic process, but was half-intuitive. We can draw the measure of his achievement, and the sureness of his feel for the right approach and tactic by contrasting his struggle with the popular image that Communism created several decades later—an image of craftiness, subtle maneuvers, ruthless efficiency and power politics. Communist radicalism accomplished many grand things in its heyday, but it got lost in the game of opportunist adroitness, and in the end outsmarted itself. For the sake of a number of short-term victories and ephemeral accretions of strength, it often sacrificed its integrity and good name, and when the final reckoning came, it discovered that it had been the loser in the transaction.

In the light of our experiences since 1946, a lot of Debs' naiveté doesn't strike us as being so naive any longer. His "Victorian Socialism" had much beauty, much truth, much effectiveness. Naturally, we should not try to impart to it what it does not possess, or derive out of it answers to problems that it is unable to give. Debs' leadership represented in a historical sense a makeshift arrangement to arouse the country with the revolutionary socialist message while maintaining leadership of a chaotic mass movement of social protest whose main impulse was reformist—welfare statist, not revolutionary. The America of Debs' day is gone beyond recall. It will never come back. And any future socialist leader will have to deal with the new realities of a nuclear world. There are no ready-made answers, or handy solutions to all practical problems and difficulties that exist today and that will arise tomorrow. But Debs left a heritage which, critically understood, can still be of of inestimable worth in properly orienting the present generation of radicals.

We are not among those who think that the dog days that have befallen the radical movement are mainly due to the mistakes or sins of the Communist leadership. We understand very well that unprecedented prosperity coupled with ferocious repression produced a diabolical combination that decimated the Left to its lowest point in modern times. But when a man is stripped of his wealth or worldly position, he is compelled to fall back on his own inner resources, and his survival and comeback depend on how substantial those resources are. Similarly, the radical movement today has to fall back on its historical understanding, its idealism and the basic moral capital that it has been able to create in its more affluent days. And here, it is the heritage of Debs that serves best, and will come into its own as the Left regroups itself, and launches—when the objective conditions are opportune—a new crusade for socialism.

The same old pard of long ago,
The whole-souled 'Gene I used to know,
With the love of Truth writ on Justice's scroll,
With a woman's heart and a warrior's soul.

—Capt. Jack Crawford, 1908

The work and achievements of Eugene V. Debs, his abilities and qualities, rank him as one of the leading Americans of his, or any other, day. His name and deeds are obscured by the professors and editors today, but will surely take their place in our heritage with the greatest.

A Great American

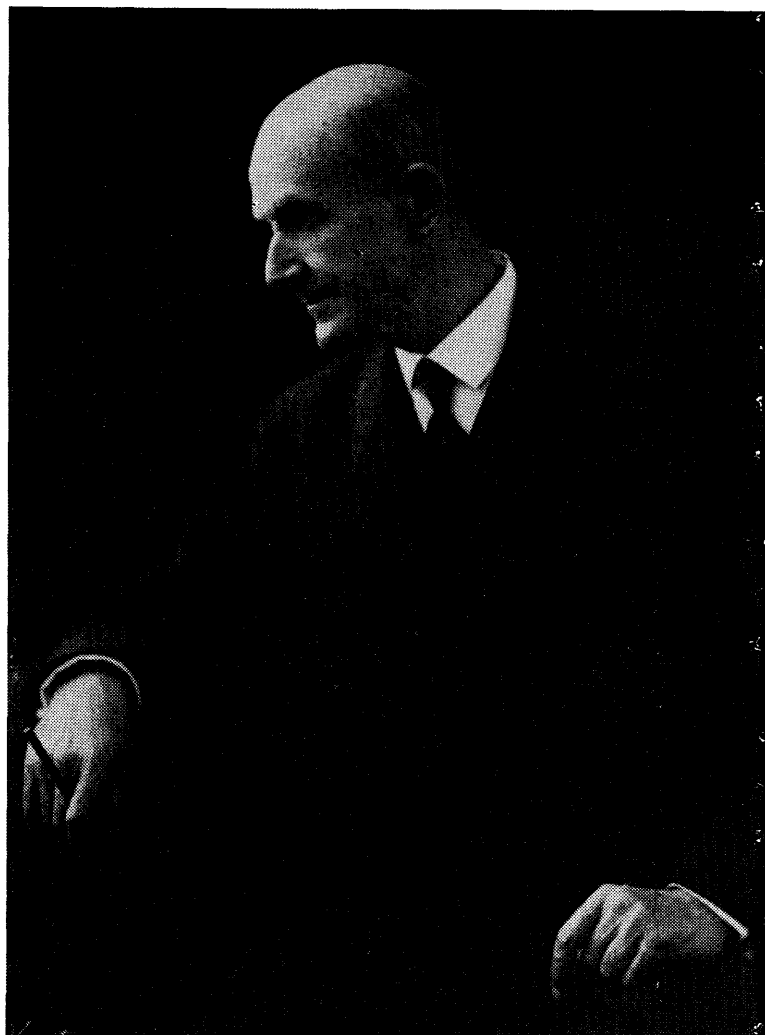
by Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman

WE seek to honor without prejudice all who serve our country and the commonwealth of man. This is a necessary task if truth is to prevail over passion. Washington and Edison, Henry Ford and Alexander Hamilton are secure; no histories will leave them out. But the Londons and Debs and Lincoln Steffenses need to be summoned from the less familiar halls of fame. That is why we are speaking of them in these days when our children need the full story of our past. We have had radical movements in America since Shays' Rebellion in 18th century Massachusetts. In the contemporary United States one sometimes loses sight of this fact. Many schoolbooks have been abandoned that told the simple facts of the Populist movement, the local collective experiments at Brook Farm and New Harmony, the Shakers at Harvard and Lebanon, the Mormons in Utah, and countless others.

These experiments at solving the bread, butter and cultural problems of rank-and-file Americans are as proud a part of our history as the rise of vast industries at River Rouge or Chicago, and should be taught along with the building of the railroads, the settlement of the farm belt, the gold rush of '49. I share Chet Huntley's bristling temper last Friday night at those who dismiss serious and thinking men as "egg heads, long hairs and do-gooders." Eugene Debs was all three at least parabolically. When we allow scorn to creep into our teaching tones at school when the name of a bold agitator is mentioned, we are subverting the every democracy we claim to love. If our editors and professors, parents and film makers were truly about their job, a Unitarian pulpit would not be needed to speak of a political leader like Gene Debs.

HE was born November 5, 1855, as one of ten children born to parents who came from Alsace to this country. He left school when fifteen to start work in the railroad

Reverend Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, sent us his March 22, 1953, sermon on Debs, published here in abridged form.



shops of the Terre Haute and Indiana Railway. In 1870 he became a fireman on the railroad. In 1875 he organized a lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, his first labor achievement in a long and incredible career of serving the workers of the country. In 1878 he was made associate editor of the Fireman's Magazine, and two years later elected national secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. In 1879 he was elected city clerk of Terre Haute. For some years he was working night and day as editor, city clerk and a grocery clerk at the same time. In 1885 he married Katherine Metzger of Pittsburgh and was elected to the Indiana legislature.

In June 1893, following his deep conviction that American labor must come to industry-wide union organization, he formed and was elected president of the American Railway Union, winning almost immediately several contests with management, including the 18-day strike for higher wages from the Great Northern Railway in 1894. That year came the famous Pullman strike. The Pullman Palace Car makers were not in the Debs union, but at a convention of the American Railway Union it was voted to support the striking car-makers with a sympathetic boycott. Debs felt it inexpedient in so new a union as his to take on so dangerous an undertaking, but when it was voted by his members, he threw himself vehemently into the cam-

paign. It was a year of panic and frightening depression. Debs reminded his comrades of the slogan of the early pioneers of 1877, the Knights of Labor, that "an injury to one is an injury to all." It was this idea that consolidated the car workers and railroad workers in the face of the injunction. Locomotive fires were dumped in the yards and freight cars stood miles long on the sidings. Against the advice of a progressive governor of Illinois, John Peter Altgeld, President Grover Cleveland ordered Federal troops into Chicago. Judges Grosscup and Woods issued sweeping injunctions against the unions.

A NATION still in a horse-and-buggy stage, without automobiles or trucks or airplanes, faced economic paralysis. The strength of labor became a shocking reality to men in power, unaccustomed to resistance from any quarter. Debs brought American labor to maturity and taught it the elementary lessons of solidarity. Bankers and traders and investors, accustomed to organization into national associations to protect their interest, found a young Terre Haute idealist had copied their formula for the benefit of hard-muscled firemen and miserably underpaid car-builders.

The gospel of wealth, buttressed by Supreme Court injunctions, threw the power of the Federal government against the trade union movement. Debs was jailed—but labor became a new force for future decades to reckon with. Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Lester Ward and the Christian socialists were dismissed as fanatic dreamers, but tough-minded farmers, stockyard workers, railroad engineers and low-paid teachers or ministers did not forget these intellectual pioneers of American reform, these advocates of a planned welfare state. Least of all did they forget Debs, the eloquent and persuasive platform campaigner. His integrity, courage, logic and example swept America. Justice Brewer defined the power of the Federal troops to break strikes injurious to interstate commerce, but Eugene Debs defined the power of united workers conscious of what the new American science and industry could bring to all toilers who would make government their tool and not their master.

Although later many trade union leaders opposed Debs for his break with our present capitalist philosophy of business, it must never be forgotten that it was he who helped labor to mature, so that strikes could be won, usually without violence (which he abhorred), but won with a real increase in the living standards, self-respect and civic participation of workers. Every American trade unionist lives off the spiritual capital of Debs, even if his name is mentioned only with a footnote in our present school books.

On July 10, 1894, Debs was brought before a Federal Grand Jury and charged with conspiracy to obstruct the mails. He and three others were arrested. On February 12, 1895, Debs and six others were sentenced to six months in the Woodstock jail for contempt, which has a familiar ring in our own time. Eugene Debs, as head of the American Railway Union, was sent to jail for disobeying a sweeping injunction which forbade any union activity in the Pullman crisis. The assumption was made that spoken or written words might induce some unknown person to commit murder. As in the case of the Homestead strike

two years before, suppression of labor leaders was justified in the minds of the courts and the White House on the grounds of possible, though unproven, relationships between speech and violent action. Robert G. Ingersoll, William Dean Howells, and Samuel Gompers had protested in vain against the execution of the Haymarket prisoners on these grounds.

Debs and the Haymarket martyrs knew the passion that could be aroused when property rights were threatened by a growing labor movement, even one far from socialist in its rank-and-file support. The Ludlow, Herrin and Chicago massacres of workers remind us how difficult it is for workers to practice free speech in our country when such speech is aimed at revision of our laws and economic institutions.

ONE can wonder whether the judge would have forgiven Debs a prison term in 1895 if he could have foreseen how it would be used. Here Debs read and wrote, like St. Paul, Bunyan, Fox, Biddle, and John Brown before him. He came out a convinced socialist. He returned to Chicago and was given one of the greatest demonstrations in the history of that city.

In 1896 he campaigned for William Jennings Bryan for the Presidency, but after that campaign he worked to transform the remnants of the American Railway Union into the Social Democratic Party. In 1899 this party joined with a section of the Socialist Labor Party to run Debs for the Presidency. He secured 96,000 votes in 1900. Later the two groups merged and formed the Socialist Party and in 1904, as candidate for President, Debs polled 402,000 votes. In 1905 he aided in the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World—the IWW. From this he withdrew later over disagreements on policies and program. Under the Socialist Party banner he ran for President in 1908 and again in 1912. In that latter year he was running against Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, both seeking liberal votes, yet Debs won the sensational number of 901,000 votes, six percent of the total.

In 1917 at the St. Louis Convention the party denounced the war in Europe and two months after America entered that war Debs made a speech at Canton, Ohio, assailing the prosecution of persons charged with sedition for opposing the war. Four days later he was indicted by a grand jury for violation of the Espionage Act, and after a four-day trial was sentenced to a term of ten years. He was sent first to Moundville and later to Atlanta Penitentiary. While still a prisoner, in 1920, he was again nominated for President by the Socialists and received his largest vote: 919,799. This is one of the most significant figures in American political history, and was a comment upon the state of public thought and of the poverty of the major parties in regard to leadership. Debs, a man of no "creeping" socialist view, but an advocate of militant forthright socialism, won nearly a million votes, while Warren Gamaliel Harding, an untalented country editor with an uninspiring record as Senator, entered the White House only to leave it to die in San Francisco, a broken man, enmeshed in one of the worst scandals of the nation's history. It was one of the few memorable acts of Harding's administration that he gave Debs a pardon on Christmas Day, 1921. Debs' return home was one of the stirring episodes

of this great man's life. Friends and citizens of all parties welcomed him with unashamed tears of gratitude. The contrast between the man who had lost the election and the man who had won it and given the pardon dramatized the plight of a nation on the march so few could miss it.

LET us note today that Debs was no academic theoretician of a democratic and socialist America. He was a popular leader of hard-pressed workers and farmers who knew the hunger and sickness that came from cyclical paralysis of business depressions that not only plunge the stocks downward but bring unemployment, bitterness and unrest to millions. It was the Pullman strike and the Haymarket tragedy that educated Debs far more than his formal studies of Marx or Henry George, Edward Bellamy or Henry Demarest Lloyd.

It is sufficient now to emphasize that Debs contributed a healthy American pragmatism to the labor movement in America. His experiences as a railway worker had taught him early the great unlikelihood that capitalist society would bring a concern for workers to a higher level than concern for profit and property. His idealism and integrity advanced the cause of militant labor across the nation. He spoke not only to workers in factories, in transportation, and on farms, but to hundreds of thousands of teachers, ministers, editors and small business men. He was a teacher of the people, as clearly American as the Appalachians, as authentic a product of our traditions as Lincoln or Jackson and of the same clay. He helped make the words "comrade" and "radical" good, indigenous terms for people in Kansas and Ohio and California. John Steinbeck has recently written in the *Christian Science Monitor* urging a return of these words to our American vocabulary. I am all for it, and see nothing but fear to stop him or anyone else from recovering them.

While the newspapers and radio and the Congressional Record explode daily over developments in China or Russia, it becomes increasingly clear to me that 99 percent of our task as Americans is a domestic one: catching up with ourselves. Here is where the heritage of a forgotten man named Debs is so valuable. We cannot—and should not—seek to be isolated from our world neighbors; the thinking through of our United Nations' duties is fundamental to our future; but still most of us day in and day out have a lot to learn from the man from Terre Haute, Indiana, who knew that we have a Constitution and Bill of Rights and a physical plant of farms and factories adequate to bring lasting security and happiness to the people of this nation.

THE obstacles to this fulfilment of the prophetic promise, learned from Old and New Testaments read in white clapboard churches, are basically domestic obstacles: a thin dry individualism that denies responsibility for others' welfare, a superficial and inadequate education in home and school regarding our American institutions and their potentiality for bringing in a full democracy, a tragic willingness to leave leadership to professionals instead of pitching in to play our part as active citizens in an unfinished job of clearing the wilderness. I am not interested in Debs as a Socialist Party leader nearly as much as I am interested in his legacy of responsibility for human welfare,

not for one group but for all the people. He would be opposed now as he was in 1917 to the suicidal character of world wars, but his great emphasis was on building a just and prosperous America for the working people in overalls or at desks with white collars or anywhere else doing useful jobs. There was a religious quality about his dedication to this cause. He had short shrift for exploiting robber barons or well-nourished editor-critics unwilling to help fulfill the American democratic dream.

This forgotten American, Eugene Debs, was tender in compassion, yet unsparing in his militant defense of the working class in its organization and its resistance to a brutally hostile profit-centered economy. He grappled intellectually with the socialist ideas of English, German and Russian thinkers, but gave to us an American philosophy of progress that was unmistakably native and indigenous. He knew the American people very well, as a worker, as a son of the farm land, as a child of the so-called Bible belt. He knew we were not an anti-clerical culture, not a country with a record of wide-scale programs, not a society of prince and peasant, but rather a new nation with a growing middle class. He knew his medium, he knew his fellow citizens, he knew his oligarchs of wealth, his Colorado miners' families, his farmers unprotected from dust storms and droughts. I am stressing today—even with intentional repetition—that Debs worked in the medium of the American people, with American traditions and habits, not self-consciously or as an intellectual, for he was not an intellectual, but rather as a passionate campaigner.

HE lived through the period of the Russian Revolution, though he was in prison during its formative years and had limited materials for study in making his conclusions. (So, I might add, did many of us on the outside



of prison walls in those days.) This seems like an appropriate place to make a brief digression on the matter of an American's relationship to revolutionary struggles outside our country. Debs was a socialist, a militant one, and yet he never hesitated to express forthrightly his concern about aspects of the Soviet civil war. He expressed his

strong support of the new Soviet state in 1922 in words that leave no room for ambiguity. These words have often been forgotten, or never known to many American socialists. He firmly opposed efforts to rally American labor against the workers' new government in Russia. Yet he felt the execution of the Czar to be a needless cruelty, and cabled Lenin to protest the threatened execution of twenty-two Socialist Revolutionaries on trial in Moscow. However, unlike so many folks today, as he spoke his criticisms, he expressed his sympathy with the government as a whole, writing: "The Russian Revolution was the greatest and most luminous and far reaching achievement in the entire sweep of human history. The Soviet government is the beginning of self-government throughout the world."

I think Debs' example has meaning for us today. Candor, honest criticism, praise and understanding regarding the USSR, all are possible, as they are possible regarding the United States. Today, as Americans who look forward to a classless nation, we gain nothing by being blind to the costliness of Soviet socialism. Dr. Corliss Lamont writes that he, who has visited the USSR, and is as objective and just an observer as one could find, is repelled by dictatorial and repressive aspects of the regime. To be sure, he refuses to join, as do I, in the 36-year-old campaign of wholesale condemnation, but he is not, nor should we be, unaware of the Soviet Union's real failures and limitations. On principle we should be no less critical of the Soviets than we are properly critical of ourselves.

I HAVE made this long aside in a talk on Eugene Debs because I believe America is not the Soviet Union, that there are real historical factors in our life here that can save us, if we are vigilant, from some of these costly liabilities of Soviet experience since 1917. A socialist planned society, a free and democratic welfare state, such as Debs envisioned, is possible in this century in America, because of our advanced industrial resources, our history of civil liberties, our relative success in bridging class chasms.

I protested three weeks ago in this pulpit the over-swift execution of the death sentences of the Czech political prisoners, and spoke of our long practice of granting appeal after appeal in our courts to those found guilty of major crimes. These traditions of civil toleration for the accused have worked well, during our Revolution, our Civil War and during two world wars. My hope is that they can be maintained in the rigorous political struggles ahead for a new pattern of socialism in America, which will be in important ways unlike any pattern yet established in the world. As China's new society differs from Russia's, so will ours differ from both of these, not because we are proudly different or a better people, for we are not, but because we have had many social experiences neither of these great nations have had.

I am thinking of experiences under Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt which helped us to see how social progress can be made if we will use our schools, our press, our courts, our Congress and our great industrial and agricultural plant as they are capable of being used, for the benefit of the many and not the few. These resources and tools of peaceful men and women can and should be used rather than those of force and violence. Management and

labor both need to learn this lesson. Nothing should be above the sovereign will of the people themselves, the ultimate authority of a democracy expressed through secret ballot available to all, without exception.

It will be a great half-century ahead, and those who protest rightly the violent purge, the concentration camp, the swift death penalty, will have much to do to prove the possibility of a real transformation of society here without such harsh methods. The arson attacks against mine unions in New Mexico recently, the revelations about high officials in New York conniving with murderous racketeers on the Jersey waterfront, the bludgeoning assaults by Representatives Richard Velde and Donald Jackson upon college and church leaders, make it apparent that we too easily use here the very devices we properly condemn in other countries. If the spirit of tolerating free agitation that motivated President Harding in pardoning Debs and President Roosevelt in pardoning Browder can operate in the White House today, several dozen radical leaders, imprisoned under the Smith Act, will be pardoned in the months to come by President Eisenhower and we shall then know that America does not intend to purge by imprisonment its advocates of a socialist society. Debs believed in the free play of political opinion and so do I. Whatever frustrates such free play points in the direction of violence and cruel civil struggle in the future, for nowhere on earth will people long remain docile before inequity or accept needless suffering when a remedy is within their grasp.

IT was apparent to Debs and others after the Haymarket Massacre and the Pullman strike in the late nineties that hatred and fear and violence (on both sides of the struggle) would be inevitable under a profit-centered economy. With fortunes at stake, millionaires will not be indifferent to the possibility of a lost fortune. Even small investors, retired teachers and dentists and preachers will find it easy to resent labor's demands for a larger share of profits when this brings down to a trickle the quarterly dividend in the mail box. So are the middle class and working class set against each other. People are far better than the system, insisted Debs. They are not wolves and jackals at heart. But fear and division keep them at their worst. A planned society without worry about old age will make no millionaires, but it will make children without rickets and parents without neuroses.

Citizens of all parties, people of all races and creeds, have seen in Eugene Debs a leader of unquestioned idealism, but typically practical in the implementation of his ideals. It was this combination that won him his millions of friends and his implacable foes. His vision has not been lost in this generation of the hucksters and the generals. It is more than likely that the Hall of Fame at New York University in the Bronx will someday see the bust of Eugene Debs grace its amphitheatre, to stand beside Emerson, Tom Paine, Lincoln, Booker T. Washington and Susan B. Anthony. Our forgotten Americans have a way of some day being remembered, though the mills of the gods grind slowly. The lean Indiana fireman will come into his own, when the Harding who defeated him for the White House chair will be generously forgotten by our children's children.

We Must Learn from Debs

by Martin P. Gahagan

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS—a man hailed by all, loved by most, recognized by historians as a great labor organizer, admired as one of the finer orators in our history, supreme as a vote-getter for a left-wing platform. . . . One could go on praising this man simply by quoting at random the opinions of the many different left-wing political factions. All the different shades of communist and socialist organizations sought his public support. Yet, if one bothers to push past the superficial acceptance of Deb's statistical successes at the polls, and his dramatic abilities as an orator, it is soon clear this love of Debs is not the acceptance Debs himself would want.

One of the things Debs used to insist upon with his audiences was that they use their heads for their own benefit. "I don't hate the working man because he has turned against me. I know the poor fellow is too ignorant to understand his self-interest, and I know that as a rule the working man is the friend of his enemy and the enemy of his friend." Debs again and again returns to this idea when he says to his audience: "John D. Rockefeller's great fortune is built upon your ignorance. When you know enough to know what your interest is you will support the great party that is organized upon the principle of collective ownership of the means of life." He is continually attacking the working man's failure to think clearly. Always he urges his audiences not to base their choice of leaders and parties on their ignorance.

Debs did not think much of blind acceptance of his own ideas either: "Too long have the workers of the world waited for some Moses to lead them out of bondage. He has not come; he never will come. I would not lead you out if I could; for if you could be led out, you could be led back again. I would have you make up your minds that there is nothing that you cannot do for yourselves."

Despite the fact that this "think for yourself," "think clearly" idea runs through all Debs' speeches the American Left accepts him quite blindly. There was not the slightest understanding of a Debs-type party when he was alive. There is not the slightest understanding on the part of the organized left wing today. Some say he was not a clear thinker. Others say he was not a theoretician. All pass him off lightly when it comes to serious study of the historical development of Marxism in our country. The Debs heritage is a heritage built largely upon the very ignorance he urges his readers to struggle against.

GENE Debs was rooted down in the class struggle. His whole life's work reflects the realities of the fight against capitalism. He left behind him his ideas, embodied in his speeches and writings. He left us his views on how a working class party ought to be organized; what kind of tactics such a party should employ in this country; what the goals of the party should be. Embodied in his

heritage are ideas so clearly peculiar to the United States, ideas that grow so clearly out of the working class achievements of partial political democracy, that it is disturbing to realize that these ideas are not even thought about nowadays.

Debs' ideas ought to be widely discussed, studied, and fought over. Keeping in mind the un-American charges hurled at the Left today, and the unsuccessful yet courageous fight by the Left to throw off this label, Debs' ideas should be taken more seriously. For no audience that heard Debs speak left the meeting with the impression he was un-American. They may not have agreed with him entirely, and most of them did not vote for him in his various election campaigns. But Debs, over the years of his campaigning, earned respect for his genuine concern for the exploited classes he spoke to. This accomplishment alone should stimulate a little inquiry into his approach.

Debs was a democrat throughout his life. He believed in the fullest application of democracy to any and all aspects of life. He believed just as fully in the democratic process in government and party as he did in the inevitability of capitalism being replaced by socialism. Consequently he advocated a particular type of political organization for the American people. He believed all officers should be elected by the members of the party for a definite period of time:

I believe, too, in rotation in office. I confess to a prejudice against officialism and a dread of bureaucracy. I am a thorough believer in the rank and file, and in ruling from the bottom up instead of being ruled from the top down. The natural tendency of officials is to become bosses. They come to imagine that they are indispensable and unconsciously shape their acts to keep themselves in office. The officials of the Socialist Party should be its servants, and all temptation to yield to the baleful influence of officialism should be removed by constitutional limitation of tenure.

In the same speech he advocated that officers of the workers' party should be workers. "Of course the socialist movement is essentially a working-class movement, and I believe that as a rule party officials and representatives, and candidates for public office, should be chosen from the ranks of the workers. The intellectuals in office should be the exceptions, as they are in the rank and file. There is sufficient ability among the workers for all official demands, and if there is not, it should be developed without further delay. It is their party, and why should it not be officered and represented by themselves?"

INTELLECTUALS should be always welcomed into the working-class movement. But the role they play in each particular country's party will differ according to specific conditions. In countries where the working class does not exist in significant numbers, history has shown that other classes sometimes come into prominence in the movement for economic and political freedom. In countries where

the oppressed classes have no tradition of political functioning and suffer from widespread illiteracy, the intellectuals often play a role of great importance. They become the theoreticians of the movement. They become the officers, and in large measure the guiding groups of the party. They are the sinews that tie together the bones of the illiterate and politically disenfranchised masses. Why? Simply because they are the only group in a position to study the situation and offer leadership. The oppressed people can't read. They cannot delve into working-class theory, whereas the favored classes have the leisure time to study. They are the only ones in a position to consciously seek theoretical solutions. Yet, what's right in one situation is not necessarily right for another.

The United States does have a rather large working class, far outnumbering its class antagonists. The interests and views of the working class make or break the country in the long run. When they make up their mind to move in a particular direction, so goes the country. All other classes in the United States are dwarfed by their power. There is little doubt the class to rely on to change the capitalist system here is our working class.

By and large, the exploited classes in this country can and like to read. Our people have been brought up in a system reputed to be democratic, in the words of our teachers and leaders. They believe they rule the country because they live in a democracy. They have been drilled from childhood with the idea that "the people rule." Our people are used to thinking in these terms, and neither hell nor high water will get them to think any other way. They will not consciously allow anyone to rob them of their political heritage.

True, they do not take full advantage of their rights. Many of them don't vote regularly. When they do go to the polls, they usually vote against themselves, as Debs pointed out many times. True, only a tiny percentage are active in political and community affairs. They often leave the political field to their class opponents, or to representatives of their enemies from their own ranks. All these general failures of the workers to act in a clear way are not to be overlooked.

But these things do not mean that our working class has no political prerogatives. These things do not mean that it is incapable of thinking clearly when forced to the wall of economic disaster. These things do not mean that workers view themselves as ignorant and incapable of thinking for themselves. Our people insist on thinking for themselves. Every year they do go to the polls to seek redress of grievances. The average guy thinks about the national problems, and recognizes he has a part in the process of government. He is concerned about abridgment of these rights. He would like to be less exploited by his bosses. He alone understands what speed-up really means. He alone sacrifices for his union. And any sensitive observer can see he is insulted by those that speak down to him or condescend to him.

DOES the failure of the working classes to develop into great thinkers mean that an alien class must supply the leadership and thinking for the workers' movement? Any organization of the working class that is not run by the working class has to be run by members of another

class. Any other class that tries to run the workers' party brings in its alien views. Its representatives bring in condescension, pettiness, and class confusion. This is bound to rub the working-class membership the wrong way and slowly they will, have, and are now leaving the existing party, or parties, of socialism and communism in favor of organizations that don't go against their grain.

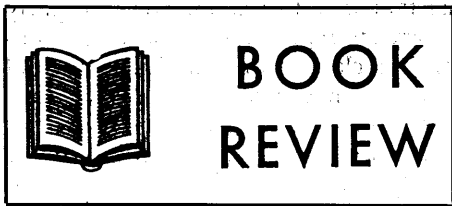
There is only one class to lead the working class, and that is the working class itself. Take a quick look at some of the labor leaders of the past and present, and you soon see that it is possible to have workers rise to leadership of the highest sort. William Z. Foster came from the working class. John L. Lewis came from the working class. Walter Reuther came from the working class. Eugene Victor Debs came from the working class. Albert Parsons came from the working class. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn came from the working class. There have been workers in many high political offices. True, most of them are not socialists or communists, but that is not the point. The point is, they are able to develop to such an extent that they can lead great masses of people.

I would say Debs is right. The party must be run according to United States working-class tradition and possibilities. That is, the party must be run by the workers as well as for the workers.

The Socialist Party was not the type of organization that Debs advocated, despite his long membership in this party. The party did not allow the workers to run the organization. Its leaders were, by and large, intellectuals from non-working-class backgrounds. The Socialist Party was not a Debs-type party in its organizational structure, for it was a top-down organization, not permitting the membership control of policy. This party was run by a group of bureaucratic leaders. The Socialist Party went the way all left-wing parties in the United States go that are not sensitive to and run by the workers themselves. This party became what its leaders were. It became a middle-class party, a party run for and by the middle-class. Some people place the blame on Debs for this development. There is some criticism to be justly leveled at him. For he did not fight strongly enough for his own beliefs. He let the bureaucrats take over and run the party without seriously challenging them. He didn't attend party conventions for twenty years. He naively allowed these middle-class thinkers to run the inner-party show. He went so far as to disdain the inner-party struggles of his day.

Because of his failure to fight for what he thought was the correct organizational party structure, there are some who construe this to mean he tacitly agreed to what was going on. It would certainly be academic to argue the point whether or not Debs believed what he says he did. What he says in his speeches supports very strongly the idea that he cherished a democratic kind of party.

However, the point is that Debs' failure to fight for a grass-roots democratic-type of party, controlled by the workers, has left that struggle to be fought to a finish today. The American left wing must concern itself with this question and stop kidding itself that it can operate in any other way than through the painful process of full democratic participation of all the members in the struggle for a correct approach. Debs sounded the note. Let us play it out.



Hollywood Looks At Labor

WATERFRONT, by Budd Schulberg. Random House, New York, 1955, \$3.95.

THE writings of the Hemingways and F. Scott Fitzgeralds in the twenties and thirties suffered from a too-limited field of vision. But this literature was successful in introducing a new mood, in creating an original style, in giving voice to a distinct current of post-war life, even though the current operated only for a small set. What made this literature important was that it was honest and original within its own small frame.

These are precisely the two ingredients lacking in the school of pseudo-realistic American literature of recent years, of which the present book is merely the latest sample. The violence of modern life, caught with great artistry by Hemingway in some of his early short stories, was machined down to a pat formula and slick technique by the James M. Cains ("The Postman Always Rings Twice"), and then degenerated to sheer tough-guy Hollywoodese. Such is the stuff "Waterfront" is made of.

Many young authors write their books nowadays with an eye cocked on Hollywood. Schulberg reversed the process by first writing the movie script and later on, the book. But the results are about the same: Characters that are stage-props and stereotypes, and an essentially false situation and spurious relationships superimposed on enough authentic matter so that the resultant mash is subtly calculated to deaden the reader's reflexes and obfuscate his sensibilities.

That the New York waterfront was for years a sinkhole of gangsterism and corruption is an open secret. The longshoremen's union was in the grip of professional gunmen and crooks who had a close working alliance with the shipowners and stevedoring companies, and their leaders grew fat and sleek from job sale "kickbacks," under-the-counter "gifts" from the shipowners, loan-sharking, and a large-scale organized system of pilferage. These gunmen and shakedown artists hobnobbed with eminent politicians of New York and New Jersey, were dined and wined by the shipowners and public-spirited citizens, and were permitted to prey upon the longshoremen. The shipowners were satisfied as this system of extortion and graft worked out far more cheaply for them than dealings with an honest and effective union would have. In the end, it came out of the hides of the poor working stiffs.

MANY official investigations had taken place in the past of waterfront conditions, but after the usual round of publicity, the matter would drop out of the newspaper columns and everything continued as before. But in 1953 a number of moves were made which brought drastic changes into the waterfront picture. Governor Dewey, who in previous years had courted the crooked longshore-union officials, set up the New York State Crime Commission, which proceeded in daily hearings and with sickening detail to spread before the public the sordid tale of conditions on the New York waterfront. Then, in quick order, a bi-state waterfront commission was set up which took all hiring on the docks out of the hands of the union, and put it under the control of this anti-labor government agency. The longshore union, in effect, was placed under quasi-government supervision. At the same time, the top AFL hierarchy, for a series of complex reasons of its own, threw the longshore union out of the federation, and working hand-in-glove with Dewey's waterfront commission, attempted to set up a rival union of longshoremen.

At first, the workers, despite gangster threats and intimidation, began joining up

its certification as the workers' bargaining agency.

The ILA leadership negotiated in 1954 a pretty fair union contract with the shipowners and has recently concluded an eight-day strike as part of its continuous running battle to get the waterfront commission off its neck. Some of its leaders have devised a good union program to eliminate the worst of the traditional abuses in the industry, and are talking with a new voice of legitimate unionism. How much change has actually taken place in the leadership, and how much is just a false front, with the gangsters lying low ready to take things over again when the skies clear, is difficult to say.

THIS is part of the devious and tangled skein that forms the subject matter of Budd Schulberg's novel. It is a magnificent subject to tackle and has all the elements for a dramatic work of art. But by the time we plow through the breath-taking adventures of Schulberg's crusading team that is out to set things straight for the longshoremen, a team made up of a waterfront priest, a blond from a convent school in Tarrytown—the sister of the man the gangsters murdered because he was a un-



with the AFL in great numbers, but toward the end of 1953, they became increasingly suspicious of this rival union which was cooperating with a patently anti-labor commission. After a while, sentiment definitely veered away from the AFL. The workers figured that rotten as their own union setup was, they still had a better chance with it than with this new outfit that was trying to crash the waterfront arm-in-arm with labor's enemies. The ILA treasury was bankrupt at the time, the state agencies were applying murderous pressure and the metropolitan press was conducting a savage campaign. Nevertheless, the ILA won in two NLRB votes, and finally, despite all odds, forced through

ion oppositionist—and an ex-pug who falls for the blond, and under her influence and because the gangsters killed his brother tells all to the crime commission, the Hollywood gangland movie smell becomes so pervasive that it effectively drowns out the otherwise pungent smells of the Hoboken docks.

Mr. Schulberg straightens out in the book a few of the movie's glaring weaknesses: He now highlights the shipowners' responsibility for the unholy mess, and he ends on a less fatuous note than in the movie. He writes, as readers of "What Makes Sammy Run" know, with a fluent style, and has a talent for characterization. Some of the scenes are effectively

built up to a point of dramatic intensity, and occasionally, when we get the priest or the blond out of the way, the dialogue is crisp and effective. More's the pity that Hollywood has put its indelible stamp on him and his book.

B. C.

Mental Health in an Acquisitive Society

THE SANE SOCIETY by Erich Fromm.
Rinehart & Company, New York, 1955,
\$5.

DR. Fromm's new book, which deals both with the psychology of man and the ills of society, lends itself by its very plan to a certain unevenness of quality. If, in the first portion, he presents some interesting theories based upon his specialized studies, in the second portion, where he deals with generalized social, political and economic theory, he can lay no claim to any special mantle of expertise and his thoughts here have less originality and interest.

Is our society sane? Dr. Fromm's first attention is turned to this question, and in the mere posing of it he challenges squarely the prevailing views of "sociological relativism." According to this outlook, which is supposed to be the very latest thing in cold, detached science, the sociologist does not offer us much help. All he can do is tell us (or thinks he can tell us) how to achieve stated ends. But he can't pass judgment on any of these ends, or on society as it exists. That, according to the relativists, would be an impermissible and unscientific moralizing.

In the field of mental health, relativism proceeds somewhat as follows: The society is given, and we must accept the standards which society sets. There is no absolute standard of sanity or mental health; all there is is simply *fitting* in with society as it happens to be constituted, or, as poetess Emily Dickinson lampooned it in the last century:

*Much madness is divinest sense
To a discerning eye;
Much sense the starkest madness.
'Tis the majority*

In this, as all, prevails.

Assent, and you are sane;

*Demur—you're straightaway dangerous
And handled with a chain.*

The relativist view has been further deepened by the Norman Vincent Peales, for whom our society is not only the "given" one to which we must adjust, but is further praised as the society which corresponds to the deepest needs of human nature, and is therefore above criticism. The outcome of this way of looking at things is to make of the psychologist little more than an industrial-relations flunkey, who sees to it that all the good little soldiers of industry are kept in fine mental trim, ready to give their all for the boss. Dr. Fromm quotes as an example one Dr. E. A. Strecker: "I define maturity as the ability to stick to a

job, the capacity to give more on any job than is asked for, reliability . . ." etc.

AS against the relativist view, Sigmund Freud set forth the notion that there is an inherent conflict between human nature and society. Humans are possessed of certain instinctual drives which *any* society, by its very nature in setting up rules of conduct, is bound to repress, with greater or lesser neurotic results in the individual.

Dr. Fromm rejects both these views. Instead of believing, with the relativists, that there are no norms of mental health but only adjustment to a given society, he insists that there are such norms which a society will further if it is sane, or warp if it is not. Instead of believing, with the orthodox Freudians, in an inherent and ineluctable conflict between man and all organized society, he holds that society can be organized in such a way as to harmonize with and develop man's social and individual needs.

What are man's needs, and what are the norms of mental health which Dr. Fromm tries to establish? Our bodily needs—food, drink, protection against weather, sex—are answered through physical activities. But our personality needs, he says, are a different matter. These arise from man's having torn himself out of nature, so that he lives on a social plane as well as on the animal plane. This is the specifically human characteristic which has made man what he is, and the source of those needs which he does not share with the animal.

Man has, by the power of his imagination and the development of his social organization, cast himself adrift on a previously uncharted sea. He has *become aware of himself* as an individual and as a species, which the animal is not. These new conditions of existence give rise to new needs. Man requires a sense of relation to others, an identity in order to understand himself, a frame of orientation and devotion. Man's whole mode of existence since he lowered himself from the trees, in other words, calls upon him to answer questions which never occur to the animals, demands of him certain emotional reactions, calls for a framework of outlook and *purpose*.

All societies, Dr. Fromm continues, try to satisfy these needs in one way or another, but some societies provide the solution in warped and twisted forms. The society which furthers creative solutions to man's personality problems, which develops his latent possibilities for love, brotherhood, common integration, rather than his lusts for power and overlordship, is the sane society. It is the society which will encourage and develop the best potentialities in man, which will "adjust society to the needs of man" rather than the other way around.

THE demurrer may be made at this point that, like the various transcendent moral schemes, this is open to an essential objection which cannot be removed by a play on words. The objection is that any attempt to set up standards outside of history and above man requires an infallible critic—or more correctly Critic—to determine what is "best" and what is "worst" in man.

It is this point which is relied upon by the relativists, who say: Here is a realm which science dare not enter. Only religionists can make such moral judgments, and if a scientist does venture them, he has departed from his character as scientist and re-entered the argument as a moralist.

As an argument against inflicting upon man certain presumed and inspired moral standards which come from outside and above man, the point is indeed weighty and even unanswerable. That much must be granted it. But as an argument against standards of good and evil and of progress and retrogression *which arise naturally out of man's social evolution*, it falls to the ground.

Man has definite concepts in many spheres of what is best for him, and these concepts have developed out of his accumulated experiences and expanded as his economic and social horizons have widened, as his technological capacities have grown. It is not at all so difficult as the relativists like to pretend to comprehend what is best for Man in a whole host of matters: Almost any individual man can tell you that. Where social science has broken down is in explaining to mankind how it can get the things it wants, and that is why it has developed an elaborate pretense to the effect that nobody can be scientifically sure of what it is that man needs. In reality, this masquerade of the social scientists is just as irrational as if the medical scientist were to suddenly jump up and exclaim: "I can make you sick and I can make you well, but I can't tell you which you ought to be; that's a moral choice and outside the purview of science." Clearly, if social science does not exist *to serve man and his betterment*, it has no object at all in existing.

ON our present society, Dr. Fromm hands down a definitely unfavorable verdict. The morality formed in the market place of capitalism frustrates all of man's best potentialities, and forces him to satisfy the needs of his personality in unsatisfactory ways. In the very countries in which capitalism has reached the most prosperous heights, the clearest symptoms of maladjustment and large-scale neurosis are to be found. Denmark, Finland, Sweden and the United States are the countries with the highest suicide rate, and are all near the top in homicides and alcoholism. In these two latter fields, the United States is far ahead of any of the most important European and North American countries.

Dr. Fromm devotes a series of chapters to examining the approved and encouraged human conduct under capitalism, which readers will find interesting and—although this is ground that has been combed very thoroughly—occasionally fresh and original. His solution: some form of socialism, which he calls "humanistic communitarian socialism" and which he proceeds to describe.

His reasoning from this point on is roughly as follows: The Marxists are mistaken in thinking that socialization of the means of production is the necessary and sufficient condition for revamping society.

It is necessary, but it is not sufficient. Man needs to be remade in all aspects of his life before we have our solution.

Here the book starts to slide downhill into the stagnant pools of old utopianistic theories and winds up as pretty much of a screwball political hobbyhorse of the kind that always finds a few riders in times like these. Dr. Fromm sets forth his program as "... simultaneous changes in the sphere of industrial and political organization, of spiritual and philosophic orientation, of character structure, and of cultural activities." In order to emphasize his insistence that all of this must be achieved *simultaneously*, he tacks on an additional proviso that fulfilling this program only in part, i.e. by revolutionizing the economy alone as a starter, as in Russia, China, Yugoslavia, is worse than nothing, and if that's all you can do you'd better do nothing at all. These are his words: "The concentration of effort in any of these spheres, to the exclusion or neglect of others, is destructive of *all* change."

HISTORY has repeatedly demonstrated—and this is the essence of Marx's theory of historical materialism which Dr. Fromm praises apparently without understanding—that man's technology and economy form the essential link in the chain of human activity, which, if seized and re-cast in the new mold that man is ready for, will be the key to transforming man's society, culture, personality fulfillment, etc. Before the formulation of this proposition, socialists possessed no scientific theory for changing society, and lived by utopia-spinning. Dr. Fromm, while aspiring to substitute something brand-new for an "outmoded" Marxism, has only turned back to an approach which was outmoded by Marxism at least a century ago.

But Dr. Fromm's book offers a helpful glimpse into man's social problem of mental balance, provides a refreshing antidote to American philistine standards of conduct and happiness, and should be widely read for those reasons.

H. B.

After the Bomb Exploded

HIROSHIMA DIARY: *The Journal of a Japanese Physician, August 6-September 30, 1945, by Michihiko Hachiya. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1955, \$3.50.*

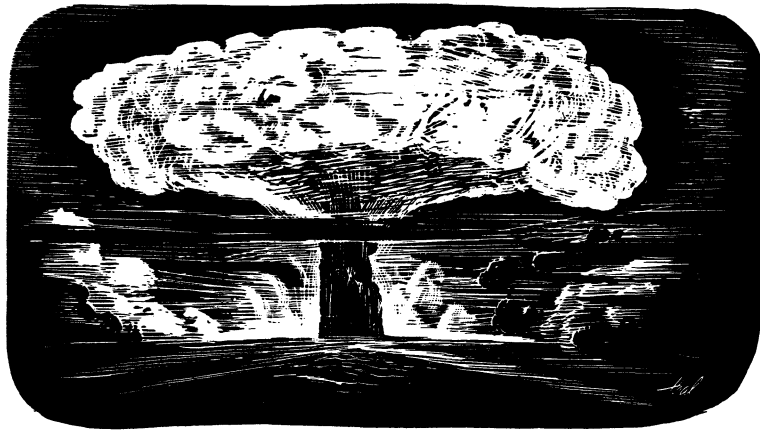
THE hour was early; the morning still, warm and beautiful. Shimmering leaves, reflecting sunlight from a cloudless sky, made a pleasant contrast with shadows in my garden as I gazed absently through wide-flung doors opening to the south.

Glad in drawers and undershirt, I was sprawled on the living room floor exhausted because I had just spent a sleepless night on duty as an air raid warden in my hospital.

Suddenly, a strong flash of light startled me—and then another. . . .

Garden shadows disappeared. The view where a moment before all had been so bright and sunny was now dark and hazy. Through swirling dust I could barely discern a wooden column that had supported one corner of my house. It was leaning crazily and the roof sagged dangerously.

. . . A profound weakness overcame me. . . . To my surprise I discovered



that I was completely naked. How odd! Where were my drawers and undershirt? What had happened?

With these paragraphs, "Hiroshima Diary" opens. Fifty-six days and a lifetime of suffering later, it closes with an American occupation officer asking the author:

"What are your thoughts regarding the bombing?"

"I am a Buddhist," I replied, "and since childhood have been taught to be resigned in the face of adversity. I have lost my home and my wealth, and I was wounded, but disregarding this, I consider it fortunate my wife and I are alive. I am grateful for this even though there was someone to die in every home in my neighborhood."

"I can't share your feelings," the officer replied, sternly. "If I were you, I'd sue the country."

The officer stood a while longer and gazed out the window. Finally, he and his party departed. After he had gone, I told my friends what he said.

"Sue the country! Sue the country!" I repeated over and over, to myself. But no matter how many times I repeated it, and however hard I thought, the statement was altogether incomprehensible.

The author's incomprehension is not put on. Judging from his own account, Dr. Hachiya, Director of the Hiroshima Communications hospital, was entirely sunk in the game of war, militarism and patriotism, and took the A-bomb as part of the fortunes of war. His greatest rage was aroused by the failure of the Japanese government to fight back with the same weapon. The largest, the most crushing tragedy that loomed on his personal horizon even

after the horror of the bomb was the surrender in Tokyo Bay.

BUT these feelings on the doctor's part can be gleaned only from an incidental remark here and there. This is not a book of politics; it is a straightforward account of what the author observed and felt as he and his colleagues, themselves sick, wounded, grieved and bereaved, labored

to care for some of the thousands of wounded that found their way to the hospital in the dreadful aftermath of the most brutal single act of violence ever performed in human history. It is a moving and sensitively written story.

When the Pentagon dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima, it didn't follow up by dropping descriptive literature telling the survivors what they might expect. The stricken Japanese residents, therefore, groped blindly in the wreckage of bodies and buildings for some clue to their calamity and guide to self-preservation. For a while they did not even know they had been struck by an atom bomb; they had no idea of what such a bomb would do.

Thus, when Dr. Hachiya and his associates began to pit their pathetic resources against the tide of suffering that flooded in upon them, they had no clear notion of what to expect. It was especially puzzling when those who had no apparent wounds, or only superficial ones, began to sicken and die in the weeks after the explosion. After a while the symptoms began to group themselves into a pattern: weakness and general malaise, loss of hair, a rash of tiny hemorrhages under the skin, bloody vomiting, a great decrease in the white blood cell count and degeneration of the bone marrow, followed by death often accompanied by massive internal hemorrhaging.

This was the radiation sickness. Rumors flew thick and fast in the decimated population of Hiroshima. One was that rescue workers who had not been in the city at the time of the explosion would catch the disease after entering. Another was that the city would be uninhabitable for the next 75 years. Rumors such as these scared many rescue workers away. And the news that an American occupation force would

be coming in soon caused more panic and fleeing.

Dr. Hachiya relates all this with great compassion, as a man with a kind heart. His tale is not a fully typical one, as his status as a hospital director gave him a special position in the community and a focus for a revival of his energies which the mass of common people, tossed about like rubble, did not have. In this sense, a book like John Hersey's "Hiroshima" gives one a broader perspective on the calamity and its effects on the average person. But the clinical and human picture presented in this book is still quite revealing, and should widely stimulate the determination to prevent such a catastrophe ever recurring.

A. S.

Our Modern Captains of Industry

THE BIG BUSINESS EXECUTIVE, by Mabel Newcomer. Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, \$4.

WHEN our Secretary of Defense postulated Big Business prosperity as the source of national well-being, he voiced a conviction shared by most American executives. Whether for that reason or for some other, they take so much pride in their jobs that, according to a study cited by the author, "the majority worked overtime—from 67 to 112 hours a week; and these, but not their wives, were happier than the minority who worked normal or less than normal hours."

Prof. Newcomer, of the Vassar College Economics Department, has placed these happy workhorses in a formidable statistical harness. With a cataract of charts and dribbles of sociological analysis, she has investigated the lives of three generations of executives (board chairmen and presidents) of the largest railroad, public utility and industrial corporations. They are divided into three groups: 1900 (which held office 1899-1903), 1925 (1923-1925), and 1950 (1948-1953).

The American economy is dominated by a white, native-born, Protestant, Republican group, which is educated largely in a small number of Ivy League colleges.

There are no Negroes or women in any of Prof. Newcomer's groups. Only 6 percent of 1950 executives were foreign-born, with Canada, Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries predominating as places of birth for this slim segment.

Of executives with religious ties, thirty percent are Episcopalians (a denomination which numbers three percent of the population), nine percent Catholics, six percent Baptists, (nineteen percent of the population), five percent Jewish. The social prestige attaching to the Episcopalian church seems to account for the high proportion of its adherents among executives. There are no Jews in the upper ranks of the railroads. Quite a few Catholics, however, hold top positions in the utilities. This may be due to the fact that many Irish-Americans belong to the local political

machines which are tied to the public utilities.

Executives today have the following political distribution: 76 percent Republican, 20 percent Democratic, 4 percent Independent. The percentage of Republicans in the utilities dropped from 79 percent in the 1925 group to 71 percent in the current group.

WHERE much of the working class, in the words of Prof. Robert S. Lynd, views education with "the fervor of a religion" and as "a means of salvation," businessmen have a record of scoffing at its value. But, in recent years there has been a steady rise in the percentage of executives with college degrees: 28 percent (1900), 40 percent (1925), 62 percent (1950). The 1950 group wrested more academic laurels (and promising contacts) from Harvard, Yale and Princeton than from the next seven institutions combined.

Numerous executives stress the usefulness of a liberal arts education in view of current corporate concern with "public responsibility" and "human relations," but the facts show that holders of these degrees are not encouraged. A 1953 *Fortune* survey stated that "only 16 out of 117 corporation interviewers at Yale in 1952 mentioned using liberal arts graduates, and 16 out of 200 at Johns Hopkins in 52-53." The School of Industrial Management at MIT is open only to graduates in science or engineering.

If it is considered that technological advances compel increasing employment of engineers, and that more than 80 percent of 1950 appointees were selected from within the corporation, the claim of a trend toward greater technical emphasis in executive responsibilities appears justified. This tendency was anticipated by Thorstein Veblen.

In spite of the decline in vogue of the kind of art collections, yachts and mansions boasted by the early founders of industry, the administrator enjoys rich assurances of security. His remuneration, in addition to the more than \$50,000 a year earned by 85 percent of the 1950 group, includes pension plans, bonuses, stock options, and expense accounts which have been described as a "way of life." The corporation frequently foots the bill for combined business and vacation trips (often in company planes), and will pay travel expenses for the executive's wife if her presence "is considered to be a definite business asset."

Although the job of a top executive is said to revolve around the pursuit of poise, tact and harmonious human relations, his handsome rewards are also paid out for less elusive services. Judge Elbert Gary of U.S. Steel, of whom the steelworkers used to say that he never saw a blast furnace until after he died, and who received an income of nearly \$1 million in 1924, has been criticized for turning down Henry Gray's invention of wide-flanged beams, later converted into substantial profits by Bethlehem. It appears, however, that Gary "may well have been worth what he was paid if his great achievement, as a N.Y.

Times editorial states, was to keep the U.S. Steel Corporation free from anti-trust prosecution." We are also informed that "many officers in corporations are lured from government because they had information or influence useful to the business hiring them."

ON the basis of her material, Prof. Newcomer makes a number of comments. While the "new school" of American history absolves the early empire builders from "robber baron" charges, the author concedes that their activities exhibited unattractive features. But these "money makers," and subsequent speculators and plungers, she asserts, belong irrevocably to the past. "Dispersal of stock ownership" is leading to the separation of ownership and control. The new business executives are professional administrators who control the apparatus of the corporation which employs them, but are divorced from its ownership. Subordinated to their positions, the new "trustees" and "public servants" lack the "drama" of earlier tycoons and invite anonymity. Although contrary instances could be mentioned, notably Robert C. Young's invasion of the N.Y. Central Railroad, "management control" is a growing trend in the American corporate system. This professionalization tends to modify the anti-social tendencies of Big Business and makes "trust busting" unnecessary. It promotes a new business ethic which "places the public good ahead of private gain." And the increasing role of engineers, who often have a background of manual labor and are more concerned with production than with distribution, contributes to a more democratic outlook on the part of top management. So argues Prof. Newcomer.

Some of these views are no longer confined to the seats of higher learning. Bolstered by a national prosperity which is not conducive to a critical examination of our economy, and shrewdly manipulated with advertising techniques, they are beginning to trickle down into popular novels, movies and TV plays.

PROF. NEWCOMER'S comments on the technician, rather sketchy in view of their importance, should be considered against the realities of our economy. Mere closeness to the productive process does not of itself promote a more democratic outlook, and may in fact obscure the underlying human relations. As a group, the engineers have not been conspicuous for their concern with the social ramifications of their activities. The notion, deriving from Veblen and the Technocrat movement, that the technicians can take the lead in reshaping society, has proved an illusion. Except for Norbert Wiener and an honorable handful of others, they have largely followed the motto "Don't think, enthuse."

The author is right in stating that corporate leadership tends toward bureaucracy, and in fact, it should be added, is highly bureaucratic. But she misses the point when she warns that professional management,

because it is bureaucratized and self-perpetuating, may fail to have a progressive influence on the corporation. The administrators could not exert such an influence even if they were free from bureaucratic taints; for they have no independent social power apart from the interests that dominate Big Business. The managers have not made a "revolution," and will continue to reflect corporate interests regardless of the degree of professionalization.

Prof. Newcomer's entire distinction between control and ownership—one of Prof. A. A. Berle's early hobby horses—is very misleading. Two-thirds of all stock are held by about one percent of all families, who between them own the corporations. The author's statistics show that the executives are drawn from this class. She states that only five percent of them own as much as one percent of their company's stock. In view of the wealth of big corporations, even a tenth of this one percent is a share in ownership which is hardly exceeded by anyone else's share in one of these corporations. The great majority of executives, in addition—like the group of portfolio-holders to which they belong—also own shares in other corporations. They are thus in every sense of the term owners of Big Business—and have a personal stake in it.

Even were we to assume that control and ownership are divorced, it does not follow that the executives are becoming servants of the "public good." As employees of the corporations they have to make profits for their employers, and corporate wealth is obtained at the expense of the worker and consumer. Any other course is incompatible with the very survival of the company which employs the executive.

The author believes that government may become increasingly important in confining corporations within a "reasonable" framework of operations. The history of federal attempts to curb monopoly, however, is one of marked failure. The extent to which the courts disregard the consumer in meting out ridiculously low fines and suspended sentences to "white collar" criminals—provided these notoriously protracted cases of litigation reach that stage—points up the futility of expecting real redress from that direction.

F. G.

UNESCO Conference Report

THE ARTIST IN MODERN SOCIETY.
UNESCO, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1954, \$1.00.

IN September 1952, UNESCO gathered 200 delegates from the artistic world, representing 44 countries, in the city of Venice. Members of the Soviet bloc did not participate. The conference produced a number of reports by prominent artists which make up this volume.

One of the more substantial contributions is a comprehensive survey of the contemporary drama by Marc Connelly. While the theater is subsidized in most countries,

in the U.S. it depends almost entirely on private financing. An exception is the Barter Theater of Virginia, which receives a state subsidy of \$10,000 per year. The bulk of dramatic activity in this country is carried on by amateur groups, and their number has been steadily growing. Detroit, for instance, presents more than 500 amateur productions a season.

There are more than 300 well-equipped theaters in the U.S., but the financial difficulties of most amateur groups make them even more reluctant to experiment than Broadway. During 1949-50, "of more than 879 productions brought out by 185 community theaters, only 45 were originals, while 709 were Broadway plays. . . . Where are, one wonders, the hopeful young playwrights who are condemned to silence because the crass commercialism of the Broadway theater does not give them a chance?"

Elsewhere, the picture is brighter. In Italy and Belgium, the government provides subsidies of \$383,000 and \$340,000 respectively. Turkey "is experiencing a veritable theatrical renaissance. New theaters spring up everywhere. The popular interest in the drama is phenomenal." In Greece, 15 companies presented 60 plays during the 1951-52 season. Warsaw, "with a population of 700,000 people, has 12 professional theaters and only nine film houses. It is the only large city in the world which has more legitimate playhouses than movies. . . ."

In his report on cinematography, Alessandro Blasetti, who directed "Four Steps in the Clouds," explains the success of Italy's film output by its "portrayal of the moral climate of the post-war era, in a country emerging from the senseless disasters of the immediate past and speculating anxiously on the future."

Arthur Honegger, the Swiss composer, is sharply critical of the mass-media production of music and the difficulties placed in the way of young musicians. He bewails the fact that "many school children and students do their mathematics homework with the wireless on. They get used to thinking of music as a 'background noise' to which they pay no more attention than they do to the color of the walls."

THE GENERAL report was delivered by Thornton Wilder, the American playwright. In attending the committee meetings, he found that the questions of greatest interest were censorship and the artists' relation to the government. The debates showed that "official action was both desired and dreaded. No sooner had such action been acknowledged as necessary, than those who had called for it began to wonder whether it might not do more harm than good. . . ."

Except for some informative material and a few well-taken points scattered through the reports, there is little of genuine interest in this volume. By and large, the conference failed to deal with the basic issues affecting the artist in modern society.

The reporters were mostly recognized and successful artists. This may help to account for the fact that so much emphasis was placed on matters of copyright and royalties.

Important as these questions are to the artist, one expects a good deal more from a semi-international and authoritative gathering of artistic luminaries devoted to the "universal sense of humanity." The conference was articulate and displayed many instances of "close spiritual relationship" between artists. But in an age which cries out for a fresh and creative approach on all levels of human endeavor, the conference, beneath the glittering remarks, exhibited ambiguity, superficial dissatisfactions, and a good deal of smugness.

F. G.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1955.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher and editor, Bert Cochran; Managing editor, Harry Braverman; Business manager, Elaine Roseland; all of 863 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) American Socialist Publications, Bert Cochran, Harry Braverman, all of 863 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and triweekly newspapers only).

/s/ Elaine Roseland
Business manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1955.

(Seal) /s/ Meyer B. Carp

Notary Public, State of New York, No. 03-0574200, qualified in Bronx County, certificate filed in New York, Kings Counties. My commission expires March 30, 1957.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Turn Back to DeLeon?

Your article "Socialism and Democracy" by Bert Cochran [July 1955]: What he aims to tell us was told in great detail and clarity by Daniel DeLeon, of whom Lenin said: "He is the only one who has added anything new to the body of Marxism since the death of Marx." Why don't you get hep to the writings of Daniel DeLeon, the great American Marxist?

A. S. C. Illinois

In answer to your fund appeal I am enclosing a contribution to help out with the finances of the *American Socialist*. Your magazine is the best and most interesting one out and I hope to see it continue and grow.

L. T. Seattle

Need and Opportunity

There is a need and a grand opportunity for a paper that will tell the people how deceptive our boasted "way of life" is. We are all trying to get ahead by making money off each other, but no one ever makes a profit dollar that some other one doesn't lose. We are all gambling for our living; a few win while the majority lose. . . .

This system has bankrupt millions of people who once had small holdings, kept other millions of toilers, producers of wealth, in a state of poverty or semi-poverty all their lives while piling up wealth for a favored few.

Enclosed find my subscription. . . .

O. B. Illinois

I would like to put in a good word for the *American Socialist*, which, in my opinion, deserves a lot of praise. In the year or more I have been receiving it, I have found many articles of interest which were presented in an intelligent factual and honest manner.

I save all my copies because they are too good to throw away. I would like to see more articles concerning the benefits of socialism and public ownership. These are benefits which the people could be receiving and sharing in their daily lives, except for, especially, the tremendous amount of mis-information fed the populace by the capitalistic news media.

K. L. St. Paul

Young Above the Ears

I am sending you a dollar or so; about all I have. I am past 82, had a stroke a few years ago and am not at all well. I have no capital and no income. However, send me the *American Socialist* long as you can. Fact is, we are both poor and up against it. I feel 900 years old below the ears, but try to keep young and up-to-date above the ears.

C. M. E. Indiana

. . . I am not and never will be a friend of the socialist movement. I am an AMERICAN. I like it here. . . . I have yet to learn of any socialist government giving its people the advantages we all take for granted in the U.S.A. . . .

The great majority of good people in this country can only hope that some day you may see the light and use your ability and energy constructively instead of destructively. Yours for less socialism and a bigger and better America.

O. H. A. Long Beach, Calif.

The articles and book reviews in the *American Socialist* are very good. However, the big problem is to get people to think and then reform our society to a cooperative instead of a competitive one. The basic job as I see it is a re-orientation of the individual, and that is a big job. To change his attitude from a selfish, grasping individual to a cooperative, helping and sharing personality is a job I believe one agency—the church—could do if we could just reform the church. . . .

P. H. A. Cincinnati

Why in heaven's name don't you fight for our constitutional money system? . . . Then you'll be doing a great and glorious deed as a matter of right.

G. S. Santa Barbara, Calif.

About Automation

I agree with the letter from your subscriber in last month's issue who wrote of the *American Socialist*: "Interesting all the way." Most of all Harry Braverman's study of automation [October 1955: "Automation, Promise and Menace"]; yet the concluding lines seemed to me somewhat utopian until further discussion.

K. K. Massachusetts

I'm happy to be able to send along this check from an old friend and fellow-socialist. His reaction was overwhelmingly enthusiastic, as he had not realized that such a publication even existed, or could exist, in the U.S. Say what you like about Washington's business government, it has certainly done a thorough job of advertising abroad that the U.S. population has no other interest than leading, and forcing others to lead, a down-the-line 100 percent capitalistic life. I sure wish you can get the *American Socialist* to many thousands of overseas subscribers, especially in Latin America and Asia. It would give them a bit of a boost. . . .

M. D. Rio de Janeiro

There are not enough periodicals like the *American Socialist* printed today, and I can say that it fills a long-felt need for the American people, who have been fed on the lies of the daily press.

I have been out of step, to some extent,

with world events, and I hope to get more of a true angle on what's going on from your magazine. And I hope the *American Socialist* can help shake "Henry Dubb" from his lethargy and make him see just what he is.

W. P. Olympia, Wash.

Distorted, but Merits Reading

The October *American Socialist* is the first I have read and I already find the typical, socialist, distorted interpretation of things. . . .

In the article "Floods and Free Enterprise" an attempt is made to expose "the inner spirit of capitalism." That milk rose to 45 cents is a shocking fact, but this does not condemn capitalism. It was not capitalism that raised the price of milk to 45 cents, but it is the rotten individuals that did so; and they can be found in every country, regardless of the economic system.

When Hurricane Hazel descended upon my city, badly flooding and devastating some parts, an all-night TV program raised enough money to pay for the damages. . . . That is the "inner spirit of capitalism," gentlemen.

Nevertheless, the *American Socialist* is a thought-provoking magazine which merits reading at least.

B. S. Toronto, Canada

The *American Socialist* is very good. How about more stories and articles of scientific interest, in relation to agriculture, etc. I think American socialists are interested in the meaning of Lysenko's theories and their application. Also, what is the meaning of the sharp drop in U.S. farmers' income over the past three years? Could it mean the beginning of a depression like it did in 1928-29? And try to have your articles written in more popular language so ordinary people can understand.

L. O. Detroit

In these days of conformity, there is a lot that could be said complimenting the *American Socialist*. But . . . I am unable to find the platform you stand for. I think this would be a big improvement on every issue of the magazine. . . . Are you for government of, for and by the people (the masses), or of and for the people by a plutocracy?

E. E. W. Camarillo, Calif.

Simplified Economics

A popular socialist publication

Free Sample Copy

Write to

Dr. J. W. Parker, editor and publisher,
Room 406, 418 East 9th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

**Attention
New York
Readers**

**EUGENE V.
DEBS**

CENTENNIAL MEETING

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 8 p.m.
FRATERNAL CLUBHOUSE
110 West 48th Street
Contribution: \$1

• **chairman:**

James Aronson
editor *National Guardian*

• **speakers:**

Leo Huberman
co-editor *Monthly Review*

Clifford T. McAvoy
ALP mayoralty candidate, 1953

Bert Cochran
editor *American Socialist*

I. F. Stone
editor *I. F. Stone's Weekly*

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
noted author and scholar

**INITIATING
COMMITTEE**

James Aronson
Bert Cochran
Leo Huberman
I. F. Stone

SPONSORS

Rev. William T. Baird
Charlotta A. Bass
Elmer Benson
Carl Braden
Harry Braverman

Angus Cameron
Prof. John Ciardi
Charles A. Collins
Prof. Arthur K. Davis
Ernest De Maio
Genora Dollinger
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson
Lawrence Emery
Prof. Henry P. Fairchild
Elinor Ferry
Albert Frampton
Royal Wilbur France
Waldo Frank

Laurent B. Frantz
Dr. Hans Freistadt
Dan Gillmor
John T. Gojack
Michael Gold
David Herreshoff
Rockwell Kent
Dr. Corliss Lamont
Robert Morss Lovett
Florence H. Luscomb
Conrad J. Lynn
Charles A. Madison
Ernest Mazey
Clifford T. McAvoy

Anne McCann
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
Dr. Clyde R. Miller
Prof. Philip Morrison
Capt. Hugh Mulzac
Dr. Otto Nathan
Scott Nearing
Harvey O'Connor
Jessie Lloyd O'Connor
Sidney L. Ordower
John M. Pickering
Rev. Carl Polson
Richard Sasuly
George H. Shoaf

Barrie Stavis
Anna Louise Strong
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Dr. Paul M. Sweezy
Pauline Taylor
Judge Edward P. Totten
Harry F. Ward
Rev. Hugh Weston
Dr. Forrest Oran Wiggins
Frank Wilkinson
Henry Willcox
Rev. Claude C. Williams
Prof. H. H. Wilson
George Woodard

Chicago Readers: Two Important Meetings

"THE BRADEN CASE"

Speaker **CARL BRADEN**
Chairman **HARVEY O'CONNOR**

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 8:15 P.M.

CURTIS HALL
410 S. Michigan, 10th Floor

Ausp: **EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE**

ADMISSION—\$1.00

"THE EMPIRE OF OIL"

Speaker **HARVEY O'CONNOR**

Copies of Mr. O'Connor's new book
will be available

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 8:00 P.M.

MIDLAND HOTEL
172 W. Adams

Ausp: **AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM**

CONTRIBUTION—75c