

PACIFIC WEEKLY

A WESTERN JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

JANUARY 27, 1936

**SCIENCE IN THE SOVIETS
AND UNDER CAPITALISM**

A REPLY TO DR. MACDOUGAL

**NATURE OF AMERICAN
IDEALS**

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PACIFIC WEEKLY

A Western Journal of Fact and Opinion

VOLUME IV

MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1936

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NOTES AND COMMENT

OF SOME IMPORTANCE

THERE were two deaths of more or less importance in England during the past two weeks—those of Rudyard Kipling and George V. Both were bulwarks of imperialism, the one in his heyday, positive and eloquent and mighty; the other, static, dormant, ineffectual, perhaps, in actual executive service, but as mighty as the other had ever been in the quite important business of solidifying the British Empire.

What Rudyard Kipling did toward providing the glamour which is necessary in a far-flung domain, George V—and Edward and Victoria before him—did by merely sitting on a throne, accepting the glittering homage of his subjects, and representing what falls little short of the divine right of kings in the minds and hearts of Britons throughout the world.

But despite all the trappings and furbelows of its royal house Great Britain stands to-day as the most successful example of democracy, with all its faults, all its crimes, all its dependability on the power and strength of capitalism.

There was nothing else for the Prince of Wales to do but take the throne, but it is not so awfully wild a guess that he takes it with considerable foreboding, with an eye to what is going on all about him, and with the fear that perhaps he will be the last of the English kings, and that not death but Communism will end his reign.

THESE DOCTORS

AN INTERESTING perversion of public opinion took place in the medical profession in California recently. The official organ of the California Medical Society, *California and Western Medicine*, sent a questionnaire to all members of the medical profession of California. The leading question ran: "Do you believe in socialized medicine?" Other questions followed asking whether they believed in legislation to change the present status of medical practice in California, in volun-

tary health insurance, and so on.

The magazine now reports that the answers show that a majority of the medical profession do NOT believe in socialized medicine.

Last year the official legislative body of the California Medical Society, representing the State medicos, voted almost unanimously in favor of compulsory health insurance, which of course, is a form of socialized medicine, and legislation was introduced by a committee headed by Senator E. H. Tickle of Monterey County. It failed of passage but will be reintroduced.

Pressure groups have been busy in the interval to defeat this social legislation and the form of the leading question on the questionnaire was one of the measures taken by the opposition. It was framed to appeal to long-standing prejudice, in a form to which the almost automatic reaction was No. Those who favor progress will have to learn not to be frightened by words: to know when their prejudice is being appealed to.

NONE TOO INTELLECTUAL

A MAJOR calamity has fallen on the intellectual center known as Carmel. What has long been considered its own intellectual center has been closed because of inability to pay the rent. Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous, who have battled hard to maintain their gallery at which have been presented many and varied programs running the gamut of the arts, have been forced to close shop because Carmel is becoming less and less what it originally gained its reputation for, and more and more a community of small tradesmen and money-changers. Denny and Watrous have not entirely surrendered, however. They have hung out their shingle at the door of a small headquarters from which they will lure the best they can find in the music and dance world outside. They still have faith in the intellectual interest of the narrowing circle of Carmel people who thirst for artistic stimulus. Their first offering in their new role as mere (or is it mere?) impresarios was the Byzantine Vocal Ensemble which they presented at Pine Inn. As Henry Cowell remarked it was a "splendid concert". Gallery or no gallery, Denny and Watrous are determined to carry on.

A BIT TOO FLIP

A SUPERIOR COURT order was on file to-day in response to a petition charging that H. Ray Gleeson, San Francisco legionnaire, sent a defamatory letter to Ralph Patrick, a Bakersfield legionnaire, containing the statement that "Mary Frances Sullivan, nurse, who has just taken a position with the Kern County Department of Health, has been actively associated or connected with the Communists in San Francisco". The order directs the testimony of Gleeson, Patrick and Joseph Smith, County Health Officer of Kern County and Miss Sullivan's former employer, to be taken before a notary public and to produce the letter. The order was secured by Clarence E. Rust, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, in a contemplated libel action against Gleeson and Patrick. Miss Sullivan alleged that Gleeson and Patrick meant to imply that "said petitioner was a Communist . . .", and

that in consequence of the alleged defamation she was discharged by her employer. It is also claimed that Gleeson and Patrick were acting for the American Legion in securing Miss Sullivan's dismissal. The Legion will be joined as a party defendant.

Gleeson, manager of the Mission Branch of the California Bank in San Francisco, is also chairman of the Anti-Subversive Activities Committee of the San Francisco County Council of the American Legion. He was recently one of the leading figures in the unsuccessful effort to secure the dismissal of Prof. John G. Iliff of San Mateo Junior College on charges of "radicalism".

COMING IMPORTANT EVENTS

"THE Peace Policy of the Soviet Union" will be the subject of Prof. H. H. Fisher of Stanford University Monday evening, January 27, at the Clift Hotel in San Francisco. The lecture is under the auspices of the American Friends of the Soviet Union.

An honor dinner for Mother Bloor will be held Wednesday evening, January 29, at the Coffee Cup Restaurant, 5424 Geary Street, San Francisco. Mother Bloor, now 75 years old, has for 40 years been a leader of women in the labor movement.

The Committee for the Recognition of Political Prisoners, working for a proposed law in California to fix the status of such prisoners, will be held Wednesday, January 29, at noon. Information can be obtained from Leo Gallagher, chairman, 324 Larkin Street, Apt. 25, San Francisco.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, militant churchman and national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, speaks in San Francisco, Friday evening, January 31. Under auspices of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, he will address a free public meeting at Native Sons Hall at 8 o'clock. Bishop Edward L. Parsons, national vice-chairman of the A.C.L.U., who succeeded the

late Fremont Older to that post, will preside.

Dr. Ward will speak on "Defending Our Constitutional Liberties" at Jenny Lind Hall in Oakland, on Thursday evening, January 30, under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Assemblyman Paul A. Richie of San Diego will be the principal speaker at a mass meeting at Building Trades Temple, San Francisco, February 5, under the auspices of the California Conference for Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Act.

William Francis Hare, Earl of Listowel, internationally famous peace advocate, will speak at a banquet to be given at the Women's Club, San Francisco, February 7, under auspices of a committee headed by John D. Barry, San Francisco columnist, and composed of Rabbi Irving F. Reichert, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Albert Bender, Rabbi Rudolph Coffee, Marie de L. Welch, Mrs. Louise Taft, Mrs. Sidney Joseph and Dorothy Erskine. The earl is touring this country under the auspices of the Anti-Nazi Federation. The subject of his address will be "Nazism, a Menace to the World".

THE SAN DIEGO UNION CASE

Two officials of the California State Federation of Labor—President Edward Vandeleur and Secretary Paul Scharrenberg—whose interests in the welfare of the workingman go no farther than the advancement of their own personal fortunes, recently discovered that the San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council was getting somewhat out of hand. They discovered that the officials of that union labor organization were openly expressing distrust of them and militantly trying to do something for the rank and file members of their council. They discovered that the San Diego Council president, Harry C. Steinmetz, a member of the faculty of the San Diego State College, and Secretary A. C. Rogers were not at all in line with the conservative, compromising, back-down policies of the State Federation.

So Messrs. Vandeleur and Scharrenberg appealed to President William Green of the A.F. of L., and incidentally sought the assistance of the American Legion which is inveterately poking its nose into the affairs of anybody and everybody who dares to be more than a blind patriot.

So the American Legion "investigated" and President Green ordered Joseph Casey, his representative, to "investigate", with the result that Mr. Casey walked in on a meeting of the San Diego Council on January 14, dissolved it on a technicality, and re-organized it with return of all officers except Steinmetz and Rogers.

There is now to be a new election and it is possible, even probable, that Vandeleur and Scharrenberg will discover that the militancy of the San Diego Council lies not alone in its principal officers, but pretty well permeates the rank and file. It is probable that the Vandeleur-Scharrenberg reactionary officials will be voted out of office and Mr. Steinmetz and Mr. Rogers voted back again.

The San Diego has an opportunity to renew hope in California; to make it increasingly difficult for the vacillating, back-stepping, cowardly administration of the State Federation of Labor.

Following is Harry Steinmetz's statement of the San Diego fiasco:

BY HARRY C. STEINMETZ

On a technicality, Brother Joseph Casey, Pacific Coast organizer of the American Federation of Labor, armed with

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LOUIS B. SCOTT

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a 74-day old letter from President William Green advising him to investigate fully, suddenly last Wednesday night, January 15, without consulting the officers of the San Diego County Labor Council, dissolved that elected body without semblance of democratic procedure.

The overwhelming majority that elected me president has not as yet questioned Brother Casey's authority to proceed as he had done but they bitterly resent his methods and they will not forget them. If he had consulted the minutes of the council or the executive committee, he would have learned that we recently became aware of our twenty-year deviation from A. F. of L. regulations governing union representation and had referred the matter to our by-laws committee, chairmanned by Vice-President Walter Stutz, for appropriate plans of reformation.

The present illegal system of representation was instituted several years ago under the regime of Otto C. Heitman, Ed Dowell and Stanley Gue. The last two, who invited the disruption, are still members of the council and could at any time have secured authority for effecting immediate change. The majority is not opposed to any fair system of representation for it would remain the same; a good proof would be a referendum vote of every union member in San Diego, which I believe would be a good idea.

Of course, the technicality covers deep differences, very wide in their scope. There is cleavage between the conservative minority, who face the past, and the progressive majority, who fearlessly face present problems. More objectionable terms are used on both sides, but that is foolish.

Within the short term of the progressives the unions have grown, new unions have been formed, union wage scales have been accepted as the prevailing scale on large construction and governmental work, PWA instead of WPA conditions won for the construction of the Civic Center, an unemployed union encouraged that greatly reduces scabbing, the efficient secretary appointed to the Welfare Commission and the president to the Civic Center community planning committee, and affiliation affected with liberal organizations.

It is admittedly the last which has brought official disfavor, particularly the American Youth Congress. The Council had hoped to control the latter organization locally and through it build a junior labor movement; lately we wired President Green for instructions and received no order but advice against affiliation; we had no time to consider this advice before Brother Casey arbitrarily dismissed the Council.

He has reappointed all officers with three exceptions, the president, secretary, and one member of the board of administration, Walter Barnes, who voluntarily resigned. To our places he has appointed Fred Graham and two rejected union candidates. Henceforth, he promises to conduct an election strictly in accord with constitutional requirements. If this is done, particularly if the election of officers of the council were to be submitted to the membership of affiliated unions on a referendum ballot, insuring utmost democracy, I would have no fear of the outcome.

For some reason which grossly exaggerates my importance, opposition is keenest against me. My personal position is rendered difficult and my choice steadfast by the fact that both sides have made me a symbol of that democracy which in many directions is being so subversively undermined.

LINCOLN STEFFENS SPEAKING--

REPUBLICANS ARE coming from the wide places grumbling that they cannot find a fit candidate to pit against Roosevelt for president. Even a rank-and-filer these days has learned something from the depression. Nobody is so nice and dumb as we all used to be. Not a Coolidge in a carload.

RIGHT AFTER the start of the Russian Revolution, when all was turmoil there and there was no law and order—not even revolutionary law and order—when there was no food and everybody was hungry—I thought that my eye for fundamentals saw a basis for a future in Soviet Russia, and I made a report to my government saying that the destructive phase of the revolution was over, the constructive period had begun. Obstacles to progress over here had been removed. Economic privileges were gone from Soviet Russia. I came home and found individuals who could see with me through the blur and confusion of the Russian surface to the fundamentals that count in any country and ever since I have noted among travelers and correspondents to Europe and Asia observers who could see. One of the wisest of these deep seers is Robert Briffault, the author of *Europa*, who sees fundamentals in all countries, who sees to the depths of all modern countries and reports what nobody can believe. Why, Briffault says England has gone over the top to her decline! And he is an Englishman, too. Well, this open-eyed Englishman has just returned from a sight of Soviet Russia and all the other seers are trembling for his general verdict. Even the Soviet Russians care what Briffault says.

And here it is, passed to me out of a private letter. He was not disappointed. He knew Soviet Russia was O. K. and he finds it is. And he tells how he always knew.

"My entire faith in the Soviets," he says, "and their future has always rested upon fundamentals, and I was prepared for disappointment in the details of the superstructure in its present state."

He wasn't going to judge by trains running on time or by "law and order". He knew what to look for and how to judge a civilization. Looking beneath the surface to the things that count in all countries his "most sanguine expectations have been far exceeded. I am not greatly interested in tractors or electric power stations, which I can see anywhere, but I have seen what cannot be seen anywhere else and has never been seen in the world before—a contentd people, among whom misery, hunger and anxiety have been eliminated. It is a triumph which any time in the last five thousand years would have seemed visionary. But it has been achieved, and, like our Soviet comrades, I have no shadow of doubt as to the future. The imbecilities and foaming furies of the backward old world seem very paltry after such a glimpse, and more deserving of pity than of anger."

He sees, you see, that Soviet Russia is not like us, on a spot; she is on a road where you can look ahead if you want to and see where she must land. The revolution knocked down the door to evolution and I think that the Soviet Russians are the only PEOPLE that have accepted the theory of evolution and written it into their constitution. The Soviet Russians and Briffault.

DURING THE recent struggles on the waterfront, not only in San Francisco, the "law-and-orderlies" have registered



alarm that, with the growth of radicalism, there has developed also a systematic looting of goods. The easy explanation of good citizens was that "of course, crime and Communism went together". Now it appears upon investigation that the robbers were professional thieves and policemen combined for the business into a gang, and that the strikers and the Communists had nothing to do with it. The big dailies have had to report this disappointment. I can recall how broken-hearted I was when first I learned that cops were the crooks.

THERE'S A WORD for it and, of course, Arthur Brisbane, the great reporter, reports it as news. Biggety. When the colored peoples grasp the fact that Ethiopia is licking Italy the white statesmen fear they may get biggety.

KYLE CRICHTON, the humorist, came laughing through here this week-end and reminded me of something that I learned long ago but never could quite believe—that grand comedians are at bottom very serious, really tragic people, thoughtful and in earnest. Mark Twain was that way, and Peter Dunne. The *New Yorker*, a weekly of wit, is resisting a reproach that their funny writers, really funny, are not serious at bottom, that they not only laugh at the follies and vices of our civilization, but make their readers laugh them off. They can't seem to understand that they turn their lynchings into laughter and so save the lives of the villains.

SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS, muckraker, novelist, essayist, but principally just an able guy, also came by this week-end and made me see a lot of things I had missed or got wrong. He cares, too. He laughs, but he could easily cry; just like the others. But he is deeply interested in the play we are playing and wants to live to see how it turns out.

THESE POLLS to see how people are going to vote in the presidential election are a band wagon trick always used but never like now. They are framed on the theory that we are a herd and that if we see a stampede start we will all go and make a stampede. These polls are steered by the form of the questions which bring the right answer. We are falling for it and the President must see us on the move. He's a politician; has to be, and it will be interesting to watch how he deals with his herd. A cow-puncher could do it; a gentleman can't "Yip! Yip!", can he? He might appeal to cowardice, by going right ahead with his relief and his distribution of wealth, openly. Graft is the ancient issue.

THE SUPREME COURT is setting an example. Another decision persists in the policy of usurping the power of the executive and the legislative, forbidden by the Fathers of the Constitution. The conservatives advocate the study of that instrument and its history; the reds might back up the Constitutionalists and have it read.

BEGIN BY READING a little book that has come to this office entitled *Lawless Judges*. That tells the story in a crackling unemotional style, showing that the process of usurpation is still going on; the courts are still seizing power and abusing it in the interest of business, but flagrantly, not gracefully like the Supreme Court in the early days. It is a moderate priced book, \$2.50, published by the Rand School Press, authored by Louis P. Goldberg and Eleanore Levenson, and vouched for by Professor Morris R. Cohen.

THE EPIC CONVENTION

DOES Epic principle or the Democratic Party take precedence among the Epic Democrats of California?

At bottom, this was the question over which was fought the dramatic and often sensational battle of the Epic Convention of January 18 and 19 in Los Angeles.

The outcome was a tentative, and perhaps merely temporary, victory for allegiance to the Epic principles of mass production for use by the unemployed.

The true Epics, backers of these principles, were clearly in the majority among the 600 delegates assembled in Epic Auditorium. But the deliberate absence of Sinclair himself from the convention, and the lack of organization around effective, uncompromising leadership, prevented them from winning a clear-cut victory. Win they must—or Epic as a popular movement to attain economic change will be shackled, a helpless and voiceless captive, to the Democratic machine which is to bear Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Jim" Farley, McAdoo and the rest into another four years of power, patronage and "breathing spell" for the business barons.

The opposing forces were aligned on fronts often obscured and shifting. The conviction that Roosevelt will be renominated regardless of what he does about Epic demands; and that he must be reelected for fear far worse (Fascism) will befall the people of the nation—these were the considerations which made "100 per cent" Epics hesitate and all but put control of the convention in the hands of the "Roosevelt regardless" faction, with State Senator Culbert Olson at its head.

All but—but not quite. For the essence of the position taken by Sinclair in his telegraphed message to the convention was:

If Roosevelt doesn't endorse Epic principles and an Epic slate of Democratic convention delegates, an Epic candidate who does shall be put up for the Democratic nomination in the California primaries.

This, too, was the position fought for, and won, by the rank and file led by the United Front Epics.

Senator Olson himself, in an appealing personal address to the first session of the convention, asserted his sincere loyalty to production for use and sought to dissipate widespread resentment over the sudden and sorry capitulation of his forces to the reactionary McAdoo-Neblett-Creel-Ham Cotton faction in the Democratic State Central Committee just the night before. He was a man definitely on the spot, and aware of it, but a talented and emotional orator.

He, in contrast to the "Sinclairites", called for a delegation pledged to vote for Roosevelt unconditionally. Such a delegation, he assured, would "fight as far as we could to get Production for Use into the national Democratic platform". He asked the assembled delegates to give a vote of confidence, in effect, to him as chooser and leader of such a delegation.

The convention resolved differently, however, without in any way breaking with Olson and his supporters. The resolution adopted gives Roosevelt a specific time—until February 10—to choose as the "working majority" of his California delegation, men proposed by the Epic convention and pledged in writing to production for use by the unemployed. As this report is written, Senator Olson is en route to Washington and the presidential presence with such a list, bearing 128 names.

—CLIVE BELMONT

LESSONS I HAVE LEARNED ABOUT SOCIAL EVOLUTION

BY SARA BARD FIELD

CALIFORNIA POET AND ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF PACIFIC WEEKLY

Some time ago we promised our readers that the Associate Editors of PACIFIC WEEKLY would give their personal credos in the magazine. A few did. Now we have received from Sara Bard Field, in the form of a letter answering criticisms of her review of Robinson Jeffers' "Solstice", a statement of her economic, social and political beliefs and how she came to them. It is the story of the development of a fine and liberal mind up against the realities of the world to-day.

THE things I said in connection with my criticism of Solstice (very humbly given) were not said from hasty or inconsidered conclusions. For a quarter of a century—

O, more than that—I have been giving my best thought to this matter of social evolution. My experience as a young minister's wife in a poor parish woke my mind to the inequalities of the present system. Such profound books as Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* and Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* led me to see that history had an economic foundation. The movements of men—the development or the disintegration of nations—was determined by economic factors. That was the first lesson I learned. The second was that human systems, like all other manifestations of life, are in the process of change. That being true, toward what change are we now heading? The third lesson was that I discovered all economists of note believe our Capitalistic system a relic of the Feudal system. The system has been elaborated to meet the changing economic conditions incident to the growth of population in cities and the industrial revolution with its introduction of the machine. We no longer speak of land barons and serfs but we have the great monopolists and the wage slaves. We have the fee simple title to land in exactly the same phraseology as in the middle ages—only in the United States, Congress is the overlord who gives the grant to So and So "his heirs and assigns forever". It is known that by this

feudalistic disposition of land all the Pacific Coast lumber, which is now practically all the lumber of the country, is owned by eight companies, all the anthracite coal by four companies, all the bituminous coal, whose deposits are, of course, spread over a far vaster area than the anthracite, by some twenty-four or five companies. So it is with the oil and with iron, the most valuable of which is in the hands of two or three companies. All the water power of New York State including the United States part of Niagara Falls belongs to the house of Morgan. The heritage of the people—of the unborn—has been deeded away by Congress exactly as the overlords deeded away the lands of Europe to their

favorite retainers. The result has been the concentration of wealth in greater and greater amounts in the hands of fewer and fewer people with the inevitable result of a decreasing amount in the hands of more and more people until poverty looms up on mass scale projected into armies of unemployed. The fourth lesson I learned was that the profit system which saw an almost obese development with the introduction of the machine made it increasingly necessary to produce for profit and not for use.

It is the profit system, feverishly trying to invent new toys, ruling last year's shoes and gowns and hats and cars out of fashion, making people discard them before they are worn out—using every trick of psychology to sell its unnecessary product that feeds the luxury desire, that tempts people to a restless craving of wholly unnecessary accumulation.

Yet the disinherited millions cannot buy these products, either good or bad ones, either necessities or absurdities, and so the markets pile up the goods and still the exigencies of the profit system continue to discard the unpurchased and flood the markets with new goods to tempt those who can buy.

I cannot recall the name of that great professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania whose book on ancient civilizations I read about the time I learned the above lessons.



SARA BARD FIELD

In his opinion all the civilizations of the past—the great ones as well as the lesser, Syria, Assyria, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, etc.—passed into extinction because they failed to solve their economic problem. They had never got “the rich off the backs of the poor”. In their greed for expansion involving as it did continuous warfare, they had bled to death.

With these lessons learned I became in my early youth what was known as “a Christian Socialist”, a position from which I have naturally moved due to a changed attitude toward religion. I could not stand any longer by a system that automatically produced boulevards on the one hand and slums on the other; that gave too much leisure to the few and overworked the toiling millions; that starved the workers and overfed the idle. I knew that total equality could never be accomplished but approximate equality could. Certainly the spectacle of people starving while food was being destroyed “to maintain prices” would disappear. It seems to me we must definitely take our stand to-day with Capitalism or with Change—with Economic Privilege or with Economic Democracy, exactly as people of the French Revolution time had to declare for political privilege or political democracy.

It does not matter so much to what party of Change we belong—to the Socialist, Communist, Anarchist or what you will. It does matter where we stand as between the present system with all its failure and inadequacy and unnecessary suffering and the Marxian or Proudhon system either in toto or in some modified form. “Choose ye this day whom ye will serve.” We can’t be just old-fashioned liberals as I once was because the present system which is fighting for its life is the worst of offenders against all our constitutional liberties, against all those magnificent guarantees of liberty which our forefathers wrote into the immortal documents of Revolutionary days. It is the patriotic leagues, the Daughters of the Revolution, the American Legion, the Vigilante committees everywhere who are suppressing freedom of speech, press and assembly.

Capitalism in its last desperate battle for survival is resorting to dictatorship and tyranny, to the suppression of all libertarian gains and in its exaltation of nationalism is breeding hate and war. I know what you are thinking—“Russia has a dictatorship”. It has, and it’s not proud of it. But the great difference is that Russia’s dictatorship is to defend the basic economic change she has made in behalf of all the people, not to support an expiring system for the few. We had dinner with the Russian Consul and his wife one night and he was saying that Germany is proud of Hitler and Italy is mad about Mussolini but Russia realizes Stalin is a necessary evil. Russia has made the great turn-over and she has a world against her. Even so she has been relaxing her censorship. I know the inevitable result of a liberated land system, of a truly democratic economic structure, will inevitably lead to complete liberty in time. It has hurt all of us who love liberty to see it compromised even where so profound an economic change was taking place and some of the most ardent communists like Max Eastman have not hesitated to criticize this aspect of the Russian government. Nevertheless keeping one’s eye steadily on the fundamental thing Russia has done, taking Borodin’s “long view” as Sheean tells us, one sees her vast difference from the other dictator-ruled lands.

As to the “bloodshed and famine and atrocities” of the Russian Revolution. Have they prevented you from believing in past revolutions? Naturally revolutions are not prayer meetings. The Russian people, as you know if you have read any of the histories of the Russian Revolution, tried pitifully and persistently to obtain justice by peaceful means and were shot down unarmed before the palace of “the Little Father”!

The English Revolution was bloody yet it called Milton to its passionate support. The Revolution in Greece was bloody, yet it was sung into immortality by Shelley’s “The World’s great age begins anew”. Why? Poets by their very nature abhor bloodshed. Yet Milton and Shelley and Byron in Greece felt that there was justification for the spilling of human blood because of the greater human liberty at stake. Yet these libertarian gains were only political, that is, they are not nearly so fundamental as the libertarian gain of wrenching privilege from the few. The corner stone of economic democracy was laid by the Russian Revolution. It required blood and severity even as the other revolutions, but to a far more fundamental gain. Despite the many, many mistakes Russia has made, it has prepared the way for inevitable freedom. It has abolished feudalism so far as it can, being an island of democracy surrounded by feudal and hostile waters. The soil has been made ready for the new growth. There is evidence that even with a hostile world against her, the sprouts of healthier life are appearing.

As to the historical survey of the ages on which some base their belief humanity cannot change, remember we have never tried to change the basic conditions—the soil in which humanity grows. We have only lopped the boughs. I do not expect anything more of mass development than I have seen in individual development where the environment—the soil—was right. I believe we can breed a healthier race, physically and hence mentally and spiritually, when there are neither some with too much or many with too little, when all babies are born into a world not of soft luxury but of vitalizing sufficiency, not of leisure but also not of brutalizing overwork, a world of true democracy in regard to possession of the basic needs, a world whose common ownership automatically does away with the greedy causes of war, a world from which we have banished unnecessary suffering and pain, leaving the inevitable suffering inherent in the cosmic scheme to do the necessary soul sculpture. I believe with Sir James Jeans that in the unthinkable long time man has on this planet before the dying sun carries him to death, we can make a “world fit for humanity to live in”.



ESTHETE'S PLAIN

HE WAS the kind of a radical
 I didn't like—
 He raised his voice
 And spoke with passion—
 His language was
 At times indelicate—
 Damn and Hell
 Were sprinkled through his speech—
 A striker's hunger
 To him,
 Was more important
 Than a song of beauty,
 At times he spoke with hate
 And bitterness—
 All in all he was too disturbing—
 He upset the peace of my quiet home,
 And crackling fireside. . . .

—RICHARD LA PAN

SCIENCE IN THE SOVIETS AND UNDER CAPITALISM

A REPLY TO DR. MACDOUGAL

I-BY A BIOLOGIST

II-BY A CHEMIST

I

WHEN scientists write general articles they are rarely scientific. The strain of forever putting aside one's emotions and desires, of looking always and only for the objective facts and worst of all of having to remain silent until you understand them, i. e. until you can describe the origin, inter-relationships and the development of your observed data is usually too much for us. We break down and become individual human beings. We discard the exacting rigor of a method that demands self-extinction and we begin—as the revealing phrase runs—to “express ourselves”, to say what we as separate personalities have been led to like or dislike, about our facts. Scientists know this about themselves. They recognize this failing as a form of autobiography which has a general interest only in so far as it unconsciously reveals the particular conditions which have produced these reactions. They are fully aware that the opinions of Einstein, Eddington, Jeans and Millikan on such matters as the relations between God and the Universe are of no more scientific value and are certainly less representative than the views of any man on the street. But there are apparently some non-scientific people who are still inclined to suppose that scientists are always scientific, that they never say anything of themselves, that they remain the always-to-be-trusted objective reporters of what lies beyond their limited little selves. And because PACIFIC WEEKLY may have some such readers, but more because “The Soviet Union Faces Inward” expresses a natural first reaction of many scientists who have successfully adapted themselves to the conditions requisite for their survival in any capitalist country, it may be worth while to state that a rapidly increasing number of workers in science outside of Russia are in disagreement with the general attitude which informs this article and to cite a few of the conditions which induce them to take this contrary stand. And this seems the more desirable on account of the fact that there are certain compelling reasons that often induce the younger and less well-established scientists to keep their disagreement with Dr. MacDougal very much to themselves. The present anonymous writer is a scientist from another land than this, though it also is a capitalist country, and I am interested in this question from a psychological rather than a scientific point of view. I was in Russia last year, though only for six weeks. But I talked with a number of the young men and women in the laboratories as well as with some of the officials who were in charge of the administration of scientific work, and I had an opportunity to observe the solvent action of Soviet conditions on the rather MacDougalish opinions originally entertained not only by myself but also by many of my American, English and French fellow scientists. Especially among the younger men a considerable melting away of the usual stereotyped attitudes was apparent. Russia is a very opinion-upsetting place. So when someone showed me this article and when, on reading further, I found that Dr. MacDougal's views seemed curiously out of place in a journal otherwise devoted to the expression of quite young and growing ideas.

I jotted down the following considerations which seem to me pertinent to his thesis.

In the first place, as to the facts. All of us agree that it is unfortunate that there cannot be a greater interchange of journals and reprints between Russia and the rest of the world. However, the isolation does not seem to be so complete as is suggested. Much of the best work in certain international scientific journals in the German language now comes from Russia. A good deal of the Russian work is summarized in German abstract journals, and of course, all of it is available for those who can read Russian*. But in general we can agree with Dr. A. V. Hill and Dr. MacDougal that in relation to the extent of the work now being done in the Soviets there is a surprisingly small import of English, French, German and Italian journals into Russia. Further, it is agreed that it is a pity that so small a portion of Soviet scientists come to work in the United States, England or France.

The important matter is to understand these facts which annoy Dr. MacDougal in the United States and Dr. A. V. Hill in England. Both of these gentlemen imply that they are the result of a plot on the part of the bureaucrats in Russia who for some dark reason desire to isolate their scientists. But in this interpretation we must remember that they no longer express objective facts but their own subjective reactions and that it is quite possible they are mistaken. Certainly those of us who talked with the few pre-revolutionary scientists and with representatives of the enormous number of young scientists in Russia got no evidence in favor of this hypothesis. In such talks the question tends to receive an historical interpretation, for every Russian is an historian. Within their own life-time there has been compressed such a degree of change in conditions as required centuries in former times and they are able to see clearly how their present is connected with their past. That past is gone but it is still real and near and terrible. To-day they are reaching towards their heaven but only yesterday they were going through hell to win towards it. Not the hell of revolution, for that was carried through by the overwhelming majority of the people, but the hell of the post-revolutionary wars when the great capitalist countries blockaded and invaded them and supplied arms and money to the Denikins, the Kolchaks and the Wrangels. It was then that, to quote Dr. MacDougal, the Russian people “made colossal sacrifices of human life”, drove out the invaders and made a new society. But in that hell there was little science, there was only war and starvation and after the victory was won there were years in which every energy had to be spent on developing the essential equipment of a devastated country. So it comes about that almost all the younger scientists of Russia only began their elementary education about 1925 and actual work about 1930. They are babies in science. Most of them have just not had time to learn to read English, French, German and Italian and our

*At the University Library, Hoover War Library, Food Research Institute Library and Lane Medical Library at Stanford University. At the University of California, seventeen scientific departments have exchanges with the U.S.S.R.

journals would as yet be of no more use to them than their Russian journals would be to us. But Dr. MacDougal is mistaken when he suggests that this is not regarded by the scientists and the administrators who work for them as a deficiency which they are struggling hard to overcome. The enormous editions of Russian translations of foreign scientific books is proof enough of their interest and desire*.

But there is something more deeply explanatory of the difference between science in the Soviets and under Capitalism. It takes some time to seep in through the quite unscientific individualism of the visiting scientist in Russia. Only after some time does he begin to realize that in this new world science is not separate from the life of the people, that scientists are here looked on as fellow-workers, not as a special priesthood nobly working for the "good of humanity". They are a part of humanity and their science is only a theoretical expression of what permeates all that the Russian people together plan and think and do. It is when this begins to dawn on the visiting scientist that his old case-hardened individualism begins to melt and he can really begin to see and understand. For this practical carrying through of the conception of the unity of science with life brings to a flame every spark of science in every scientist. He knows that science belongs to all men, that it is nothing else than the language of all who are able to leave their private selves behind to work together in and with and through a world they can only comprehend in so far as they lose themselves in self-forgetting cooperation.

This exhilarating sense of really belonging gives not only a mass strength to the young Russian scientists, it gives them also a pity for their isolated fellow-workers in other lands which, I regret to say, infuriates the mature and successful scientists who do not understand. The arrogance of these youngsters! But the young Ph. D's of America who are running lifts or driving trucks and the new D. Sc.'s in England who are on the dole are not annoyed. They are beginning to understand. They see that, in general, support for scientific work comes from an ever-narrowing group of private owners of the means of production and they can understand that their best opportunity for work is to become the tool of some monopolistic enterprise that hopes to use their work to steal an advantage in the market against their rivals, or to engage in that still expanding department of science, the theory and practice of the development of death-dealing contrivances for use in the present and future imperialistic wars and against the Soviet Union. They have noted the catastrophic disintegration of all departments of science not connected with war in all those Fascist lands where capitalist economics now requires the use of force and violence. All this they begin to see and understand and already in France great numbers of them have left their frustration and isolation behind them and in work within the Peoples United Front are finding that solidarity which is the heart of science. In this country, and in England, too, the United Front against the destruction of science by Fascism is gathering strength and I venture the prediction that before long Dr. MacDougal himself will be with us, for though he is still an individualist he is also a scientist.

*Dr. MacDougal refers to a "restriction of the movements and communications" of scientists in the U.S.S.R. But we found no evidence at all of any dragooning or regimentation of scientists. Quite the reverse. The administration was anxiously considerate of the desires of the scientists, for in the Soviet Union the scientists are workers and the administration simply carries out as best it can their wishes with respect to their conditions of work. There is no hiring and firing by Boards of Trustees (big business men) as in this country.

II

Dr. MacDougal alleges that Soviet scientists are given apparatus and laboratories and then held incommunicado, either as regards learning of the investigations of foreign scientists or of communicating to the outside world their own investigations in foreign languages, such as English. Whatever may be the case in Dr. MacDougal's field of plant physiology, the statements are decidedly incorrect in the exact sciences. The Russians publish a substantial journal of physics in English, French and German*; another in physical chemistry in the same languages.** In the journal published in Germany that contains articles on the subject of colloids from all countries in the world, often one-third or more come from one single country, the U.S.S.R. Many scientific journals published in England and Germany contain numerous contributions from men of science in the U.S.S.R.*** In chemistry and physics, most of the important books and handbooks that appear in other countries are immediately published in much larger editions in the Russian language. Thus, often without the author's knowledge, his works enjoy a far larger circulation in the U.S.S.R. than in all the rest of the world together. As regards attendance at international gatherings in such European centers as Berlin or London, as in International Symposia arranged by the Faraday Society, fully as many Russians as Americans attend; although it takes as long to go by sea to London from Leningrad as it does from New York.

As regards the continental countries, personal interchanges of visits are frequent. Thus, at a recent Congress in Leningrad, among foreign visitors there were 2 from England, 10 from Germany, 3 from Sweden, 3 from Poland, 2 from Czechoslovakia, and only one from the Americas. Several Russian physicists of the first rank, such as Joffe, Frenkel, and Gamow, have made extensive visits as visiting professors to the United States, including the Pacific Coast.

As regards recent curtailment of support of scientific research by the great American foundations, *Science News Letter* of January 4, 1936, publishes the following statement:

Financial support of science by the large foundations has been cut to less than one-fourth of what was spent for this purpose during 1930, it is revealed by a survey of the Twentieth Century Fund recently made public.

Funds for research in the physical and biological sciences dropped \$6,000,000. Appropriations from the 68 foundations surveyed amounted to \$7,774,000 in 1930. In 1934 the figure had dropped to only \$1,746,662.

Funds for medicine and public health were cut from \$28,841,937, granted in 1930, to but \$8,609,710 for 1934, a loss of 70 per cent.

The reduction in grants for scientific and health work do not represent any loss of capital by the foundations during the depression, the Twentieth Century Fund found. In fact, their security holdings are reported to have actually increased seven-tenths of one per cent. The foundations have suffered a loss in income on their hold-

*Technical Physics of the U.S.S.R. (The articles are published in English, German and French)

**Acta Physicichimica U.S.S.R. (The articles are published in English, German and French)

References * and ** are listed on page 33 of the catalog "Periodica U.S.S.R. 1934" which includes the names of 975 current publications in Russian and some thirty other languages of which some 300 are scientific journals. Copies of the catalog will be sent upon request to BOOKNIGA CORPORATION, 225 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

***The ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE U.S.S.R. now publishes reports in English, German and French. All three magazines may be subscribed for through BOOKNIGA CORPORATION.

ings, of course, but the grants were reduced before the capital was endangered.

On the average, grants for all purposes were cut 53 per cent—from \$68,225,411 to \$32,063,619. This means a drop in funds for education and research in various fields of more than \$36,000,000.

No country can afford to become complacent or to relax its efforts to maintain its place in an increasingly scientific age. Dr. MacDougal's article will do good only if it leads to increased efforts on both sides to overcome the obstacles to mutual understanding and exchange of scientific thought caused by distance and a newly imported language of science.



THE NATURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

IV - SOME SEMI-PHILOSOPHICAL CONCLUSIONS

BY ELMO A. ROBINSON

THIS inquiry into the nature of American ideals began by describing certain methods used in connection with a college class, and by presenting certain questions which arose as the class progressed. Suggested answers to some of the questions were contained in the quotation from correspondents representing various occupations and professions. Upon this background of question and opinion the writer now ventures a few conclusions of his own. The following discussion, however, does not attempt to point to the ideals which might be listed as American, but rather to describe certain characteristics of American ideals as a whole. In the vocabulary of logic, the discussion is connotative rather than denotative.

1. American ideals exist. This statement does not imply that other nations may not have many of the same ideals. Taken one at a time these ideals are not usually unique, nor have they generally originated in America. What is unique and original is their combination and their setting taken as a whole. Neither at any given moment nor during the course of our history have the citizens of the United States unanimously agreed upon their ideals. But some of these ideals have predominated, and a vaguely defined pattern is to be distinguished.

2. Ideals of the present reach back into the past. The two richest sources for these historic ideals are the Declaration of Independence and the first ten amendments to the federal Constitution. Three words which partially summarize these documents are freedom, equality, democracy. But it is easy to misinterpret these words. In claiming that all men are created equal, for example, the founders were not so stupid as to suppose—as some of their critics seem to imagine—that all men are born with equal height, weight, or mental equipment.

3. American ideals change. They cannot be determined solely by the study of some one historical period. They carry with the changes in economic and social conditions—with the size of the nation, the growth of cities, the increasing heterogeneity of the population, the transformation of industrial methods, the sweeping revolution in international relationships. In some cases it may be necessary to discard the old ideals, for example, the ideal of every man conducting his business as he pleases. In some cases the old ideals need to be reinterpreted. What are the detailed implications of "equality of opportunity" in the modern world? In other cases new ideals are needed to supplement the old, such as internationalism and the vision of adequate social legislation.

4. Although American ideals reach back into the past, and

although they are changing and will continue to change, there is a sense in which they exist only in the minds of living Americans. They are not filed away and catalogued in the library stacks, nor embalmed in a printed constitution. We cannot find them in the founders, for the founders are dead. Ideals from the past, whether they are transmitted by printing or by oral tradition, exist only as they are known, interpreted, and accepted by those now living. No matter with what flourishes the Declaration of Independence may be engrossed upon parchment, the parchment and the printing are not the true Declaration; they comprise but a symbol of the true Declaration. That Declaration exists only as some mind grasps a meaning for which the symbols stand.

5. Although American ideals exist only in the minds of living Americans, the census method of compiling them is inadequate and unsatisfactory. To be an American is not enough to make one a logical thinker. Like other men of other nations we fail to think deeply, consistently. We give allegiance to ideals which clash with each other. Even a President may advocate both a bigger navy and friendlier relationships with other nations. American ideals comprise not only what Americans actually think, but what they would think if they thought consistently and intelligently. They exist partly by implication, just as a system of geometry exists by implication in a few axioms, although the beginning student does not see the implications and must have them developed for him in a text book.

6. American ideals are primarily social. Individual ideals enter into the picture, but they are less distinctive. American ideals refer chiefly to what Americans desire in their government, in their laws, in their schools. They refer to the behavior demanded of our policemen, of our judges, of our juries. They refer to the way in which it is believed business and industry ought to be managed. They have to do with wealth, poverty, war and peace.

7. An ideal is defined by the Century Dictionary as a standard of desire, an ultimate aim, a mental conception of what is most desirable. Less elegantly it may be defined as a universalized plan of action. Every ideal which exists is a fact. But an ideal may or may not coincide with facts of another type, with objective facts. Such lack of correspondence is no ground for cynicism. In most cases a "good" ideal will not correspond exactly with objective facts. In other words the *status quo* will not usually be regarded as perfectly ideal. On the other hand a "good" ideal will not be so totally separated from objective facts as to defeat its own goal. Poverty, for

example, is an objective fact but not a desirable social ideal. But certain schemes to end poverty are likewise undesirable because they fail to take into due consideration certain formidable objective obstacles to the successful carrying out of the proposed method of abolishing poverty.

8. In recent years certain nations of Europe have set up new experiments in government. Some of our citizens like to imitate one or another of these experiments. Some say that we shall be forced into imitation, whether we wish it or not. Now if an idea in government is a good one for the United States it ought to be adopted, no matter whether its origin be Paris or Palestine, Hitler or Hearst, the rich or the reds. But in general it is the opinion of the writer and in accord with his conception of American ideals that, while other nations should be sympathetically encouraged to conduct their experiments, it is the function of the United States to continue, by methods adapted to the new day, the experiment which the founders initiated.

9. American ideals can be taught. But teaching ideals is not the same as teaching the list of the Kings of Israel. It is necessary to distinguish between actually imparting ideals and merely imparting information about ideals. Simply to enumerate a list of ideals does not guarantee their acceptance. Nor does the fact that information has been memorized and recorded in an examination imply that ideals have been taught in any significant sense. An ideal has been taught only when it has been intelligently and deliberately accepted as a plan for living. The best method of thus imparting ideals is for the teacher actually to put them into practice in the class room. This means, for example, that if freedom and democracy are to be taught, they must be evident in the relations between instructor and student. Freedom implies freedom of discussion. Both students and instructors must be free to offer arguments against, as well as for, traditional American beliefs. Only those ideals which stand the test of free discussion can be accepted by thoughtful minds. No others can be truly taught. No others ought to be taught.

For a concluding text one may well turn to Mommsen's *History of Rome*. In discussing the infiltration of Greek ideals into Roman life he says: "Men might perhaps speak and write Greek and yet not cease to be Romans; but in this case they accustomed themselves to speak in the Roman language, while their whole inward being and life were Greek." So in the United States we have those who suppose that American ideals are being voiced if only one uses the words of Thomas Jefferson. They do not distinguish between the words and the meaning. They do not understand that the spirit of American ideals can be faithfully retained and expressed by those who use a vocabulary arising out of new and unexpected problems.

HOLLYWOOD-WEEK

(Hollywood News Bureau—Exclusive to PACIFIC WEEKLY)

THE PAST WEEK

CLARA BOW is so fond of bridge that she won't hire a cowboy on the ranch unless he can make a fourth hand when needed.

* * * Hecht and MacArthur are negotiating with Rene Clair to make a picture for them after he completes his contract with Alexander Korda in June. * * * The French version of *Crime and Punishment* has been released on 16 mm. film which will enable workers' groups to see it. * * *

20th Century-Fox earnings for 1935 will be around \$4,400,000, nearly triple the Fox take in 1934. Zanuck, Schenck, et al, will cut in for bonuses that will astound you!

DIRECTORS ORGANIZE

BIG NEWS of the week is the formation of the Screen Directors' Guild, under the presidency of King Vidor, an important step in the organizational trend of the year. Four demands, to better working conditions, have already brought forty top names into the organization and will probably be all inclusive before six months' have passed.

The demands:

- (1) Elimination of encroaching by producers and supervisors on the authority of directors;
- (2) More time to study a script before shooting, and opportunity to sit in on preparation, plus halting the practice of giving a director the script only one or two days before shooting is to start;
- (3) Elimination of second units; only one director on a picture.
- (4) Abolish the practice of keeping directors out of cutting rooms. Allow directors to follow their pictures through to the final editing.

Cheering was the presence at the organizational meeting of Robert Montgomery, president of the Screen Actors' Guild, and Ernest Pascal, president of the Screen Writers' Guild. Organization of directors is a sign that the Motion Picture Industrial Federation is in the offing, that such a federation will probably be led by the alert actors, writers and directors whose organizations were formed by the demands of the rank and file which also plays the role in the leadership.

Actors already have A.F. of L. affiliation; directors have not yet signified their intention to apply for a charter. Writers seek to bring their Guild, the Authors' League and Dramatists' Guild into one organization and then seek A.F. of L. affiliation.

Last step still to be achieved in the studios is the organization of clerical help and press agents, the latter already started by the Society of Publicists and News Correspondents. Complete organization of studios to-day removes from that group fear of producer reprisals. Clerical help, however, is still completely unorganized.

The top directors in Hollywood are in the new directors' guild. They include King Vidor (*Hallelujah, Our Daily Bread, So Red the Rose*); Lewis Milestone (*All Quiet on the Western Front, Anything Goes*) as first vice-president; Frank Tuttle (*This is the Night, Two for Tonight*) as second vice-president; William K. Howard (*Mary Burns, Fugitive*), secretary; John Ford (*The Lost Patrol, Men Without Women, The Informer*), treasurer. The board of directors includes: Frank Borzage, Howard Hawks, Wesley Ruggles, John Cromwell, William Wellman, Rouben Mamoulian, Gregory La Cava, Clarence Brown, Eddie Sutherland, and H. Bruce Humberstone.

Pat Casey, labor executive of the Producers' Association (Hays office), made a statement. "I have nothing to say," he said.

DEATH THROES

IN MARCH, the producer-controlled Academy will announce its selection of the leading film, performances, direction, and photography of the year. No longer the event it once was, the announcement this year has already been dated by similar monthly announcements by the strong Writers and Actors

Guilds.

This year, however, it is probable that Guild members will refuse to permit the Academy to name them—will declare themselves ineligible. The first step was the resignation by Director John Ford from the Academy when the Directors' Guild was formed. Ford, conceded any directorial award for *The Informer*, has already declared himself ineligible to receive the Academy award and will stick by his Guild. The fact that the Academy is forced to pick best performances, best writing, best direction from among its own members renders its selections worthless; for to-day it actually has so few members that it cannot even be considered as an organization. On the day that the Guilds open their fight for recognition and for collective bargaining, on that day the Academy will die forever.

BOOKS

"AMERICAN APPROACH"

BY WILLIAM MILLIS

MARXISM, as a guide towards social reorganization, as a philosophy of trade unionism, or even as a subject for academic and intellectual polemics; in comparison to contemporary events in European history, has had seemingly little influence in this country. The absence of a powerful labor and socialist party, of a continuous movement for industrial unionism, and the almost complete absence of a labor cooperatives movement has led many to such specious conclusions as "the frontier has always made America different", "Marx, with his Central European mind, couldn't understand us", and "there isn't any class struggle in this country". Such an attitude is not new; it was evidenced half a decade ago at the time of the First International. It has been presented again in two recently published books*. Despite wide variance in individuals and in movements, this attitude is politically called "The American Approach".

The essential features of these two books are confusion and contradiction. This situation is unfortunate, for it adds difficulty to attempts to contrast the programs of Mr. Bingham with the definite political philosophies separating the present day Communist party and Socialist party. What is perhaps the best approximation of this vague "American Approach" is found in the article on "Will Votes Do It?" in *Challenge to the New Deal*, where Benjamin Stolberg, who of late has become known as "the Walter Winchell of the labor movement", says: "In short, the function of the American radical is to think clearly and to develop a radical critique of American culture. . . . He should be through with all manifestations of middle-class liberalism . . . and with all . . . revolutionaries who shout and yap for an infantile and violent radicalism". Translate Mr. Stolberg's boring but bitter remarks—and you find that he is referring to Mr. Thomas and the Socialist party and to Mr. Browder and the Communist party.

These present-day "unorthodox radicals" have their theoretical origin, in most respects, in A. T. Holcombe's *The New Party Politics*. Here we find these contentions, repeated many times in *Challenge to the New Deal* and *Insurgent America*:

We must have middle-class politics . . . Community interests over class-interests. . . . We must be pragmatic,

*CHALLENGE TO THE NEW DEAL. Edited by Alfred M. Bingham and Selden Rodman, with thirty-five contributors. (Falcon Press, 1934) \$2.50

INSURGENT AMERICA: Revolt of the Middle Classes, by Alfred M. Bingham. (Harper & Bros., 1935) \$2.50

opportunistic, and experimental. No class has a better right to be class-conscious than the middle-class.

Just as these middle-class radicals are confused, so also do they admit their confusion, and also do they admit the dangers in their program: the weaknesses that come from a reliance only on the lower middle-classes, the nationalistic and perhaps fascist dangers that may come out of another revival of American Populism. In one aspect "the American Approach" to-day is Populism, since its only strength lies in the Progressive party of the LaFollettes in Wisconsin and in the Farmer-Labor Party of Floyd Olson in Minnesota.

In another aspect "the American Approach" to-day is clearly an expression of the attitude of young middle-class intellectuals to bother the slumbering Marxism of the Old Guard Socialists or what they choose to call the fanatical intolerance of orthodox Communists.

Challenge to the New Deal is a collection of articles published in *Common Sense* from 1932 to 1934. The book is divided into three parts: the Crisis, Technocracy and the "American Approach". By far the best part of the book is the labor reporting in the first section. The authors, while they loudly decry the alleged "holy writs and scriptures" of Marxism, seem to have gone pretty far that way themselves. Selden Rodman, in writing "Can the Progressives Take the Lead?", says:

The Progressive movement developed out of the soil of pioneer agrarian America just as truly as Marxism came to life in the hopeless ranks of exploited Central European labor. And the pragmatic, scientific, homely qualities of this greatest of American politicians are just as truly the expression of the extraordinary opening-up of our continent as was the historical materialism of Marx a culmination in a civilization infinitely richer in philosophy and systematic thinking. The American Marx, if such there be, will come to us as no follower of Kant and Hegel. His opus magnum will stem from the thinking of Edward Bellamy and Veblen and the politics of Robert M. LaFollette.

Insurgent America: Revolt of the Middle-Classes, by Alfred M. Bingham, is blurbled by the publishers as a "handbook for the third party movement". It is more a theoretical farce, based upon what is reverentially called "middle-class psychology". Such a friendly critic of "the American Approach" as Louis M. Hacker, writing in *The Nation*, reprimands Bingham for his "rather cavalier" treatment of the industrial workers. This treatment is somewhat more than that, for example, when he says that unemployed-relief workers should not unionize.

Curiously enough for what is supposed to be a treatment of middle-class rebellion in America, about a third of the book is devoted to aimless and unsound speculations about fascism. *Insurgent America* is largely devoted to bitter attacks upon the working class and upon Marxism, using fallacious arguments that Lawrence Dennis, a contributor to *Challenge to the New Deal*, has adopted in his just published *The Coming American Fascism*. Bingham will say one thing in an early chapter, exactly the opposite later. Vigilantism in California is in one place said not to be Fascism; later it is. The middle-class will turn to fascism to save the status quo; the middle-class will turn to fascism to change the status quo. Mr. Bingham should at least make up his mind about such questions before he sets out to write his "handbook for the third party movement".

A LIFE FULLY LIVED

A FOOTNOTE TO FOLLY, by Mary Heaton Vorse. (Farrar & Rinehart) \$3

(Reviewed by Lincoln Steffens)

MARY HEATON came prancing into my life unconscious of the disapproving frowns of her older sister and her chum, my wife. I shared their superiority with a grin. Mary

was a young thing. Didn't understand life and men, not at all. A blank beginning. Now here comes a book of reminiscences out of a long active, feeling, poetical life that reports the world and the times Mary lived through under my eyes and under her sister's and my wife's disapproving frown. Mary, the gangling girl, got the best of it, the best and the worst. She got it all. And she has written it all. A triumphant life, fully lived, and, I think, fully understood.

This *Footnote to Folly* tells, and it shows, how a little girl learned about this world the things this world doesn't teach little girls, no, and doesn't dare teach big girls and great big men either. Mary married Albert Vorse, a yachtsman and an arctic explorer, and he took her sailing with us (I remember his slow, old second-hand boat *Molasses*; Gilman Hall, editor of *Ainslee's*, and I bought that boat when she sank at her anchorage. We paid more for the name than for the hulk. Mrs. Vorse wrote essays for the magazines about these days, and I remember how surprised I was that she could write at all, and so lightly. This was at Cos Cob, Connecticut. Then, when I was doing important politics, she began wasting her time on Labor, and talking about labor, and making it seem significant and interesting. And her book shows how she was learning, and feeling, the A-B-C of the labor, the class struggle which her neighbors, etc., had no business to know. She "covered" strikes. She saw the children of the strikers. She had begun to have children herself and she took along her husband to see how the class struggle treated the children of striking labor. Her strike stories were famous, and by and by she got right into them herself, organizing, leading, working, fighting. Not only the class-war, she got into the real, the nice peoples', the world war—all the same thing: and the relief, and the revolutions.

Mary Heaton Vorse's book is a fascinating scenario of the world in our time that tells the old "folly" in such a way that even I "got" it and I think anybody will—anew. And whole.

TRAVEL BOOK WITH ZEST

BLACK TENTS OF ARABIA, by Carl R. Raswan. (Little, Brown & Co.) \$4

(Reviewed by Una Jeffers)

DURING his first stay in Arabia in 1912 Carl R. Raswan profited by a chance wound inflicted upon him by Amir-Fuaz, a boy of the Ruala Bedouins, to become his blood-brother, a rite which has ensured the protection of that tribe during eleven later sojourns there. His constant purpose has been to study the breeding of Arabian horses and to obtain certain strains for foreign stock-farms, but Arabia has enthralled him and he has written this book that is a worthy addition to the shelf which holds Burton's *Journey to El-Medinah and Meccah*, Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* (certainly the most remarkable travel book in the English language) and Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. Lawrence's comment, "Nomadism—that most deeply biting of all social disciplines . . . a life too hard, too denying for all but the strongest and most determined men" explains the exceptional quality of these writers on Arabia—this discipline has winnowed out all of infirm will. Raswan's observations on Arabian ethnology, lines of migration, and so on, have been published in scientific magazines in various countries: relieved of such technical detail, this book proceeds with rushing vigor.

By scrupulously observing Bedouin customs, particularly in regard to women, he has lived in their most intimate confidence and seems no alien as he leans against the camel saddles by the coffee-hearth in the sheikh's tent, sipping the black bitter brew and feeling the homely comfort of the wide circle of camels and men lying on the sand without. He shares with them the constant shift necessary for fresh pasturage, delighting in the changing colors of the desert, the flat yellow sands with pools of rain water and the mirage of phantom pools, the

black lava and steep cliffs of flaming red in whose crevices grow desert tamarisks with milk-white stems. Eagles fly above "the troop of snow-white gazelles with their dainty feet deep in the scarlet sand, browsing the drooping branches in an atmosphere of silver and green. These charming creatures quench their thirst with the dew that gathers in the leaves and flowers". The air is pungent with the scent of camomile and other aromatic herbs crushed by the animals' hooves. In the violet twilight the Bedouins make a fire of thorn and spicy acacia and bake thin sheets of bread which they fold, still warm, around honey and dates and eat with camel-cheese.

Sandstorms sweep up, "lips become parched, the eyes, the throat, the palate hot with inflammation and pain, the breath came in pants, the blood hammered heavily in heart and temples. The camels dragged themselves along with utmost effort groaning and complaining". Raswan describes the care and psychology of these stubborn, whimsical beasts who serve the Arabs in so many ways: their milk for food, urine for shampoos and disinfectant, hair to weave into cloth, dung for fuel, flesh for food and hide for bags and sandals, in addition to the incredible burdens they can carry.

He accompanied the Rualas on an historic tribal exodus in time of famine, a terrific epic of endurance—a band of 35,000 Rualas, 350,000 camels advancing through enemy country on a front extending to twenty miles, in headlong flight from starvation. He went with them on bandit raids, or to hunt the wolves with long lances. He watched the Arab Ralib slash open the breast of the cruel panther and suck the heart's blood with savage exultation. Of hawking he says: "The splendid, knightly troop goes forth on beautiful mares and camels, falcons on gauntleted wrists, cloaks, manes, saddle-trappings flapping in the wind. The shouts of men mingle with the thunder of hoofs, neighing of the mares, the screams of the hawks and the baying of hounds."

Raswan's constant companion was Faris, a handsome Shammar Bedouin of great courage and moral purity. His love story is told in this book from his first meeting with the young shepherdess, Tuëma, to whom he brought gifts of silver anklets and imperishable flowers (ostrich plumes), to that last terrible hour when, mortally wounded, he married her and on his death bed secured the continuance of his line.

By amazing good fortune Raswan obtained from a powerful Sheykh the young stallion he wanted above all others. He describes this fleet Drinker-of-the-wind "full of fire and grace, the living epitome of the wild and romantic land . . . his whole body tense, neck arched and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long drawn silver notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water".

The text is enriched by innumerable magnificent photographs taken by the author, which do not dim his sharp black and white word-portraits of the Bedouins who are shown cruel and arrogant, stoical, abstemious, and inexorably loyal to tribal customs such as the inviolability of a guest.

Perhaps this reviewer has indicated that she believes this a really great travel book; it differs from the other fine books on Arabia by replacing the strain and labor and fatigue which weigh them down, with the unwearied zest which glows through every day Raswan spends in Arabia.

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UNA JEFFERS is the wife of the great Western poet Robinson Jeffers who lives in Carmel.

A BIOLOGIST and A CHEMIST go unnamed—because those who adversely criticize Soviet Russia to-day may declare their identity with utmost frankness while those who praise her are generally compelled to hide their names.

CORRESPONDENCE

CHARGES INNUENDOES

Editor, Pacific Weekly

One of your co-editors, D. T. MacDougal, in writing on the status of scientists and science in the Soviet Union in your issue of January 13 attempts to perpetuate the canard of Hearst & Co. as to the tyranny, oppression, bestiality and murderousness of the Soviets.

Were it not so he would not write of "colossal sacrifices of human life with an indifference characteristic of Asiatics". (Is our scientist a racial chauvinist? What holocaust ever perpetrated by Asiatics compares with the wars of occidental Eurasians?)

From a scientist one would expect objective criticism devoid of all innuendoes and slanderous metaphors ("Sargasso Sea of Russian Soviets"). From Dr. MacDougal, however, we get more bias than facts. The isolation of Soviet science from the rest of the world is, of course, a deplorable fact, but is it a fact? The prejudice of the writer is so palpable that it fails to drive home the conviction that the incidents he enumerates are examples of the general state of Soviet science.

Not a few scientists, who are the spoiled darlings of our dying politico-economic system, take to socialism not at all readily, to say the least. The Soviet Government has not forgotten the sabotage of the Vickers engineers and is therefore circumspect in dealing with gentlemen of that fraternity. Is it so unlikely that Dr. MacDougal bases his observations from the report or experiences of scientists such as these?

Los Angeles

H. J. Alberti

"RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM"

Editor, Pacific Weekly

The article "Soviet Science Faces Inward" in Pacific Weekly (Jan. 13) raises at least two groups of questions. Dr. MacDougal condones and condemns without examination certain bald statements, some of which are probably facts.

First is his cry for "rugged individualism" in science, with an argument which illustrates the collective nature of research. The statement: "Neither do conclusions of consequences (sic) come to researchers by feverish flashes" is also open to question. The questions of method, technic, collaboration and psychology in science need a thorough going over.

Second is his round indictment in expansion of the title of the article: As to the sub-question concerning Prof. Kapitza "all I know is what I read in the newspapers". And Science News Letter probably knows no more. With the well-known bias of our sources of news, this is less than nothing.

The other sub-questions in this group concern availability of publications to and from Soviet scientists. First: "The scientific work from Russian laboratories is published in Russian journals with no abstract in French or English." I might suggest many factors: (1) They needed scientists, not linguists—many of the new scientists were not even very familiar with Russian, and as a result there is a tremendous amount of material in the various national languages, the most important portions of which are abstracted into Russian; (2) They were publishing many things on odd scraps of paper—often none was available and sometimes only wrapping paper—and there was a shortage of labor of all kinds, so how could they

publish extra and export material (Much of the American stuff is years late for lack of facilities for publication); (3) "Export" literature and abstracts are largely in German. And I may ask, what about the Czech, Magyar, English and Scandinavian material without French, German, or Russian abstracts?

He was asked for articles "as far back as 1914". How many copies reached the Russia of 1914 and how many would remain after the counter-revolutionary and interventionist wars? Especially in an "institution near the Caspian Sea".

Also there is "evidence that material from other countries does not reach the working scientist, and that its entrance may even work to his prejudice, is not lacking, so all such addresses are struck from our mailing lists". If this were the only reason for such action, I should be surprised, which shows that I am by no means unbiased, but it may well be true that foreign material "does not reach the working scientist". Others may well offer other reasons, but all I can suggest is that the first question raised in this article would be there considered "counter-revolutionary", and that Dr. MacDougal (as I pointed out when discussing that) does not recognize a dialectic* even when he commits one.

Again: of three "foreign" English language physiological magazines "nine times as many come to the U. S. as go to the U.S.S.R." English is the language of the U.S.A., what about German (pre-fascist)? The professor has just complained that the Russians don't print things in one of "his" languages.

*This is a slightly inaccurate use of the word.

Berkeley, California

Clifton Amsbury

HELP C. S. VICTIMS

Editor, Pacific Weekly

"TURN THEM LOOSE!" is the caption of the following editorial taken from the Jan. 17 issue of the San Francisco "News" (Scripps-Howard):

"We heartily indorse the plea of contributors to our Pulse columns that the eight young people now serving prison sentences under the criminal syndicalism act be released by the State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles as soon as their minimum sentences shall have been served. This will be within a few weeks.

"Convicted at Sacramento as the result of a concerted drive by reactionary organizations and professional patriots, these men and women were found guilty of nothing worse than belonging to the Communist Party. The jury specifically acquitted them of committing any act of violence or of inciting violence.

"In order to obtain the convictions, the duly elected district attorney of Sacramento county was pushed aside and the prosecution was conducted by a lawyer selected by Atty. Gen. Webb. The whole case was a **scandalous abuse of judicial process to suppress agitation for better wages and conditions among agricultural workers, in which the defendants had been active and successful.** The News condemned it at the time, and urges that the Parole Board redress the injustice by fixing the sentences at the minimum, which is one year." (my emphasis)

As excellent as this editorial is, unfortunately it alone will not be sufficient to open the prison gates to Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and the other prisoners. The Parole Board will impose as much of the maximum 14 years as it thinks the public will stand.

I write this with the hope that your readers will communicate with the Board and ask that justice be done in this case. It is too late now to rectify the wrong already done. The least the Board can do now is to free the C. S. victims as soon as the law permits.

I am certain you appreciate the importance and urgency of immediate action.

San Francisco

George Lansing

"THEY TELL ME--"

AMONG THE MANY new left-wing magazines appearing—from handsome journals complete with photographs and shiny paper, like "China To-day" to mimeographed sheets, which seem to be covering the territory from "Cuban News Week" to "Alaska Labor Dispatch"—a new, ambitious organ is announced by the Southern California Regional American Youth Congress (404 American Bank Bldg., 2nd and Spring St., Los Angeles). One hundred dollars is offered for a title. The 4-page forerunner is called "Spirit of '76", which sounds to us pretty good. The magazine will be collectively edited by "the youth whose radicalization down South here is progressing at a breath-taking pace" as one correspondent states. The magazine is to help cement the broad student united front and also to reach those students who have not yet learned about organization.

The debate between the Young Peoples'

Socialist League and the Young Communist League which took place in the Mason Opera House in Los Angeles Jan. 9 was packed, largely with enthusiastic young people.

PUBLISHERS AS A RULE have a deep distrust of poetry; it usually doesn't sell. So last year Kenneth Fearing was unable to obtain a commercial publisher for his poems. A group of left-wingers organized around "Dynamo", a left-wing poetry magazine, who knew and greatly valued Fearing's poems, brought them out. And, as Robert Cantwell told in the pages of Pacific Weekly, the venture was a commercial success, as well as an artistic event. The edition sold more than most first poets, and is now virtually exhausted.

"Dynamo" is publishing Fearing's poems in a twenty-five cent large pamphlet. They are also bringing out, in January, Edwin Rolfe's poems, "To My Contemporaries". Rolfe has contributed poems and critical

articles to a number of magazines and recently had a series on Robinson Jeffers in the "Modern Monthly".

THE BEST BOOK describing the real freedom for women the Soviet system has achieved was a psychiatrically inspired study by Dr. Frankwood Williams entitled "Russia, Youth and the Present Day World". He showed how free comradeship under communism had removed from women their sense of guilt inherent in their triple position as guardians of the private life, makers and runners of their husbands, and their modern attempts to have careers and a life of their own.

MARTIN FLAVIN'S PLAY, "Tapestry in Grey", has opened in New York. The star is Elissa Landi, herself an author, and actress-heroine of Hemingway's play "Farewell to Arms".

—ELLA WINTER

NEXT WEEK

THE STRANGE CASE OF UPTON SINCLAIR

By Carey McWilliams. Here is fact and analysis of the recently manifest reactions of an unusual political figure. It reveals material that has hitherto not been published. It throws light on the general direction in which the EPIC leader is going.

A LESSON FROM FRANCE FOR CALIFORNIA

M. Georges Connes, professor of English at the University of Dijon, writes for PACIFIC WEEKLY the story of a united front in the French Republic.

NOTES AND COMMENT
on current affairs.

LINCOLN STEFFENS' COLUMN.

HOLLYWOOD-WEEK

A column of truth about the film domain.

"THEY TELL ME—"

Ella Winter's column on persons and things literary.

PACIFIC WEEKLY

BOUND VOLUMES

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