



—From jackets of "The Fighting Sudanese" (left and right) and "Sudan Days and Ways."

Britain's Burden in Africa

"The Fighting Sudanese," by H. C. Jackson (St. Martin's Press, 85 pp. \$2), and **"Sudan Days and Ways,"** by H. C. Jackson (St. Martin's Press, 262 pp. \$3.50), are studies by a veteran British civil administrator in that North African land, the first a study of the Sudanese in World War II, the second an account of life in the condominium early in this century. They are reviewed here by Herman Ausubel, associate professor of history at Columbia University.

By Herman Ausubel

BEFORE the 1880s few Britons had ever heard of Sudan, which was as large as Europe and whose peoples spoke as many different languages as the Europeans themselves. By 1900, however, it was almost impossible for any of them not to know about it. For General Gordon, as Tennyson put it, was "somewhere dead far in the waste Sudan." The massacre of Gordon and his garrison in Khartum in 1885 brought forth demands for reprisals. Instead, however, British troops were withdrawn, for there was a war scare involving Russia; besides, powerful British anti-imperialists insisted that the Sudan was a worthless desert. Kitchener's conquest of the country in the late Nineties was due to the Italian collapse in Ethiopia, concern over the Egyptian water supply, and fear of French and Belgian intentions in the area. By an Anglo-Egyptian convention of 1899 a condominium was established.

In 1907 H. C. Jackson, a young civil servant fresh from the university, arrived in the Sudan. His service lasted for twenty-four years, and he rose

to be governor of the provinces of Berber and Halfa. In a slim volume on "The Fighting Sudanese" Jackson discusses the military traditions of the Sudanese and their activities in World War II. In a far more important work on "Sudan Days and Ways" he reviews his life in the Sudan in the early decades of the condominium. Now that imperialism has become a kind of dirty word this book is especially valuable. Jackson does not hesitate to grant that the British made mistakes. At the same time, however, he calls attention to the enormity of British responsibilities in a country with such a large native population and with so few technically qualified European administrators. And he points with pride to the achievements of the British in the Sudan, particularly to their battle against sleeping sickness.

Jackson's book is an excellent demonstration that Kipling's "white man's burden," which has so often been ridiculed, was historically no myth. In Jackson's words: "It was our personal concern to see that a poor person did not suffer because he was poor, and that no one gained an advantage because he was rich. Above all, we took a wholehearted interest in the welfare of each individual, in the health of his family, the prosperity of his cattle, and the success of his rain crops or riverain cultivation."

Now that the condominium has ended, Jackson and his countrymen can only hope that the Sudanese will remember from time to time how much better off they are than their ancestors and how important a role the British played in making possible the greater comfort and security they enjoy.

New-World Liberators

"O'Higgins and Don Bernardo," by Edna Deu Pree Nelson (E. P. Dutton, 376 pp. \$4.50), is the father-son biography of the great viceroy and his illegitimate son, Bernardo, who liberated Chile and Peru. Carleton Beals, who reviews it below, is the author of "The Long Land Chile" and other volumes about Latin America.

By Carleton Beals

WHO could have foreseen that one of the mightiest empires in history, which had prospered for three centuries, would crash in ruins within a single generation? Ambrosio O'Higgins, the Irish peddler, rose to be Governor of Chile and Viceroy of Peru. His illegitimate son, Bernardo, born of a farmer's daughter, close to the Araucano Indian frontier, became the liberator of Chile, its George Washington. Ambrosio reveled in vice-regal splendor and bought himself a title. His son, as Supreme Director of Chile, after driving the Spaniards into the sea, abolished all titles. A new world. A new way of looking at things.

These two great protagonists have never been fully told about in English. In Spanish there are two adequate biographies of Bernardo (Vicuña Mackenna, Eyzaguirre), a vast specialized literature, and a ton of unpublished archives. Various volumes of correspondence have already appeared but twenty more volumes of letters repose in the archives.

It is a grandiose epic: imperial glory and ruin, the Napoleonic shambles, the swirl of battles across the Andean snows, the rain-forests and burning deserts, the birth of free nations imbued with the doctrines of the American and French revolutions. Such is the vast stage for "O'Higgins and Don Bernardo," Edna Deu Pree Nelson's rapid fictionalized account. She does not clog her story with much political background, and historical facts not supporting her sentimentalized version of the perfect hero are suppressed or altered, for this is the Cinderella story of a ponderous leader, not original in his political thinking, but a brave, dogged, occasionally able soldier, overglorified by Miss Nelson's gracious reconstruction of battles according to her own fancy.

The villains are the Carreras, ambitious Napoleonic egotists, but Miss Nelson omits that they probably saved the early Republic against those Creole aristocrats trying to crawl back into the Spanish womb. O'Higgins did

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Plea for a Corporate Conscience

"The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution," by Adolf A. Berle, Jr. (Harcourt, Brace. 192 pp. \$3), recognizes the giant corporation as a powerful social and political institution and recommends self-discipline for its control. George W. Stocking, who reviews it here, is chairman of the economics department at Vanderbilt University.

By George W. Stocking

WHEN Professor William Z. Ripley's "Main Street and Wall Street" appeared in 1927 it jarred the latter as few academic publications had ever done. It also inspired other academicians to study the economic significance of the giant corporation whose proliferation Ripley saw as a threat to a free economy. Five years later Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and G. C. Means published their "Modern Corporation and Private Property," which still holds its place as one of the most significant studies of contemporary industrial structure that this or any other generation has brought forth. What the authors saw disturbed them mightily. They found that fewer than one-tenth of 1 per cent of all non-financial corporations owned about 50 per cent of all corporate wealth and that they were growing relatively and absolutely. They also recognized that private property had taken on a new meaning incompatible with the theory of the neoclassical economists. But,

Vice is a monster of such frightful mien
That to be hated needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft, familiar with her face
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

We have embraced the modern corporation. Perhaps, more accurately, it has embraced us. The 200 largest corporations, which have doubled and trebled in size, still account for some 45 per cent of all corporate assets. And they employ approximately 20 per cent of all private non-agricultural workers.

Wesley Mitchell, whose influence Berle acknowledges in his preface, used to tell his Columbia graduate students that the institutional matrix determined what problems economists

think about and the way they think about them. This is nowhere better illustrated than in our attitudes toward the giant corporation. Big business is here to stay and we have made our peace with it. The Berle and Means book set off an academic chain reaction which has given up a half-dozen studies of the economic significance of the giant corporation. Most of them have found it not wanting. Arthur Burns's "The Decline of Competition," J. A. Schumpeter's "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy," E. G. Nourse's "Price Making in a Democracy," J. K. Galbraith's "American Capitalism, A Study in Countervailing Power," David Lilienthal's "Big Business: A New Era," and more recently A. D. Kaplan's "Big Enterprise in a Competitive System" are alike in that they accept the giant corporation as a powerful force for improving the lot of mankind. All of these authors except Burns believe that the corporate system provides its own checks and balances, which, like Adam Smith's simple and obvious system of natural liberty, may be relied upon to promote the general welfare.

BERLE'S new book, "The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution," is different. Although he, too, recognizes the giant corporation as a powerful agency of economic progress, he sees it as an enduring institution with potent social and political implications; and he does not believe that adequate safeguards have as yet been developed to curb its power. He is particularly disturbed over the power which the giant corporation exerts over the daily lives of its thousands of workers. In the current atmosphere of ideological warfare the giant corporation has undertaken, sometimes at the behest of the Federal Government, sometimes voluntarily, responsibility for policing our security system. As policeman, in violation of a person's constitutional rights, it can and sometimes does arbitrarily liquidate workers whose loyalty has become suspect. To protect the individual in his right to make a living and society in its obligation to establish justice what we need, according to Berle, is not a diminution of the power of corporations but the development of a corporate conscience, "built into institutions so that it can be invoked as a right by the

individuals and interests subject to the corporate power."

Not only does the modern corporation have power over the lives of tens of thousands of American citizens; it exercises powers like those of a state in its international operations. Berle sees no way to avoid this. According to him, American industry has really only three alternatives. It can ask the Government to provide markets and raw materials by conquering foreign territory. It can buy and sell abroad on a competitive basis. It can cooperate with its rivals in controlling raw materials and obtaining markets. The first means a return to an outmoded eighteenth-century strategy, and foreign governments will not permit the second. Only the third is feasible. This means cartelization of big business on a world basis. But Berle is not disturbed by symbols. On examining the arrangements which the oil companies had worked out before World War II for dividing world markets, pooling resources, and fixing prices he finds them good.

Berle is not altogether happy over the power which the modern corporation exerts either singly or in collaboration with its rivals, but he is an optimist. He believes the giant corporation can accomplish what no national state has ever achieved, viz., establish a planned economy without endangering the traditional freedoms of a democratic society. To do this the corporations must develop a moral and philosophical system under which corporate executives will appreciate the social responsibilities that go with their power. In brief, a society of corporate capitalism must become the "City of God."

Berle is a thoughtful man with a bold imagination and great daring. In recognizing the giant corporation as a social and political institution of historical significance he is more con-



—Pach Bros.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.—"bold imagination."