The American Socialist

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Non-Communist Left

Your January issue was up to its usual good standard—notably Bert Cochran's Detroit speech ["Foundations of a New American Radicalism" January 1957] and the editors' reply to Dr. Du Bois—though I think you were too easy on him.

In both pieces, however, there is one idea expressed which I feel should not be passed over without discussion: the notion that (in your words) "the Communist Party, which dominated radical ranks for the past two and a half decades . . . dragged itself and the rest of the movement down with it."

Taken together with similar statements elsewhere, this seems to me to reflect a theory which is fairly current among some socialist groups: that the CP (along with prosperity and Senator McCarthy) is somehow responsible, not only for its own failure but for the failure of every other radical group.

This theory seems to me at variance with the facts. In 1930 the CP was one sect among many. After fifteen years it had become a movement playing a significant role in American life and, as you say, dominating the radical movement. The other sects remained impotent and isolated—in the case of the Socialist Party far more so than in 1930.

Was it because these groups were "dragged down" by the CP? Hardly, for the CP was rising, not falling. Doubtless the considerable disillusionment with Stalin played a part in lessening interest in socialism—yet was it not during this same period that the French Socialist Party and the British Labor Party gained greatly in strength? It seems to me, rather, that the anti-Stalinist groups did much to isolate and emasculate themselves. . . .

Time has borne out many of the anti-Stalinist criticisms of the CP, but it has not, as I see it, invalidated *all* the CP criticisms of the anti-Stalinists. Certainly there must have been something basically wrong with a movement in which so many worked so hard to accomplish so little. . . .

The splinter groups could and should have made an effort to supply an alternative to the CP. At any time in the past twenty years they could have begun to build a militant, non-dogmatic, American socialist movement. Instead, they preferred to constitute the CP's disloyal opposition, trying to give it lessons (which it didn't need) in dogmatism, heresy-hunting, and True Believermanship.

There are no political virgins on the left (or anywhere else for that matter). All of us, Stalinist, Trotskyist, or what have you, have made mistakes—and bad mistakes. And while it is always pleasanter to examine the other fellow's mistakes, it is usually more profitable to examine one's own. If the history of the past twenty years has proved anything, it is that the most fallible guy is the one who claims to be infallible. . . .

Robert Claiborne *New York City*

In your March 1957 issue Mr. Joseph Starobin expresses his displeasure at my description of Isaac Deutscher as "appalling" in a recent issue of *Dissent*. Mr. Starobin makes it appear that I applied this harsh term because I disagree with Deutscher about such abstruse matters as "irreversible processes" and "industrialization" in Russia. This is untrue; and before Mr. Starobin took upon himself the role of pious critic in regard to the tone employed by socialists in polemic, he should have given your readers an account of the *context* in which I spoke of Deutscher as "appalling."

The context was a discussion of Deutscher's views of the Hungarian Revolution, and the relevant sentence read: "Only the appalling Isaac Deutscher, while not supporting the Russian intervention, has dared to say, without a shred of evidence, that Cardinal Mindszenty became the 'spiritual head of the insurrection.'" This brings us to something far more concrete than human and theoretical views on Russia: it brings us to the response that socialists should make toward the brave uprising of the Hungarian people against Russian totalitarian imperialists. By his statements on the Hungarian events, Mr. Deutscher showed himself as notably deficient in that socialist solidarity—I would think it ordinary human solidarity—which one has a right to demand from every radical in regard to the Hungarian revolution. Anyone claiming the title "socialist" who failed to place himself with the Hungarian people in their fight for freedom was—I am ready to repeat—appalling.

I find it piquant to be chastized by Mr. Starobin. A man like himself, who spent several years as a *Daily Worker* editor defending the crimes of Stalinism, might do better if he directed his urge to moralize toward introspection rather than toward rebuke.

Irving Howe *Belmont, Mass.*

Early in April, Sierra Press will issue "The Rosenbergs: Poems of the United States," containing verse by George Abbe, Michael Gold, Alfred Kreymborg, Walter Lowenfels, Eve Merriam, Yuri Suhl and others, and a prose sketch, "My Husband, Morty" by Helen Sobell. The limited edition, in cloth only, sells for $3, and may be ordered from Sierra Press, P.O. Box 96, Long Island City 4, New York.

M. M. *New York*

Hungarian Refugees

The plight of the Hungarian refugees moves me to tears. But the accompanying publicity, with its flag-waving righteousness, moves me to nausea.

Are there not millions of our fellow countrymen in greater need? The unemployed, the aged, the handicapped and emotionally unsound, who fail to find in this rich country adequate opportunities, care, help, training, or treatment, certainly cannot see this land of plenty as a land of fulfillment and security for all.

How long will arbitrary quotas unrelated to present social needs and conscience-salving hoopla charities take the place of thorough and genuine social planning? As long as there's an easy buck in exploitation and profiteering.

R. K. *Milwaukee*

In the midst of all the current political hysteria, the *American Socialist* stands out as a pilot light to show us the way to go. I value it very highly.

E. H. H. *Toronto, Canada*

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The editors have addressed an important message to all readers on our back cover this issue. Be sure to read it carefully and to act on it.

Billion Dollar Diplomacy

THE role played by our big international oil companies in the Middle East crisis is beginning to be uncovered by a number of courageous investigators, and it is proving almost unbelievable. Were the Democratic Party led by genuine oppositionists to Republican big-business rule instead of co-conspirators, the country would be on its ear. Were the American press actually "free" as it pretends to be instead of a self-censored business enterprise holding to a rigid party line, the blaring headlines of March would not have been about the labor-rackets probe but rather about one of the most sensational stories of the cold war: how a powerful grouping of private business interests helped shape the foreign policy of the biggest government in the world, and at the same time collected a staggering fee in the form of price increases. Instead, a handful of Democratic legislators—O'Mahoney, Kefauver, Neely and a few others—without real support from their party or from its big liberal contingent in Congress, are battling a conspiracy of silence and two-party collusion to get a bit of the story told.

It goes back to last August 13, shortly after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. On that date, a secret meeting of top government officials and major oil company representatives met to shape policy. This meeting has become known thanks to subpenaed documents now in the hands of Senator O'Mahoney's investigating committee, in particular a memo written by A. C. Ingraham of Socony-Vacuum Oil, which outlines the discussions. Attending the meeting were each of the giant international oil firms, as well as the topmost government officials responsible for both foreign policy and oil policy, including Secretary of State Dulles and his then-Assistant Herbert Hoover Jr., Director of Defense Mobilization Arthur S. Flemming, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Felix Wormser, and a number of others.

DULLES discussed at this meeting the prospects of the oil industry in the Middle East in the light of the Nasser action nationalizing Suez. He explained that under international law, any country has the right to nationalize any of its own resources or industries, even if owned by foreigners, but then did a corporate-shyster job of working out reasons why that bit of international law didn't apply to the oil interests. Furthermore, he "indicated," in Ingraham's words, "nationalization of this kind of an asset [oil] . . . should call for international intervention." In other words, in collaboration with the oil interests, the meeting arrived at the policy of preparing intervention in the Middle East to save the fabulous profits of the oil companies, should that become necessary. The development of the Eisenhower Doctrine in the subsequent months was merely the process of finding a formula to justify a policy of intervention which had already been decided upon by our Departments of Oil and State. Our administration had other strategic objectives in putting forth the new policy, but these facts show how heavily the oil interests weighed in the balance.

A GOOD LAUGH ON WHOM?: M. J. Rathbone, president of Standard Oil of N. J., enjoys the preliminaries to a House committee investigation hearing. Called to answer questions about his firm's role in recent big oil price hike, Rathbone appeared to have little fear of government action.

"The gigantic oil companies," Senator O'Mahoney felt justified in telling the Senate after he had studied the subpenaed documents, "exercising the power of political and economic states in the Middle East, have had a hand in framing our foreign policy" in that area. At the meeting, Dulles in effect assured the oil firms, O'Mahoney said, that "our major policy in the Middle East will be to protect your concessions." "This underlying conflict between private interests and the public interest," he went on, "is dragging us into the danger of a third World War."

Senator Kefauver too, in a speech early in March described what he called the "underlying purposes" of the Eisenhower Doctrine: "The first is to warn the Arab countries not to nationalize oil concessions held by American oil companies; the second is to permit immediate intervention in the event such nationalization does take place, without any delay being imposed by Congressional opposition or debate." A possible consequence, he charged, would be "the precipitation of a third World War in order to protect the oil companies. . . ." Rep. Henry Reuss (Dem., Wis.) added his opinion: "This is crude dollar diplomacy in aid of the real party in interest—the American oil companies which control Arabian oil."

BUT this was not the only policy framed at the meeting. It was apparent last August that the Suez Canal might be closed or boycotted soon, and the meeting also set itself to tackle this contingency. Since a rapid shake-up in the oil traffic of the world was at hand, the oil corporations wanted to make sure they had the situation firmly under rein. As a result a most amazing decision was reached. In order to handle the delicate international problems of inter-Allied oil policy, some of the most pressing aspects of U.S. foreign affairs were put in the hands of a

new Middle East Emergency Committee. The imposing title of this semi-official agency concealed the fact that the new committee was composed of representatives of the 15 major U.S. oil companies conducting operations abroad. Fifteen companies, perhaps the largest in the world, with combined assets excluding duplications of over $20 billion, forming a major part of an international oil cartel with a complex web of satellite interests and interlocking ownerships, became in effect our temporary Department of State for purposes of guiding us through the war-crisis in the Middle East!

Moreover, to gain a completely free hand, the oil firms broached at the August 13 meeting the question of prosecution for monopolistic practices under the anti-trust laws, and got an assurance from the lips of Victor Hansen, anti-trust chief of the Department of Justice, who, by a stroke of fortune, also happened to be present at the meeting, that they would not be bothered. Later on, the MEEC went through the farcical public by-play of "requesting" anti-trust exemption and was granted openly what had already been secretly decided in August.

The public has been permitted to believe that the Suez crisis caused an oil "shortage" which the oil companies have been working manfully to fill so that Western Europe doesn't go under. Actually, the MEEC has had little problem so far as the availability of oil is concerned. Western Europe was shorted to the extent of about 500,000 to 750,000 bbl. of oil a day (That was the early estimate of what Europe would need from the U.S.); but U.S. production has been so severely limited by cartel arrangements that four states could raise their output by 1,537,000 bbl. a day almost overnight.

THE real problems of the American oil cartel over Suez were quite different. The first was this: For some three decades, the major oil companies and the domestic independents who get their oil out of American wells have been battling over the importing of foreign-produced oil into this country. The major oil companies, with big interests abroad, want to increase the flow of foreign oil into this country, as their profits from this oil with its far lower production costs are much higher. The Southwestern independents want to limit imports and increase their share of the market. The battle has been conducted under cover of phrases about "defense policies," which each side claims to be furthering, but what is really at stake is a gigantic profit tussle. And the majors, naturally, have been winning. In 1946, only 5 bbl. of oil were imported for every 95 bbl. produced in this country, but by 1956 20 bbl. were imported for every 80 bbl. of domestic oil. In May 1955, the Senate passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act after the administration gave solemn assurances that the President would restrict oil imports to their 1954 level. Instead, the major oil companies increased their imports, and Eisenhower took no action.

With the Middle East crisis and the necessity for stepping up domestic production, the scheme might have been thrown out of balance. The MEEC, therefore, tried to so order its affairs that the balance between domestic production and importation was, as much as possible, maintained. For instance, despite shipping schedules which would divert Venezuelan oil directly to Europe instead of here—which might seem like the sensible and economical thing to do—the MEEC actually increased the imports of Venezuelan oil into this country by about 50,000 bbl. a day, and processed much of it in refineries before sending it on at greatly increased prices to Europe.

Then of course, the big problem of MEEC was to get itself a big price increase under cover of a supposed oil shortage as a result of the closing of Suez. To do this, the petroleum industry had the double job of keeping the appearance of a crisis-shortage in the face of huge supplies of oil, and at the same time keeping production down so that oil would not overflow the market and smash through the cartel-maintained price structure. At the beginning of January, all the major oil companies announced almost simultaneously a 35-cent per barrel increase in prices which raised the cost of gasoline and fuel oil by one cent a gallon, and increased the oil industry's take by an estimated billion dollars a year. This increase came at a time when the industry had on hand a surplus of 187 million bbl. of gasoline, 18 million more than a year ago and double the industry's normal 30-day supply, and 133 million bbl. of heating oil, up nearly 26 million over a year ago!

But, because of the huge stocks, the increase didn't take well. *Business Week* noted: "Meanwhile, a lot of people aren't sure this week's move toward higher crude oil prices will take hold. . . . Many would like to see production held back a bit and stocks of crude and its products reduced. Then they'd be sure on prices." At the beginning of February, a number of price-cutting wars actually flared in New England, Pennsylvania, and Texas. The industry proceeded to its next step.

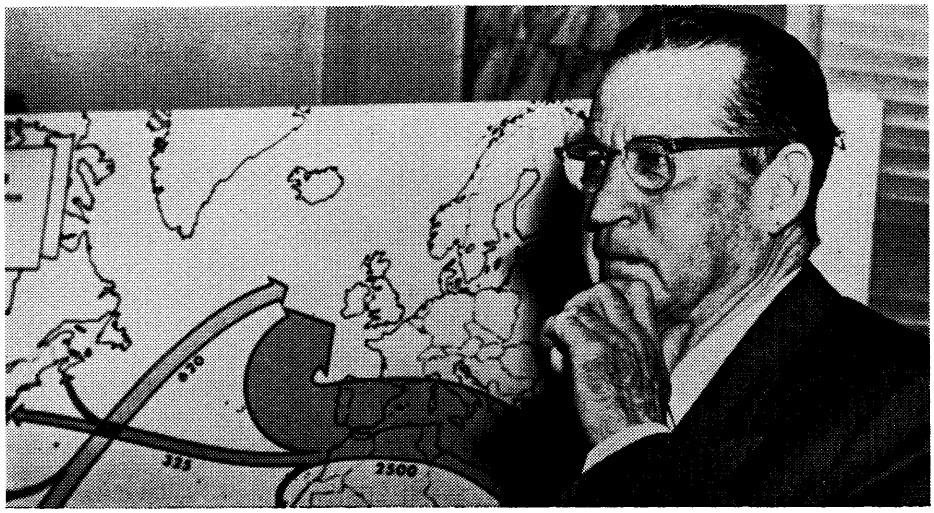
IN mid-February, six of the biggest companies, Standard of New Jersey, Standard of Ohio, Texaco, Socony-Mobiloil, Shell, and Sinclair, announced that they were cutting back their refinery runs, in order to bolster the price boosts of gasoline and fuel oil. Using the well-prepared excuse that this would make more oil available for shipment to Europe, they did what would normally be in violation of the anti-trust laws, not only with perfect immunity, but virtually as an official government action. In the MEEC, they were able to discuss all such matters as prices and production jointly, with government officials sitting in, and then even get their discussion minutes classified as "secret" by the administration—a flagrant affront which must have given the oil barons many a good laugh. Every part of this program, including even the price increases, was discussed at the MEEC, a fact which government officials who had been present were forced to admit under investigation. Not only that, but in spite of Eisenhower's State of the Union message appealing to labor and businessmen to avoid price increases, various government officials have defended the industry's price hike, although none could cite facts to show its necessity. The government thus went into open partnership with the oil cartel in direct furtherance of its private interests.

Finally, after the price increase had firmed a bit, after refinery runs had been cut down "to make more crude available for Western Europe," after the whole setup had been put across, the news began to be fed out that Europe wasn't really having an oil crisis at all; that oil deficiencies had

been greatly overestimated, and that pressure for increasing production ought to be relaxed as there is no real need for it.

The oil industry has been making somewhere in the neighborhood of a million dollars a day extra from its shipments of oil to Europe. It has increased its domestic take by a billion dollars a year through a price hike. It has kept a firm restrictive hand on domestic production and maintained the level of oil imports. It has caused the government to set up a board to accomplish all these things and has gotten the anti-trust laws illegally suspended for the purpose. It has helped put across a foreign policy doctrine under which its foreign holdings will be safeguarded from nationalization or interference on the part of the populations of those countries under cover of "fighting Communism," even if it takes millions of American lives to do it. The British and French competitive oil interests have been deprived of a little more of their political influence in the area, and American companies given a larger say in the Middle East. And all of this has been accomplished under the banner of patriotic cooperation with the government in the interests of national defense. When it is considered that only a few months ago the oil industry was in trouble about holding its then existing price level because of embarrassing surpluses, their success is no small one.

HAS there been a resounding national scandal as a result of all this? Not at all. Despite the good work being done by O'Mahoney, Kefauver, and a few others in Congress, most of the country is completely ignorant of what has been happening. The Eisenhower Doctrine was overwhelmingly approved by our august national parliament, with the bulk of the Democratic Party liberals going along, following Lyndon Johnson like well-trained sheep after a Judas goat. Congressional committees are looking into the matter, but a well-broken press knows better than to give the findings the kind of publicity they obviously merit. A grand jury is investigating, but everyone knows what oil-industry litigation on anti-trust charges is like—the corporation lawyers may make a few hundred thousand dollars extra for a number of years,



MAPPING THE NEW PROFIT PICTURE: Stuart P. Coleman, vice-president of Standard Oil of N. J., testified before Senate anti-monopoly subcommittee that seasonal decline in oil demand would soon make more oil available for Europe. Oil industry is anxious to ward off pressures for increased output, so that price rises can be maintained. Coleman is also chairman of the Middle East Emergency Committee, government advisory body made up of oil moguls which has been regulating oil matters during Suez crisis.

and that's about all. "Despite the noise," *Business Week* noted smugly on January 26, "there's little chance of any legislation coming out of these investigations. The usual pattern following any substantial crude price hike is a Congressional investigation from it."

We have moved a long way towards totalitarian rigidity in our national thinking about some of the big issues of our time, and the reason is not far to seek. Almost any move can today be justified and sold to the major-party structures if it can be tied in with "fighting Communism." The Democratic Johnson-Rayburn leadership may not have the perfect harmony with the top business interests that our Grand Oil Party has, but it is more jealous than angry on that account and is no real opposition. The Northern liberal wing and laborites in the Democratic Party are fearfully buffaloed by any foreign policy issue, with the result that many who would least desire to do so have been helping to tighten the big business hold on the country. Instead of girding up their loins for a scrap, they sit about wailing that "there are no issues any more."

The truth is that there are innumerable issues on which a fight should be made. The issues of the McKinley-Harding-Hoover days are back bigger than ever, involving now not just a few gunboats or a Teapot Dome, but the ultimate survival of civilization. Dollar diplomacy has become billion-dollar diplomacy. But the potential opposition is still paralyzed by the poisons of the cold war, and unable to think what it is doing. Were the labor-liberal movement to mount the kind of offensive required in support of the few lone Democrats who are doing praiseworthy work in exposing the oil cartel, it could create a new national relationship of forces, reverse the drift towards a big-business totalitarianism, mobilize great popular support, and even open the way for a new international situation. Instead, labor is on the defensive, fighting off headline attacks about petty racketeers.

The amount of opposition to the Eisenhower doctrine which did exist shows that the popular instinct has not been entirely asleep. Senatorial mail was running eight to one against it, and there was clearly a lot more active sentiment at work than in previous crises such as Formosa. A great opportunity to rally the American people on a new course was missed. But other opportunities will arise, and it is hard to believe that there will not come a time when a groundswell of opposition will break the rotten Republican-Democratic collusion and hypnotism. The best way to help that along is to spread the story of what the corporate giants have been doing to the country as far and wide as possible, until millions of Americans become aware of the true facts and their true interests.

The organization man: Technician and administrator of our industrial system, he is setting new styles in conformity and dependence upon the corporate world.

Our Corporate Middle Class

by Harry Braverman

The corporation man is the most conspicuous example, but he is only one, for the collectivization so visible in the corporation has affected almost every field of work. Blood brother to the business trainee off to join Du Pont is the seminary student who will end up in the church hierarchy, the doctor headed for the corporate clinic, the physics Ph. D. in a government laboratory, the intellectual on the foundation-sponsored team project, the engineering graduate in the huge drafting room at Lockheed, the young apprentice in a Wall Street law factory.

They are all, as they so often put it, in the same boat. Listen to them talk to each other over the front lawns of their suburbia and you cannot help but be struck by how well they grasp the common denominators which bind them. Whatever the differences in their organization ties, it is the common problems of collective work that dominate their attentions. . . . The word collective *most of them can't bring themselves to use—except to describe foreign countries or organizations they don't work for. . . .*

—THE ORGANIZATION MAN by William H. Whyte, Jr. Simon and Shuster, New York, 1956, $5.

THE National Association of Manufacturers, it seems, can no longer keep the socializing tendency of U.S. industry secret. When a single American company produces more motor vehicles than all the countries of the world outside the U.S. taken together, when a single American steel corporation turns out as much steel as three leading steel-producing nations of Western Europe in their aggregate, when top companies in many other U.S. industries duplicate or approach these feats, it means we have huge industrial and commercial armies mobilized under centralized command. Within single companies, planning has been achieved on a scale that dwarfs the economies of entire nations in Europe. The word "collective" pretty aptly describes the form of labor, if not the ownership, in much of U.S. industry.

It is a commonplace that most of our national population has been transformed into the rank and file of these industrial and commercial armies, in the form of wage workers and clerical-sales help. What is now beginning to hit some observers pretty hard is that the middle strata of society as well have been getting a remolding on the corporate plan. And while they could discuss the collectivization and routinization of working class life without losing their equanimity, their voices get a bit shrill as they view the same trend among our growing strata of technical and managerial personnel.

The rationalization of industrial-commercial methods has transformed the factories. The skills of the craftsmen have been increasingly wrung out of the factory floor and transferred to the company offices, where specialized planning and control personnel are assigned to making the production routine as mechanical and speedy as possible. The result has been a growing corps of engineers, designers, draftsmen, accountants, auditors, external- and internal-relations men, sales managers, purchasing agents, managers and petty assistant managers, technical and advertising writers, investigators, checkers, estimators, catalogers, expediters, researchers, statisticians, traffic managers, safety supervisors, and all sorts of "junior executives" with duties, as Mr. Whyte indicates in his study of the "organization man," that are often far more menial than their titles. Functions which in the past were combined in the same person have been specialized and subdivided to employ hundreds within a single firm; new functions have been created and have grown into entire departments. Special skills have been "scientized" and sub-divided so that they may be harmoniously performed by large cooperative groups of office employees from whom the powers of initiative and decision have been largely divested.

WHILE all the independent and semi-independent elements of the American economy—farmers, small businessmen, the self-employed and small employers in every field—have been shrinking in proportion and social weight, the relative numbers of managerial and technical junior officers in the industrial and business armies have been on the rise. The growth of our classification of professional, technical, and kindred workers from 4-5 percent of the labor force a half-century ago to 9-10 percent today represents the rise of this grouping. In terms of size, the new middle class is not and can never be any more than a meager replacement for the old, which not too many generations ago numbered a big majority of Americans. None of the economic independence of the old middle class is apparent in the new, which, like the working class, is made up of interchangeable parts in the productive machinery, hired and fired by need or whim.

Mr. Whyte has made extensive studies, in part previously published in *Fortune,* of a number of middle-class suburbs such as Park Forest near Chicago and the Levittowns near Philadelphia and New York. In a final nine-chapter section of his book called "The New Surburbia: Organization Man at Home," he zeros in on his subject with greater concreteness than much of the rest of the book exhibits. While his object is to portray the specific features of the new middle class, what will be clear to many as they read his description is the great similarity between the economies and social leverages of the college-trained white collar specialists and the better-paid industrial worker. The suburbs Mr. Whyte describes are not too different, granting a couple of cuts above working-class level in income, from the new industrial suburbs grouped around our factory towns and housing the better-off factory worker.

The organization man, Mr. Whyte finds in his study of Park Forest which he calls "virtually a controlled sample of organization people," disposes of a $6,000 to $7,000 income. Banks in organization-suburbia report an average family deposit of $300. The median equity in all forms of saving, including bank deposits, is about $700 to $800; but the median amount of loan money outstanding, chiefly in the form of installment credit, is $1,000. In an emergency, the average couple could raise no more than $1,500—providing there were no large outstanding debts, which, Mr. Whyte assures us, would be most unusual.

The living standard demands of organization man, also a cut or two above the well paid worker, in clothing, furnishings, club memberships, etc., are maintained in the same way as the workers'—by a costly installment plan of living. "All they really want to know, loan officers say, is the size of the monthly payment." Their incomes are largely pre-empted and "budgetized" by mortgage packages, tax withholding, car and appliance payments, etc., with the result that, like the worker, they live from pay check to pay check.

"They have little sense of capital," Mr. Whyte tells us. "For a future capitalist, the organization man displays a remarkable inability to manipulate capital." Future capitalist or not, what emerges most clearly from Mr. Whyte's detailed description is that in the present the mass of organization men live the lives of hirelings, completely divorced from capital or its functions; there is no more important point than this in understanding the new middle class and its differences from the old.

BUT it is not the economics of the new middle class that has aroused Mr. Whyte's concern; rather its psychology and ideology. We have lost, he says, the old Protestant ethic of thrift, initiative, hard work, independence, individualism, competitive zeal, and the many other features which the farmer, the small-scale entrepreneur, the independent professional used to typify. In its place has come a *social ethic,* which concentrates on group work, dependence, conformity, mediocrity, and in general fitting in to the collective work process with the greatest possible blandness and the fewest rough edges. Much of the change is traced back by Mr. Whyte directly to the organization men. "They are the dominant members of our society," he says; "it is their values which will set the American temper." And, as we look around at the country today it is impossible to avoid a certain amount of agreement with Mr. Whyte. The workers, while they remain ebulliently non-conformist in a dozen different facets of their thinking, cannot manage to put any fresh ideological stamp on the country so long as they are so weak in terms of distinctive ideology. Dissenters and non-conformists have been steadily crowded to the wall or even swept from the scene entirely. The new mass intellectualdom without intellectual capacities or even pretensions is, as Mr. Whyte shows, profoundly social and collective in its mode of thinking; it is also profoundly conformist under present conditions.

The hallmark of the organization man Mr. Whyte establishes most starkly in a chapter called "Love that System," in which he discusses at length the dilemma posed in the popular novel "The Caine Mutiny," which he calls "something of a landmark in the shift of American values." Author Herman Wouk sets forth in this novel: a) that the captain of his fictional World War II minesweeper is a neurotic and hysterical incompetent; b) that a storm which has hit the fleet will certainly destroy the *Caine* unless it takes proper maneuverist action; c) that the captain, true to carefully described form, is doing the wrong thing and will not, in his jabbering fear, set things right under any prodding from his subordinates; and therefore d) the only way to save the ship and the several hundred men on it is for the ship's executive officer to relieve the captain for medical reasons under Article 184 of Navy Regulations. This the young officer does, with the support of his fellow officers, and the ship is saved.

But Wouk, in a peculiar finale which testifies to his journalistic nose for the trend of official thought if not to his artistic competence and integrity, deluges the ship's officers with condemnation, and informs the world that the skipper should have been served to the bitter end—to the bottom of the sea, if need be. "Here certainly," Mr. Whyte comments, "is an astounding denial of individual responsibility. The system is presented as having such a mystique that apparent evil becomes good. What would have happened if Maryk hadn't relieved Queeg? We are asked to accept the implied moral that it would have been better to let the ship and several hundred men perish

rather than question authority. . . . An extraordinary point of view, but did Americans gag on it? In the critical reception of the book most people got the point—and agreed with it. . . . 'The Caine Mutiny' rationalized the impulse to belong and to accept what is as what should be. If we can be shown there is virtue in following a Queeg, how much more reason to welcome the less onerous sanctions of ordinary authority! The 'smart' people who question things, who upset people—they are the wrong ones."

It is worth noting in passing that in Germany, where there is still a debate over whether it was right to have obeyed Hitler in his every command, "The Caine Mutiny" has been a resounding success too, and is widely cited by the neo-Nazis as solid and democratic American evidence that it was best not to have questioned Hitler's authority.

TO drive his point home, Mr. Whyte tells the results of an essay contest he conducted among students on the moral issue posed by the novel. "With one exception," he writes of the 16 students who entered the contest, "they favored the system" above individual judgment and independence. From his sampling, we cite some of the students' remarks:

In everything we do there are certain rules and regulations we have to abide by, and, like Willie Keith, the only way we will learn is through experience. We have to abide by the rules of our particular society to gain any end whatsoever.

This is another example of why a subordinate should not have the power to question authority.

Morally, however, the very act that Maryk committed is against the law.

Men have always been subjected to the whims of those in command; and so it will be in the future. This plan must exist or anarchy will be the result.

Mr. Whyte's essay contest was conducted at "a small preparatory school." We are not compelled to believe that if it had been held among students of the rank and file he would have gotten the same result; to put this thought another way, it is unlikely that the enlisted men on the *Caine* would have had the same trouble as the officers over the "moral issue" involved in relieving Captain Queeg to save their own lives had they been consulted. But Mr. Whyte is certainly justified in his point as regards his organization men; their current trend is to give up all rights of individual judgment and the prerogatives of the self-conscious human mind in abdication before power-wielding and salary-paying authority.

Another key to the mind of the organization man as it is fostered by our corporate structure Mr. Whyte finds in his chapters on so-called "personality tests"—tests not of merit or potential merit, but of "potential loyalty." Here his ire is so much aroused that he advises the organization man to rebel: "But there is a line. How much more must a man testify against himself? The Bill of Rights should not stop at the organization's edge. In return for the salary that The Organization gives the individual, it can ask for superlative work from him, but it should not ask for his psyche as well. If it does, he must withhold. Sensibly—the bureaucratic way is too much with most of us that he can flatly refuse to take tests without hurt to himself. But he can cheat. He must. Let him respect himself."

If we can put down our amusement at this daring flag of rebellion "without hurt to himself," and leaving aside its disingenuousness (people who go through life pretending to be dull mediocrities usually aren't pretending), Mr. Whyte's advice to would-be cheaters is a flawless descriptive gem. He adds a full appendix to the book called "How to Cheat on Personality Tests," and the core of his advice is contained in his following two rules:

(1) *When asked for word associations or comments about the world, give the most conventional, run-of-the-mill, pedestrian answer possible.*

(2) *To settle on the most beneficial answer to any question, repeat to yourself:*

a) *I loved my father and my mother, but my father a little bit more.*

b) *I like things pretty well the way they are.*

c) *I never worry much about anything.*

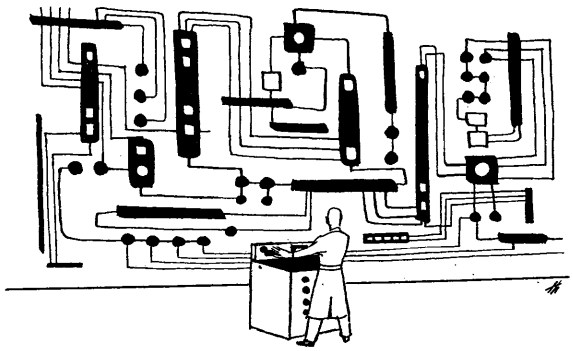
d) *I don't care for books or music much.*

e) *I love my wife and children.*

f) *I don't let them get in the way of company work.*

Mr. Whyte's advice is directed to the more exceptional mind, so that it may camouflage itself before superiors and exhibit "unsuspected depths of normalcy." What disturbs him most is that so many organization men pass their dullness tests with flying colors without cheating. The colleges are becoming trade-school corporation adjuncts. "Come graduation, they do not go outside to a hostile world; they transfer." With hundreds of corporations setting up interview booths on campuses each Commencement, many students have their choice, under present hiring conditions, of corporate training programs, engineering jobs, etc. Aspirations to independence, scientific and artistic impulses, are getting muted; surveys show 80 percent of college students with a positive desire to go to work for a corporation —on its own moral terms.

CONFORMISM? College exhortations to "keep their noses clean" are "outrageously unnecessary." "The last thing students can be accused of now," Whyte finds, "is dangerous discussion; they are not interested in the kind of big questions that stimulate heresy and whatever the subject—the corporation, government, religion—students grow restive if the talk tarries on the philosophical. Most are interested in the philosophical only to the extent of finding out what the accepted view is in order that they may accept it and get on to the practical matters." The territory of the scientist, long considered the inner sanctum of the "introvert," the dissenter, even the screwball, has been pre-empted by the well-rounded nonentity, to the point where corporation laboratories are carrying on what Mr. Whyte calls in one of his chapter headings "The Fight Against Genius." The emphasis is on the mediocrity who plods the "team" road of gadgeteering research



and lacks the imagination to dislike it. Lest we believe that genius, if it accidentally did come along, would be welcomed anyhow, Mr. Whyte tells this story about the attitude of trainees in the General Electric laboratory (reputedly a place that gives unusual lattitude to brilliance among today's corporate research institutions):

> *It is possible that a genius, supposing he wanted to join the company in the first place, could so feign the role of the well-adjusted extrovert as to hoodwink a trainee into giving him a job. But he'd have to be skillful about it. A group of GE trainees were asked what they would do if a brilliant person like Steinmetz were to apply to them for a job.* [The reference is to Charles P. Steinmetz, one of the outstanding electrical geniuses of America, from whose discoveries GE, where he was employed in his lifetime, is still profiting. To add flavor to the story, Steinmetz was also a prominent socialist, although it is unlikely that any of the trainees knew it.—H. B.] *After some thought, a few trainees said they thought maybe he could work out; because of the fraternity-like life of the training program, they "could iron out his rough spots." Others disagreed; the man would be too hopelessly anti-social to remould. "I don't think we would put up with a fellow like that now," one said. . . .*
>
> *From company to company, trainees express the same impatience. All the great ideas, they explain, have already been discovered and not only in physics and chemistry but in practical fields like engineering. The basic creative work is done, so the man you need—for every kind of job—is a practical, team-player fellow who will do a good shirt-sleeves job. "I would sacrifice brilliance," one trainee said, "for human understanding every time."*
>
> *And they do, too.*

The corporations—with cheerful help from educational and research institutions molded in the corporate image—are creating the very sea of mediocrity one would expect as a result of all this. One of Mr. Whyte's colleagues who surveyed the scientific field to get a list of the most brilliant and promising men under forty, found when he got through that of his 225 nominees, only four were employed in industry. Of the foundation, Mr. Whyte quotes a university department head who says: "We have a social force that selectively encourages and rewards the scientific hack. There is a great hustle and bustle, a rushing back and forth to scientific conferences, a great plethora of $50,000 grants for $100 ideas. I am suggesting that scientific, technical, and financial facilities are such in this country as to encourage a great number of mediocrities to go into science, and to seduce even those with creative talent and imagination to a mistaken view of the scientific enterprise."

MR. Whyte, who is Assistant Managing Editor of *Fortune,* is not pitching a humanistic point of view. Hardly more than a few paragraphs hint at the idea that the end product of the process will be a human being without the capacity to enjoy life to the full, or to serve as the fundament of a good society. His entire approach is guided by the oft-repeated thought that the corporations are defeating their own purposes, and building an apparatus which cannot serve their needs, as it is leading to a decline in genuine capacities for leadership, organization, innovation, and the like. The system is even confusing top executives, who ought to know better, Mr. Whyte complains, and he quotes approvingly the following definition of the true executive quality: "For the sake of his career the executive must appear to believe in the values of his company, while at the same time he must be able to ignore them when it serves his purpose. What is good for the company is good for the executive—with exceptions. *Perceiving these exceptions is the true executive quality.*" To put the matter more bluntly, a system designed to play upon the confidence of the juniors who have "taken the vows of organization life" can get so overdone as to weaken the realism of the topmost executives who ought to operate in terms of the old competitive ethic, both personally and as heads of their organization, even while they instill self-less "team play" among the help. Mr. Whyte sees signs of confusion even in this area, although on the whole he finds among company heads " a pretty tough-minded grasp of reality."

In many ways, Mr. Whyte's picture of the faults of executive life is a prettied-up one, particularly where he touches on the higher realms. His portrayal of the sheep-like mediocrity of the organization man is savage enough, despite his polite language, but conformism to the precepts of the corporation is far from the whole story, as he hints in a few spots. There are also wolves in among the sheep, who play the thing as a kind of confidence game on their way up to high office. The "team," as C. Wright Mills points out in "The Power Elite," is often another name for a clique. Theodore K. Quinn, former senior vice president of General Electric now turned trust-buster, gives intriguing glimpses into this world in his recent writings: "These corporate oligarchies are in-grown, carefully recruited on a personal basis, self-perpetuating. . . ." Despite the well-rounded manners of corporate hierarchies, intrigue, cutthroat competition and clique politics play their role in the selection of the top echelons of the business world.

THE increase of a technical-managerial bureaucracy has been accompanied by much phony and extravagant theorizing. Some, like James Burnham ("The Managerial Revolution") who noted the trend at the time when

Hitler and Mussolini were riding high, began proclaiming that the managers were taking the world away from the capitalists—a revelation that has turned out less than accurate. Some, who in their haste overlooked the enormous decline of independent enterprisers over the past several generations, and fixed their eyes exclusively on the rise of a much smaller class of salaried technical and managerial personnel, decided that "we are all becoming capitalists now." Mr. Whyte is to be congratulated on leaving that kind of theorizing alone.

But what does it all mean? It is clear that the current forms of large-scale industry foster socialized labor forms among the managerial and technical staffs as well as the rank and file. That some kind of a growing social ethic is throwing the older individualism on its back and taking over people's thinking is also obvious. Both of these trends, if current indications of a technological kind have any meaning, are bound to be intensified. Mr. Whyte sees all this, and while he is trying to stimulate a little individualism in his corporate-university-foundation readers, he's pretty pessimistic about the future, as what he sees of the social ethic doesn't look too good to him.

One of the troubles with Mr. Whyte's narrow framework is that he has a hard time identifying what it is he does see, and hence oversimplifies a great deal. It is true that society the world over is in a great transition to a socialized mode of operation and a collectivized way of doing things. But what we are looking at here in the U.S. is the social ethic in a peculiarly bastardized form. The new social ethic is coming into view all right, but it is dedicated to the interests of a corporate world whose social benevolence, where it exists, is purely coincidental. The collectivized form of work is harnessed to an economic structure whose drives and basic ideologies, whose ultimate objectives and immediate objectives, are all of an intensely private sort.

In other words, if there is a social form of labor in much of American industry, there is no social balance sheet. The balance sheet which dominates economic, industrial, and social life remains a thoroughly capitalist one. Therefore in one sense there is an absence of any real "social ethic" in our national life. None of this means that once we had socialism here the problems of mediocrity and genius, individual and mass, humanism and machine civilization, would automatically or immediately be solved. But what it does mean is that the *possibility* would be opened up of solving the social problems of an industrialized civilization where individuals become of necessity dependent cogs in a vast machine. In the capitalist balance sheet, humanism, individualism, social gratification, and the needs of society as a whole are simply beside the point. If they coincide with corporate needs, the coincidence is purely fortuitous. But a balance sheet drawn up in the social interest rather than the corporate could—and this would be a great and by no means easy leap for mankind—*include all that the corporations must of necessity omit as beyond their pale, capacity, and self interest.*

This formula is necessarily sketchy and general. It is sure that mankind will be spending a lot of its energies over the next couple of centuries grappling with the realization of a more harmoniously organized society. But, in the light of the fact that the social ethic is still only getting a rather self-contradictory tryout as a management tool in the hands of profit-oriented corporations, it's a little too early for Mr. Whyte to blow the whistle on it. It's got a big future.

Why Not a Research Project on Jobs that Shorten Workers' Lives?

DETROIT

ABOUT a year ago, I began making a study of the problems of the older worker. I asked the officers of my local union to furnish me with a list of all retirees from my plant. I soon noticed that certain departments had a very large percentage of all workers retiring. From this I gathered that there might be a relationship between job classification and longevity.

During the past several months I have classified and analyzed the 220 names of workers retired since July 1950. The close relationship between job occupation and longevity is obvious. The easier the job, the better are the workers' chances of living to retirement age. A research project on this problem would be of real value, and I have spoken to a number of professors at Wayne State University. If both employers and unions would aid such a project it would be simple, but I would expect objections. So far, no one seems to know of any studies on this subject.

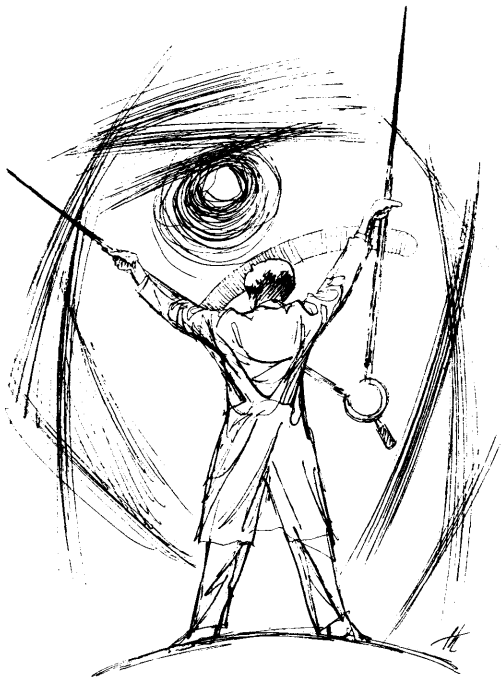
Here in brief outline is what I found: In two classifications, oilers and powerhouse workers, every worker on these jobs over the past twenty years lived to retire. But at the other end of the scale are the basic production-job classifications: metal-finishing, door-hanging, wet-sanding, oil-sanding, and such jobs as are done on a moving conveyor and pay the top scale in the various departments. In those production jobs which are not quite as demanding and pay from ten to twenty cents under the top rate, the life of the worker is noticeably longer. In the jobs not directly controlled by a conveyor (trucking, stock-chasing, sweeping, etc.), length of life is more than in any of the production jobs.

A study of the skilled trades also shows wide differences in the chances to live to retirement. This is best illustrated by two machines, the planer and the precision grinder. In the case of the planer, once the job is set up the operator just lets it run with little attention. The grinder on the other hand is a precision machine requiring constant attention. As a result planer hands retire in the best of health, while the grinder hands have heart attacks, and it doesn't seem likely that any of them will live to retire.

LONG hours take their toll. In the machine shop where I work, four men have died of heart attacks in the last six years. All of these deaths took place while we were working 53-hour shifts. During the first week of last October, three die-makers at Cadillac dropped dead of heart attacks. They were working 70 hours per week. A study will also show that extremes of heat and cold affect the longevity of workers.

A small percentage of the production workers on the most exhausting jobs are transferred in their later years to the easier non-production jobs. This often lengthens their lives by as much as five to ten years. Management can thus reward the "loyal" employee by giving him a job on inspection, which pays a rate equal to and in some cases more than the production job from which he has been transferred. Active unionists may be transferred to sweeping or a similar job with a cut of forty cents per hour. To refuse to make any transfer from a really tough production job often means an early death.

GM WORKER



Behind the gadgetry and technical marvels stands a philosophic structure without which science could not have developed. Chief tool of science is the human mind, sharpened in the usage of sound method.

What is Science?

by Dr. Hans Freistadt

SCIENCE is a method for finding out what the world is like. The word "science" is also used to denote the body of knowledge acquired by a consistent application of the scientific method.

The desire to understand nature is as old as recorded history. The purpose of such an understanding was, at first, quite simple: If nature is to be controlled, it must be understood. This is usually the basis on which financial support for science is sought. Later, understanding became a goal in itself, sought for the intellectual and esthetic gratification it provides. "Science, seriously undertaken, can never be purely practical, not only because practical questions need theoretical understanding for their solution, but also because the scientific mind simply does not function in such an exclusively practical way. Once the inquiring mind is thoroughly aroused, it does not stop at the solution of utilitarian questions, but begins to ask for pure knowledge."[1]

This development is not limited to science. The methodological alternatives to science, especially theological revelation and poetic speculation, likewise have very practical origins. As a matter of fact, even today theology commands adherence primarily because of the practical rewards it promises, in this world or the next. Only in the most liberal sects (Quakers, Unitarians, Reformed Jews), is there a beginning of "theology for its own sake."

I believe science to be the only method through which any valid knowledge can be acquired. In principle, even a trivial statement such as "There is a table in front of me," is a scientific conclusion. However, the word "science" is usually reserved to statements which do not follow at once from sense perception, but which are reached as a result of research employing a special kind of paraphernalia (microscopes, test tubes, mathematical symbols, cyclotrons, etc.), carried out by persons who have undergone specialized training and who speak an esoteric language.

An advanced state of technology is usually associated with scientific progress in a mutual relationship; technology supports science by providing the paraphernalia, while science supplies technology with the theory without which it cannot pass beyond the stage of primitive gadgeteering.

The principle tool of science, however, is not technological, but philosophical in nature. This tool is common to all the sciences, social (economics, history) as well as natural. It is with this philosophical structure of science that this article is primarily concerned.

II

THE methodology now generally called "the scientific method" is sufficiently standardized that few would disagree with the following summary:

(a) Isolate the problem to be solved. Implicit in this requirement is the assumption that partial aspects of the universe can be understood. We may then ask: Why does the sun rise in the morning? (a solved problem); What is the origin of life? (partially unsolved at the present time); What causes depressions? (there is disagreement whether this problem has been solved). We need not ask and solve at one stroke: What is the key mechanism of the universe? If the latter were the case, we would

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(1) *D. J. Struik, "A Concise History of Mathematics" (New York,* 1948).

either know all or nothing. If we can isolate phenomena to explain, our knowledge can gradually grow.

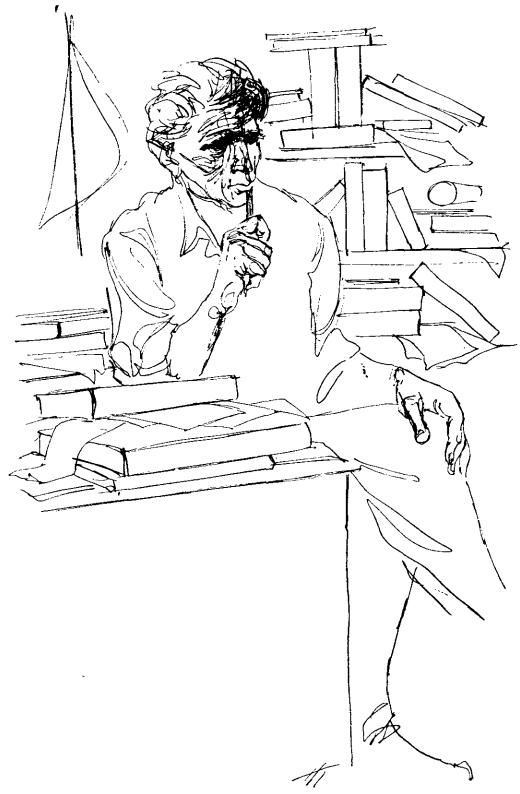
(b) Observe and record everything that appears to be relevant to the problem. If possible, set up the phenomenon in your laboratory and vary one factor at a time. Thus, if one is trying to determine factors regulating basal metabolism, one desirable observation would be to find out what happens in an animal in which various organs, for instance the thyroid gland, have been removed, as against a normal animal (the control). The possibility of setting up the problem under investigation in the laboratory distinguishes laboratory sciences (physics, chemistry, physiology) from non-laboratory sciences (astronomy, geology, economics, history) in which one must make the most of observation naturally available (this includes searching records, designing observation instruments, or organizing expeditions). Contrary to a widespread belief, the laboratory, while essential in many sciences, is not essential to the scientific method. The basic methodology of laboratory and non-laboratory sciences is the same. Medicine is an intermediate case, in which the possibility of controlled experiments is limited by ethical considerations.

(c) The scientist must now construct a mental picture of the mechanism underlying the phenomenon. This is the touchstone of the scholar. It requires a special kind of imagination—the ability to grasp an overall pattern from its partial manifestations. This ability cannot be learned; it must be trained, of course, by learning what has been accomplished heretofore. Many intelligent scholars with good training can attain a few minor strokes of inspiration. However, the ability to unravel what up until then was a major baffling mystery, to unite many disconnected phenomena into a lucid unified picture, is a rare gift possessed by few. It requires the ability to think along unconventional lines and to look at a problem from an entirely different vantage point. It is this ability which distinguishes an Einstein from the author of this article.

This mental picture of the mechanism underlying a process is called the *hypothesis*. For instance, to explain the regulation of basal metabolism in mammals, the physiologist may conjecture the hypothesis that a gland secretes a hormone into the blood stream. To explain depressions, Marx conjectured as the basic mechanism the irreconcilability of the social mode of production with the private ownership of the means of production. In modern physics, it has become increasingly the rule that the physical model conjectured is amenable to quantitative treatment, i.e., involves concepts which can be represented by mathematical devices.

(d) Now, the task is to determine whether the conjectured mechanism, the hypothesis, is, in fact, the true mechanism. (What is meant by "true" will be discussed in a later article.) This is especially important when the mechanism is not at all obvious, or when several different mechanisms suggest themselves. The scholar will make deductions from the hypothesis, or from each hypothesis, if several have been suggested. If the thyroid gland has the effect conjectured, then its removal in experimental animals ought to depress the basal metabolism. If the antagonism between the mode of production and the ownership structure of the economy is the basic cause of crises, then social ownership should put an end to depressions.

Barring errors in logic, if the prediction deduced from the hypothesis is not verified, the hypothesis must be junked or at least modified. If one can deduce from a hypothesis all those phenomena which have already been observed, and which in fact suggested the hypothesis in



the first place, but no more, then the hypothesis has a fair probability of being true. But the real triumph of a hypothesis is the prediction of the outcome of an observation which has not yet been made, and which, very often, no one would have thought of making until the hypothesis suggested it. After one such major triumph, or several minor ones, scientists begin to have confidence in the hypothesis as a tool for prediction. It becomes generally accepted in the scientific community. Such a hypothesis is then promoted to the rank of *theory*.

Contrary to a common misconception, to categorize something as a theory is highly complimentary, not derogatory. When the layman says: "This is just a theory," with a derogatory connotation, he really means: "This is a hypothesis the predictions from which will not be borne out by observation; it has no relation to reality. It is not a theory."

III

Even a theory, however, is far from certain. To begin with, so many theories which were well established have become supplanted by better theories that very few scholars still harbor illusions about the permanence of any theory. Newtonian mechanics, perhaps the most solidly established theory in scientific history, has been supplanted

by relativistic and quantum mechanics. Not that Newtonian mechanics is outright false. We have found, rather, that predictions based on it are valid only within a certain range, roughly speaking, as long as the objects whose motion we seek to predict are not too small or too large and do not move too rapidly. We would now say that Newtonian mechanics is a partial, but incomplete, picture of reality.

Two serious objections, however, would have applied even while Newtonian mechanics reigned supreme: First, even though Newtonian mechanics accounted for all observations then available, how could we have been certain that there did not exist another explanation, which would have accounted for these observations just as well? (As a matter of fact, alternative explanations, fully equivalent to Newtonian physics, were known long before the partial inadequacy of Newtonian physics was established.) Second, how could we be certain that Newtonian mechanics would likewise account for all future observations? (That it did not is shown precisely by the rise of relativistic and quantum mechanics.)

IV

CAN we ever "prove" or be "absolutely certain" that we have the right theory? The answer hinges on what we mean by *proof* and *certainty*. The meaning usually attributed to these words in science is the restricted meaning which they have in formal logic. In formal logic, the only proposition of which one can ever be sure is that *if* something is true, *then* something else is also true; *if* all men are mortal, and *if* Jones is a man, *then* Jones is mortal. The mortality of Jones is no more certain than the premise from which we started: that all men are mortal. As a scientific theory, the universal mortality of men is plausible enough. It has worked well so far. But no matter how many men die, this does not formally prove that all will. Formal logic always proceeds from the general and universal to the specific and particular. This is a one-way road. Formal logic is used in science only to deduce what consequences follow from certain hypotheses. Formal logic does *not* provide us with a method for passing from the particular to the general. It is not even used in the formulation of hypotheses. An observation (past or predicted) deals with a specific situation: Jones will die. A theory, on the other hand, proclaims the universal validity of a relationship: All men are mortal. The transition from the particular to the general, the peculiarly human feature of abstraction and insight, belongs to the realm of *plausible* rather than *formal* reasoning.

Plausible reasoning is as essential to science as formal reasoning, but, unlike the latter, it deals in probabilities rather than in certainties. The best that we can say for a good theory, i.e. one whose predictions have consistently been verified, is that it has a high probability of being, at least partially, a correct picture of reality. If enough predictions based on a theory are verified, one will sometimes say, speaking loosely, that the theory has been "proved."[2] But one is dealing here with an entirely different meaning of the word proof, a meaning referring not to formal certainty, but to personal and moral certainty, the kind of certainty a jury is expected to have in rendering a verdict. What is really involved is that a hypothesis has been established.

There is at least one very good reason why one should not worry about the lack of formal certainty of scientific theories; for can we be certain (in the formal sense) that the laws of logic themselves are valid? I do not see how one could prove such validity except by circular reasoning. We believe in the laws of logic because they have worked well so far. The validity of the laws of logic is itself a scientific theory belonging to the science of methodology. Formal certainty thus becomes a matter of definition; we define certainty as the character of conclusions derived in accordance with the rules of formal logic, about which there is nothing absolute or God-given.

The decision whether to accept a theory as valid, or which of two competing hypotheses to accept, or whether to abandon an old theory in favor of a new proposal, is made on the basis of reasonableness, i.e., probability rather than certainty. Probabilities involve a certain subjective element as to what is reasonable and plausible from which it is impossible to free science. It is entirely possible for two scientists, both well trained, to disagree as to what is plausible, and thus, as to which theory should be accepted; while if two scientists disagree on whether a conclusion follows from a hypothesis, we would feel sure that at least one has made an error in formal reasoning.

V

UNFORTUNATELY, the situation is still more complicated than the discussion so far implies. For even if an experiment contradicts one explanation and supports another (for instance, a depression now would contradict much of orthodox economic theory, and support Marxist economics), it is often possible to patch up the apparently false explanation, to bring it in line with the facts. A person who for some emotional reason is particularly attached to a given line of explanation, will patch it up again and again, although it consistently gives false predictions. As long as he has patched up his explanation to the point where it explains everything that has been observed so far, it is impossible to prove him wrong by logical means. One can only argue that his explanation, which requires so much patching, is unnatural and unreasonable, while the competing explanation explains everything very simply.

Scientists are, in general, reluctant to abandon well established explanations, and any drastically new explanation, no matter how brilliant and simple, undergoes a transition period in which the scientific community is divided between those who favor patching the old, and those who favor the new. Usually, further experiments can eventually be devised to clarify the situation. Every time

(2) *Frederick Engels, in "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy" (New York* 1941), *asserted that the discovery of the planet Neptune "proved" the Copernican-Newtonian model of the solar system; that is precisely the kind of loose terminology which is best avoided.*

an explanation requires further patching, it loses adherents, until finally its die-hard supporters are considered crackpots. This judgment is based on the faith that any explanation which makes correct predictions must be simple and natural, i.e., free from patching; in fact, if there is too much patching, the explanation loses any purpose, being as complex as the record of the observations which have already taken place, of which it is but a paraphrase.

One of the most common prejudices is that science deals exclusively or even primarily with facts and is thus free from personal judgment. We have seen that, on the contrary, the core of the scientific method is not the record of facts which, in themselves, belong to the past and are quite meaningless, but the interpretation of these facts by means of theories from which future observations can be predicted, and from which scientists glean an esthetic gratification comparable to that derived from art and poetry. In the construction and validation of theories, the main role is played by imagination and plausible reasoning, and much room is left for human judgment.

VI

SCIENCE differs from poetry, which need not be consistent, and which may be related to observation only by a loose and nebulous thread of emotional suggestion, and from mathematics, which must be rigorously consistent, but which need have no relation to observation whatsoever. Absolute certainty in the sense of formal reasoning, does exist in the realm of pure logic and mathematics, and only there. It is absolutely certain, if the numbers 2, 3, 6, and 9 are defined as they usually are, that $3 \times 6 = 2 \times 9$. But this certain statement exists only in the never-never land of pure reasoning. The statement that three times six cows are as many as twice nine cows is a statement about the real world, and thus not at all certain. We cannot conceive of any different result, because we are strongly prejudiced by the result of prior experience with cows and similar entities. In fact, the grammar school teacher "proves" that $3 \times 6 = 2 \times 9$ by a count of marbles; but what he actually performs is an experimental verification that marbles (at least, *those* marbles) obey the same laws of combination as the abstract entities called "integers," defined in algebra. While such "proof by example" may be necessary considering the intellectual stage of development of grammar school pupils, it leads to a basic misunderstanding of the scientific method, for it implies that general laws, and thus predictions of future observations, are *deduced* from experiments. As we have seen, this cannot be done. The only conclusion one can logically draw from the results of an experiment is a restatement of the results.

There are mathematical systems in which, for instance, $4=0$, or in which *a times b* is different from *b times a*. These, obviously, do not describe the relations among cows and marbles. It turns out that these particular mathematical relations do describe relations in the physical world. For instance, in the algebra dealing with rotations by quarter turns, $4=0$. Algebras in which *a times b* is different from *b times a* are needed in atomic physics. But even if these bizarre algebras had no relation at all to the real world, this fact would not deter mathematicians interested in the internal beauty of such mathematical systems from investigating them. Mathematics is a game rather than a science.

VII

TO close this article, I should say a word about the question of financing pure science, which, it is said, might become a problem under socialism. Under the present system, if a Rockefeller wants to be remembered as something other than an oil thief, he can endow several million dollars in support of a university where academicians, queer birds, can amuse themselves by pursuing useless knowledge for its own sake. Since historians belong to that community, they will proclaim the academicians as great men to future ages. The money was Rockefeller's, and, under capitalism, he can do with it what he wants. Under socialism, however, science cannot depend for its support on the philanthropic whims of a Rockefeller. The factory worker or farmer may well ask, as he occasionally asks today where support for state universities is involved: "Why should we be taxed to support people who do not do any useful work? We are willing to be taxed to support the geese that lay the golden eggs, like penicillin, TV, or jet planes. We are willing to support the arts, from which we derive pleasure. But what do we get from pure intellectual endeavors?" A Rockefeller may like to be remembered as a patron of pure science, but does that pride, divided among a whole people, amount to much; to enough, in any case, to warrant having fewer cars and rotisseries? Workers, it is said, care less about how history will remember them than they care about the immediate amenities of the present. Few workers expect to be remembered at all.

Of course, this argument is not entirely correct, even at the present time. Workers have some, if not enough respect for intellectual endeavors. Many want their children to go to college, not so much as an investment as for the prestige and satisfaction that learning confers.

To the argument: "Why support scholarly bums?," one can reply on three different levels: (1) Langevin[3] suggested that any serious piece of research, no matter how useless it may seem at the time, or how much its author may pride himself on practicing science for its own sake, eventually, directly or indirectly, benefits man by increasing his control over nature. While this point is debatable as a universal principle, Langevin's statement has certainly proved true in many instances. (One need only think of Einstein's relation $E=m\ c^2$.) (2) The geese that lay the golden eggs just will not work in an atmosphere in which they must justify to an efficiency expert the expenditure of every test tube or every minute of their time. (3) The strongest argument, however, is that under socialism, the general educational level will be raised to such an extent that factory workers will be able to share in the esthetic experience provided by pure understanding. Socialism, after all, is striving towards a society composed entirely of intellectuals.

Every cook must learn, not only to govern, but to appreciate the cosmic beauty of the universe of science.

(3) *P. Langevin,* Science & Society, *Vol.* 11 (1947), *p.* 209.

British News Letter:

Tory by-election defeats and industrial unrest in shipbuilding and engineering mark new phase of British politics.

The Swing to Labor

by George W. Stone

Glasgow.

THE arithmetic of recent Parliamentary by-elections confirms that the Tories are losing ground and that there is a drift towards Labor. North Lewisham, London, and Carmarthen, Wales, were won by Labor from a Tory and a Liberal, respectively. More startling for the Tories, however, was what happened at Wednesbury, Staffordshire. This seat has been held by Labor for a number of years, but the Tories have always managed to muster a reasonable vote. On this occasion, their vote fell by over 11½ percent.

But the most significant straw in the wind was Warwick, Sir Anthony Eden's old seat. The Tories held the seat but their majority slumped by 11,309—involving a swing to the Labor Party of 12.22 percent.

Despite these Tory setbacks, Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister, says the Government have no intention of resigning, but will carry on for another two years. However, my hunch is that the Government will call a General Election in the autumn of this year—after the Rent Bill has become law.

Why have the Tories lost ground? The Government's Suez adventure, resulting in petrol rationing, undoubtedly made the Tories unpopular in some quarters. But the most telling fact against the Tories has been the Rent Bill. This Bill will affect over 5½ million tenants of private landlords, or one-third of the population. Under the new Bill, the tenants of about 800,000 privately rented dwellings will lose all protection under the Rent Acts. The landlord will be able to charge whatever rent he pleases, or give the tenants notice to quit. About 4,900,000 houses will remain under Rent Control so long as their present tenants stay put. But they are liable to severe rent increases.

It is this Bill, designed to enrich landlords at the expense of the people, which has aroused so much bitterness and feeling against the Government. For in Britain, where there is still a serious housing shortage, it will affect almost everyone.

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Naturally, members of the Labor Party are jubilant. For, if the swings in these by-elections were repeated on a nation-wide scale in the next General Election, Labor would win. A 3 percent swing spread evenly over the whole country would give Labor 25 more seats than the Tories. A 5 percent swing would raise that majority to 89, and a 10 percent swing would leave only 180 Tory M.P.'s facing 441 Labor M.P.'s in the new Parliament.

YET is it important to remember that the people generally are apathetic about politics. True, they are voting in the by-elections, but, to some extent, this is merely a *negative* action. They are *against* the Government but not necessarily *for* the Labor Party.

Some feel that if Labor were in power it would be doing precisely the same things as the present Government. They argue, and history is on their side, that Labor in opposition and Labor in power are two entirely different propositions—that the promises are forgotten almost as soon as the votes have been counted.

This is particularly true with regard to old age pensions. During its six years of power, Labor had ample opportunity to put pensions on a proper basis and give pensioners a standard of living favorably comparable to that of other sections of the community. But always the cry was: the country cannot afford it.

Now, the Labor Party is badgering the Government about the low scale of pensions, but the degree to which the Government refuses to do anything about this lamentable state of affairs, is the degree to which Labor failed to do anything when it had the power to do so.

Indeed, a significant irritation with both the big parties is revealed by the lack of public interest in political meetings, apart from those held in districts where by-elections are taking place. A meeting addressed by, say, Gaitskell or Bevan, in London or Glasgow would attract no more than

a handful of people. This is why so few political meetings are being arranged by any of the parties.

The politician's explanation of this widespread apathy is (1) that the people are now enjoying a higher standard of living than pre-war and, consequently, do not feel the urge to engage in agitational politics, and (2) that television provides all the news and political features, and people prefer to indulge in these by their firesides rather than go along to, as often as not, a dingy meeting hall.

There is, of course, some truth, but not all, in what the politicians say. Full employment in Britain has blunted the sharper edges of poverty, but, even so, the poverty is still there. It is for this reason that million of wives go out to work to supplement their husbands' earnings. It is this that enables so many families to "get by" and give the impression that "things are not so bad." And it is this reliance on the earnings of their wives, which has made some workers less forthright than they should be in demands for higher pay.

BUT whatever may be the feeling of the majority of people about politics, a strong challenge is being made in the industrial field.

On March 6th, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions advised the 200,000 members of the 40 unions involved to strike on 16th March after the outright rejection by the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation of their claim for a 2s in the £ wage increase. At this writing it is believed that conciliation officers of the Ministry of Labor may try to make peace in the dispute.

Railwaymen are pressing strongly for a wage increase and union leaders will find it hard to avoid a showdown with British Railways if the men's demand is not met.

Trouble at Briggs Motor Bodies factory at Dagenham has led to a Ministry of Labor Court of Inquiry into the dismissal of a shop steward. Ford Motors (the owners of Briggs) insist that the shop steward was dismissed for indiscipline. The unions claim that it was victimization and had called a strike to enforce the shop steward's reinstatement. It was then that the Ministry of Labor urged both sides to accept the proposal of a Court of Inquiry into the dispute, though the findings of the Court, expected before the end of March, are not binding on either side.

Briggs workers are not at all pleased about the calling-off of the strike at this stage. They had opted for strike action to secure the shop steward's reinstatement and they feel that union leaders should have consulted them before agreeing to refer the matter to a Court of Inquiry.

LABOR M.P.'s are complaining that Parliamentary salaries are too low and are agitating for an increase. The present salary is £1,000 (about 3,000 dollars) a year, with £2 (6 dollars) a day expenses while the House of Commons is sitting. Some say that on such a salary they can't afford to buy a cup of tea in the House of Commons dining room. A cup of tea costs 4d (5 cents) in the House of Commons as against 5d or 6d in most cafes and restaurants.

People generally are not at all sympathetic to the M.P.s' claim. While it is true that they are paid much less than public representatives in, say, America or Australia, they still enjoy a much higher standard of living than the average British worker.

They get free travel to and from their constituencies, and draw their salaries whether they attend the House of Commons or not. And, in most cases, the parliamentary salary is not the only source of income. Many M.P.s work as lawyers, doctors, journalists, broadcasters, businessmen and trade union officials. Some have incomes soaring into thousands of pounds a year.

Most people concede that M.P.s should get free postage and secretarial assistance. Beyond that they feel that M.P.s have little to complain about. Furthermore, they feel that if M.P.s are granted an increase, it should be conditional on their attendance at the House at all times.

The present Government seem reluctant to do much about it. But, should a Labor Government be returned at the next General Election, the salary might easily be raised to £2,000 (6,000 dollars) a year.

No wonder old age pensioners who have to manage on £2 (6 dollars) a week are asking themselves what there is about an M.P. that makes him think that his standard of living should be twenty times higher than that of a retired industrial worker.

A View of Skilled Trades by an Old Craftsman

The following communication comments on the issue of skilled workers' conditions in the auto union, raised in a recent *American Socialist* article ("Difficult Days for Auto Labor," March 1957). The writer was the first worker retired from Chrysler under the auto pension plan.

* * *

AFTER 50 years in skilled trades, I feel strongly that skilled crafts, family size farms, small business, and independent professional people are four relics of feudalism, and the sooner they are eliminated the better.

I believe that an understanding of the teachings of Marx and Engels is a much higher intelligence test than ability to use any of the products of Brown and Sharpe.

I think attempts to bring back indenture of apprentices have as much chance as Indian rituals to bring back buffalo to Kansas.

It is always the last man through the door who takes the lead in trying to shut the door in the next man's face.

In 50 years of shop work, I was always conscious of a need to agree with my fellow workers to protect us from our employer. I never found any need of an agreement with the employer to protect me from my fellow worker.

Before I ever worked in a shop, I was employed by the Paige Fence Company, erecting fences in the lumber country. When I went into a shop, I left fence building outside, and I think all workers should do likewise.

I always felt that hair splitting belongs under the jurisdiction of the Barbers' Union. And dividers are valuable on a drawing board, or a layout bench; they should never be taken into the union hall.

FRANK B. TUTTLE
St. Clair Shores, Michigan

Notebook of an Old-Timer

by George H. Shoaf

The Pitchman and the Pickpockets

MANY years ago at a Midwest county fair, a smooth-tongued pitchman beguiled suckers to buy a patented medicine he was selling. Quite a crowd surrounded him as he spoke. To get them interested and off guard, he urged them to draw closer so they could hear better. As with most pitchmen, he operated in collusion with a mob of pickpockets. He asked if any one in the crowd would let him have his watch for a few moments. An innocent old hayseed responded. After holding up the watch and doing an appearing and disappearing act with it, the pitchman returned it to the owner. After a few moments, the hayseed, forgetting he had replaced the watch in his pocket, but finding it gone, demanded that the speaker give him back the watch.

"I haven't your watch," said the speaker. "I returned it to you a few moments ago, don't you remember?"

"Yes, but I haven't got it now," replied the hayseed.

"My friend," announced the speaker, "while my fingers are nimble, there are other men in this world whose fingers are a damned sight nimbler than mine!"

I was reminded of this episode as I listened to Eisenhower's inaugural address. Eisenhower is unconsciously the pitchman for American capitalism. He read the speech a ghost writer had composed, and it is a hundred to one shot that Ike didn't really realize its implications and significance as he read it. It was a speech designed not to inform, but to mislead the people of America and the world. As with politicians, preachers, priests, editors, and radio commentators, Ike stressed the morals of the world, ignoring the economics involved. It was a plea for individual righteousness, not for social and economic justice. Similar pleas have been made from the time of Abraham to Christ to Billy Graham, with human behavior remaining unaffected all the while. Most of the preachers forget or do not know that men are what they are because of where they are and when.

EISENHOWER: What's the pitch?

A gospel minister can preach the most meritorious sermons in which he will plead with his hearers to live as Christ would have them do. His hearers will admit the truth and necessity of what the minister says, but when they leave the church, and on Monday begin to do business in the world as it functions, will they and can they conform their lives to the example established by Jesus Christ? If they try to live as Christ lived, under American capitalism, they will subject themselves to poverty, failure, persecution, and perhaps jail.

EISENHOWER proclaimed that with the exception of one factor all is well, with the United States sitting astride the world in the matter of prosperity, peace, good will toward all nations, and that were it not for that factor, international prosperity and peace could and would become established and permanent. That factor, he said, is "Communist aggression." But is that really the trouble?

Despite pronouncements by Washington politicians, heads of corporations, and optimistic asseverations on the part of radio commentators and editors of the capitalist press, this country faces the certainty of depression. An overproduction of commodities of every variety and kind, with the store shelves, warehouses and silos jammed with unsold inventories, is looming large. Individual and national indebtedness exceeds 700 billion dollars. As a nation, we are proceeding toward an economic bust so devastating that, as Treasury Secretary Humphrey put it, its contemplation is enough to curl one's hair. The immense interests of America's plutocracy are at stake. Instead of going to the root cause of the situation and proposing measures drastic and fundamental, the spokesmen for plutocracy, namely, the President and his capitalist advisers, propose heavier taxes, more powerful armaments.

No greater or more daring gamblers ever existed than American politicians, industrialists, and business executives.

George Shoaf, who was an editor of the Appeal to Reason, *now lives in Costa Mesa, California. He has just passed his* 82*nd birthday, and writes: "My health is good, I drive a car as well as the best, and I expect to live a century and grow old gracefully."*

The system which enabled them to get where they have gotten, by its blatant irresponsibility has generated the tribe of buccaneers who today are ruling this nation to its ruin. War? War to them would be a joy if they thought they had a gambler's chance to win. Three times, according to his own declaration, J. Foster Dulles, Wall Street lawyer, self-confessed admirer of Adolf Hitler, has led this country to the brink of war. Now he proposes to send money, armaments and troops to Arabian countries. Why? He says to "stop Russian aggression." In the language of Patrick Henry, what a lie, and, as emphasized by Andrew Jackson, what a damned lie! Nothing is said about the interest the Washington administration has in making Arabian oil safe for American corporations. Instead, he is putting his plea for increased armaments on a high moral plane. As a nation of "free men," we must make sacrifices and endure material hardship to the end that the Washington administration can build up and provide a war machine the activities of which will bring to this old sin-cursed world the blessings of endless prosperity and peace. "World leadership" and "manifest destiny," stockworn clichés used in promoting former wars, are being again utilized in a propaganda designed to induce the people to believe in the "righteousness" of the "cause" for the consummation of which Wall Street magnates and Wall Street politicians are prepared to gamble their all including their sacred honor.

WHAT humbuggery is all this! What unconcealed hypocrisy! What unconscionable betrayal of the American people!

Not a word anent the inconsistencies and contradictions of capitalist economy. Not a word relative to the development from competitive to monopoly capitalism. No explanation as to why inventories of unsold commodities are piling up in the markets. No historic rehearsal of the periodic experiences of booms, busts and war. No publicity involving the stratification of American life. No, proclaim professional patriotteers, and their sucker following, Americanism as a way of life was glorious in conception, perfect in operation, will enjoy endless longevity, and any one who would presume to dare to challenge the integrity and desirability of its multitudinous output, including its wars, is a villainous Red who should be sent back where he came from.

Interestingly, the *Los Angeles Times,* Republican daily of the great Southwest, has been printing letters from readers who question the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration. Inserted here are two letters from its issue of January 23.

Will some one tell me when the law of cause and effect went out of commission? If I abuse my health and squander my energies, I can hardly expect any other result but ill health. If I squander my money recklessly, with no regard to my income, with no planning for future necessities, wouldn't the end result be bankruptcy? This country has spent a lot of money with the excuse that a lot of Communists were ready to pounce on us if we were not armed to the teeth. Now that this "bogeyman" is beginning to disintegrate, we are asked to give the President "carte blanche" to send troops to the Middle East. Why? As far as this "Republican conservative" is concerned, there is no validity in all the timeworn threats of invasion. I can see one thing though, that we are spending ourselves into bankruptcy.

The other letter reads:

Communist threats are always with us but why do the politicians have to drag them out of the closet and parade them around at budget-making time to scare Congress and the people into accepting a tremendous tax load? Both Roosevelt and Truman used this threat to great advantage when they wanted to saddle us docile people with burdensome taxes. Now, President Eisenhower does it, and Dulles takes this moment to declare the immediate dire threat of Communism to all nations. During our recent election campaign, however, he assured us that our foreign relations were never better. I am convinced that the Russians continually make these threatening gestures to frighten us into internal disorder by breaking the backs of all the taxpayers, thus undermining the financial structure of our country. And we, like suckers, are falling for it.

Despite the fact that every Soviet spokesman from Litvinov to Bulganin has pressed the issue of disarmament, first before the League of Nations, then before the United Nations, and at every international conference in between, proposing a cessation of armaments manufacture and a reduction in standing armies, invariably, American agents and representatives have rejected every proposal submitted by the Soviets.

LIKE the pitchman introduced at the outset of this piece, who distracted his hearers with legerdemain performances thereby enabling his confederate pickpockets to pilfer jewelry and cash from the pockets of the unsuspecting, Eisenhower, in high moral dudgeon and with patriotic flourish, points to the Soviet Union as the culprit guilty of every crime in the calendar, the enemy of decency and morality, the international brigand about to "aggress" in the Middle East, and which "aggression" the United States must prevent if it takes every dollar in the national treasury and the life of every American boy who may be sent to the battle front. Carefully he keeps concealed the big issue involved—a monopoly of Arabian oil by favored American oil corporations.

Holmes Alexander, syndicate columnist, recently wrote that the most imperative need at the seat of the national government, besides men of action, are men with ideas, and men capable of formulating ideas. There is a terrible shortage of ideas at the national capitol, he said. With this statement most thinking Americans will heartily agree. If we had more statesmen with ideas, and fewer politicians with axes to grind, it might be that facts would supplant fiction in our national life. Indeed, it is conceivable that thinkers would emerge who would dig down to the root cause of what throughout the world has come to be known as the American tragedy, and would seek to end that tragedy by removing the cause of it, and, putting themselves en rapport with the social process, would endeavor to induce Americans to replace the "American way" with the Socialist way—the way of life the world must adopt if Chaos and Old Night is not to be our finish.

Proclaiming our Humanity

by Jay W. Friedman

WE ARE closer to utopia than at any other time in the history of civilization, for if we can survive the next fifty or a hundred years, man shall at last gain mastery over himself. He shall finally free himself from the yokes of ignorance, superstition and primitive bestiality. This is no idle dreaming. The seeds of faith in man are not sown in wishful fantasies of religiosity or mysticism. They are nourished in the great accomplishments of man in the past.

But we must recognize that beauty has heretofore been a product of the beast. The Golden Age of Pericles which produced such nobilities as Socrates and Plato also gave birth to the barbaric Peloponnesian wars. The Renaissance of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo emerged in radiance out of the Dark Ages only to be accompanied by violence, plunder and oppression of peoples. Black slavery remained a blot on the American Revolution. The French Revolution turned the tables on the aristocracy and beheaded men, women and children while proclaiming "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." And the Great Russian Revolution, inspired by Marx, led by Lenin, yielded to Stalin—a blackguard if there ever was one.

In perspective, it is obvious that the flowers of humanity have grown sparsely amid a bed of thorns. How is it possible, then, to avoid cynicism? Where can we seek the inspiration to justify the faith in Man's potential humanity? We do not have far to look. Western imperialism is in its death throes. The rising masses of Asia are coming to manhood. Militarism has failed to keep down the colonial peoples. The uprisings in Poznan, the Hungarian revolt and in our own country the great Negro upheaval, cannot fail to inspire the most discouraged cynic. Nowhere in previous history has there been such a fundamental grass root movement of large masses of people to free themselves from the selfish grip of tyrannical rulers. Despite bestiality, the beast within us is dying.

IF we are to achieve a full understanding of the nature of man's struggles, we must broaden our scope of inquiry into all phases of his activity. It is not enough to know that capitalism is inherently unstable or that man has been valued more as a labor commodity than a human being. This knowledge does not of itself explain why one man seeks to exploit another, or if he cannot exploit him, then to destroy him. There is more to human relationships than economic concepts. It is not to deny that one phase of relations is more decisive than another, but rather that man cannot be fragmented. It is no virtue to be well-informed in economic theory and ill-informed in practically every other respect. Yet this is precisely the state of some people, including socialist theoreticians, whose brilliance in Marxian economics is often accompanied with gross ignorance of psychology.

Socialists have too long spoken in terms of economic determinism *alone*. They have too long thought themselves radicals by substituting a better dogma for a worse one. It is true that socialism is a necessary prerequisite for a better life, but it does not follow that the achievement of economic socialism will automatically guarantee a better life. Economic equality is not an end in itself, it is only a means to ensuring "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

It is time that socialists studied more than just the economic structure of society. We must develop also a fundamental concept of cultural patterns, anthropology and sexuality. We must discard all dogmas, myths and superstitions—not only economic ones. To do so we must come to grips with ourselves. We must discover what we are and what motivates us. How many socialists well-versed in Marx, Lenin etc. are equally well versed in Freud? Yet Freud has contributed as much to the future liberation of humanity as any other man, including Marx or Lenin. This is not to deny Marx or Lenin. They were brilliant men, deserving in every way the high esteem in which they are held by socialists. Through intensive studies of man's institutions, through intelligent analysis of economic and social forces, they arrived at certain inescapable conclusions—inescapable, that is, if one is motivated by the highest interest of all mankind.

FREUD did not study man's institutions so much as he studied man himself. Once having penetrated the veil of mystery obscuring the human mind, he drove so deep as to irrevocably reveal man to himself not as the saints would have him—but as he actually was! He uncovered the inner dynamics of man. He has thereby shown how man can be changed—if we are to achieve that exalted civilization wherein all men are truly free. It is very important that socialists recognize that their goal is not simply to change the economic structure of society but to change man himself. On the surface this seems obvious, but we cannot fully appreciate the ramifications involved unless we have some clear understanding of our direction.

The infant comes into this world a primitive, helpless beast. Whether he develops into a human being or remains an animal depends on innumerable factors, not least of which are his family, his socio-cultural and economic background. His immediate motivations are survival; in a sense, the only purpose in his life is to perpetuate the species. This is his sole capacity for immortality. All society —cultural institutions, social relationships and responsibilities—is an elaboration towards this one purpose: to perpetuate himself. Reproduction is a function of sex, and everything human is an elaboration of this basic sexuality.

But even an infant is often frustrated, and frustration gives rise to rage. What omnipotent tyrant does not respond to frustration with rage? Similarly, a sense of omnipotence is part of the early infantile personality. But if frustration of omnipotence produces rage, rage creates hostilities and

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death wishes towards the frustrating offenders (the parents). Apparently, however, there develops in the infant a sense of guilt at an early age over these hostilities and death wishes. Freud evolved a theory of a "death instinct" which is in opposition to the libidinal or life-perpetuating force. Others held that it is guilt—not death—which is instinctual.

IN any event, it is seen that the infant is thus involved with three very early and very basic psychological components: 1) The libido or sex drive (to perpetuate life); 2) Omnipotence (to insure his own survival); 3) Guilt (self-destruction). Further development and socializing of the child extended the concept of motivation into three overlapping areas: *Id*—primitive, basic drives; *Ego*—areas of socially defined attitudes assumed by the mind; *Super-ego*—the conscience, or parental values. The *Id* is always in conflict with the *Ego* and *Super-ego*. Man's constant drive for omnipotence (this is so basic it is ineradicable) is constantly and fortunately temporized by the overlords of society and conscience. But if he never gives up this drive, then he is always subject to rage (overt or suppressed) and the cycle of deathwishes and guilt are ever revolving. Suprisingly, Man does succeed. He manages to perpetuate life at the same time he is destroying himself and his institutions. Unfortunately his guilt forbids him from enjoying much of it.

A knowledge of psychology indicates that economic development is just as much a reflection of the drives, needs and frustrations of the mind, as the child is a product of the union of bodies.

The accumulation of wealth is no less a means to an end than the equal distribution of wealth. Of course, the ends themselves differ and that is important to those of us who realize that wealth—capitalist or socialist—does not of itself produce happiness. But wealth is an index of power or omnipotence. The individual who strives for personal wealth and power is motivated by the same infantile drives as the nation which seeks to dominate other nations.

The present turbulent state of affairs in Eastern Europe indicates that both economic and psychological change is necessary, and that if psychological advance is lagging, the economic change is making possible psychological change too. Progress is not a straight line advance. It is a jagged growth, but so long as change is possible, hope is a reality.

ECONOMICS, then, is a function, an elaboration of the psychological motivations of man. As socialists, our aim is not just to distribute wealth more equitably, or to eliminate the profit motive. Otherwise we'd be content to be better paid slaves. It is to achieve Utopia. It is to free ourselves from our basic drives towards self-destruction. It is to develop in Man those attributes of humanity which will best perpetuate the species. It is to create a world in which the enigma of life will be a continual joy to experience and a genuine sorrow to leave.

Thus, when we affirm socialism, we are not subscribing to a particular economic theory nor to a political system—we are simply and clearly stating our belief in certain human values: in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for all mankind. We are affirming the spirit of cooperation and the freedom of mind which shall raise mankind to Elysian heights. In short, we are proclaiming our humanity!

Let us do this not only with open hearts, but with open minds as well. Let us cast off all dogmas. Let us ask ourselves if "efficiency" is important if the joy of work—which is a part of life—is lost in the process. Let us question if isolated family units are conducive to this "brotherhood of man" the preachers prate about. Let us pry into the innermost recesses of ourselves to uncover our own motivations. Let us take nothing for granted, neither the time-worn clichés, nor the new ones. If we ourselves are too old to change basically, then at least let us provide our children with the freedom to experiment and to go beyond us in their personal growth and social responsibility. And above all, let us always remember that even though no two individuals are entirely alike, no one is yet so different as not to share the common bonds of brotherhood with his fellow man.

BOOK REVIEW

A Thousand Soapboxes

UP-HILL ALL THE WAY: The life of Maynard Shipley, by Miriam Allen DeFord. Antioch Press, Antioch, 1956, $4.

WHAT ever happened to the old Socialist Party? Radicals look back yearningly to the "good old days before the war" (World War I) and sigh that then there was a socialist movement that meant something. It was as strong on the prairies as along the Eastern seaboard, as vigorous in the Pacific Northwest as on Manhattan's East Side. It flew with a left wing and a right wing, having members hardly distinguishable from old-time liberals and others whose syndicalism bordered very near to the anti-political. Some were ethical Christians, others hard-bitten atheists, many drank beer and others abhorred alcohol in any form. What held it together, and why did it so suddenly fall to pieces?

For one answer we may turn to a man who spent half a lifetime as a socialist agitator, whose credentials were won on a thousand soapboxes, in a thousand editorials. His name was Maynard Shipley, and the fact that he is all but forgotten need not deter us. So is the old Socialist Party. Fortunately, his life is the subject of an understanding biography by his widow, known to the labor press as Miriam Allen DeFord. It takes some recollecting, even for one who lived through part of those times, to remember the abject poverty, the constant misery which then was typical not only for Roosevelt's "one-third" but for two-thirds of our people. It was out of a miserable boyhood (his father used to half-drown young Maynard in the bathtub for punishment, and sent him to a reform school) and an entire lifetime of poverty that Shipley came to socialism back in 1906 when for the first time he listened to a soapboxer.

He had been a shoe clerk and later taught piano (although he had no formal musical training, and for that matter, had never even finished grade school). But he was a self-taught scholar whose early experiences turned him to a study of crime and punishment and who already in 1906 had an international reputation in that subject. He picked up a few Marxist tracts ("Value Price and Profit" was one

of them) and discovered what he felt was the answer to the problem of crime and punishment—socialism. He soon became editor of the *Socialist World* in Oakland, California, and threw himself wholeheartedly into the life of a propagandist (a socialist editor in those days earned his porkchops and fried potatoes through lecturing). Several years later he shifted to Everett, Wash., again as a socialist agitator among the shingle weavers and lumber workers of the Pacific Northwest. He had been importuned by the national office to come East for wider scope for his abilities. Not until 1916 did he succumb, to become associate manager for Gene Debs in his Terre Haute Congressional campaign. Later he ran a Socialist paper in Baltimore, his native city, during the war years and then returned to Oakland to resume his work with the *World* and to tour California for the party.

SHIPLEY considered himself a Marxian socialist and a left winger, in distinction to the Berger-Hillquit brand. It was Marx's scientific underpinning for socialist idealism that appealed to him, a man steeped in the scientific method through his study of crime and punishment. Yet in his public utterances the doctrinaire side of Marxism was subordinated to its humanistic appeal.

"The Socialist Party," he said in 1909, "is composed of those who believe that the ends of justice and humanity, as well as the preservation of high ideals of art and ethics, can best be conserved by mutual aid —by cooperation and helpfulness in all that concerns the welfare of man. . . . We believe that poverty and ugliness of every description are wholly avoidable. We believe that there is no more reason why we should have the poor with us always than that we should have wooden plows instead of the mechanized monsters that turn up twenty furrows under the guidance of one man."

The split came in 1919. At this point it is well to follow rather literally the account given by us by Mrs. Shipley. Her husband, she writes, had always been a member of the left wing against the " 'yellow' petty-bourgeois Social Democrats." Shipley though was one of the few left-wingers to remain with the Party. He suspected that the groups which later formed the Communist Party were practically sydicalists. More important, perhaps, he felt "that the methods of the various Communist factions in America . . . were utterly unrealistic, slavishly imitative—without any justification—of the conduct and progress of affairs in Russia, and doomed to futility and failure." It is better now, nearly forty years later, to let history give the verdict on his judgment then.

"Many of us know," he wrote, "that such an effort [an immediate effort to overthrow capitalism through adoption of the Moscow program] would prove utterly abortive in the United States at this time, or in the near future, or even at a remoter period."

The remnants of the Socialist Party in California sorely taxed Shipley's patience but nevertheless in the fall of 1920 he ran for Congress and won 15,000 votes against 9,000 given Debs for President. By 1922 he saw that his hopes in the Socialist Party were in vain.

"The Socialist Party having drifted too far to the right to carry out the principles I have always fought for, and showing as it does a distinct tendency to become more and more the ally of petty-bourgeois reform organizations," he wrote, "I hereby regretfully tender my resignation as a party member, after 16 years of active service." About the same time he also wrote his old friend, Debs, who replied: "In the larger and truer sense, you and I are always in the same party and in the same movement."

WHAT does a socialist do when his hopes in effective action fail? It never could be said of Shipley that he relapsed into the role of a "tired radical." Instead he threw himself once again into his life work on crime and punishment, interrupted for 16 years. Parts of his monumental unpublished books were included in Haldeman-Julius's *Little Blue Books* and reached millions. Then came the recrudescence of know-nothingism in the 1920's which culminated in the Scopes "monkey" trial in Tennessee. Shipley organized the Science League of America which led the fight on the anti-evolution laws. As in his work on crime and punishment, he won national acclaim. It was one fight that he could say he had helped to win. After anti-evolution died down, he returned to his prime scientific interests. A bad heart, complicated by a lifetime of poverty, ended his life in 1934.

We are indebted to Mrs. Shipley for this honest, revealing study of the life of an American radical. It was indeed Up-Hill All The Way and he no more than any of us reached the summit.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Fiction on the Left

THE RADICAL NOVEL IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1954, by *Walter B. Rideout. Harvard University Press, Cambridge,* 1956, $6.

"THE Radical Novel in the United States" is a guide to an ill-defined, little-read, and less-remembered body of writing. It will help sharpen our sense of what the Debsian Socialist, and the Communist movements were like, for the novels which Mr. Rideout digs up and sorts out reveal aspects of American radicalism which are not so easily seen in the non-literary materials of the radical archives. Mr. Rideout has done well to put these 169 novels of five decades within arm's reach, but he does not always find the right things to say about what is to be found within their covers.

The novels turned out by partisans of the Socialist and Communist parties were largely incredible, and time has not effaced their deformities nor heightened their beauties. With exceptions which require no special pleading, they are poor art, poor propaganda, poor records of American life, but true documentation of the values and sensibilities of the novelists themselves and of the political movements for which they spoke. There is a sense in which art, even bad art, never lies, and Mr. Rideout's perceptive view of Upton Sinclair and his novels well illustrates the saying.

Sinclair is a type of middle-class rebel against the inhumanities of trustified capitalism, who brought to the Socialist Party and to his novels the audacious energy of muckraking mixed with the *noblesse oblige* and sentimentality of genteel tradition. Mr. Rideout sees that in "The Jungle," Sinclair's "outraged moral idealism is attracted more to the pathos than the power of the poor, and suggests his real affinity for the mid-Victorian English reform novelists." And he makes the political meaning of his perception clear when he observes that "Sinclair has attempted, as did Dickens, to be the persuading intermediary between the contending classes."

But Sinclair's reform-utopian optimism, as in his "King Coal" "is simply irrelevant to the situation" which the book portrays—the bloody class conflict in the Colorado coal fields in 1914. The novel's hero, a sort of middle-class visitor to a proletarian inferno, is impelled by his experience of the life and struggles of the miners to return to the bourgeois world as a missionary who will try to persuade the mine-owners to adopt a humane standard of conduct toward the workers. In "King Coal" artistic failure and truth combine. A war was going on in the mind of Sinclair between his materials and his point of view, and in the novel "the discrepancy between the fictional structure and political message gapes wide." Here we are made aware of one of the true connections between literature and politics, for the failure of "King Coal" as art is symbolic of the failure of the Socialist Party as a political movement. In the party militant impulses from the ranks were thwarted by a conservatism inhering in the party apparatus. Just so was the revolutionary meaning of his materials censored by the genteel conscience of Sinclair. Truly, art does not lie.

IT seems to me that this analysis might well be extended to the "proletarian" novels of the partisans of the Communist Party, a variety of literature which includes most of the radical novels appearing in the 1930's. The proletarian novelists are not genteel but think of themselves as being of earth, earthy, and it is possible to say that there is something of a cult of violence among them. Yet is there not in this school of writing, with all its burlesque Whitmanism and blood and thunder, more than a touch of middle-class slumming? And don't these effects in the work of the proletarian novelists rather obscure their essential kinship with Sinclair than reveal any fundamental disparity of outlook between him and them?

Something in Mr. Rideout's mind keeps him away from the kind of comparative study of the older Socialist novels and the

radical fiction of the thirties which is suggested by these questions. What bars the way for him is his innocent notion that approval of violence is a reliable indicator of a radical outlook, and that violence sends Marxists. What else is one to make of the concluding words of his summary of the bitter strikes of the 1890's in which martial law was employed against strikers: "Soldier arrayed against worker—the knowledge of it would have pleased Karl Marx"? And how else is one to interpret his remark that "Sinclair's spirit is not one of blood and barricades, but of humanitarianism and brotherly love"? Such a misunderstanding is a terrible handicap to any one who wishes to be able to recognize a radical outlook when he sees one. Attitudes toward violence cannot be a good political indicator because the rhetoric of fire and sword has been on the lips of liberals and reactionaries as much as it has on radicals' lips, and violent deeds are no more necessarily a radical hallmark than is violent language—in a novel or elsewhere. A critic of the radical novel ought to bring to his work scholarly industry and political sophistication. Mr. Rideout is well endowed with the former but is lacking in the latter.

THE critic who does not use a novelist's attitude toward violence as a political indicator will discover, I suspect, that the values which inhere in the ostensibly radical novels of the thirties are often unradical. An observation which supports this hunch was made by the novelist Robert Cantwell in 1936 about the point of view toward the working class which he shared with two other writers of proletarian fiction:

> *The novelists insensibly patronized the workers they wrote about. They knew the masses were on the move, but they did not know where they were going; and in their heart of hearts they feared that the militant working class, its ranks solid and its morale high, was marching, marching! smack against a stone wall.*

It is true that there was patronizing of workers being perpetrated by such novelists, but it is improbable that the remedy for the ailment was a stiff dose of good cheer. Ruth McKenney wrote a cheery strike novel, "Industrial Valley," but despite her happy outlook on things there is a dubious battle going on in the book between its subject matter and the point of view of the author. Miss McKenney was writing about the rubber workers of Akron at the time of the victorious sit-down strikes, but she had a view of the working class which disagreed with both Marx and life. Marx had an idea, which is shared by most workers to this day, that it is not a good thing to be a worker. Capitalism, Marx thought, robs workers of part of their humanity, and he longed for the day when the working class will no longer exist as a class. His was a complex view of the workers: They are destined to reorganize society, but are not supermen. Miss McKenney, on the other hand, tended in "Industrial Valley" to see the workers as a fearfully wholesome flock of noble savages, close enough to nature to soak up power from the soil like plants, and wise with the taciturn wisdom of Daniel Boone. In other words, she drools.

And this attitude of hers is the key to the political meaning of the novel. Glamorizing the working class is not a characteristic vice of workers. Glamorizing workers is an activity which seems to fill a need of several intermediate layers in society. Chiefly, it is sustenance for middle-class romantics who, in coming to the radical movement, have sought to preserve an attitude toward workers shaped more by traditional pastoral and primitive images than by the modern reality of an economically and psychologically exploited proletariat.

Mr. Rideout has a sober, careful chapter on the horrors of Stalinist literary criticism. The essential pattern of critical activity was apparently bureaucratic dogmatizing, mass trampling on deviationists and pitiable confessions of error. It is a quirk of history that Mr. Rideout's restrained recital of these abominations should sound less forceful than it really is because of the self-critical din now being raised by some of the perpetrators and victims of crimes against the creative spirit.

The chapters of "The Radical Novel" dealing with the Socialist writers should dispel the feeling that Stalinism was a serpent which ruined a previously perfect garden of literary radicalism. Radical novelists were fallible even before the rise of the CP and the notion of proletarian culture.

DAVID HERRESHOFF

The Human Potential

THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF HUMAN FREEDOM by Theodosius Dobzhansky. Columbia University Press, New York, 1956, $2.95.

THE basic ideas of the theory of evolution have long since become part of the mental equipment of any halfway educated person, but only in sketchy and rudimentary form. Those who, like most of us, have been jogging along on school memories of a science which has been undergoing great refinement in recent years, would do well to spend an evening reading Professor Dobzhansky's brilliant little book. Composed of five brief chapters, it represents an expansion of the Page-Barbour lectures delivered by the author at the University of Virginia in March 1954. "Unfortunately," he says in his preface, "the ability to state scientific ideas simply and accurately varies from person to person, and on this score the present writer feels very serious misgivings." Misgivings or not, Dobzhansky's talent at presenting the elements of the science in plain language suitable for the uninitiated, without sacrificing nuance and complexity, is a first-rate one, and inspires the hope that others in different fields will be encouraged to imitate.

Darwinian evolution, like most of scientific theorizing in the nineteenth century, was saturated with the optimism of progress. In our own century, the shocks, confusions, barbarities and disillusionments of social conflict have produced moods of cynicism and despair, placing the emphasis upon man's perversity rather than his perfectibility. No one has yet taken any census to discover just how deeply such moods penetrate among the masses of men, and there is reason to believe that for most of mankind, the twentieth century is the age when the scientific optimism of the nineteenth-century savants has really begun to reach out and take hold. But be that as it may, there is little question that among the thin intellectualized layers of humanity, easy faiths in progress have been shaken and shadowed by doubts, where they have not been rejected outright.

ASSAILED from every side by such doubts and despairs, it is well for us to be reminded that the human animal is "an unprecedented biological success" in whose making the process of biological evolution outdid itself, transcended its own framework, and set in motion a new process of human evolution, cultural rather than biological, which has already reached heights of dizzying wonderment besides which the "mysteries" of the theologians pale as nursery stories.

The grand distinction that made human evolution possible was the development, through biological evolution, of an animal-type with a capacity for building up the complex body of tradition known as culture (used here to signify the entire learned portion of human behavior). "Culture is an exclusive property of man, and the transmission of culture from generation to generation occurs by means of instruction, precept, imitation, and learning. This is basically different from the transmission of biological heredity, which takes place by means of genes in the sex cells."

What Professor Dobzhansky bears down on as most important to understand is that human culture, in all of its manifold forms and varieties of manifestation, is by no means fixed in the genes. The genetic materials shape the human genotype, chiefly distinguished from its closest neighbors on the evolutionary scale by an erect posture, freeing the anterior appendages for development into sensitive and dextrous hands, and the large brain capacity, especially the cerebral cortex. This has made culture possible. But no human biological traits have determined the line of human culture; rather the shape and line of cultural development have been self-determined, "by causes which lie mostly within culture itself, rather than in its biological substratum."

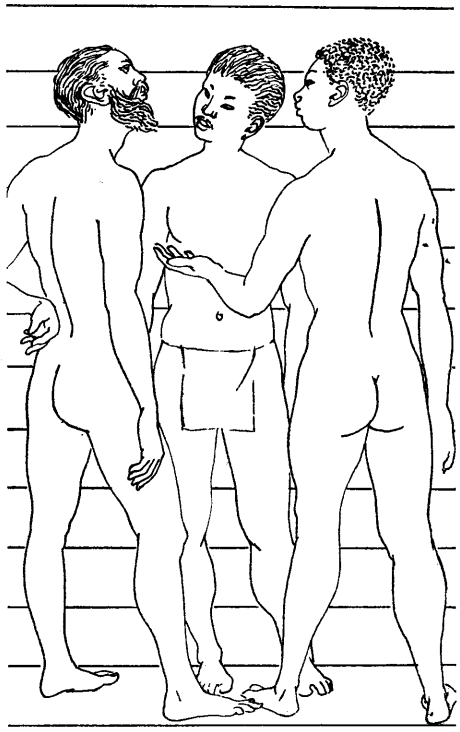
Far from any fixity, culture has been founded, in Dobzhansky's words, on "a genetically controlled plasticity of personality traits." To make his thought completely clear, Dobzhansky explains the nature of the inheritance process. The genes are not carriers of any specific cultural or personality traits of man, such as ambition,

criminality, honesty, belligerence, cupidity, generosity, etc. Rather, what the genes convey from human to human down through the generations are *potentialities* which, within limits, emerge in different ways in response to different environmental stimuli. "An individual learns to be the kind of person he eventually becomes. He can learn to perform any one of a great many different kinds of social functions, and hence can develop into any one of a great many different kinds of persons. Which one he does become depends on the society in which he lives and on his genetic endowment."

THUS, in Professor Dobzhansky's view, the old "nature-nurture" controversy—Is character determined by environment or heredity?—requires a far more complex answer than earlier thinkers had given it. It is an interaction of heredity and environment, an adjustment of the individual to a specific environment, the type of adjustment varying from individual to individual in accordance with his heredity, that shapes the personality as well as the physical type. Man is not a *tabula rasa,* a blank sheet, upon which anything may be written by his environment, as oversimplified nineteenth-century thought often had it, but he is not a fixed mechanism set to a course by his genetic inheritance either. Rather, he contains a plastic potential, capable of development in a large number of directions, and in this sense the nineteenth-century faith in human perfectibility remains justified.

Considered from that point of view, the belligerence, rapacity, and greed characteristic of much of modern society is not "unnatural"; it is a true and faithful expression of human nature, *but only one of many possible expressions.* The old Spencerian notion that man's nature was fixed in the evolutionary process when the "struggle for survival" enthroned the "fittest" has little to recommend it to modern scientific thought. "Indeed," writes Dobzhansky, "the view of 'nature, red in tooth and claw,' in which every living being has only the alternative of 'eat and be eaten' is just as unfounded as the sentimentalist view that all is sweetness and light in unspoiled nature."

Particularly in the case of the evolution of the human species, both biologically and culturally, is this view unfounded. The human animal is neither fleet, nor agile, nor powerful, nor well-armed, in a natural state. Social community was its best means of survival; cooperation, rather than individualistic struggle, has been the primary feature of human fitness to survive, and it has been social endeavor which has made man the unprecedented biological success that he is. Natural selection, Dobzhansky points out, "is neither egotistic nor altruistic; it is opportunistic. It perpetuates those genetic constitutions which happen to exhibit a fitness superior to others at a given time, in a given place, and in a given environment. . . . By what means superior fitness is attained, whether by struggle or



by cooperation, is immaterial in the short run. In the long run this may be important, since the relationships between organisms based on cooperation are in general more stable and enduring than relationships based on struggle and conflict."

This thought, which he develops at length, is highly important. Natural selection may be "opportunistic" in relying upon all forms of "fitness" to ensure survival, but hasn't the special fitness of humanity been its sociability and gregariousness rather than its individualism and combativeness? And if that is so, wasn't the social Darwinism of Spencer and others merely a crude reflection of a momentary social phenomenon: to wit, capitalism in its jungle stage? And, in the long run of human history, hasn't natural selection favored the genetic inheritance which makes possible an emphasis upon cooperation, rather than each-against-all? These are the ideas which, in cautious and modified form, are presented by Dobzhansky in this book.

NONE of this means that there is any such thing as a biologically determined system of ethics for mankind, as some have maintained. This problem Dobzhansky discusses in a brilliant closing section: "Should he always sacrifice himself to the interest of his group, and does the group always have the right to expect its members to do so? This is, of course, one of the greatest problems facing mankind. All the great literatures and philosophies have struggled to resolve this conflict, and most of them have found that the only solution is to accept a divine sanction as the foundation of ethics. The crumbling of this foundation in our day leaves a terrible void in the human soul."

To fill this void, some have proposed various "biological ethics"; human moralities, it is said are fixed into the genes in the process of the struggle for survival of the race; in the course of this struggle man has had branded into his heritage the imperative: What helps the race is what is right. Or, others have varied this by maintaining that human morality was fixed in the genes in the days when man was a hunter of wild beasts in the Paleolithic period, so that natural selection, favoring the ruthless, has developed a ruthless morality. The very fact that reputable evolutionists and anthropologists can draw from the facts two such opposite sets of "scientific ethics" shows how shaky the foundation is.

Dobzhansky mistrusts any such notions; he holds that no scheme of ethics can be biologically derived. Ants, termites, and other social insects do display a pattern where individuals often sacrifice their lives for the sake of the colony, but in insects this is not ethical behavior, as their genetic heritage does not permit them a considered choice between alternative courses. Rather it is a fixed pattern determined by biological heredity. But what characterizes human behavior as distinguished from that of other animals is that it is in the main genetically unfixed, and remarkably plastic and adaptable. It is this aspect of the human condition, with its corrollary of individual choice, which gives rise to the problem of ethics in the first place.

Thus, Dobzhansky concludes, "ethics have no genetic basis and are not the product of biological evolution." "Ethics are part of the cultural heritage of mankind, and consequently belong to a new human evolution, rather than to the old biological evolution. . . . Biological evolution has produced the genetic basis which made the new, specifically human, phase of the evolutionary process possible. But this new evolution, which involves culture, occurs according to its own laws, which are not deducible from, although also not contrary to, biological laws."

It only remains to be said here that a firm grasp of many of the principles displayed in this book would save many historians, sociologists, and political scientists a lot of grief and headaches. So many of the professionals in these fields pursue them with amateur equipment that it is a pleasure to come across one who, although outside these studies, has so excellent a grip on their first principles. Professor Dobzhansky is not only one of the greatest living biologists, but a first-class preceptor in the social studies as well.

H. B.

NEW YORK READERS

The AMERICAN SOCIALIST is sponsoring a social evening on Saturday, April 13, where readers may meet Ernest Mazey, Detroit unionist and civil liberties partisan. Mr. Mazey will speak briefly; refreshments will be served. Interested readers write for details before April 10.

An Urgent Message

Dear Friend:

OUR annual financial appeal carries a note of urgency this time.

We have explained before to our readers that our annual fund is a strict necessity, that without the additional support that our friends send us, we could not continue in business. This time we have to accompany our appeal with a special three-alarm distress signal.

As our readers are aware, the costs of publishing a magazine such as the "American Socialist" are far in excess of the income realized from all subscription and newsstand sales. We do not have any institutional support, we have no angels, and our income from advertising is negligible. The deficit has been met every year, in the first instance, by a group of close supporters, who with the editors, founded the magazine over three years ago, and in the second instance, by our growing number of readers and friends. It has been this support—and only this support—that has made possible the continuance of this venture.

Now, the original founders have kicked in or pledged the maximum sum they are able to afford for the coming year, and we find, on adding up the figures, that we have to raise $2,000 more in the current drive than we did in the previous one in order to ensure the publication program for the year ahead. Two thousand additional dollars may not seem like a lot of money in this age when we discuss budgets of millions and billions, but the lack of it will mean a financial crisis for us. We therefore urge you to dig down real deep and contribute as generously as you can.

For every contribution of $10 or more we will extend your subscription for one year upon its expiration. For every contribution of $15 or more, you will receive a bound volume of the magazine (or, if your prefer, a 2-year subscription extension.)

I am enclosing a contribution of $..... toward your Press Fund.

In addition, I am making a $..... monthly pledge.

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The "American Socialist" has been doing admirable pioneer work in searching out the reasons for the weakness of socialist appeal in this country and the possibilities for strengthening that appeal. The magazine merits the support of those who know that the development of a powerful socialist movement here is our assurance that our country will not commit national suicide or decay gradually.

HARVEY O'CONNOR
Winnetka, Illinois

The "American Socialist" is an excellent periodical for unionists, not just because its labor analyses are unique in the field, but more importantly because it presents socialist ideas in a way that makes sense to workers. It is a socialist periodical in which I have been able to interest a large number of my fellow unionists, and I urge all readers to give it unstinting support.

ERNEST MAZEY
Detroit, Michigan

I am more than willing to lend my name as an endorsement of the "American Socialist." I have always found the paper fair, accurate, and informative.

PROF. KERMIT EBY
University of Chicago

For every contribution of $75 or more, you will receive a permanent subscription and a bound volume.

To those who will agree to send us, in addition, a monthly pledge, we will mail notices and return envelopes every month as a reminder. A number of readers are already sending us a few dollars regularly every month, on their own. Why not join this club of "American Socialist" boosters?

WE want and need sizeable contributions. But please remember, every contribution, no matter how small, helps. So, whatever the amount, please be sure to fill out the form below and mail it in to us.

The year's events have made it abundantly clear that a new Left will only get formed when a rough consensus of opinion is reached by enough people on a political approach and platform. We have been showered with compliments and encomiums on the wonderful job we are doing to clarify issues and find new approaches to problems of our time. If a small percentage of the verbal support were translated into monetary terms, our financial worries would be over. We are honored by the many friendly notes and letters that we receive. But we are now up against it, and must appeal for hard cash in addition. Don't fail us! Please let us hear from you by return mail!

THE EDITORS