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THE SOCIALIST CALL

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
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OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY—SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

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Another Do-Nothing Congress?

Norman Thomas

Money and Medicine

Dr. Michael A. Shadid

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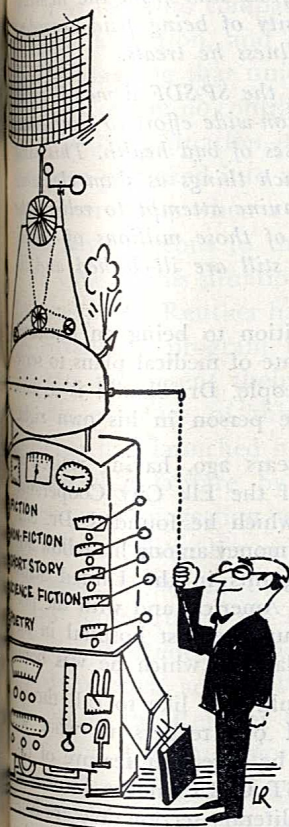
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THE SOCIALIST CALL

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HERMAN SINGER, EDITOR. ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, LEON DENNEN, HARRY FLEISCHMAN, MAURICE RICE J. GOLDBLOOM, AARON LEVENSTEIN, BENJAMIN MILLER, ROBIN MYERS, ERNST PAPANIKOLAOU, NORMAN THOMAS, ASSOCIATE EDITORS. ERICH FROMM, HARRY W. LAIDLER, CONTRIBUTING EDITORS.

THE SOCIALIST CALL, official organ of the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation, published monthly by the Call Association, Inc., a nonprofit foundation dedicated to the creation of a cooperative commonwealth, at 303 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. Telephone: GRamercy 3-4286.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of The SOCIALIST CALL or of the Call Association, Inc.

Re-entered as second class matter November 2, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: \$3.00 a year.

Volume XXVI

JUNE, 1958

Number 1

The Whys and Wherefores of the CALL

● Readers of Dr. Shadid's article in this issue of the SOCIALIST CALL will be interested in the following resolution dealing with socialized medicine which was adopted by the Second National Convention of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation:

● Socialized medicine has been advocated by America's democratic socialists for more than half a century. Today it is also being advocated by organized labor, and by sensitive-minded men of all political persuasions. It seems likely that in one form or another, socialized medicine is at last on the verge of becoming law.

● Therefore the SP-SDF now wishes to declare once again its firm conviction that every human being has a right to the best health science can provide; and that society has a duty to make medical care available to all its members whatever their financial status.

● Socialized medicine seems to be coming to America piecemeal, by gradual extension of Social Security and by various schemes of national health insurance. Socialists regard such measures as steps in the right direction, and pledge themselves to work in support of them together with all men of good will.

● At the same time, the SP-SDF reaffirms its belief that however superior such measures may be to the present inequitable system, they are not enough. An adequate approach to the

problems of the nation's health must provide more than a method of financing medical care. It must also concern itself with the quality of care, and its availability.

● This ultimately requires a complete reordering of the health industry and the creation of a national health service. It entails the building of hospitals and clinics, the financing of medical training and research, the establishment of a rigorous program in public health and preventive medicine. Socialized medicine must provide ade-

quate pay scales for nurses, technicians, and other medical personnel. It must foster a mode of medical practice that encourages the physician to concentrate on total preventive care, and that frees him from the demeaning necessity of being paid according to each illness he treats.

● Finally, the SP-SDF demands a vigorous nation-wide effort to remove the social causes of bad health. This must include such things as slum clearance and a genuine attempt to relieve the problems of those millions of Americans who still are ill-clothed and ill-fed.

● In addition to being an outstanding advocate of medical plans to serve all the people, Dr. Shadid is a most remarkable person in his own right.

● Some years ago, having retired as director of the Elk City Cooperative hospital, which he founded, Dr. Shadid raised money among his fellow Syrian immigrants in the United States and Latin America, and with the proceeds set up the first hospital in the Syrian village in which he was born.

● We would also like to call the attention of our readers to what we hope will be a regular feature of the SOCIALIST CALL in the future, an expanded literary section. We are happy to welcome James T. Farrell, the distinguished novelist, and our "Mexican" poet, who is actually a well-known American writer, as the fore-runners of such a project.

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Socialists and Trade Unions

FOR THE FIRST TIME since it organized the Big Three in the auto industry, the United Auto Workers Union is operating without a contract. Since this is unprecedented, President Walter Reuther of the UAW has made it clear that the UAW felt no need to resort to the slogan of the United Mine Workers that there would be no work without a contract.

This decision resulted from UAW rejection of the companies' offer of an increase of 9.1¢ an hour, coupled with the proposal to extend the contract over a two-year period. Actually, the companies' offer, as well as its rejection by the UAW, is based on routine collective bargaining strategy, enforced in this instance by the realities of economic life in the auto industry. The companies would not find a strike disagreeable, particularly if the blame could be placed on the union, since this would enable the auto industry to get rid of its sluggish inventories before retooling for 1959 models. Moreover, a strike which could be laid at the door of the UAW would enable the industry to stop supplementary unemployment benefits.

Because it does not want to fall into the trap set for it by the auto companies, the UAW has refrained from strike action, and has made a virtue of necessity by asserting that union collection of dues for the duration of the no-contract period would be a return to a healthy situation—temporarily. The UAW has not been provoked into accepting the strike challenge at the very time when a lull in production would be most advantageous to the auto corporations.

In view of this situation, it has been suggested that, at some point, Reuther had missed the boat, and failed to advance a program that would enable the auto workers to present their case most effectively. Cited as one evidence of this failure was the fact that Reuther had launched his negotiation proposals with considerable fanfare by advocating a profit-sharing proposal, a suggestion which has now been shelved.

Actually, given the circumstances—a background of recession, in which the auto industry has been affected most vitally—the collective bargaining strategy adopted by Reuther is well within the accepted boundaries of such action. What has provoked comment is that it was Reuther himself who selected this period for the inclusion of a profit-sharing plan in a bargaining package. On the surface, it would appear that Reuther had deliberately selected a period of recession for submitting a scheme which, for the UAW, was most unorthodox, and one which went,

in its social consequences, somewhat further than would seem to be justified by the economic situation. It should be remembered that the only trade union leader who has been subjected to this analysis has been Reuther, and that other trade union leaders have been making agreements without undue outside interest.

One reason for this state of affairs, of course, is that Reuther has himself taken the lead in offering programs that go beyond the routine demands of accepted bargaining procedures. In addition, it has been Reuther who has seemed to feel that, in taking a leading role in the politics of his state, there was something more at stake than the application of Gompers old formula of awarding political friends and punishing enemies. Yet, despite the fact that the UAW, and other AFL-CIO affiliates, play a dominant role in the work of the Democratic Party in Michigan, nothing resembling a vitally new approach for labor has come out of this relationship. The American trade union movement has become politicalized as never before in its history, yet it has brought to such activity little beyond its unprecedented numbers. Nothing new has been added to the accepted New Deal philosophy of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

One of the discrepancies that has characterized Reuther's policies is that his proposals at the bargaining table have a significance for all workers, and can be realized most effectively through political action, yet, Reuther has failed to present such programs in his role as activist in the Democratic Party.

In this connection, the action taken by the Second National Convention of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, which was held over the Memorial Day weekend in Detroit, assumes particular significance. The resolution follows:

"The primary task of the Party in the next two years is to convince the thousands of socialists in the United States who are not members of our organization that it is their organization, too, that they belong in it and that with their help it can become a vital force in American political life.

"We face a peculiar difficulty in that we must recruit and rebuild our movement at a time when, for various reasons, we are in most cases unable to offer potential members an *electoral* alternative, although we do present the more basic alternative of a sane society.

"The situation calls for flexibility in the electoral

policy of the Party. It means essentially that we must recruit Democrats and Republicans—or people whose electoral allegiance will remain to those parties—provided, of course, that they agree with basic socialist goals and policies. We must encourage a flexibility of electoral approach which, while not committing the Party as such to support for old-party candidates, can consider socialists or other independent candidates, entrance into primary election, and action by individuals in support of labor or avowedly progressive candidates.

“This convention instructs the incoming NEC, in whose hands implementation of the policy will largely lie, to favor such liberal construction of the constitution as will allow maximum recruiting of socialists, and the kind of experiments in tactics through which we can learn by experience the most effective approach to the American people today.”

One of the most useful results of such a policy will be the presentation of socialist solutions to the major

problems facing the trade union movement. More over it, will encourage trade unionists, now active politically, to present their socialist ideas, to be identified as socialists and to make known their views to their fellow-unionists. It will open up the possibility that, for the first time in twenty years, American workers will have before them, for consideration as an alternative to capitalist values, the ideals of cooperative planning within the context of a democratic, humane society.

* * *

In another action, the Convention adopted a majority resolution inviting members of the Independent Socialist League to join the SP-SDF following the dissolution of the ISL. This was in response to an earlier request for entry into the SP-SDF made by the ISL. A minority resolution recommended that no action on the request be taken by the Convention. The issue will be submitted to a referendum of the SP-SDF.

After de Gaulle—What?

THE ASCENSION TO POWER of General de Gaulle in France had so many comic opera aspects, with plots and counter-plots replacing each other overnight, that it would be easy to write off France in the terms which flippant commentators sometimes apply to developments in Latin America. Unfortunately, the events leading up to the assumption of power by de Gaulle laid bare the basic weakness of democracy in France, and, what is most depressing, exposed the incapacity of democratic leaders to arouse the workers of the country to what may prove to be a fatal attack on freedom.

The revolt against democracy began with the demand of leaders of the European community in Algeria, acting in cooperation with Army generals, that de Gaulle be given power. It is notable that this demand aroused no great response in France itself, aside from the automatic support it obtained from the Right-wing groups seeking to achieve their own aims under the cloak of Gaullism. At best, the Right-wing could bring only some 6,000 Parisians into the streets on behalf of de Gaulle. It was therefore obvious that the movement to suspend accepted parliamentary procedure had no mass support. A determined move on the part of the duly elected government to act on behalf of democracy might have quelled the rebellion at the very beginning. Despite the lack of vigor of the leaders of the democratic parties, it was possible to arrange for a demonstration of some 250,000 workers who manifested their support of democracy.

Despite this indication that workers would respond to a call to defend democratic rights, democratic leadership was lacking. Leaders of the democratic parties, rather than rallying to support democracy, hurried to come to terms with de Gaulle on the ground that this was the only way of preventing civil war.

As could be expected, the first casualty in a blow to democracy was the French Socialist Party. Although a parliamentary majority held out against de Gaulle until the very end, a minority group, led by former premier Mollet, accepted de Gaulle. This may mean a split in the Socialist Party which will make it ineffective as a force for democracy in a future showdown.

Although de Gaulle has temporarily dampened the rebellion of the Generals in Algeria, the substitution of himself in preference to a program shows that he has no solution to the crisis which was responsible for bringing him to power—Algeria. Moreover, he can only be a temporary cover over the workers in France who support a social program and those rightist groups who prefer authoritarian solutions. At best, therefore, de Gaulle, even if he can mediate among conflicting forces in France for six months, is bound to be a figure of transition.

After de Gaulle—what? The means by which de Gaulle came to power—under duress and the threat of bloodshed and terror—are those which the Communist Party perfected long before de Gaulle emerged as a political figure in France. The precedent having

been established, the Communist Party can employ the technique with the minimum of restraint and maximum effectiveness.

To ultra-Rightists, who quickly added de Gaulle's name to their cause, scorn for democracy is basic to their program. Democracy thus faces a threat from the reactionaries and the Communists.

The Communists apparently felt that it was necessary to present only nominal resistance to de Gaulle. Two reasons may help explain this reticence. Since de Gaulle has frequently expressed the view that France be more "independent" of the West, leaders in the Kremlin probably feel that such independence

will take the form of an understanding with the Soviet Union. Further, the Communists probably feel that their opportunity will come after de Gaulle's luster dims.

Soon after the crisis developed in France, the Socialist International Bureau called a special meeting to discuss the situation. It is possible that Socialists have been too complacent about accepting the normal processes of democracy as automatically inviolate. What events in France have shown is that Socialists internationally must make democracy a vital, living concern to all workers, and to stress that its realization is basic to all Socialist progress.

Resolution on Foreign Policy

(Adopted by the SP-SDF Convention)

The continuance of the cold war, in the age of nuclear weapons, is a race to annihilation. Therefore, the Socialist Party urges upon the United States and the United Nations the absolute necessity of achieving universal, controlled disarmament down to a police level for maintaining order under a strengthened United Nations.

Under present circumstances, the first and most immediate step should be universal discontinuance under inspection of all tests of nuclear weapons. To further negotiations toward this end, to hinder the entrance of one nation after another into the nuclear suicide club, to restore world wide confidence in our American concern for peace, and to protect the health of mankind from further contamination by radioactive nuclear fallout, American tests should be immediately discontinued. Legislation permitting the Administration to give blueprints of our nuclear weapons, or the weapons themselves, to any or all of our 47 allies, should be defeated. Discontinuance of nuclear tests should be followed by negotiations for diversion, under inspection, of nuclear materials solely to peace and progressive removal of nuclear material from stockpiles of atomic weapons and for the reduction and control of conventional arms and armies.

As a further step toward peace, we urge: 1) That the United States should stop all production of nuclear weapons at once; 2) That the United States should stop all work on inter-continental ballistic missiles at once; 3) That the United States should invite the United Nations Disarmament Commission to set up, at our expense, an effective inspection system in the United States. We would then invite the world to observe this inspection. 4) The United States should then announce that she expected Russia to do likewise within a specified

length of time.

Together with progressive disarmament must go progressive disengagement from those commitments outside the United Nations out of which, by accident or design, errors or incidents may spring wars which will kindle world conflagration. In many lands, American bases are sources of danger, not strength. The status of Okinawa should be renegotiated lest it become an American Cyprus.

On the basis of evidence of sincere Chinese concern for peace, attested to by turning the Korean truce into peace and pledging non-aggression against her neighbors, including Taiwan, we urge the recognition of the *de-facto* government of China and its inclusion in the United Nations.

This principle of disengagement should be vigorously applied in the Middle East, to the end of achieving regional disarmament in that troubled area.

In Central Europe, every effort should be made for the re-unification of a free Germany by democratic elections on the basis of a general extension of Austrian demilitarization, by phased withdrawal of military forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

No purely political arrangement will establish abiding peace. We therefore urge an increase in well-considered economic aid administered as far as may be possible through the United Nations. We denounce the waste of money and the disgrace to our leadership to world peace implicit in military aid to dictators like Trujillo and Franco. We urge a free trade policy by the United States and travel free from political restraints and increased cultural exchanges.

This program is consistent with continual and uncompromising ideological opposition to Communist and all other dictatorships.

Money and Medicine

A Critical View of U.S. Medical Practice

By Michael A. Shadid

AS PRESENTLY ORGANIZED, scientific medical care is a costly business and none but the well-to-do can avail themselves of the benefits. The fee-for-service system—the system of charging for each visit, each examination, each laboratory procedure, each surgical operation, each day of hospital care—is no longer tenable, but outmoded, because it is beyond the reach of the common man.

When the practice of medicine was a simple affair, when it consisted solely of the services of a family doctor and the use of a thermometer and a stethoscope, the cost was negligible. It was not a problem. Clinics, specialists, laboratories, physiotherapy, the X-ray, and other instruments of precision, and complicated procedures were unknown. Those were the days of the horse-and-buggy doctor.

Today, the practice of medicine is no longer a simple affair, but a technical and scientific problem. A sick person may need the services of technicians, surgeons, specialists, hospitals, laboratories, and other scientific paraphernalia and the cost has become prohibitive, but the method of payment, the system of fee-for-service, the system of paying for every examination, every treatment, every surgical operation, laboratory procedure, or hospital day, remains the same. As a result, people do not sufficiently avail themselves of the services of scientific medicine.

The technology of medicine has outrun its sociology.

The Patient as Loser

It is not unusual for an ordinary citizen to have to spend a whole year's income, or go into debt for years to come, to pay the cost of one case of illness requiring a major surgical operation and long-time hospitalization. Many are the farmers who, to my knowledge, mortgaged their farms, and sometimes even lost them, to meet doctor and hospital bills. The exorbitant fees charged by many specialists are a disgrace to the tradition of our guild. They indicate an attitude akin to that of the highwayman who demands your life or your money.

The sliding scale of fees—charging people according to their ability to pay—is also outmoded and no longer applicable. It is obviously both morally wrong and economically unsound.

Competitive medicine makes no frontal attack on the prevention of disease.

We all know that it is easier and cheaper to prevent fire than to fight fire. We all know that it is easier to prevent ill health than to cure disease. And yet competitive medicine is occupied mostly in treating illness. In the United States only 2¢ of each medical dollar is spent for prevention.

The patient usually comes to the doctor when the disease is well established and has already inflicted irreparable damage to the organism.

The Neglect of Prevention

For instance, a patient who has a headache and albumin in the urine has had kidney trouble for a long time and should have been seen long before for earlier symptoms. A doctor noticing general wasting, with fever and cough, knows the patient is in the last stages of consumption. A doctor who sees a patient suffering from shortness of breath and high blood pressure knows he has had arterial disease for a long time.

An attack of glaucoma ending in blindness is the end result of eye trouble existing over a long period of months or years during which blindness could have been prevented.

Cancer is curable before it metastasizes, or is disseminated into the organism, yet one in every ten deaths is due to cancer. And one out of every seven persons over 45 years of age dies of cancer. It is estimated that about one-third of the deaths occurring in the United States each year is preventable.

The reason for this tragic failure is that the medical profession concentrates on treating the two per cent of the population which is sick and neglects the 98 per cent which seems well. The doctor under the profit system finds himself in the same position as a private tradesman. He has a service to sell. The apparently well do not visit the doctor except for business reasons.

The Inadequacy of Solo Medical Practice

The third count against competitive medical practice is its inadequacy, its incompetency, its inability, inherent in its lack of organization, to bring to the care of the sick the best professional knowledge and skill available.

The practice of medicine is no longer a one-man

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affair. No two or three physicians can adequately practice scientific medicine. The practice of medicine has become complex. It requires the services of physicians, specialists, technicians, laboratories. It involves many technical procedures for proper diagnosis and treatment. It takes a large group of trained persons organized around a hospital to diagnose and treat sick people properly. The family doctor is no longer the undisputed medical authority in the household. Rather he has become a signpost pointing the way to different specialists.

And yet, in spite of this development in medical practice, 95 per cent of medical care is given by individual physicians practicing alone. Each physician, each specialist, has his own office, his own receptionist, his own bookkeeping system, his own collector of good and bad debts. He feels your pulse, takes your blood pressure, looks at your tongue, and writes a prescription. This is not scientific medicine. It is guesswork.

If the patient requires the services of a urologist, an ophthalmologist, a dermatologist, or some other "ologist," he has to visit the offices of these physicians perhaps in different buildings or even in different towns separately, and as each of these is practicing medicine on a fee-for-service basis, each hands him a separate bill for services rendered. And even if the patient can afford the expense, the specialists often disagree and the patient is left in a quandary. He then has the choice of resorting to a quack or else to the Mayo clinic or some other clinic. The success of these clinics is based on the lack of coordination in ordinary medical practice.

The Teamwork of Specialists

The examination of a patient may require the services of several specialists: an ear, eye, nose and throat specialist, a urologist, a neurologist, a gynecologist, and so forth. The physician is not always in a position to say what line of investigation should be carried

Few physicians are in a better position to evaluate the deficiencies of the financial aspects of American medical practice than Dr. Michael A. Shadid. After many years of private practice in the Southwest, Dr. Shadid, a Socialist, founded the Elk City (Okla.) Community Hospital, the pioneer medical cooperative in the United States. In a recent book, *Crusading Doctor*, Dr. Shadid gives a complete account of the unrelenting efforts of organized medical groups to force the Community Hospital to close its doors, despite the fact that its facilities, offered on a prepaid, low-cost basis, were among the best available in the region. In a subsequent article, to appear in an early issue of the **SOCIALIST CALL, Dr. Shadid will discuss various proposals for making medical care available to all Americans.**

out, yet if some are not available because of financial or other reasons then modern medical diagnosis falls to the ground, and the physician's opinion retrogrades toward that given by his predecessor one or two generations ago. And what is said in regard to diagnosis applies with equal force to medical and surgical treatment. In fact, the general physician should recommend one of many different specialists for a considerable number of the cases that come to him, if he is to give them really adequate medical care.

End of the One-Man Era

In one of my books I have told how, early in my medical career, I witnessed in one night three operations, which resulted in three deaths, and how the memory of that dreadful night made me determine to work for a better system of medical care.

The majority of those who are plying the surgeon's trade are no more fit to practice that sacred art than a boatswain is competent to guide a ship through a hurricane.

Said Dr. Paul Hawley, Director of the American College of Surgeons: "Half of the surgery done in this country is done by people who are not qualified surgeons. They are general practitioners."

The one-man era in medicine is gone. The modern practice of medicine requires team-work on the part of several specialists. No man alive is competent to diagnose and treat every disease. We used to make a diagnosis; now we assemble them. The result is the product of several, perhaps many, physicians and technicians. Their findings are assembled by one man who analyzes all the reports. If the diagnosis is accurate, the treatment is usually a relatively easy matter.

The Surgical Racket

A great and constantly growing evil under competitive medicine is unnecessary surgery. In the profession there is a substantial minority who capitalize upon the ignorance of the people and betray their confidence. They look upon every patient as a source of income; and with every case of illness they ask themselves, "Where do I come in; how much can I get out of this case?"

They operate upon the principle of "Get all you can, charge all that the traffic will bear; get it honestly if you can, but get it." A patient with a pain in the abdomen has appendicitis if he can pay. If he cannot he is apt to have an old-fashioned stomach-ache. The well-to-do patient needs a surgical operation; the poor man needs a dose of salts.

This is an anti-social policy. Sickness and death should be to nobody's advantage. No one should look

to them as the hope of his livelihood. An injury to one should be felt as an injury to all.

The appendix, an inert organ usually some three inches long, three quarters of an inch in diameter, and attached to the large bowel, is, of course, an "evolutionary hang-over" with no known physical function. There is nothing in the books, however, to indicate that nature left the appendix behind to be a perennial source of income for the operation-minded surgeon. Yet under a system of surgery for profit that would too often seem to be the appendix's economic function.

Dr. Hawley has said, "I can show you where 60 or 70 per cent of the appendices removed are normal."

Dr. Albert Deutsch, in an article in the *Woman's Home Companion*, reported: "A professor of obstetrics and gynecology at a large university recently made a study of 246 womb operations during a four months period in ten Midwestern hospitals. He found that fully one-third of the excised wombs were not diseased at all."

A noted surgeon, Dr. I. S. Ravdin, recently assailed some fellow surgeons for charging too much money, doing needless operations, and splitting fees. Speaking to the American Medical Association at Atlantic City he urged a house-cleaning of unnecessary resort to consultants and of "ghost surgery," in which the physician hires a surgeon, never seen by the patient, to do the actual operation.

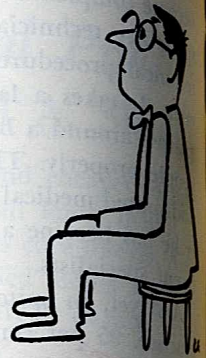
"Fees charged by some surgeons," said Dr. Ravdin, "are higher than they ought to be," and "the adage of charging all the traffic will bear is immoral."

The Evil of Fee-Splitting

What increases the number of unnecessary operations is the racket of fee-splitting. Fee-splitting is what the phrase implies: the division of fees between the general practitioner who sends the patient to the surgeon or specialist, who operates.

Because of this fee-splitting racket many people wear spectacles who have no need of them. A survey in the *Reader's Digest*, August and October 1937, showed that all of its polled patients were told they needed a change of glasses just about as often as they changed optometrists.

Some eye doctors defraud patients by taking "kickbacks" from optical houses filling prescriptions for their patients. When this racket was exposed doctors began to have the glasses delivered to them and to add 100 per cent (in addition to their fees) to the optical charges. This was recently revealed in Milwaukee by Willard L. Hotchkiss, Assistant United States Attorney, who commented, "Some doctors used to get rebates as high as \$40,000 a year and they don't like to see that pile of boodle go out of the window."



Medical societies, individual leaders of our profession, and legislators have denounced fee-splitting. Yet fee-splitting goes on secretly as a black-market enterprise. Obviously there is no way to reckon its spread. Doctors, realizing the risks they run in arousing the wrath of the official bodies, do not, of course, exchange checks or conduct their fee-splitting operations in the open, any more than did rebating monopolists in the old days. It is anybody's guess how common the practice is today. I would guess that it is far more widespread than it was in 1907, when I first began to practice and was offered \$100 from a surgeon to whom I had referred a patient.

Fee-splitting is illegal in many states and the offending doctor may be fined or jailed or lose his license to practice. The American College of Surgeons, organized in 1913 to restrict surgery to the honest and the able, condemned fee-splitting as "the buying and selling of patients," and required each fellow member to pledge not to practice it. But the A.C.S. (American College of Surgeons) is a surgical society and has no legal authority, and the racket continues just the same.

The Extent of Kickbacks

In 1944, the Moreland Commission of New York reported to Governor Dewey: "Kickbacks ranging from 15 to 50 per cent were paid to more than 3,000 physicians in New York, Kings, Bronx, and Queens counties alone. The medical societies have seemingly closed their eyes to this widespread system." Testimony showed that referring physicians demanded kickbacks from everybody—surgeons, X-ray laboratories, surgical appliance companies, opticians, and even specimen analysis laboratories.

The unethical practices, the money-mad propensities of some members of the medical profession are still as strong as ever. In a recent issue *Life* described the present day experience of the United Mine Workers. The magazine reported as follows:

"When the United Mine Workers dedicated a string

(Continued on page 9)

When Doctors Assemble

The AMA Vs. Socialized Medicine

By Jack Kofoed

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL Association is gathered in convention at the Americana Hotel, and a subject of concern to the members is socialized medicine.

Dr. David B. Allman, addressing the first general session, said: "I have confidence in the intelligence and understanding of the American people, which will keep them from succumbing to dictatorial regulations." He means they won't accept socialized medicine.

Dr. Allman is not altogether realistic. During the past half century the American people have accepted many things once considered "dictatorial" or "socialistic."

In the former instance, let's mention only a couple, like the drafting of young men into the armed services during peace time, and the use of federal troops to enforce a Supreme Court decision on a state. There are others, but these will do.

On the socialistic side are countless examples: unemployment insurance, restrictive regulations upon business, FEPC, social security . . . you name it we've got it. Many things we look on as normal procedures were once planks in the Socialist Party's platform.

Some are good, but good or bad, they have been accepted by the American people.

When I mentioned socialized medicine in the past some doctors leaped at me with what amounted to

of new hospitals in West Virginia, the president of the American Medical Association was an approving guest. The United Mine Workers medical plan had received A.M.A.'s blessing from its inception 10 years ago—partly because it permitted patients to pick their own doctors and hospitals.

"But now the honeymoon has ended. The union, which last year spent \$60 million on 94,000 patients in 45 states, claimed that some doctors had been overcharging patients and recommending unneeded surgery and hospitalization. So U.M.W. has ruled that henceforth its patients can go only to U.M.W.-approved doctors and hospitals."

Yes, the sociology of medicine most certainly lags behind its technology. As things stand now, organized doctors appear to many as a medical octopus in whose tentacles we are all held. Is there a way out, some plan by which medical care can be brought to the people, eliminating prevailing faults?

murder in their eyes. In no instance did I beat drums and clash cymbals in favor of this argumentative subject, but merely suggested the profession's best defense against it lay with physicians, themselves.

Accepted by the People

When sickness strikes a household, the doctor becomes a god. He is the difference between life and death for one you love. At all times he is one of the most highly respected members of his community.

Yet, many things happen day after day which cause more and more people to urge socialization of medicine. Costs are enormous.

Fantastic prices are charged for drugs.

Some doctors refuse to make house calls.

Dying men have been refused admission to hospitals, because they did not have enough money.

For each case there is at least one matching one . . . perhaps many . . . where doctors give of their skill without consideration for their own health, or financial rewards.

The very poor get charity treatment. The rich can afford the enormous cost of getting well.

The salaried man, the small business man, the skilled worker, can plunge into endless debt through medical charges. Health insurance takes up only part of the cost.

Every time a person pays a staggering price for pills, has a doctor refuse to come to his house, or is turned away from a hospital, a new recruit for socialization of medicine is sworn in.

The solution lies with the Medical Association, pharmaceutical manufacturers, hospital administrators, and others in, or on the fringes of the profession.

No matter how devoted many physicians are, nor how resounding convention speeches, America will get socialized medicine sooner or later unless something is done to correct the situation as it exists today.

It won't help to get mad at me, gentlemen. This is a diagnosis, not an attack on the medical profession, nor a suggested cure.

I'm merely pointing out the reaction of laymen, and when enough laymen want something hard enough, government steps in, and gives it to them. That's the pitch, and no one can deny it. The issue is up to you.

This column appeared in the Miami Herald.

Another Do-Nothing Congress?

Norman Thomas

WHAT LITTLE DOUBT there was that Democrats would sweep into Congress in the fall election has been still further lessened by the results of the California primaries. We shall be in for two years with a Republican in the White House and a swollen Democratic majority in both houses of Congress, a majority held together by nothing much more than opposition to the Republican administration. There is this compensation in a situation in which party platforms and party lines are so nearly meaningless in terms of principle and program: it is possible to carry on government by agreements between the President and bipartisan groups in Congress on specific legislation.

That sort of agreement is working now, and not always to the good. Witness the decision of Eisenhower and the Democratic Congressional leaders on the subject of tax reduction as a cure for recession. But at least our democracy hasn't yet got to the point of paralysis which gave de Gaulle his chance in France.

The Lack of Liberalism

Nevertheless, our political skies are not bright. There are able and progressive men in Congress, more of them Democrats than Republicans, but the control of Congress is very largely in the hands of shrewd politicians and parliamentarians like the majority leader of the Senate, Lyndon Johnson, and the speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn. Liberalism, as the word is loosely used in America, has at present no outstanding leaders with great hold on large sections of the country. Perhaps such a man will emerge. That remains to be seen.

In any case, the supposedly liberal and progressive Democrats in Congress have so far been unable or perhaps unwilling for the sake of party harmony to draw up any alternative to the Eisenhower program either in domestic or in foreign policies. Let us cite important specific items:

Item, the recession, or depression: This is not an accident that has happened to a generally healthy system. It is inherent in the system and permits no easy cures. Reforms since 1932 have been able to moderate but not cure the familiar cycle, boom to bust.

There are, however, three things that should have been done before this: (a) There should have been carefully considered tax cuts in excise and income taxes to increase the purchasing power of lower income groups. Such tax relief should have been temporary and then there should be a revision of our whole tax system; (b) There should be greater expenditures for public works in themselves desirable. We don't want a pork barrel scheme. Preference should be given to public works, city, state or federal for which plans are so advanced that work can be begun promptly. The federal government should help state and local governments by gifts or laws for this purpose. Particular attention should be given to providing better school facilities which are immensely necessary of themselves. (c) Unemployment insurance should be provided for the help of workers so long as they are unemployed. Here states are more to blame than the federal government and most of these states are under Democratic governors. Few states have decent unemployment insurance programs. The new federal law offers inadequate loans to extend unemployment insurance, loans which many states cannot use under their present laws or are not willing to accept for fear of higher taxes to repay the loans.

Failure in Education Programs

Item, education: Not many weeks ago, the *New York Times* printed a carefully documented report of the practical collapse of all much advertised plans to bolster American education if only in order that we may keep up with Russia. None of them seems likely to get through Congress. There will not be provision for additional facilities, scholarships for bright boys and girls lacking in money to pay for advanced education, or additions to teachers' salaries. In this matter the Democrats, on account of the Southern belief that the cornerstone of education is racial segregation, are the worst offenders.

Item, socialized medicine, either by public health insurance or some better system (I have been privileged to see the manuscript of a Socialist pamphlet on this subject which I find quite thrilling. It will give us Socialists an immediate program to work on): I have never been able to understand why labor and liberals so completely dropped the drive to change the "free enterprise" system under which long-continued and serious invalidism practically bankrupts all but the richest families.

The Knowland Labor Program

Item, labor legislation: It is probable that the poor showing made by Senator Knowland in the California gubernatorial primary will check but not wholly defeat the drive for anti-labor legislation like right-to-work laws. They should be resoundingly defeated. But there is a need for carefully considered legislation to help the workers in their fight against corruption and autocracy in some unions.

Senator Kennedy's bill, as summarized in the press, seems to me generally sound. Admirable as have been the efforts of the leaders of the AFL-CIO to establish self-discipline, the Federation lacks power for effective action in its member unions and three very strong unions are outside it. Congress should act by way of establishing an effective bill of rights which by no means should give the government control over the unions. Some bill may get through the Senate but not, the dopesters tell us, the House at this session. The issue will not die.

I pass over the fight on unification of our enormously costly military services in which we Socialists are scarcely experts. I observe with interest that the Democratic House rejected a plan by a general, now President of the United States, to reduce the army by 30,000 men. Who says they aren't Patriots—with a capital "P"?

Item, foreign policy: Democrats have been increasingly forceful in criticizing Eisenhower and Dulles and many of their specific criticisms are well taken but, as James Reston pointed out, neither in Congress nor the country have they presented an alternative program. Generalizations like "a more flexible policy" and "getting on top of events instead of having events get on top of us," don't mean much. What's wrong with our foreign policy is far more than the difference between Acheson and Dulles, who in action are



pretty well agreed. Our business here is to push the general kind of program our Socialist convention endorsed. Its political proposals are universal, controlled disarmament down to a police level; disengagement—in the sense in which I have defined it in the pages of the CALL—and the strengthening of the United Nations.

A Program for Latin America

Vice President Nixon's trip has called attention to the importance of a South American policy and I have been much impressed by a program proposed by Adolf Berle, Jr., when he was awarded the citation from the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. That program has three points: (1) The appointment of an Under Secretary of State for Hemispheric Affairs, ranking next to the Secretary and with direct access to the President. (2) A great extension of economic cooperation beginning with stabilization of prices for oil and minerals, upon so much of which South America's well-being depends. Beyond that the American states should work for a uniform hemispheric currency and central banking system and social security minimums. (3) Hemispheric disarmament with joint arrangement for hemispheric defense but no arms for intra-hemispheric wars.

A program like this has to be integrated with the general strengthening of the UN, and the general struggle for disarmament, to be successful. It is also necessary in a hemispheric program to give more attention to the role of Canada than Mr. Berle found time for. But his program is of the imaginative sort little heard in Congress or the councils of either major party.

Mr. Berle's emphasis on economics in our hemispheric problems is, of course, of larger application. Gunnar Myrdal has called attention to the fact that



in spite of some economic aid to the industrially backward countries in the last decade the gap between rich and poor nations is widening, largely because of the immense advantage to the rich of the capital equipment in machines, etc., which the richer nations already possess.

Far more serious thought has to be given to economic aid which, as far as possible, should be handled on a cooperative basis through the United Nations. In a world which requires planning and some stabilization of prices, free trade in the classical sense is out. But freer trade as part of an American program is very important. Yet the President's inadequate program for extending reciprocal trade agreements will have a great struggle getting through a House controlled by the Democratic Party.

The Case for Peace

This brief summary of the lines on which its foreign policy should be developed is of course inadequate to the theme. I presented it to call attention to the kind of thinking and discussion which ought to be going on, and to which the Democratic Party as such has made about as little contribution as the Republicans.

Individual senators and Adlai Stevenson have spoken out on some issues but no one has brought the Democratic Party around to any clear-cut and meaningful program for achieving an abiding peace.

Finally, it is of course in the Democratic Party and the Democratic states that the most open rebellion against the Supreme Court decision on integration in education is to be found. The liberal Democrats in Congress have been either unwilling or unable to do much more on this issue than criticize the Administration for its lukewarm approach to a constructive policy of integration.

The ease with which liberals allowed themselves to consent to the removal of the vital section of last year's Civil Rights Bill, giving the Department of Justice the power to intervene directly in behalf of victims of discrimination, was symptomatic of the larger failure of liberals in and out of Americans for Democratic Action. They have not made the Democratic Party a genuine vehicle of social progress in the last decade. It is a situation to challenge us all. To meet it we Socialists must find ways further to develop our own good program and to present it in compelling terms to the American people.

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U.S. Policy in Disarray

A Survey of Latin American Developments

By Frances R. Grant

CATASTROPHES SEEM TO BE the only effective method of turning the attention of United States public opinion toward Latin America. Wars, revolutions, assassination and violence cause us to focus our interest, and that of our press, on the Americans to the South. This interest, however, up to now, has been but a brief nod in their direction; after which we have turned away to the other more "attractive" areas of the world, with little real thought to the anguish, the resentment and, finally, the deep frustration that we have inspired.

If we discuss, as I have been asked to do in this article, what is wrong with our Latin American policy, we must state that it is precisely this: *our lack of real interest in Latin America*. To a large extent, every other omission or committed errors stems from that point, and it is one which reflects on the people of our country almost as much as upon our government.

There is continual indifference here to Latin America, an unconcern with its peoples and with their struggle to rise from the morass of inherited and imposed social, economic, and political backwardness. This indifference, deeply sensed by the hypersensitive peoples to the south, has led to the sense of offense, unexpressed bitterness and, finally, the overt outbursts which marked the "good will" tour of the Vice President of the United States.

Interests vs. Unconcern

When I mention interest, I mean the true concern of one people for the destiny of another. I am not speaking of "interests," which is quite another matter. Because, in place of the interest which should move our people and government on behalf of our neighbors to the south, there have been interests as translated into expedients, which have inspired us to sudden spurts of attention to Latin America.

From an experience of more than a quarter century with Latin America and its struggles, the writer is convinced that no area of the world has impinged less upon our conscience and our sense of relationship than Latin America. Yet this indifference violates the historic and geographic ties which should be drawing us together, in the realization that, whether we will it or not, ours is a complementary destiny. Inevitably, the social, moral and political encroachments of

our shrinking world will either bring us together in an Inter-American alliance committed to the defense of the institutions of freedom in the world, or will bisect the hemisphere and set us facing each other as two equal contenders for Hemisphere dominance. This could extend to world position, since the twenty American Republics could well swing for or against us in inter-governmental bodies. The Latin American population is growing faster than any other in the world; it has already outstripped us in inhabitants, and will do so eventually in resource-potentials.

By our failure to take Latin Americans seriously, the entire psychological climate of inter-American relations has been deeply prejudiced. For instance, I recall during the pre-war period, when the Allies and Germans were jousting for friends in the Hemisphere, my Latin American friends insisted that we, as a people, were far more racially conscious than the Nazis! Actually, if we of North America examine our relations to other peoples, we will realize that our attitudes have a significant impact on the darker peoples of the world, for feelings are palpable forces in the relations between peoples. Until we recognize this fact, we may, perhaps, find conventional areas of relationship with Latin America, but not the surge of human understanding which unites peoples in the common needs of evolution toward a more harmonious world.

In mentioning our own shortcomings concerning our Latin American neighbors, I would not have it appear that Latin Americans are entirely without fault in these mutual misunderstandings—but this is not the matter under discussion in our present discussion.

Policy—or Lack of One

Now, given this climate of distrust among peoples, let us turn to the Latin American policy of our government. Or is it really a policy at all? One of the concerns of Latin America is the fact that we have no policy. A fixed policy might be more easily coped with, criticized or challenged, but there is such a changing line of social, moral and political advance and retreat that it is impossible for Latin Americans to know what this policy is. In the course of our historical relations with Latin America we have swerved from the noble mutual aims of our Wars of Inde-

pendence (in many ways the high point of Inter-Americanism) to our assumption in the Monroe Doctrine that the entire Hemisphere was our precinct of protection. The U.S. then entered a period of economic and commercial rapaciousness that left scars which have never entirely healed, though the original wrongs have been eliminated. Later came the days of dollar diplomacy, the big stick and the ever-ready marines, whose very name conjures up resentment even today. In the last quarter-century, we won Latin America to a period of great friendship through the Good Neighbor policy. We then jilted Latin America, after the war honeymoon, arriving at last at the present nadir in our relations.

Thus, the first thing wrong in our Latin American policy is its shifting and amorphous character.

Failure in Economic Program

Next in disastrous effects on Latin America is our Latin American economic policy. Latin America feels—and with sufficient evidence to fortify her opinion—that our economic policy in Latin America is conditioned entirely upon its benefits to ourselves, not for the benefit of Latin America. Having witnessed our far-sighted policy of aid to Europe through the Marshall Plan, Latin America draws comparisons with her own situation, and the meager aid grants given her. As Europe rises from economic collapse, Latin America is passing through the agonies of economic crisis, perhaps the most crucial in hemisphere history. Yet during World War II there was only one area of the world to which we could turn for our basic materials.

Shut off from Asia and the Near East, we turned to Latin America for the essential materials, without which we could not have won the war. We tapped her vast resources of copper, her tin, oil. We asked and received price concessions during the war. Yet after the war we did not support prices on these commodities, which nose-dived to disastrous levels—a tragic collapse for one-product countries. At the same time prices of U.S. exports to Latin America are climbing to ever more lofty levels. And Latin American dollars reserves have evaporated proportionately.

Our protective tariffs once again loom as threats to Latin American exports. The threat to Peru's lead and zinc and Venezuela's oil exports were two of the sparks which set off the demonstrations in Lima and Caracas.

To these economic offenses, as Latin America sees it, have been added moral and political offenses. In our cold war against the advance of communist ideology, we have been projecting ourselves before the world as the defenders of civil and political freedom, as opposed to Soviet suppression.

Yet we have, by moral, economic and military aid helped to keep in power in Latin America a series of dictators who, in all ways, have been as iniquitous and tyrannical as any communist government. Moreover, these Latin American dictators are even more avaricious than the Soviets, since they have siphoned almost the total economic potential of their countries into their own coffers or into those of their satraps. To these neo-fascist or military tyrants we have continued to dole out millions of dollars in economic and military aid, sometimes—as in the case of Peron—at the moment when those dictatorships were about to perish by the weight of the very spoliations which had brought their countries to bankruptcy. We bailed the dictators out.

Our government has excused this type of aid to dictatorships on two grounds: we needed them as allies in the East-West struggle; we could not intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

Selecting Some Allies

Let us dissect the validity of these two motives: What kind of allies would the dictators of Latin America make in the event of an East-West struggle? Certainly, the peoples chafing under a Latin American dictatorship could hardly be counted on to rally behind their own tyrants to save others from a similar breed. No Latin American dictatorship in the last decade would have dared to put arms into the hands of the populace, knowing full well that, once armed, the people would have turned these arms on their own oppressors. Even the swollen military and police machines of Perez Jimenez did not ultimately save him from an aroused people. Our military aid—as pointed out by the Costa Rican Ambassador before the Organization of American States recently—has been a burden on democratic governments, and useful only

In Peru and Venezuela last month Vice-President Nixon, in the course of a "good will" tour of various Latin American countries, provoked anti-American riots and demonstrations. The ferocity of the outbursts, which seemed to come as a shock to the Nixon entourage and to the Latin American desk in the State Department, was hardly a surprise to those really concerned with social and labor developments in Latin America. The SOCIALIST CALL, over recent years, has frequently published articles by leading Latin American specialists, including Dr. Robert J. Alexander and S. Fanny Simon, describing the background which led to the eruptions in Venezuela and Peru. In this article, and in the one by Nicanor Mujica the SOCIALIST CALL presents a two-way analysis of the impact of the Nixon tour. Frances R. Grant, secretary-general of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, has maintained close contact with leading democratic and socialist groups in Latin America and in the course of frequent trips to many countries she has come to know well most of the leading democratic personalities in the area.

to the dictators in fortifying them against their own people. Too often American arms were the weapons used to assassinate Latin Americans who dared to oppose their tyrannical chiefs. Such facts are not forgotten by a violated people.

Let us also deflate the idea of "Non-Intervention" which has become a kind of obsessive term in Inter-American relations.

Early in the century, when dollar diplomacy and the big stick were the U.S. credo toward Latin America, intervention of the worst type was the rule. With the Good Neighbor Policy and Cordell Hull's desire to make amends for our past, we reversed ourselves completely. Non-Intervention became a slogan; now it has become a fetish. Intervention can mean many things. Marines and the Big Stick do not constitute the only types of intervention. There are degrees of moral intervention which serve even more forcefully.

Thus, the medals bestowed, with profuse, laudatory words, on a Perez Jimenez, an Odria or a repugnant Trujillo may seem like minor details to North American Generals. But to Latin Americans suffering torture, imprisonment or exile under these tyrants, they leave deep wounds and are translated by Latin American democrats to mean support of their oppressors. This is moral intervention on the side of dictatorship. More significant is the military and economic aid given dictators, much of which finds its way into the banks of Switzerland, against the ultimate rainy days of reckoning. This is material intervention on the side of dictators against the democratic forces which would unseat them.

Sometimes this moral intervention has been exercised, regrettably, in the person of the Ambassadors we have sent to dictatorships, some of whom—such as Nufer during Peron's regime, or Ambassador Whelan in Nicaragua—forget that "palship" with a dictator is not the proper role of U.S. representatives. In fact, one of the sparks which undoubtedly contributed to the recent Venezuelan anti-Nixon conflagration was the letter of congratulation sent by the former United States Ambassador to Venezuela's notorious Security Chief after the failure of the aborted initial revolution against Perez Jimenez last year. This letter—published by the Communist press of Caracas a few days before the arrival of Vice-President Nixon—bore bitter fruit.

Nor can we overlook the question of U.S. immigration policy if we are seeking reasons for misunderstanding. Immediately before the Department of State granted a visa to Perez Jimenez, then in the Dominican Republic, the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom requested our State Department to deny him entry to this country, on two grounds: first, that it would cause deep resentment

among the democratic forces of the Hemisphere, since he had been responsible for the imprisonment, torture and exile of thousands; second, that we had denied visas to some distinguished democratic leaders of Latin America, opponents of his regime, as well as to other leaders, who could hardly fail to remember, with natural bitterness, their own frustration when they sought entry to this country. A re-examination of our visa policy, in the light of Mr. Nixon's experience, might serve us well for the future.

Some Useful Policies

It should not be assumed from this brief sketch that some U.S. policies in Latin America have not been extremely far-sighted—such, for instance, as U.S. help to Bolivia in its struggle for social, economic and political liberation; the excellent Point Four programs; the programs for cultural interchange—but these should be augmented. In some cases, they must be administered in U.S. Cultural Centers in Latin America with greater sensitiveness, to match the astuteness of the Soviet programs. This is dependent, of course, on the administrators of such programs, many of whom refuse to take cognizance of the fermentation which is at work in these countries and which has aroused the emergent peoples to seek new opportunities for well-being.

If I were to stress one point above all others, as to what is wrong with our Latin American Policy, it is its timorous, negative character. We have fought communism, but have not promoted democracy. There are communists in Latin America; their forces are not numerous, but insidious and they feed upon our errors. We will not eradicate them by indifference to Latin America's economic or political hopes. Nor can we eradicate them by the "double standard" which believes in democracy in Europe, but accepts dictatorship in the Americas. We can win the Latin American peoples to our common cause by the confident and militant democratic leadership which made them our allies in the Wars of Independence, in the Civil War and two World Wars. And ours must be a truly democratic leadership which makes no concessions to any brand of tyranny, regardless of its anti-communist pretensions.

This Hemisphere was once termed the "brave, new world." We can help it remain so by being the bravest of its forces, as we are the most powerful—brave in our support of the millions of Latin Americans yearning for social, economic and political freedom. Here, indeed, is an area for the Secretary of State to apply his philosophy of "enlightened self-interest," for without the comradeship of the peoples of Latin America, we cannot serve the cause of freedom for ourselves and the world.

After the Nixon Visit

A Report from Peru

By Nicanor Mujica

THE GREAT MASS of North Americans have been ignorant of the psychological conditions, resulting from the political and social situation among Latin Americans. Among this mass we must include the majority of the political leaders and so-called "experts" on Latin-American affairs throughout the United States. But Vice-President Nixon's visit has resulted in raising the curtain in a spectacular fashion. Fortunately for Inter-American relations, the Vice-President of the United States has known how to penetrate the depths of popular thought and to draw thence some very interesting lessons. To achieve this one thing was required: courage—and the United States' "Number Two Man" is not lacking in either the moral or physical brands of courage.

The Indo-America of 1958 is quite a different territory from that visited by Herbert Hoover in the twenties as well as that which Henry Wallace saw during the period of World War II. Not only has our economy advanced, but our political philosophy as well. There has been a great increase in the influence of those democratic parties of the left committed to a program at once nationalist, anti-imperialist, unionist and revolutionary. Books and programs which, two decades ago, were the property of a restricted élite are now common property.

Meanwhile, the Communist parties have not grown, but rather have infiltrated—frequently under the mantle of dictatorships which offered them protection—widely and made their influence felt through costly propaganda. The prestige of the Soviet Union as a great power grew following her military victories. Her recent scientific progress has touched the imagination of Latin America. To many, her "sputniks" have greater attraction than do the American satellites; in fact, the sputniks seem, to many, to be piercing, as they circle through space, Uncle Sam's star-spangled high hat.

Into this atmosphere, already darkened by the economic recession and by the beclouded state of Inter-

Nicanor Mujica is national secretary of the Executive Committee of the Aprista Party of Peru, and a member of the editorial board of *La Tribuna*, the Apra publication in Lima. A member of the Aprista Party since 1932, he has been one of the leaders in the fight for democracy in his native country. This article, written especially for the SOCIALIST CALL, was translated by John Lester Lewine.

American relations, Mr. Nixon strode without any prior preparation. Yet the democrats in this part of the continent believe that his visit has had positive values which we shall endeavor to indicate.

The Positive Aspects

For the first time, perhaps, in the history of Inter-American relations the peoples of Latin America met some one from the White House who succeeded in understanding our situation, who knew how to separate the grain from the chaff and who dared publicly to suggest a change in treatment. Thus, our democrats found themselves in a position to express and discuss their viewpoints with an important North American political leader and to discover that he understood them.

Moreover, we are happy to observe that Mr. Nixon, as a constructive consequence of his eventful trip, has shown himself capable of opposing the confused and reactionary policies of Mr. Dulles which have so grievously damaged our faith in the United States. We had the opportunity to observe Mr. Nixon on the occasion of his visit to Guatemala following the fall of Arbenz' régime. Today he is a different person: the boy has become a man.

Another characteristic of the democrats throughout South America is their unity of viewpoint, which runs across national borders. The parties possessing a wide popular following, the non-communist students, in each country and without prior arrangement acted in strikingly similar ways. On the same day that Mr. Nixon was being questioned by students at the University of Montevideo, the newspaper *La Tribuna* in Lima, which is an organ of the Partido Aprista, was formulating the same questions, although thousands of miles separate the two cities. It is this which we mean when we refer to the "common trend of thought" throughout Indo-America.

The Role of the Communists

One must not overlook the ability to mobilize forces shown by the Communists. Helped by the widespread popular skepticism with regard to North America, and utilizing small but dynamic groups of shock troops, they achieved a stroke of propaganda. Well-financed, their leaders, though possessing no political finesse,



are supplied with courage and powerful vocal cords. Often they work hand in glove with the discredited and unscrupulous leaders of the political oligarchies. One can be certain that, throughout the Americas, in the tragic event of a world conflict, the Communists will be far more successful than were the Nazi-fascist Fifth Columns during the last World War.

The following lesson is made noteworthy by the unfortunate iron curtain which separates the democratic parties of Indo-America from the great traditional parties in the United States. The Latin Americans look with friendship and hope towards the Democratic Party. But neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party has made any effort to come closer to us or to understand the reason for our anxiety.

In this respect, contact between workers' organizations is more satisfactory. We must make every effort to strengthen the closest contacts among all the free workers' organizations. It is the ORIT which serves as the principal bridge across which pass easily and with the greatest equality the contacts between the developed working class movement of the North and the developing movement in the South. It is this which explains, partially at least, the fact that the workers joined in a constructive discussion of their problems with Mr. Nixon without seeking to turn his visit into a battlefield.

We democrats throughout Indo-America hope that as a result of this visit of the North American Vice-President—lacking as it was in formal diplomatic niceties—will result in a total reform of diplomatic methods. Mr. Nixon himself has recognized that the American ambassadors live isolated from the peoples of the countries in which their luxurious embassies are located. These “gentlemanly” ambassadors are generally as inaccessible as is the Dalai Lama. The wealthy classes, whom alone they know, provide them with an utterly false picture of reality. Rarely do the

heads of mission speak Spanish, while some envoys have even pinned decorations on the chests of tyrants “in honor of their services to democracy.”

Another necessity is that many of the great Yankee firms change their policies. Some maintain friendly relations with the trade unions; but others fight them. Astronomical differences exist between the salaries paid to minor North American employes and to Latin Americans employed at similar tasks. Hence come the resentment against the “gringos.” Some firms follow the policy of employing communist personnel to counteract the large number of democratic workers who are bringing pressure to bear to improve working conditions. This was evident during the strikes at Southern Peru at Toquepala, where the reactionary Peruvian bosses assumed this risk with their superiors' approval.

Nevertheless, let us repeat, all the democrats in Latin America are of the opinion that in discovering the real state of affairs in Latin America and in forcing it unmistakably before the eyes of the people of North America, Mr. Nixon performed a valuable task.

JEWISH LABOR BUND

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For Twelve Issues

A Benefactor of Humanity

A Fable

By James T. Farrell

THE OTHER DAY Ignatius Bulganov Worthington peacefully and happily became *non est*. Known as Worthy Worthington, he was a great man, a great American, and a great benefactor of mankind. He died a billionaire five times over and was buried with many honors and mourned by all men. The flags of city and nation hung at half-mast; the President issued an eulogy of regret; Congress held a memorial session and disbanded for the day; the National Association of Manufacturers sent a floral wreath as did three kings, six dukes, two dictators, over two thousand police chiefs and every book, magazine and newspaper publisher in the world, including the Soviet Union, Madagascar, Borneo and Pleasantville, New York.

The funeral services were attended by thousands. These were described on a national radio hookup, televised around the world, and Worthy Worthington machines ground out newspaper obsequies, testimonials, regrets, eulogies, laments and obituary notices which were nationally and almost universally described as worthy of the great Worthington.

Not a child lives in America who hasn't heard of the great name of this now deceased greatness. His life, his example, and his contribution to the wealth, security, peace of mind and happiness of this country and of mankind can never be praised too much, valued too highly, nor forgotten. As long as mankind inhabits this planet the worthy name of Worthington will be remembered, revered and revered.

YOUNG IGNATIUS BULGANOV went to a little red country school house hard by a Baptist Church in the land where the tall corn grows the tallest. He was not a promising pupil. He couldn't read; he did not know how to write; and every time he added up a sum, his addition was different from that of his teacher and of the Stone Mills Arithmetic which was used as a text book. He was known as the Dunce. He never graduated.

Unarmed, unprepared, but ambitious, he set out

James T. Farrell, the American novelist whose works are known throughout the world, has written frequently for the **SOCIALIST CALL** on political developments, most recently on the French situation (November, 1955), an article evaluating the deterioration of democracy in France which events have proved extraordinarily perceptive. This is the first work of fiction by James T. Farrell to appear in the **SOCIALIST CALL**.

for the great city of New York and there began the story of his great career and of his achievements and contributions. He got a job as a stock boy in a publishing house. Proud of his job, he did it well. He got to love books. He liked the covers on them, the feel of them, the smell of them. He liked to pile them on shelves and then to unpile them. He liked to lift them and to look at them in piles on the stockroom floor and the shelves. He liked to wrap them up and to unwrap them. He liked to do everything he could with them, except to read them.

He lived alone at the Young Men's Christian Association and every night he dreamed about books. He made shelves for his room and filled these with books. Every night he looked at his books, touched them, felt them, counted them and rearranged them. His fellow inmates of the Y.M.C.A. gave him the nickname of "The Book Lover," and he was proud of that. In later years, when he had become great, rich famous and honored, this was remembered and a book was even published under the title of *Worthy Worthington, the Book Lover*.

But just as he loved books he hated authors. Every time he saw an author, he remembered how as a boy in a little red country school house hard by a Baptist Church in the land where the tall corn is tallest, he used to be switched, birched, and in plain language, whipped, because of his inability to read books. Some author had written those sentences that he had been lambasted for because he couldn't read them.

BUT WHEN HE WORKED as a stock boy for a publishing house in New York, he came to see authors and in a sense to know them. The girls in the office all liked the authors and not him. And being normal and healthy, he wanted the girls to like him. The girls sometimes swooned about the masculine authors who came to the office but they only called him Ignatz. And then, he soon learned that authors were not like he was. They didn't live in the Y.M.C.A. They were always causing trouble and getting into trouble.

One author got his boss, the owner of the firm, arrested because of a book he wrote. Another author was getting drunk. And if an author wasn't getting drunk or causing the police to hand a warrant to the boss, then he was getting divorced. The authors who came to the office just weren't like Ignatius Bulganov or like the people he had known in the land where

the tall corn is tall corn. They were always coming and going and never staying put and they disrupted the whole work of the office. So more and more, I. B. disliked authors.

And he came to understand and learn that other people didn't particularly like them, either. He heard complaints in the office about this author and that. The girls complained. The editors complained. The owners of the firm yelled bloody murder about them. The wives of the owners complained. And the business manager, bookkeeper and the salesmen didn't merely complain—they screamed.

IN THOSE YEARS, Ignatius was happy. He had enough to eat, a clean room to sleep in, and books to count and feel, touch, lift, pack, wrap, and distribute on shelves. He had no ambitions and would have been content with his job except for authors. They became worse and worse.

One day he overheard two of the girls talking. An author had just come in with the manuscript of a book and it had to be published. Business was bad, and the girls said that this book was going to lose money.

"Why are authors?" one of them asked.

This question stuck in Ignatz Bulganov's mind.

Over and over again that night in his room in the Y.M.C.A., he fondled his books and asked himself the question:

—Why are authors?

The next morning, as he was taking his cold shower, he asked himself why couldn't there be books, without authors.

Here was food for thought. And he nourished his higher faculties on this food.

That day at work, he idly went to a desk where there was an adding machine. He punched numbers on the machines and pulled out slips of paper. And there were numbers all added up correctly. He remembered how he had never been able to do anything like that in the little red school house. Just think of it, he had been whammed and whipped because he had not been able to add. And look at that machine. It added and never made a mistake.

Thus, Ignatius Bulganov Worthington acquired rich and highly nutritious food for thought.

Soon afterwards I.B.W. went to the free night school, a youth seeking knowledge and opportunity. He had digested his rich nutritious food for thought and something had happened to him. He had become ambitious.

WELL, THE REST OF the story is familiar to every schoolboy. Ignatius studied machines, machinery, arithmetic, statistics, engineering and

draftsmanship. And he worked on machines. And he invented the machine that revolutionized the life of mankind. He invented the Worthy Worthington Writing Machine. People thought him crazy. He was laughed at and jeered. But he triumphed. Just as once he had been able to add correctly by pushing buttons on an adding machine, so now he could write a book by touching buttons on a Worthy Worthington.

Of course, the first years were hard, and it took time for him to get his machine accepted. But he had perseverance and stick-to-itiveness. So, his machine was introduced into publishing houses, magazine offices and newspaper editorial rooms. One machine, working an eight hour day, could shed four books. And none of the books was gloomy. The policemen could read them without making an arrest and this saved the taxpayer's money, because the police were no longer needed to seize books, and to arrest booksellers, authors and publishers. The clergymen were grateful because they no longer had to write sermons about immoral books and could speak from the pulpit of God and Goodness.

And of course the publishers were happy. They had to take no authors to lunch, and they had to pay no royalties except a very small one to Ignatius Bulganov for the use of one of his Worthy Worthingtons. These machines never erred and never produced an immoral or sad book. They whirred out works of joy and hope at a cost of ten cents a copy. Books became the cheapest commodity on the market. There was a tremendous boom in books. The publishers became millionaires.

The nation became inspired. Joy and goodness reigned as though in the celestial spheres. And there were no more authors to cause trouble, to disillusion people, to lose money on bad books. The authors all went mad or became useful citizens. And Worthy Worthington married the girl who asked the question:

"Why are authors?"

He lived to a ripe age, left a fortune and a legacy of sunshine after him and was eternally revered for having found a means to eliminate authors and to enrich the material and spiritual life of his country and his times. His remains lie in a marble tomb ten feet high, and on the door of this tomb, these words are graven.

**HERE LIES WORTHY WORTHINGTON
IN
ETERNAL REPOSE
REMEMBERED
HONORED
LOVED
BY
HIS GRATEFUL COUNTRYMEN**

(Copyright, 1958, James T. Farrell)

Hurray for Everything!

Or

*Welcome, Sweet Springtime,
We Greet Thee with Joy*

Excerpts From a Corrido or Mexican Ballad

by

MIGUEL DE MOLINOS
of Tenochitlan

THE DEVOTED AND PATIENT readers of the *SOCIALIST CALL* the world over are about to have an experience for which they deserve to be at once pitied and congratulated.

Below are sections of a corrido or Mexican ballad composed by Miguel de Molinos of Tenochitlan. This is the first time any part of the ballad has ever appeared in print and the first time it has ever been presented in this country at all. Why the readers of the *CALL* should be selected for this is more than I can or will say. But they are lucky in one respect. The ballad is a long one and below only fragments of it are given and for this, at least, the readers of the *CALL* should be thankful.

The corrido is known in the original as *Olé, Olé, Primavera, Viva Tierra y Libertad!* Professor Richard Rowe has translated this as *Hurrah for Everything!* and this is something on his conscience; on my conscience is the fact that I present even fragments of the ballad to the reader. I have had the privilege, the pleasure and the honor of never meeting Miguel de Molinos in my life; but from his ballad it is clear that he is one of those quixotic idiots who has never gotten over the utopian dream of a just world promulgated by the 18th and the 19th centuries.

Translated from the Unoriginal Spanish by Richard Rowe,
Professor of Comparative Literature, Huron University.

With an Introduction by Professor Huxley Quantum, Chair-
man, Department of Romance and Gothic Languages, Flag-
staff University.

How anyone can believe in this dangerous drive today, after everything that has happened and everything that is apparently about to happen, I do not know. But I am a realist who believes that whatever is right and that we live in the best of all possible worlds and the bitter irony with which Miguel de Molinos treats this world is to me repugnant.

My only excuse for presenting sections of this corrido here is that it may serve as a horrible example and may, by the Aristotelian law of pity and terror, cure some people of their own utopian nonsense.

—Huxley Quantum
Flagstaff, Vermont



I saw a prophet in our town
Who challenged gold and sword and crown;
He praised the power of spirit plain:
The prophet did not speak in vain.

Watchman, what of the night? Conform!
What is the password? Done is the storm!
Subscribe and we will show you how
The eagle becomes a contented cow.

Fast falls the world! Ah, do not go,
Beloved world! We do not know
Your root or course, your fruit or end;
Ah, do not go, my world, my friend!

Was there a day we thought we knew
The question and reply to you?
Dead is the question, dead the reply;
Everything dies: O do not die!

Give me no answer now. I'll wait.
End this Deluge of desperate hate.
Live O world and let life live:
We shall be glad for the gift you give.

I KNOW, I know, I know that in vain
We curse the perennial crime of Cain;
In vain we hunt for Eden's bliss;
Yet, while you kill, we cry for this.

Listen, the guns are ready again!
Here are the creatures that once were men,
Hot on the hill and prone in the mud
And the seas are waiting to turn to blood.

The command is murder again, the will
Again is poised for the conqueror's kill;
The sky caves in and the grass turns white
And again the birds are dumb with fright.

Let us be true to the light, dear Jo!
The night will come and the night will go;
The holy flame of the vision burns,
Morning returns and the word returns!

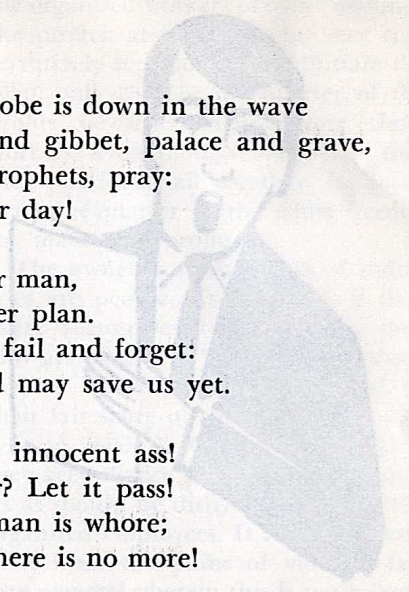
NOW when the globe is down in the wave
Of dominion and gibbet, palace and grave,
We, the reluctant prophets, pray:
Tomorrow is another day!

Another day, another man,
Another past, another plan.
Ah, love and reason fail and forget:
Boredom with blood may save us yet.

Miguel, Miguel, you innocent ass!
Does mankind suffer? Let it pass!
Man is war and woman is whore;
That's all there is; there is no more!

Ah, no amigo! This gnarled black night
The sky caves in, the grass turns white;
The fact is murder and yet I say
Tomorrow is another day!

Quiet, Miguel, you, obdurate fool—
The heart must love, the fist must rule!
In the beginning is the word
And in the end, the inhuman sword.



BACKTALK



To the Editor:

Too often people who call themselves democratic socialists forget that democratic socialism stands for more than political democracy in terms of multiple parties, free speech, free press, civil liberties, and reforms. Democratic socialism also implies a democratic attitude or cast of mind. The democratic mind defies conformity, shuns dogmatism, encourages the spirit of inquiry, regards ideas and propositions as hypotheses to be carefully tested by further evidence, displays a readiness to modify any viewpoint in the light of new data.

In controversy, the democratic mind does not indulge in truculence and personal vindictiveness, but seeks to convince by means of patient explaining and by the weight of facts and logical reasoning; it does not lend itself to leadership fetishism, to the Leader Principle; it does not seek to condition people to a slavish worship of their worth, respects them for their constructive contributions but does not hesitate to disagree with them when they are wrong.

Aware at all times that "to be human is to err" the democratic mind induces people to be self-critical, to reassess and reexamine their own viewpoints and freely to admit and correct mistakes in organizational tactics, theories and ideological approaches. The democratic attitude is a set of habit patterns in human relations that reflect tolerant, cooperative humanistic impulses. Democratic socialism demands a democratic mode of behavior on the part of socialists, not only in their dealings with other comrades,

but also in the way they operate in trade unions and in community affairs.

Democratic values and practices are hard to come by in capitalist society, for under capitalism (and totalitarian communism) people become factors of production when they work for an employer, whether a corporation or the State. "A man is used by others for reasons which are not his own." Unconsciously people acquire the propensity to use others, to manipulate them, to "put something over on them." The values of democratic socialism, on the other hand, are alien to the inhuman use of human beings. I know of no better way to clarifying what I am trying to say than by quoting a passage from Erich Fromm's *The Sane Society*, where the author contrasts Lenin's approach to socialism with Marx's approach:

"He (Lenin) like Marx, believed in the historic mission of the working class to emancipate society, but he had little faith in the will and ability of the working class to achieve this aim spontaneously. Only if the working class was led, so he thought, by a small well-disciplined group of professional revolutionaries, only if it was forced by this group to execute the laws of history, as Lenin saw them, could the revolution succeed and be prevented from ending up in a new version of a class society. The crucial point in Lenin's position was the fact that he had no faith in the spontaneous action of the workers and peasants—and he had no faith in them *because he had no faith in man*. It is this lack of faith in man which anti-liberal and clerical ideas have in common with Lenin's concept; on the other hand faith in man is the basis for all genuinely progressive movements throughout history; it is the most essential condition of Democracy and of socialism..."

Because faith in man is the most essential condition of democracy and of socialism, it must permeate the means by which democratic socialists function, as well as the end toward which they strive. History presents tragic lessons to prove that a democratic society cannot be achieved by anti-democratic ends. Nor can a truly democratic socialist party be built and maintained unless its members learn

to function democratically—in the deep human sense implied by Fromm.

Just as democratic socialists take part in the struggle to improve economic and social conditions at the same time that they emphasize the need for economic and social reconstruction of society, so too must they re-evaluate their own values and strive to improve the quality of democratic participation within their own ranks at the same time that they hold out a vision of a democratic world.

Today novelists, sociologists and psychologists are increasingly examining and exposing the shoddy and anti-humanist values of our mass culture. Also being investigated to a greater extent than ever before is the process by which democracy in a large section of the trade union movement withered away and got replaced by bureaucratic manipulation. I suggest that the democratic socialist movement would do well to reappraise its own democratic procedures and spiritual values. And as a beginning I would recommend that every socialist read carefully the chapter titled "Various Answers" in *The Sane Society*.

I suggest that the SOCIALIST CALL might make a substantial contribution to this problem by opening a discussion on the subject, What is Democratic Socialism?

FRANK MARQUART

Detroit, Mich.

* * *

To the Editor:

The ability of big money, operating through control of the one-party press and the other mass media of communication, like television and radio, to mislead public opinion, is extremely dangerous. If almost anyone outside the ranks of organized labor were asked what is the cause of inflation, he would be likely to blame it on the demands of organized labor because of the propaganda and statements to this effect which are constantly publicized in most newspapers.

But the facts are different.

According to the figures published in a Special Supplement on the New York Stock Exchange put out by the *N.Y. Herald Tribune* in 1957, the companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange paid \$8,340,000,000 in dividends in 1956. This figure is not tremendous. But we must remember that not all companies have their stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Also, well-managed com-

panies usually plow back into increased capital assets a good part of their net profits rather than declaring them as dividends. Bearing these facts in mind, the dividend figure is impressive.

But the trend is even more impressive. Cash dividends paid by the so-called big board companies increased over a 10-year period by 156%, going up from \$3,250,000,000 in 1947 to the \$8,340,000,000 figure already given for 1956. (The figures are not precisely comparable, because the companies involved were not exactly the same, but the distortion is not great.)

This 156% increase for the owners of industry compared with an increase of only 77% in the gross national product in that time. Thus the owners of industry gained twice as much proportionately as did the rest of the community, in addition to a great increase of their stock holdings.

Clearly it was not wages that were increasing too fast. The profits of the big companies were increasing far faster than wages, or than the total output of goods and services.

The fact is that the big companies, for it is the bigger ones that are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, have been able to increase their prices and their profits faster than the increase in the wages that they paid, and yet have been able to make far too many people believe that the increase in prices was due to the allegedly exorbitant demands of organized labor.

The crass selfishness of the representatives of big business is well illustrated by another article in that same Special Supplement on the Stock Exchange. Despite the far greater increase in dividends than in the proportion of the national product going to other groups in our economy, the New York Stock Exchange managers felt that the owners of industry should be given special tax relief.

An article on the front page of the Special Supplement referred to, headed "Tax Laws Hit As Burden On Investors," attacked the personal income tax on dividends and the capital gains tax. The article stated: "The

New York Stock Exchange has taken a critical look at existing tax laws in order to measure their effect on the investment climate and on the nation's capacity for growth. These laws, especially those concerned with dividend taxation and capital gains, 'imposed some awesome burdens on the investing public,' according to Keith Funston, President of the Exchange."

The article went on to advocate relief from income taxes on dividends and a reduction in the rate and holding period governing capital gains taxes. "The re-shaping of the tax laws is necessary to provide incentives for investing... The effect of the capital gains tax is to check the impulse to venture and to gain... As a solution, the Exchange says the most constructive and permanent step that could be taken is the elimination of the capital gains tax."

Reading this article, one would think that big business was really suffering. Yet the owners of big business gained in dividends twice as fast as the increase in our total output. Furthermore, under the Eisenhower Administration, the owners of industry did get very special tax treatment. For they gained abolition of the excess profits tax, and a special income tax credit for dividend receivers. What more can they want?

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, N.Y.

* * *

(This letter was sent to the Battle Creek Enquirer-News.)

Your interesting editorial in the recent issue of the Enquirer-News deserves serious thinking by all sincere citizens.

Walter Reuther, an elected official of a democratically-owned-and-operated organization of working citizens in the automobile manufacturing industry, definitely is "too smart a man to try to fight fire with gasoline," just as you, definitely, are too smart a group of people not to know that your fellow-citizens in the United Auto Workers actually do as much 'work,' in total human effort, as do the owners and managers of the industries in which there are units of the U.A.W.

When Reuther suggests that a new plan for labor-management bargaining be based on a new division and distribution of the profits made by such industries, he does two things: first, he reminds people of the part that

the organized workers play in "making" the profits; and, second, he very conservatively suggests that, to initiate the plan, only 25% or one-quarter of the profits be distributed among those workers, even though the fact is that they put forth, all together, far more than one-quarter of the effort needed to "make" the profits.

The owners and managers of industries are people, citizens, and, if they exert themselves constructively, they also are "workers," the same as those in the U.A.W., and are entitled to their fair share of the profits they also help to "make." Reuther suggests that they keep "twice as much" of the profits as should be distributed among the organized employees. It is hard to see, even from the point of view of factory owners, wherein this is not a "sensible program."

Far from "ignoring the recession and the readjustments it represents," Reuther offers to help in combating it by funneling a large part of the money "made" by the industries into channels where it will flow naturally through all business, when spent in the market place by those who have earned it. Is money "inflationary" when it is kept in circulation?

It is regrettable that you seem to envision "labor," "management," and "government" as three separate and unrelated things. In a democratic society, such as we are trying to have in the United States, they are all mingled, made up of human beings, people, citizens of the same commonwealth. "Labor" doesn't want to "run" things. And Reuther isn't working toward a bureaucratic government that would impose its will on any special group. He just wants, what all honest and sincere people of goodwill want—a citizenship that will recognize "the dignity of the human individual" and that will make possible a real "brotherhood of man."

CLIFTON DALAND

Battle Creek, Mich.

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