

**Politics.** *Some years ago, SRL proposed a book on America's major defeated Presidential candidates, under the possible title "They Also Ran." We were pleased when several years later Irving Stone wrote a book on that theme and under that title. Emboldened by that success, we now suggest another book on a related theme: a study of great Americans who could have had Presidential nominations almost for the asking, but who missed their chance or declined the honor. Many important names come to mind—Ben Franklin, Webster, Calhoun, and, of course, General Eisenhower and Justice Douglas (for the time being, at least). We review below a testament of faith by Douglas. . . . Henry Agard Wallace on the other hand, the subject of our second review, will soon be a candidate (if the polls are correct) for a later edition of "They Also Ran."*

## Ideas of the Future

*BEING AN AMERICAN.* By William O. Douglas. New York: The John Day Co. 1948. 213 pp. \$2.75.

Reviewed by ELIOT JANEWAY

**M**R. JUSTICE DOUGLAS was not well known politically in 1940. He was not very well known in 1944. His name was not a popular byword in June 1948. Why, then, did Roosevelt want to run with him instead of Wallace in 1940 and again in 1944? And why did both Eisenhower and Truman insist on Douglas as the indispensable Vice-Presidential choice of 1948? Because Douglas's ideas are the ideas of the future.

Our modern party system makes politicians idea-conscious only after they have passed the political test of "availability." Not since Jefferson has a man been thrust into political leadership by the power of his own ideas. It was by using other men's ideas that Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts rose to greatness, to the surprise of their contemporaries, after the accidents and the compromises of politics had put them into the Presidency.

But now, in this time of trouble and transition, Justice Douglas's ideas are winning him a unique political position. It is because he is a Jeffersonian phenomenon—a man of ideas symbolizing the power of those ideas—that the politicians at Philadelphia seized on him as the one figure big enough to carry Truman as no candidate of the conventional type could. And it is for the same reason that that prototype of the conventional candidate—Justice Douglas's Columbia classmate Thomas E. Dewey—fears this son of Brandeis, this student of Stone, this protege of Roosevelt, this associate of Black as the man with whose ideas and personal impact

he will have to reckon in the year of reckoning 1952.

Now Justice Douglas has matured as a philosopher through his virtuosity as a technician of finance and the law. Like all virtuosos, he thinks in counterpoint, a counterpoint which equates principles and programs, meanings and methods. In contrast to the technical detail of Court opinions, this book is an expression of thematic ideas. It is perhaps the only collection of speeches by a public man in this world of sloganized glibness which can be read as a book. It is certainly the only one whose wide range of references calls for an index.

These thematic ideas of Douglas tell the story of the technician's growth into a Justice, of the Justice's growth into a philosopher, of the philosopher's growth into a symbol.

Thus, he sees natural resources flowing into the reservoir of human resources. "With the Columbia River," he says, "America found more than the inland empire of Jefferson's heritage; it found a way to create the society of Jefferson's dreams and our dreams. Nothing is more intangible than the current of our imperial river, and yet nothing is more powerful. Nothing except the democracy it symbolizes and enriches. The promise of a nobler power than the world has ever seen flows through the current of our river. It is the promise of happiness for people."

"Our system," he says again, "is a machine. But it is a machine that runs on human energy." The system must be controlled by skilled technicians. But the human energy must force new liberties from the system as fast as the system forces new wealth from nature. Jobs must belong to people. They must express people's needs and personalities. "The sense of actual participation supplies a force that not only produces health in the individual but also brings new vitality to the industrial system . . . The sense of belonging, the feeling of participation . . . are influences that can break down social, racial, economic, or religious lines. . . ."

"Franklin Roosevelt . . . was alive to this fact. And he knew how to fashion from it a positive and cohesive force in American life. He was in a very special sense the people's President, because he made them feel that with him in the White House they shared the Presidency."

The March 1943 speech at the University of Florida is historic because it formulates the one-world policy



—Acme.

Justice William O. Douglas: "We must make certain that the glory of our civil rights is not confined to their illustrious history. . . ."

which, transcending the false but all too real dilemma of war or appeasement, can organize peace. "The real victory over Communism," he warns, "will be won in the rice fields rather than on the battlefields . . . If we want the hundreds of millions of people of the world in the democratic ranks, we must show them the way with practical programs of social reconstruction. We cannot force such programs on other nations. But we must stand ready to suggest such programs and to help work them out. We must stand ready to support *with sanctions* the liberals of any country who have programs of social reconstruction for their people. . . . James Yen has such a program for China. . . . It is indigenous to China and thus true to the character of the Chinese. With our backing and support it can do more than save China from Communism. It can set in motion a force that will sweep Asia and align it with the democratic forces of the world. What can be done in China can be done in other outposts. . . . This was done in Palestine." This is the route to world government, the only alternative to chaos.

"I do not emphasize the importance of civil rights in the democratic scheme of things to lecture Russia or other totalitarian regimes on what we deem to be their inadequacies," he told the Rhode Island Bar Association. "My emphasis on the fact that our civil rights are our most distinctive characteristic is to underline not our superiority but our responsibility. We must be alert that we do not emulate totalitarian regimes by curtailing the press, by suppressing free speech, by persecuting a minority, whether

racial or political. We must make sure our civil rights are extended to all groups, regardless of race, creed color, or political faith. We must make certain that the glory of our civil rights is not confined to their illustrious history but is found in their application in the voting booths, assembly halls, and courts of the country; in their observance throughout the precincts and county seats of the land, in the respect that the citizens of our villages and cities give to them."

As Tom Dewey, armed with his dictaphone, prepares to play Coolidge in the atomic age, we may be sure that he will keep this book of his classmate's within reach. And as he looks back upon his own political beginnings in New York City, as he looks forward to the people's judgment of him in 1952, the one paragraph that his mind's eye will sneak back to again and again and again is this: "What goes on in the jails? How long are prisoners kept incommunicado before being booked? Are they booked on fictitious charges to conceal another charge not yet established? Do third-degree practices go on behind the closed doors of police stations? Are the odious general warrants re-entering the American scene? Does the police system follow totalitarian lines by putting force ahead of brains in crime detection? Do prisoners—no matter what their race, wealth, or social standing—enjoy the right to counsel? Are juries drawn without discrimination? Is there censorship of ideas in the community?"

For the lines are already being drawn for the coming battle between the new power of the Presidency and the new integrity of the Court.

## What Makes Henry Run

MEET HENRY WALLACE. By James Waterman Wise. New York: Boni & Gaer, Inc. 1948. 91 pp. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$1.

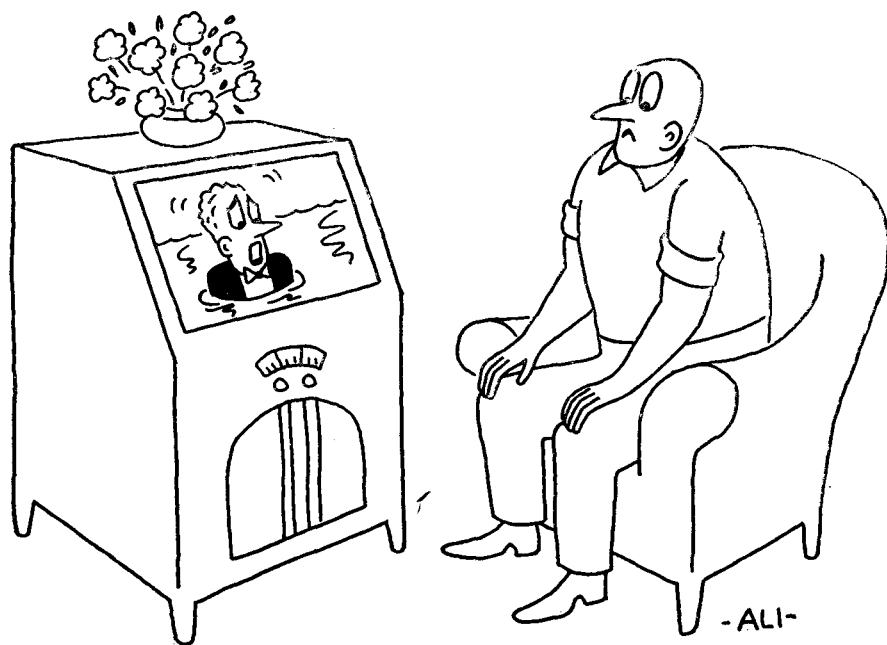
Reviewed by FRANK KINGDON

THE time of the campaign is come and the voice of the partisan is heard in the land. James Waterman Wise presents a campaign biography of Henry Wallace flavored by the fervor of a true disciple. Its main virtue is that it quotes extensively from Wallace's own writings and speeches. Its overwhelming defect is that it fails altogether to tackle, let alone explain, what makes Henry Wallace think and act as he does. It makes no contribution toward solving the riddle of the Progressive Party's candidate.

Wallace is a hybrid personality produced by many strains—the uneasy Republicanism of the Middlewest simmering with the Populist fevers that in our time produced the Bull Moose Party and the LaFollette Progressives, the evangelical Presbyterianism of his Scotch-American grandfather; the restless curiosity of a geneticist recognized everywhere as an expert in his field; the personal ambition of a politician obstinately eager for public power; the frustration and disillusionment of one who considers himself the victim of evil machinations on the part of cynical political bosses and who carries a deep resentment against his former chief for what he still thinks was a thinly veiled double-cross in 1944; the bitter envy and desire for revenge against the man now filling the office he coveted and lost by so fragile a margin; the messianic self-flattery which more and more in these recent months has dominated his mind and intensified his sense of mission.

He has never succeeded in blending these strains into either an integrated personality or an integrated philosophy. In this sense he is not master of himself. This makes him a facile tool for others. They offer him flattery to offset inner lack of assurance and a positive program to screen his own indecision.

See Wallace talking informally to his intimates or to a group of young people and you have an extraordinarily attractive and intelligent man capable of expounding scientific and political truths humbly and with a confession of his own doubts. Put him on a platform with an address prepared for him by the political dogmatists of his entourage and you have an intolerant absolutist arrogantly proclaiming himself the only savior of mankind. Confront him with the



"Is there a plumber tuned into this program?"