

success of Wright, Frank Yerby, Willard Motley, Ralph Ellison, Chester Himes, and Ann Petry make it appear otherwise.

Our racial mores are changing, but so slowly that it seems unlikely that any immediate solution of this creative frustration is likely to come from that direction. True, the amazing circulation of pocket books is now giving some Negro writers a mass audience, which may help to speed the process. But in the meantime the newer writers will have to open up whole new areas of American life and new techniques for presenting them. There will always be a place for the Negro protest novel, but until it becomes the exception, rather than the rule, American literature will suffer along with the Negro artist.

—BUCKLIN MOON

Duggan's Testament

There is a commitment to political equality in the New World which neither cynics nor sophisticates can obliterate. The concept goes back at least to Bolivar, and has been the theme of statesman, poet, and politician for many generations. Since the Congress of Panama in 1826, it has been taken as a matter of course that all nations in this hemisphere have equal status, are equally "sovereign."

The equality of the states, upon which the United States is founded, has had its counterpart in the whole of America. If in the United States Delaware is equal to Texas, in Latin America Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Guatemala have always been equal to Brazil and the Argentine. The pride of bigness and power has never been sufficient reason to deny equal dignity

and moral status to the little nations in their relation to the larger ones. At any Inter-American conference, the spokesman from Cuba speaks with the same assurance and sense of national identity as the representatives of the bigger nations—including the United States. What the small nations say is not always complimentary to the big nations, but it is said without fear, and in clear and high tones.

The great American theme—and it is as old as the Americas—is the conviction that all peoples are equal, endowed with equal dignity, and possessed of equal rights. It is only on this basis that moral identity can develop, and only through such identity that a community of nations can be built. Invidious distinctions end by destroying the foundation of international co-operation; they would have made the growing Inter-American system impossible.

Laurence Duggan's, *The Americas*, (Holt, \$3) is a great deal more than a retelling of the story of the Pan-American system. Mr. Duggan will always be remembered as one of the chief architects of the system itself, for no one labored with greater diligence than he did to bring about unity and equality among the nations of the Americas. From the days when he first joined the State Department to the day of his tragic death, that was his deepest interest. He knew that hemispheric unity required equality of all the nations, and a growing democracy within them.

This book is a great moral testament, and it is inspired by a deep faith that, in spite of our shortcomings and failures, and the dissident elements in Latin America, a community of na-

tions without invidious distinctions can and must be constructed; that, in fact, such a union in this hemisphere is a prerequisite—though not a substitute—for the larger international foundation upon which worldwide peace can be firmly founded.

The Americas is a signpost that marks the way toward co-operation between the great and the small nations. The basis is simple enough—dignity and equality for the small nation. Once that is accepted, all other issues find their proper place, and the little nation can co-operate with the big one without constraint. On that basis, and on no other, can international good will be built. It is even more apparent, if one reads the record set down in this book, that if there is no equality, there is no identity of interests, nor can there be a sense of belonging to a common family.

Laurence Duggan was deeply concerned with the great issues of the day. He was constantly preoccupied with the conditions under which democracy could be made to work, and the ways in which our troubled world might find peace. His life was devoted to both these ends; he knew that they have to be worked for, and he labored in both fields because for him they were inseparable. The theme that runs through his book is the dignity of man. Man usually has dignity if he has freedom. He can have freedom only if he feels secure, and he can have a sense of security only if he is not ground down in poverty—if he is not hungry, or sick, or helpless.

The author is



concerned with the world about him rather than with himself. He hardly mentions himself. He does not boast of his own work; he does not even refer to it. He gives generous praise to the people he worked with, especially to Sumner Welles, who was his immediate superior.

A characteristic thing about the book is its concern with little things: If the people of Latin America are to improve their lot they must learn to till the soil better, have better tools, understand seed-selection, pruning of trees, and ditching of swamps. These are things we can teach them. We will get little by exploitation, and much by sharing our good fortune—our skills, knowledge, and tools. Mr. Duggan knew that no nation could live on charity. The people of Latin America need help in dealing with their own difficulties, and our contribution must call forth great effort and enthusiasm on their part, or our gifts will be worthless. There was no room for the “devil” theory of history in Mr. Duggan’s philosophy. He thought that his opponents had an inadequate view of the issues, or identified their own with the nation’s interest, but not that they were evil conspirators, filled with the passion to exploit and abuse their fellow men. Mr. Duggan’s outlook is buoyant, optimistic, and good-natured. Free from fantasies, he advertised no cure-all, and shouted no magic slogan. The world is complex, the difficulties many, and the possibilities of human action slow and time-consuming. The person aware of the ways of the world must nibble away at evil, and also at poverty and at indifference, for indifference is the greatest of evils.

The author was a liberal in the sense in which John Dewey is one: He dealt with the concrete difficulty in its own terms, confident that it would provide its own means of reducing the friction it created. The remedy, he thought, was never a general formula, but an application of the best available knowledge of the concrete issue. The book, like Laurence Duggan’s life, is inspired with the faith that men of good will can find the way toward good-neighborliness and companionship even in a world as complex and torn as this one.

—FRANK TANNENBAUM

Contributions

The Reader Reports

The articles appearing on these pages were contributed by readers in response to the theme question:

Can the American businessman share in the job of increasing prosperity and stopping Communism abroad?

Quality of Statesmanship

Of course he can, if he will. The machinery exists for his use; certain of the needs are well suited to his capabilities; all that is lacking is statesmanship. By that term I mean the habit of thinking of the general welfare of groups other than stockholders, employees, and such limited classifications; a preference for voluntary action by free men instead of bureaucratic action by government; the kind of qualities that have distinguished such American businessmen as Paul G. Hoffman, John Foster Dulles, Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, Senator Ralph E. Flanders, and many others. He must recognize that changes are inevitable and that results of his aid may disturb economic balances to the detriment, in some cases, of American business itself. If he has the quality of statesmanship he will give his aid in spite of this, for humanitarian and other reasons not associated with profits.

As for the available mechanisms, there are not enough statesmen in business to make efforts by individuals or corporations productive. But we have well-established and experienced trade associations through which many businessmen can pool their efforts and thus make them effective.

There are many kinds of things the American businessman might do through these industrial organizations. One of the greatest needs of our European friends is American markets. Suppose American manufacturers,

after studying the situation, said that they would not oppose European efforts to send us certain specified goods, and that in enumerated categories they would assist in whatever ways might be practicable and legally possible, and that in addition they themselves would buy stated quantities of raw and semifinished materials from European vendors. Suppose Americans conferred with Canadians and, at some increased cost, perhaps, agreed to buy stated quantities of certain commodities, such as pulp, furs, and fish, in Europe instead of in Canada. Suppose American industry and American capital set out to invest American money in European utilities and factories.

In such ways I believe the American businessman could help to build prosperity abroad and thereby stop Communism—if he himself has enough statesmanship in his character.

CHARLES H. ROE

Tarrytown, New York

Destroy Spawning Grounds

Not only can the American businessman help increase prosperity abroad and, by so doing, help stop Communism, but he must do so if he is to survive without drastic mutation. His efforts in this direction should be aided and supplemented by alert and responsive government policies.

There can be little doubt that Communism breeds in poverty and want, that outlawing Communist Parties without eliminating such conditions cannot have an enduring effect. No sooner will one lid be capped than another will blow off. Only a vigorous attack on low standards of living and unemployment will effectively destroy the spawning grounds of Communism—and the American businessman is the one who can do it.

With his genius for production, his talent for distribution, his energy and

initiative, the American businessman need only be convinced that his efforts and risk of capital in foreign countries are welcome and will not be rendered fruitless. That is where the U. S. government must play its full and proper role. It must assist through modification of its own tax and commerce legislation and through the negotiation of treaties and agreements with other countries, aiming at encouraging investments abroad by facilitating credits and monetary exchanges, allowing a fair withdrawal of profits and capital, and affording other incentives.

With the rules established and minimum protection assured, the American businessman will invest abroad; he will create wealth and distribute it; in so doing, he will employ, and he must employ at fair wage levels. He must exercise his rights on withdrawal of capital and profits with wisdom, caution, and foresight. He must steer clear of the politics of countries other than his own.

Hand in hand with these results go a rising standard of living, fuller employment, and stability of government. Communism cannot live, let alone grow, in that kind of environment.

MARVIN C. WAHL
Baltimore, Maryland

Contributors

Both Negro and white writers have helped us put together this issue on the Negro citizen. Ralph Ellison wrote the short story "Battle Royal," published in '48 and abroad in *Horizon*; his forthcoming novel is entitled *The Invisible Man*. Ted Poston is a reporter on the New York *Post-Home News*. Sterling A. Brown is professor of English at Howard University, Washington, D. C. Bucklin Moon is the author of *Without Magnolias*. Professor of Political Science at Yale University, V. O. Key, Jr. is the author of *Southern Politics*. Richard Lewis is city editor of the Indianapolis *Times*. Herbert Northrup is the author of *Organized Labor and the Negro*. Robert S. Elegant has specialized in Oriental studies at Columbia University. Joseph E. Loftus is director of the Teaching Institute of Economics at the American University, Washington, D. C. Germán Arciniegas, former Colombian Minister for Education, now teaches Latin American literature at Columbia University.

The Editors

Letters

To The Reporter

'Such Lengths'

To the Editor: Perhaps your intentions were to leave your readers hanging in mid-air after studying your issue on the American businessman. Or perhaps I was the only one who got the feeling that you stopped just short of answering the question: "Where do we go from here?"

You shelved the major problem of the day and merely asked and answered quite well: "Where are we now?" The big question, in my opinion, was, "How can labor get pensions, national health insurance, subsidized food under a Brannan plan, and higher wages out of industry without reducing industry's desire to keep on investing money?"

I say "was" the question, because you may have answered it by suggestion. Mr. Berle pointed out, for example, that only a tiny percentage of investment today is made in the form of stocks. This leads one to infer that "incentive" to invest is no longer a major factor to consider in today's economy, that most investment will continue to be made by plowing back profits, or allowing insurance corporations to invest.

This leads one further to assume that industrial returns on net worth, then, are the important figures to watch. I believe returns last year were close to twelve per cent. after taxes. The conclusion follows that as long as there is money for reinvestment in new capital, depreciation of the old, etc., in addition to those tremendous profits, the only problem of the day is up to labor and management to decide—how to divide that purse.

Must we readers go to such lengths as to think for ourselves on these issues? What if we make wrong inferences? How can we argue with you if you don't present your side of the argument?

At any rate, you've got yourself a reader for a while. I keep coming back for the next issue in order to find out whether you'll answer some of the questions you so lengthily put in the previous one.

GEORGE HOLCOMB
Portland, Oregon

Stockbrokers Should Stoop

To the Editor: In your articles about the investment field, Mr. A. A. Berle, Jr. claims that "An individual . . . is right in putting his savings into an insurance company—which can do in its limited credit field what du Pont or Standard Oil can do in the industrial one." Mr. Vincent Checchi

recommends a . . . "passage of state laws to permit life-insurance companies to buy moderate quantities of common stocks." Mr. Berle feels that since ". . . everybody who contributed to bringing about this situation was doing what seemed to be—and generally was—the intelligent, practical thing." Leaves me with the feeling that he is being favorable though trying to be objective.

If they had looked further into the field they might have written differently. I, too, do not wish to get up "on a moral high horse. . . ." but I feel that the stockbrokers have let themselves down by not stooping to the people who are falsely investing in insurance for "cash value" and "savings" while common stocks or investment companies often aren't even considered. There is quite a market for methods of investment that could be paid out monthly, as so many people have been schooled to do. It is too bad there are so many restrictions on the stockbrokers besides those on giving false information. There are many ways an individual, with small effort on his part, could not only earn better than six per cent on his dollar but in some cases have his earnings tax-free. The individual at his death would not only leave the amount of insurance he desired but the cash (value) also.

I am no stockbroker and I don't have the opportunity to sell the economics of this bad situation, but because I believe truth eventually will win out I have hope for the man who is scared by the history of the 1929 market collapse. I have hope that the investment of capital from the individual will expand to fight the misunderstanding that has come about with the name-calling use of "capitalist."

CHARLES W. BASHAM, JR.
Oak Lawn, Illinois

Capehart Puff?

To the Editor: Perhaps I missed the point, but it seemed to me that in your profile of Senator Capehart (*The Reporter*, October 25), you treated this arch-reactionary far too gently. But a friend of mine insists that in a quiet way you demolished him. What were you out to do?

J. L. ANTHONY
Brooklyn

[A friend of Senator Capehart's agrees with you; he had our article inserted in the Congressional Record. As for us, we stand by what we said in the first place: "Like the phonograph that bears his name . . . Capehart . . . is large, shiny, and full-toned."

—The Editors]

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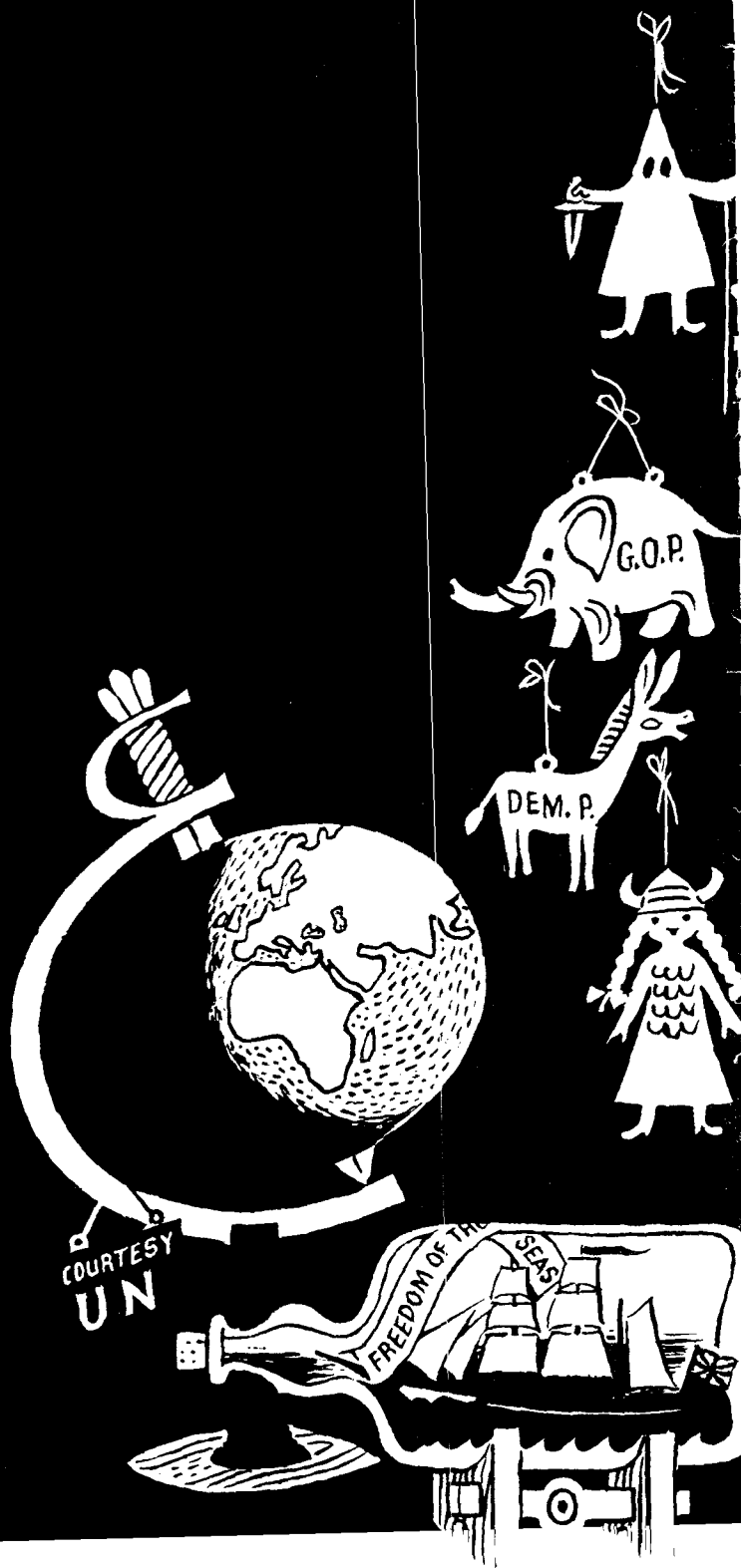
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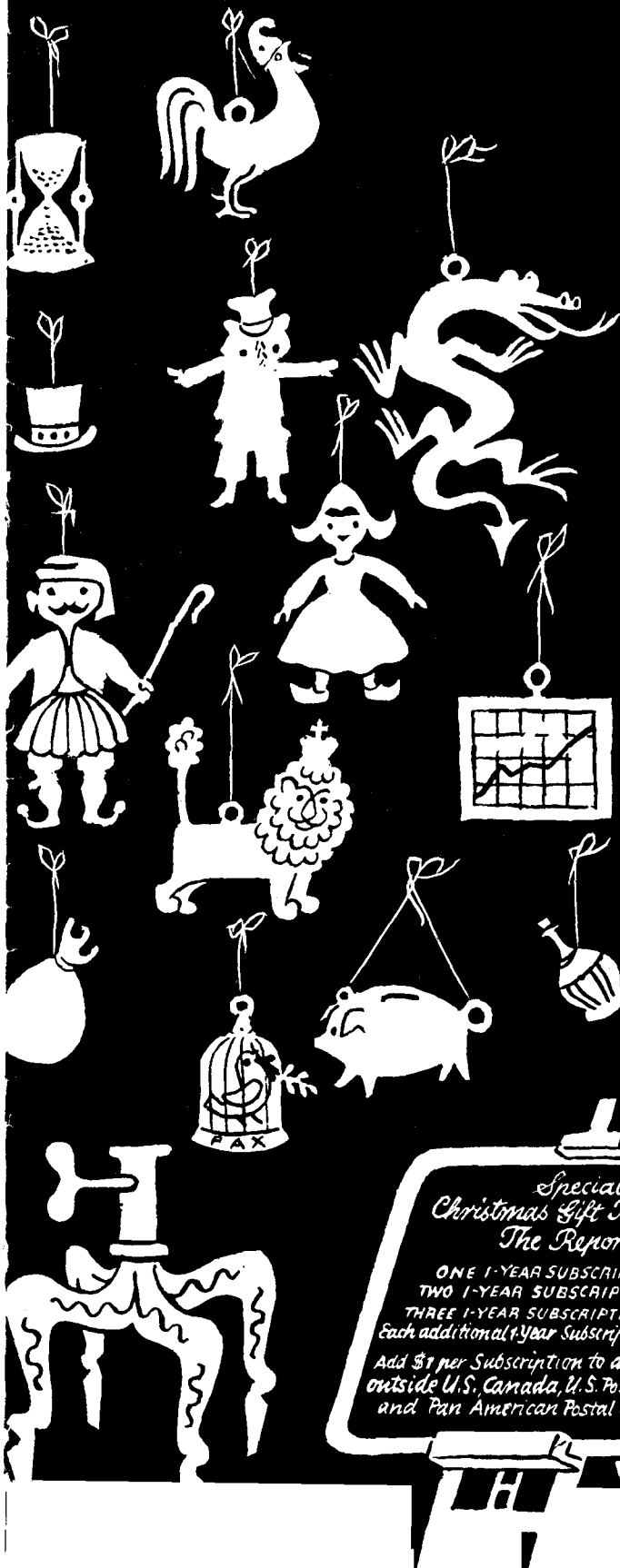
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