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# Foreword

Appearing in this 1975 Edition of the *Journal of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* are six articles, the first three of which have won cash prizes for their authors. As decided by the Editorial Board, the six papers are presented in their order of excellence.

The annual *Journal* contest is open to any student at Moorhead State University. The first prize is \$50, the second prize is \$25, and the third prize is \$10. The articles submitted in competition for cash awards and for publication are required to have some relationship to the concerns of social and behavioral sciences, and need not be written by students from the Division of Social and Behavioral Sciences. In all matters relating to prizes and publication, the decisions of the Editorial Board are final.

The usual disclaimers are in order: the views expressed by the writers are their own, and do not necessarily represent those of the University, their faculty advisors, or the Editorial Board. The Editor has exercised all reasonable care in order to correct orthography, diction, and grammar, where lapses in these and other elements of form have required changes. Conspicuous errors in documentation have been corrected and questionable references investigated, but the Editor has made no systematic inspection with respect to the accuracy of the endnotes and bibliographies. Any errors which may remain in these areas are the responsibility of the authors.

Without the continuing backing of the President of Moorhead State University and the Dean of the Division of Social and Behavioral Sciences, the publication of this *Journal* would be impossible. Especial acknowledgment is extended to the students of the University, part of whose activity fee finances publication of the *Journal*. Last but not least, recognition is gratefully accorded to Ron Matthies, Director of Publications, whose enthusiastic support of this project has greatly helped to ensure its successful completion.

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# Sexuality and the Aging

The purpose of this paper is to stimulate people, especially social workers and those working with the elderly, to help our society recognize the normality of sexual expression in the later years of life. This purpose includes the need to create the general atmosphere required to allow sex to play its proper role without being distorted by an unyielding and prejudiced environment. There is a need to clear away the obstacles in people's minds that prohibit the deepest and most creative expression of sexuality by the elderly.

Sexual interest in the aging is not the creation of overenthusiastic sexologists. It exists in one form or another in almost everyone. This interest does not necessarily have to express itself in the need or ability to have intercourse. For some it does, but for others, it manifests itself in the desire for continued closeness, romance or affection. Eric Pfeiffer, M.D., professor of psychiatry, Duke University School of Medicine, Durham, North Carolina, says, "Even if intercourse fails, the need persists for such aspects as closeness and sensuality."<sup>1</sup>

There are many professional people who are urging a greater acceptance of this sexuality in the elderly. Alex Comfort, M.B., D.Sc., former director of gerontology at the University College London (England) says, "Where we can do it without pressuring or embarrassing them, we need to encourage and support the sexuality of the old. It's a mental, social and probably a physical preservation of their status as persons, and that status our society already attacks in many cruel ways. Sexuality is one of the peak experiences we can always continue to use. We can indeed stop mocking and segregating the old and aging. It is to their sexuality, after all, that we younger people owe our existence."<sup>2</sup> Another comment on the need to accept sexuality in the aging comes from Dr. Schumacher, who worked two years with Masters and Johnson. She was speaking to a group of 700 senior citizens when she said, "Keep enjoying sex as long as you can. Stop feeling ashamed and guilty because you think you are too old for it. Sexual activity can help keep you young; it's a normal function to be enjoyed at any age, if one is in reasonably good health."<sup>3</sup>

As survival into old age has become increasingly more commonplace (in 1970 over 20 million Americans were over 65 compared to 3 million in 1900)<sup>4</sup>, the aged themselves and the society as a whole have become interested not only in the fact of survival but the quality of survival as well. This increasing awareness has led to greater activity by both the government and private agencies. They have become more concerned with the provision of services to this relatively large segment of the American populace. These same institutions have started to support research into basic and applied aspects of aging. However, one area lacking in documented research is the field of sexual activity in the elderly. Until recently, little scientific information was available to either the elderly themselves or to the people who work with them. Slowly this picture is changing, but researchers continue to encounter considerable resistance in their studies.

There is no doubt that a taboo against sex in the elderly exists and that it constitutes a serious impediment to research in depth of sexual behavior in the elderly. This taboo occurs at three different levels. First, it is evidenced by potential subjects and their relatives. This may be rooted in the child's wish to repress any knowledge of parental sexuality. According to Dr. Comfort, "We have to get through society's head that in spite of its Freudian anxieties about parental intercourse, all humans are sexual beings retaining the same needs until they die. If we can do it without applying evangelistic pressures on behalf of sex, we have to get it through the heads of the old and aging that loving and being loved, both in their full physical expression are never unesthetic and never contemptible, so long as they are appropriate."<sup>5</sup> For far too long sexual activity has been primarily linked to its reproductive function and our society cannot easily free itself from this Victorian heritage. Added to all of this is the widespread prejudice that life, love and romance are the province of solely the young. Second, the taboo also operates among some behavioral scientists and doctors. Their reasoning may include ideas that such studies could upset their patients or that these are essentially private matters. Their reluctance to participate might also be explained by inadequate training in the field of sexuality during their own educational careers. Finally, researchers themselves must learn to overcome their own embarrassment and hesitations before they can comfortably inquire into the sexual activities of their elders.



Special emphasis should be given here to the fact that the problem is not only one of re-orienting the old. The needed atmosphere cannot be established unless young and old alike, professionals and laymen, rid themselves of the misconceptions that now dominate our thinking. The myth of the sexless older years must be destroyed.

What are some of the more commonplace myths about sexuality and the aging? There are a host of them. The most prevalent and probably most damaging misconception is that sexual happiness is "reserved for those in the first decades of life and physical intimacy is somehow proscribed after fifty." 6 Masters and Johnson have probably done the most extensive work in this area of research. In a ten-year study of sexual functioning in advanced age groups they concluded, "Sexual interaction between older marital partners can be established easily, warmly and with dignity. [However, this is] dependent upon the growing professional knowledge of the physiology of sexual functioning in advanced age groups." 7 Another similar viewpoint states: "The older person maintains his interest in sexual matters, including the desire for the act of sexual intercourse, virtually until death. To treat old people like asexual beings, interested in only eating, sleeping and rocking in a rocking chair, is a great error. Unfortunately old people in nursing homes, even though married, often lack the privacy that is a prerequisite to any kind of dignified expression of sexual needs and wishes, a lack that leads to frustration and further loss of self-esteem." 8

The second myth is the almost universal attitude among young and middle-aged persons that a new marriage for the elderly is inappropriate. The tragic aspect of this myth is that it occurs at a time marked by separation and loneliness. With the great increase in nuclear family living, the elderly are pushed out of their children's homes to lead lives devoid of meaning. Yet there are millions of old men and women who could be happy if married. It would be foolish to recommend these marriages if the failure rate was high. However, one study by Walter McKain, sociologist at the University of Connecticut, showed that 74 out of 100 marriages between men over 65 and women over 60 succeeded for over six years. 9 Granted, six years is not very long, but it is long enough to give the results some credibility. This has partially refuted the myth about the unsuitability of the elderly as marriage partners.

Another common belief is the notion that early impotence is a result of "using up oneself," and that abstinence in youth will allow the person to save himself for later years. This myth should be denied as the recent findings about the importance of regularity of sexual expression are made available as well as by the Kinsey group's findings that those who began sexual activities earlier tended to end them later.

Another myth that dates back to ancient times states that intercourse and especially emission of semen weakens one physically and hastens old age and death. It is well recognized by medical professionals that loss of semen is no more damaging than loss of saliva. In fact, Dr. Schumacher says: "One cause of poor health among the elderly is dependency resulting from a loss in interest in life. They feel that everything of value, including physical love is over for them. So they let themselves just wither away." 10

Despite ample evidence to the contrary, the belief still persists that after menopause there is a substantial decrease in sexual satisfaction because of physical or physiological reasons. Many studies have challenged this and found it inaccurate. In fact, many women have gained in their interest for sex because they do not have to worry about conception. Physically, the loss of estrogen may be a problem, but today's medicines can usually correct any imbalance with little difficulty. It must be remembered that the sex hormone is androgen which is produced in the adrenals, not the ovaries.

Many married couples mistakenly believe that a hysterectomy means the end of their sex life. This is not true. A woman's sexual response will remain unchanged provided that she has been assured of this prior to surgery. "There have been cases of emotional disturbances following such surgery [hysterectomy], but a careful study has found that these disturbances were related to special factors in the lives of these women." 11

Another common myth is the idea that child molesting and sexual deviance is more common among elderly men. Actually, the belief that men past 60 are more likely to molest children has been disproved by many studies. Male exhibitionism is rarely seen past age 40 and the peak is usually in the mid-twenties. "Many of the unnatural acts which older men commit are related in part to their struggle to maintain something which has been a valued part of their self-image for a number of years—their



adult sexual capacities. These are strong elements in elderly sexual behavior which are not basically of genital origin. Older persons are emotionally isolated and repressed to a greater or lesser degree. They yearn for the warmth and comfort of youthful contact. Here, the older woman is in a better position because it is considered natural for her to hug and fondle children. A salutary pat on the head is all that is allowed a man, lest he be considered a 'dirty old man.'" 12 Senility may bring about assaults on children, but they are relatively rare. "In general, the sexual offenses of the elderly tend not to be seriously damaging to others." 13

A myth common to men of all ages but particularly to those worrying about waning sexual prowess, is the belief that certain foods and vitamins have sexually exciting or aphrodisiac qualities that can improve potency. Today many people think vitamin E has these qualities. Since sexual ability is responsive to emotional attitudes, there are many substances that achieve this effect solely through the power of suggestion. As the Kinsey investigators noted, "Good health, sufficient exercise and plenty of sleep still remain the most effective aphrodisiac known to man." 14

Now that it is known what *not* to believe, what are the facts as they are known today? There have only been three major efforts that have yielded any significant results. They are the Kinsey report, the Masters and Johnson study and the Duke University study.

#### KINSEY REPORT

Kinsey studied the sexual histories of 14,084 men. 15 Included in this group were only 106 men over the age of 60 and only 18 who were over age 70. Thus it is reasonable to say that the aged were grossly underrepresented. For this reason some of Kinsey's statements must be viewed cautiously. Nevertheless, Kinsey reached some interesting conclusions which he felt were justified by his data. Two of these conclusions were that "men were more active sexually in late adolescence and that their activity then gradually declined [and that] the rate at which males slow up in these last decades does not exceed the rate at which they have been slowing up and dropping out in the previous age group." 16 This information should be contrasted with his later findings of the great increase in male impotence. His

figures indicate a rise from 20 per cent at age 60 to 75 per cent at age 80. Kinsey also noted that aged married men had sexual contact only slightly more often than their single counterparts.

Kinsey also studied some 56 women over age 60. 17 His conclusions were made on extrapolations from studies of younger women. He noted a gradual decrease in sexual activity from age 20 to age 60 but felt this "must be the product of aging processes in the male and that there is little evidence of any aging in the sexual capacities of the female until late in her life." 18 An interesting correlation between his study of men and women is that married women have considerably more sexual activity than their aged unmarried counterparts.

#### MASTERS AND JOHNSON

Masters and Johnson devoted a greater portion of their book to geriatric sexual expression than did Kinsey. Their data are divided into two categories: findings based on actual laboratory participation of a small group of aged subjects and findings based on interviews with self-selected aged subjects. They found important physiological changes in the sex response of the elderly but their major conclusion is unequivocal: "There is no time limit drawn by the advancing years to sexuality." 19 Masters and Johnson discovered that of the 61 older women studied (age range 40 to 78), "both the intensity of physiologic response and the rapidity of response to sexual stimulation were reduced with advancing years." 20 However, they concluded: "The aging female is fully capable of sexual performance at orgasmic response levels, particularly if she is exposed to regularity of effective sexual stimulation." 21

In the 39 older men studied (age range 51 to 89) Masters and Johnson found evidence that sexual response weakened with age. They added: "There is every reason to believe that maintained regularity of sexual expression coupled with adequate physical well-being and healthy mental orientation to the aging process will combine to provide a sexually stimulative climate within a marriage. This climate will, in turn, improve sexual tension and provide a capacity for sexual performance that frequently may extend to and beyond the 80 year level." 22



### DUKE LONGITUDINAL DATA

At the Duke University Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development, a longitudinal study of older individuals has been in process since 1954. This study followed the same group of people over a period of years and made possible the observation of changes within individuals over time, not merely changes in groups of people as in the cross-sectional studies. Initially 254 subjects, ages 60 to 94 years, half men and half women, were studied. Also included in this group were 31 intact couples. However, this number dwindled as the subjects died, became disabled or had to stop participating for personal reasons. From the data two major conclusions can be drawn. First, "sexual interest and coital activity are by no means rare in persons beyond the age of 60 and second, patterns of sexual interest and coital activity differ substantially for men and women of the same age." 23

Eighty per cent of the men who were in good health reported continuing interest in sexual activity at the beginning of the study. Ten years later the proportion of those still sexually interested had not declined substantially. In contrast, in this same group of men, 70 per cent still had sexual contact regularly at the beginning of the study but only 25 per cent were active ten years later. Thus there was an increasing discrepancy with advancing age between the number of men with continued sexual interest and those still sexually active.

In the sample of women who were in good health at the beginning of the study, only 33 per cent reported continuing sexual interest. This percentage did not change significantly in the next ten years. Only one-fifth of these same women reported being sexually active at the beginning of the study and that figure remained the same after ten years. Obviously, and surprisingly, then, far fewer women than men were still sexually interested or active.

There were also some other important findings from the study. As Kinsey had found for the younger ages, Duke University found that in old age too, unmarried men did not differ much from married men in the degree of reported sexual interest and activity. In contrast, single women differed substantially from married women in that only a few of the former reported any coital activity, and only 20 per cent still told of sexual interest.

Although the Duke cross-sectional data indicated a gradual *decline* in sexual interest and activity with advancing age, the longitudinal data revealed that about 20 to 25 per cent of the men, but only a small percentage of the women, actually showed patterns of *rising* sexual interest and activity with increasing age. In addition, rising patterns were found more often among unmarried than among married men.

Among the intact couples included in this study, there was a high level of agreement between husbands and wives with regard to reported frequency of sexual intercourse and reasons for stopping coital activity.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEXUAL RESPONSE IN OLDER PEOPLE | 24

There are definite physical changes in both the male and the female sexual response with aging. Most of the work in this field has again been done by Masters and Johnson. Generally, the intensity and physiological reaction and the rapidity and duration of anatomic response to sexual stimulation are reduced with advancing years through all phases of the sexual cycle.

In the female, Masters and Johnson point out six characteristics of changing responses. First, sex flush is limited and restricted. Second, less lubrication occurs. Third, there is a slower reaction of the clitoris to stimulation. Fourth, there is a reduction of duration in orgasmic time. The female often changes her attitudes about sex and has fewer inhibitions and greater interest in sexual relations. Lastly, sexual activity in later years depends on the desires and the capacities of the husband.

Women face a definite cut off point to their reproductive life—the climacteric. According to the most recent studies, women reach their menopause later in life than in the past—at approximately 49 years of age. For some women the menopausal period is a time when they are emotionally vulnerable. They suddenly realize that the traits on which our youth-oriented society places such a high value may be gone. Although the sexual response of most women continues more or less at the same level at this time, many physical changes in the genital organs do occur in the postmenopausal years. As the ovaries reduce their production of hormones a loss of estrogen begins to manifest itself, usually about five years after menstruation ends. The lining of the vagina becomes thinner. It is often no longer able to protect the adjacent structures of the bladder and urethra by absorbing the mechanical irritation



of sexual intercourse. The labia majora and vagina shrink in both length and width, thus causing a narrowing of the vaginal opening. All of these changes brought about by the lowered production of the female sex hormones may make intercourse painful. Fortunately most of these difficulties can be easily prevented or treated by the artificial replacement of hormones.

Masters and Johnson point out only four characteristics of the aging male sexual response. First, like the female, they experience a reduction in the sex flush. Second, erection takes longer. Third, ejaculation lacks the same force and duration. Last, there is a general weakening of physical sexual response. An ex-associate of Masters and Johnson, Dr. Comfort, explains: "Aging induces some changes in sexual performance, chiefly in the male, where orgasm becomes less frequent and more direct stimulation is needed to produce erection."<sup>26</sup> Other physical changes include a diminishing of involuntary morning erections and a decline in the output of androgen, the male sex hormone. Whether or not males go through a climacteric is still disputed by medical authorities. Some males present many of the symptoms of female menopause but at a much later age.

When regularity of sexual expression is maintained in a sexually stimulative climate within the marriage, a healthy male's capacity for sexual expression could extend beyond the 70 or even 80 year level. Even though age reduces the intensity of the sexual response there is no specific stage of life or age that represents a cut off point for sexual desire, response or ability.

Regularity of sexual performance for both men and women is essential in maintaining the capacity for sexual activity. In the female, lowered hormone production results in the aforementioned physical changes. Regular intercourse enables older women to handle these changes with a minimum of discomfort. For the male, the loss of a sexual outlet will probably cause rapid loss of sexual tension and potency. One of the most important factors in maintaining sexual effectiveness in the aging male is consistency of active sexual expression.

Very often in the older years, the sexual life of a couple is interrupted because of a period of illness or surgery. It has been suggested to marriage partners and physicians that prolonging the period of abstinence longer than necessary invites certain dangers, not only to the effectiveness of sexual expression but also to the marriage itself.

As a general rule physicians should allow, and even promote, the resumption of coital activity at the earliest possible time compatible with recovery.

To summarize this section, another comment from Dr. Comfort: "Sexuality lasts out in humans in both sexes a great deal better than most other functional systems. In fact, in the absence of disease, sexual requirements and capacities are lifelong."<sup>26</sup>

Why do some people continue an active sex life into their seventies while others stop at fifty? No one knows the complete answer to this question but some theories on the subject have been discussed.

Perhaps sex is something that one of the partners regards as a chore and he or she is looking for an excuse to quit. It could be an activity that has frightened them since childhood. At any rate, when reaching a certain age, this can be used as an excuse to stop something they have never enjoyed.

Masters and Johnson have again made an effort to treat this question. In their work they came to identify six general groups of factors responsible for the loss of sexual responsiveness in males.<sup>27</sup>

First, there is monotony of a repetitious sexual relationship. This may be caused by physical or psychological changes such as slovenly habits developed by an aging wife or if the couple has imposed restrictions on their sex life by labeling certain methods of love making as perverted or degrading. If this is the case, then both of the partners in the marriage need to reexamine their value systems.

Second, there may be a preoccupation with career or economic pursuits. If this is involved, it is usually due to a lack of communication between the husband and the wife.

Third, there may be mental or physical fatigue. The aging male may have had a "bad day at the office" or be physically exhausted from strenuous weekend activity.

Fourth, there could be an overindulgence in food or drink. It has been suggested that secondary impotence, generally developed in the late forties or early fifties, has a greater connection with excessive drinking than with any other single factor.

A fifth possibility is physical or mental infirmities of either partner. Inadequate advice from physicians often results in unnecessary abstinence from sexual relations out of ignorance or fear. Heart specialists say men may engage in sexual intercourse under carefully regulated conditions after heart attacks. They feel that the tension generated by sexual frustration may be more damaging than tension from sedate and relaxed intercourse. Also, after most types of prostate surgery, males who were active prior to surgery are able to return to the same level of functioning. Diabetes, one of the diseases more common in the older years, has been found to have a far-reaching effect on male sexual functioning. Impotence is more extensive among diabetic men. This disease also has an effect on a woman's fertility and childbearing, but this situation is not a problem in the later years.

The final and most common reason for loss of sexual responsiveness in males is the fear of failure. "Once impotent under any circumstances, many males withdraw voluntarily from any coital activity rather than face the ego shattering experience of repeated episodes of sexual inadequacy." 28 For some men this turns into a severe crisis because potency in this culture is equated with youth. In attempts to prove their virility and masculinity males may become involved in extramarital affairs.

The factors for the decline of female sexuality have not been as adequately explored. Three contributing factors have been postulated from the data of the Duke Longitudinal Study. The first possibility is that the occurrence of a clearly demarcated climacteric in women may have a negative psychological affect on them. It is conceivable that some women perceive their sexual life as over when their reproductive years have ended. A second possibility is that women have always expressed lower levels of sexual interest and activity than men, and therefore there is less room for decline among them. A third postulation is related to the median age of cessation of sexual intercourse. This stoppage occurs some eight years or nearly a decade earlier for women than for men. So when the woman is sixty, her interest has declined somewhat before becoming involved in the Duke University project.

What about the sexual desires and needs of the unmarried older person? A society that has downgraded sexual activity of aged married people can hardly be expected to have thought much about the needs of the unmarried. Our culture does not take into account the welfare and happiness of the aged people involved. Surveys report a low rate of sexual activity among single older or

widowed persons. Apparently the sexual drive, although great enough to create tension, is usually not great enough to cause them to seek to overcome societal disapproval and personal conflicts involved in an illicit sexual contact. A number of researchers, however, report that many older people engage in the practice of masturbation when a suitable partner is not available. Because of the traditional Victorian emphasis on the abnormality of that act, many elderly people feel extremely guilty. They often need the reassurance of counselors that it is a valid practice.

Many implications should be drawn from the new findings in this field. A new understanding and acceptance of the normality of sexuality in the aging is necessary.

Older couples and individuals must recognize that the phrase "too old for sex" and the consequent damage and guilt it creates is a myth long ago disproved. Social workers who work with citizens must become aware of the great hunger for information about sex shown by these people who may be considering a new marriage or trying to cope with various illnesses.

In the medical field, proper attention must be given to training personnel about the sexual needs of their older patients. Medical doctors must realize that a vote of no from them may end an older couple's entire sex life. Sexual data from the elderly should be taken in routine ways during yearly check-ups. They should be encouraged to speak openly about their sexual difficulties. In nursing homes and institutions a new look should be given to their policies of sexual segregation that often lead to the point of separating husbands and wives. Such practices do not lead to successful treatment.

Those people involved in the administration of justice must insure that full information about the sexual proclivities of older persons is dispersed to all in that field. Judicial decisions need to be based on knowledge, not on ignorance. Misinformation in the past has led to many false accusations of child molesting by older men.

Understanding the role of sexuality in the older years should be integrated with marriage and family life education. This training could also help to reduce the generation gap.



For our youth-oriented culture, an end is needed to the concept that after sixty all that is left is a rocking chair and that the person's life is over. Dr. Fredrick C. Swartz, Chairman of the American Medical Association Committee on Aging, has put it this way: [This] "condemns the oldster to a period of ever narrowing horizons until the final sparks of living are psycho-neurotic concerns with the workings of his own body . . . aging is really living, growing and developing." 29

Laura Whiting

#### Endnotes

- 1Gregg W. Downey, "The Next Patient Right: Sex in the Nursing Home," *Modern Healthcare*, June, 1974, p. 57.
- 2Ken Eymann, "Sexual Desires in the Aging," *Geriatric Care*, October, 1973, p. 1.
- 3Downey, *Modern Healthcare*, June, 1974, p. 58.
- 4Jack Cort, "Frank Talk about Older Sex," *Modern Maturity*, February-March, 1974, p. 47.
- 5Downey, *Modern Healthcare*, June, 1974, p. 58.
- 6James A. Peterson, "Marriage and Sex: the Older Man and Woman," *NRTA Journal*, (March-April, 1974), p. 54.
- 7*Ibid.*
- 8James S. Jacobsohn, "A Widely Held Misconception," *Geriatric Care*, February, 1974, p. 4.
- 9Peterson, *NRTA Journal*, (March-April, 1974), p. 54.
- 10Cort, *Modern Maturity*, February-March, 1974, p. 47.
- 11Rubin, *Sexual Life After Sixty* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 115.
- 12Frederick E. Whiskin, "The Geriatric Sex Offender," *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, April, 1970, p. 126.
- 13*Ibid.*
- 14A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, C. R. Martin, *Sexual Behavior of the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948).
- 15A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, C. R. Martin, *Sexual Behavior of the Human Male*, quoted in Ewald W. Busse and Eric Pfeiffer, *Behavior and Adaptation in Late Life* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969), p. 154.
- 16*Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 17A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, C. R. Martin, *Sexual Behavior of the Human Female*, quoted in Ewald W. Busse and Eric Pfeiffer, *Behavior and Adaptation in Late Life* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969), p. 155.
- 18*Ibid.*
- 19William Masters and Virginia Johnson, *Human Sexual Response* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1966), p. 247.
- 20*Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 21*Ibid.*, p. 247.
- 22*Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>23</sup>Busse and Pfeiffer, *Behavior and Adaptation in Late Life*, p. 158.

<sup>24</sup>William Masters and Virginia Johnson, *Human Sexual Response*, pp. 238-270, et passim.

<sup>25</sup>Downey, *Modern Healthcare*, June, 1974, p. 56.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Response*, pp. 238-270, et passim.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>Fredrick C. Swartz, "Aging, 1968," *Michigan Medicine*, May, 1968, p. 596.

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# The Right to Decide for the Elderly

## INTRODUCTION

While working recently with the elderly people in downtown Fargo, North Dakota I became very interested in those men who live alone in the downtown hotels with little or no contact with their families. It is my feeling that in many cases persons in the helping professions have done these people a great injustice. In many cases we seem to assume these people have the same needs, wants, and desires as the greater part of society. Many times we feel because we in the larger part of society need our families and other people near at hand, these men need these same relationships. In many cases we seem to forget the basic idea of our professions—the clients' right to self-determination. What right do we have to say that a person should change his life-style and move into places with other elderly people? Perhaps this is not what every old person wants. What right do we even have to feel that a person is unhappy, deviant, mentally ill, or has been shut out from society when it very well may be that he has chosen this life-style himself? The purpose of this paper is to show that these people in many instances have chosen their life-style and that they seem to be satisfied with it.

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

First let us examine the general characteristics of the population studied. These men live in Census Tract 7 of Fargo, or the downtown area extending from eighth street on the west going east to the river, and between first Avenue South and fourth Avenue North. This is the area of Fargo with the highest percentage of people over 60 (44.74 percent). It is quite uncommon to find a woman in this age bracket and so this study deals with elderly men. These men primarily live in single rooms of the downtown hotels. In most cases these rooms have little or no cooking facilities. These rooms usually are priced between \$30 and \$70 a month. With two or three exceptions, these hotels are fairly well maintained.

## QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

To get a good idea of the men's backgrounds, present life-styles and their satisfaction with their present life-styles, I presented a group of them with a questionnaire. This survey was conducted at the NP Avenue Seniors Center one day in January, 1975, before dinner. While there is a card-carrying membership at the center of over 225 there seems to be a "core" of around 40 regulars who attend the center at dinner time almost daily (six days a week).

I asked the men if they would answer some questions for me (one declined), then assured them that no names would be taken and they did not have to answer each question if they did not wish (as a result there are a different number of respondents to each question). The men were in small groups and had to answer a simple "yes" or "no" to all but one of the eight questions. I asked questions related to their backgrounds to see how their life-styles have developed. And I asked questions on their present living conditions and if they were satisfied with them. The questions I asked were quite general because in my experience in working with these men I realized they might find answering specific personal questions threatening. Not only did I not want to threaten them but I also felt the reputation of the Center would be at stake. I also feel that I got the number of respondents I did because of the trust the men had built up in me during eight months of work there. The following are the questions and answers of my survey.

Was the town you are originally from less than 1,000 people?

Of the 39 respondents to this question, two volunteered that they were originally from Sweden, one from Norway, and one from Poland. By far most of the men were native born. In fact primarily they came from North Dakota or Minnesota. Twenty out of the 39 responded that the town which they were originally from was such a town and 19 responded "no".

Did you grow up on a farm?

An overwhelming percentage of the men responded "yes"—32 out of 38. We must keep in mind here the factors that would contribute to their social interactions of 40-60 years ago when these men were young: lack of good transportation, scarcity of social institutions, (except the family, and to a much smaller degree the church and school) where social interaction may take place.

Have you been a farmer or farm laborer most of your life?

It seems that as the men aged they used the skills they had developed in their youth, for out of the same 38, 30 responded by saying "yes" to this question. This also seems to correspond to a similar study by Caplow 1 in which he found that most of the elderly men he studied had job histories of low status and income. A farmer, and especially a "hired hand," would certainly fit into these categories.

Through these first three questions we may note the pattern of a life-style emerging. Here we see that for perhaps more than half of their lives these people have not had the opportunity to interact with a wide range of people. Mary Lawrence who is a nurse for the Public Health Department of Fargo and has worked with these men quite closely for four and one-half years says that many of these men seem to have just "fallen into the life-style they have." The answers given for the first three questions may well show us where the roots of this life-style are.

Have you ever been married?

Contrary to the notion that many of these men have been married and had unhappy experiences 20 out of the 39 respondents answered "no". That means that 47 percent of the sample had been and 53 percent had not. There is a major difference between this sample and the elderly populations as a whole. According to the Old Age Assistance program only nine percent of the people they dealt with in 1960 had never been married. 2

Through personal interviews I was able to obtain some of the mens' reasons for never marrying. One man said he had never been married because when he was younger he could not afford it. This is understandable because of the low incomes from which these men came and the general economic hard times when they were younger.

Another man stated that he had not been married, but he felt he should have been because "it gets a little lonely sometimes."

With the exception of these two replies most of the men seemed to say they preferred the single life. "I never wanted to get tied down" is a common response, tied down to responsibilities and in some cases tied down to certain geographical areas. Independence seems to be valued very strongly here—a theme that seems to run through the whole life-style of these people. In fact in one extreme case among these respondents, the man who came from Sweden in his late teens or early twenties without any of the rest of his family, never married, and only after much persuasion came out of his room to eat meals at the NP Center.

I did not feel that I had the right to ask the 18 who had been married why they were living alone, since I did not want to bring up unhappy memories. Some I know are widowers, some are divorced and probably the majority are separated although I have no empirical data to prove that. (In my eight months of work

with these people what little mention there was of wives and families made it appear that most are separated.) And one of the respondents cannot be considered typical of these people since he is a family man living in a residential area outside of the Tract 7 area.

Have you ever had any children?

To this question 10 out of 32 responded "yes." Again the same man living outside the Tract 7 area is included in these respondents. One of the other respondents left as this paper was being written to visit his children in Seattle. The rest of the men seemed to have very little or no contact with their children. In a study done by Lake in the Hotel Brunswick in Boston the elderly people seemed to think their "children should lead private lives." 3

Judging from the conversations I have had with the elderly in Tract 7, I conclude that their feelings would also have been: "I should be able to lead a private life."

How long have you lived in downtown Fargo?

The answers to this question indicate how mobile this segment of the population is as compared with younger people who inhabit downtown areas. Of 40 respondents only eight lived in the central city for less than 10 years, 12 had lived there between 10 and 20 years, and 20 or half of the men had lived there for 20 years or more—one going all the way back to 1915. We must remember that a large number of these men were farm laborers during the summers (until retirement). Just as many of the people in Lake's study had resided at the Hotel Brunswick for many years, so also was this true of many residents of the Palmer House Hotel, a hotel situated in Tract 7. According to Erwin Wiedemeyer, the desk clerk at the Palmer House Hotel, one man had lived there for 23 years. 4

Are you satisfied with the place in which you are staying?

Out of 39 respondents to the question 34 were satisfied. Out of the 34 there were two who said "I have to be satisfied" because of the low rent. However, most of the people seem to like where they live and complain bitterly when they are forced to move. Although urban development took place on east Main Avenue at least five or six years ago, nurse Mary Lawrence still encounters people who are very bitter about having to relocate. They were very satisfied even when they lived in buildings that were condemned and some still see no



reason why they had to move. Caplow also noted this in his work. He writes in his article, "Disaffiliated Man", that men became very hostile when forced to move to another area. 5

Some of the satisfaction of the residents of the Hotel Brunswick in Boston stemmed from the easy access which the hotel's location afforded to restaurants and the downtown shopping area. 6 It would be safe to say the residents of Tract 7 also derive satisfaction from the nearness of the downtown area, restaurants, the Center, and bars.

Would you ever want to move into the High-Rise (for the elderly)?

Out of the 39 responding to this question, 31 answered "no". For many of them it was a resounding, definite "no". A reason given by two of the men was they wanted to keep their feet on the ground. Then again the value of independence entered into their answers. Some may be surprised at the response to this question that indeed many of the elderly enjoy public housing but the members of this segment of the population, for the most part, look upon it with no favor at all. It would be unfair to say that all or most of the elderly want or need such living arrangements. As Selig has said, "associating with other old people doesn't necessarily make one less lonely." 7 Selig also found in his research that the few elderly he studied who were financially independent preferred to move to places where the housing was more segregated than public housing.

When one examines the life-styles of the elderly in the Tract 7 area, he finds a very easygoing "no one bothers me and I don't bother anyone" attitude. Caplow's description of skid row would fit well here: "Refusal to act may be an action. Skid Row as a social system adopts to the external environment by not reacting to it, achieves its goals by having none, maintains its external adaptations by leaving them to chance, and screens entrancement to anyone who applies." 8

#### **SOCIAL INTERACTION OF THE POPULATION**

As Mary Lawrence says—these are not a pushy people. They seem quite satisfied with life (as long as their freedom is maintained) and do not seem to be bitter towards the middle and upper economic income groups of society.

The living arrangements of many are by their own choice. Beyer found in a study that while 60 percent of married couples and unmarried females preferred to live alone but near relatives, 38 percent of unmarried men preferred to live alone but near relatives, and 50 percent wanted to live alone and far from relatives. 9

Officer Rueben Lopez, a member of the Fargo Police Department for more than 17 years, has known many of the men a long time. In stating how independent these men were he gave an example of one man (who, by the way, was a respondent to the questionnaire). He said a few years ago this man was drinking so heavily that Officer Lopez felt he was harming himself so he called the man's son. The son offered to let his father come to stay with him but the father flatly refused.

Caplow says in his studies of skid row that "the accepted principles of social interaction do not apply." 10 This may be so but there is interaction among the elderly residing in Tract 7. According to Joan Truelson, Outreach worker for the Fargo Senior Commission On The Aging, many of these men have known each other for years. There seem to be various small groups of men, for example, who have worked on the same farms together in the past. Two of the men who responded to the questionnaire had even gone to school together. Two of the respondents had been close friends for 30 years.

Aside from the small groups mentioned above, there does not appear to be a very widespread knowledge of others in the community. There has been no sense of community.

Dr. David M. Banen, Superintendent of Cushing Hospital for the Aged in Farmington, Massachusetts, conducted an interesting experiment with 34 isolated men. At a specific time of the day, he gave them a glass of beer. The object was to draw the men together to get them to interact. Banen reports that it has been "a catalytic agent in that it has made the men socialize and become aware of each other's existence." 11

This is also something that the NP Avenue Seniors Center has seemed to do for the Tract 7 area. The Center is one of four operated by the Fargo Senior Commission on the Aging. There are six basic functions for each of these centers: 1) help with grocery shopping; 2) provide rides, if necessary, to and from the places where meals are served; 3) provide education on what kinds of foods to eat; 4) help with health and welfare problems; 5) provide recreational activities; and 6) see that the eld-

erly are helped by other agencies. 12 Of course the main thrust of each center is to serve the meals (since it is operated under the Government Nutrition Program).

The Center seems to act the same as the beer did in Banen's experiment—as a catalytic agent that has made, or at least helped, the men to socialize and become aware of each others' existence. Mary Lawrence feels that since the Center opened in October of 1973, there is a much greater sense of community. She cites her own work as an example. Before the Center opened, she says she could ask one man who another was, or how she could find him, and most of the answers would be "never heard of him." Now the answers are more likely to be "Oh, sure, he lives in (then the hotel name)" or "You can catch him at the Palmer House (where the Center is located) at noon."

The Center seems to facilitate the life-styles these men have. As Joan Treulson says, "the Center does not interfere or push anything on them." Some may drop in for casual conversation and coffee or interaction in the form of card games or bingo. Others depend on the Center primarily for one good cheap meal a day.

The Center also facilitates this life-style with the six functions mentioned above, especially helping with health and welfare problems and acting as a referral agency—primarily to the public health nurse, and hospitals. Tuberculosis and blood pressure clinics have now been held at the Center and, according to Mary Lawrence, there is much more of an awareness of public health.

#### SUMMARY

According to my research, not all elderly men who live in one-room residences are necessarily shoved into isolation by society. Nor are they as unhappy as we think. It is quite probable that they have "fallen" into this life-style. But whether they have fallen into it or not, they have had some control over the life-style they have chosen and for the most part, seem quite content with it. We must remember it is not our business to tell these people how we think they should live. We must remember that as individuals they need the kind of respect from us which allows them to be independent and guarantees them their right to self-determination. Agencies such as the NP Avenue Seniors Center are badly needed, agencies which do not ask a client to change his life-style but rather enhance the one he has chosen.

*Douglas Haugen*

#### Appendix

1. Was the town you're originally from less than 1,000 people?  

yes—20	2 from Sweden, 1 from Norway, 1 from Poland
no—19	
2. Did you grow up on a farm?  

yes—32
no—6
3. Have you been a farmer or farm laborer most of your life?  

yes—30
no—8
4. Have you ever been married?  

yes—18
no—20
5. Have you ever had children?  

yes—10
no—22
6. How long have you lived in the downtown area of Fargo?  

up to 10 years—8
10-20 years—12
over 20 years—20
7. Are you satisfied with the place in which you are staying?  

yes—34
no—5
8. Would you ever want to move into the High-Rise?  

yes—8
no—31



## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Theodore Caplow, "The Sociologist and the Homeless Man", *Disaffiliated Man*, ed. Howard M. Bahi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p.5.
- <sup>2</sup>U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Welfare Administration of Family Services, *Old Age Assistance: The People it helps and How They Live* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Nov., 1962).
- <sup>3</sup>Wilfred S. Lake, "Housing Preferences and Social Patterns", *Aging Around the World: Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging*, eds. Tibbetts and Donahue (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 342.
- <sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 341.
- <sup>5</sup>Theodore Caplow, "The Sociologist and the Homeless Man," p. 6.
- <sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 343.
- <sup>7</sup>Matthew K. Selig, "Community Organization for Services to the Aged," *Dynamic Factors in the Role of the Caseworker in Working with the Aged* (New York: Central Bureau of the Jewish Aged, October 9, 1961).
- <sup>8</sup>Theodore Caplow, "The Sociologist and the Homeless Man," p. 9.
- <sup>9</sup>Glenn H. Beyer, "Living Arrangements, Attitudes, and Preferences of Older Persons, *Aging Around the World: Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging*, eds. Tibbet and Donahue (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 362-364.
- <sup>10</sup>Theodore Caplow, "The Sociologist and the Homeless Man," pp. 9-10.
- <sup>11</sup>*The Forum*, date unknown.
- <sup>12</sup>*A workbook for Project Councils in the Nutrition Program for the Elderly?* Continuing Education Program, School of Social Work (Austin: The University of Texas, July, 1974).

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# Marx and his effect on the Current Soviet Educational System

## INTRODUCTION

In the attempt to build a new kind of society, education is of great practical importance. Notice of the attention given to education by the early utopian socialists gives evidence to this. Karl Marx was not a utopian in the sense that Charles Fourier and Étienne Cabet were; he did, however, have a vision of a new society that would be created as the outcome of the struggle of the proletariat. He did make some predictions concerning what this new society would be like. No longer would there be private property, class struggles, the dehumanization and exploitation of people. Marx showed concern in his writings for education—not only the education of his day, but education in a future communist society.

In 1917, Russia became the stage for the playing out of the proletarian revolution and the building of a new communist society. Over the past 58 years, the Soviet Union has poured an immense proportion of its energies and resources into education.

The purpose of this paper will be, first of all, to determine what Karl Marx's philosophy of education was, how he developed this philosophy, and what the ultimate goal of education was for him. An examination of the current Soviet education system will be followed with some observations on how it both holds true to, and deviates from Marx's educational philosophy.

## THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX

Friedrich Engels, in his *Preface to the German Edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party*, noted that the basic thought running through the *Manifesto* was the idea that the "economic production and the structure of society in every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch . . ."1

Historical materialism was the fundamental proposition of Marx. Accordingly, in every epoch, the modes of production determine the entire social organization; education, as an expression of social organization, must also be affected by the same modes of production. Since for Marx the intellectual history of man is explained through historical materialism, the education of every historical epoch should be understood in terms of the material and social relations of that epoch.<sup>2</sup>

The question is presented whether education exists to be understood solely in terms of the resultant expression of social organization, in which case further study of it would be unmerited, or whether education has an independent character of its own.

In his preface to *A Contribution To The Critique of Political Economy*, Marx wrote: "In the social production which men carry on, they enter into defin-

ite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will."<sup>3</sup> This paints a rather gloomy picture, leading one to wonder if there is not some way in which these "definite relations" can be changed. Karl Marx believed that they could be changed. In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, he stated: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past."<sup>4</sup>

Continuing on with this concept of man making his own history, it is important to note Marx's Third Thesis of his *Theses On Feuerbach*: "The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that it is essential to educate the educator himself."<sup>5</sup>

There is an active side to man, and human practice can bring about change. Marx strongly emphasized the material and social conditioning of human thought; however, he was convinced that man is capable of changing his circumstances.<sup>6</sup> Mental production is determined by material production. Man is made by his material environment; but at the same time, man *makes* his environment. There exists a mutual relationship between man and his environment. His ideas and consciousness are interwoven with material activity and material relations. There is a constant interaction between man and his works, between production relations and the material and intellectual productive forces.<sup>7</sup>

Karl Marx accepts the mind of man as an active principle. Not only does it *react* to stimuli of the economic basis, but it is also a *productive* power capable of redirecting the development of the economic basis.<sup>8</sup> Although for Marx education is not the prime mover of history, it does have an independent character. Education is a significant force, strong enough to change the nature and character of historical movement.<sup>9</sup>

After establishing education as a significant force in the movement of history, what does Karl Marx offer in way of an educational philosophy? Marx's philosophy developed as a result of his observation and critique of the social conditions of his time. Education was controlled by the bourgeois capitalists, used to keep the oppressed and exploited proletariat in its place. It was education of, by and for the bourgeoisie. In his *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx spoke of the intervention of the ruling class. He wrote:



"And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools, etc? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class."<sup>10</sup>

This would be achieved by the proletariat's appropriation of the modes of production and the establishment of a classless society, the ideas of which would permeate the school.

The effects of Modern Industry and the division of labor also had great importance in forming the basis of Marx's educational philosophy. In *Capital*, he quoted Adam Smith's description of the detail laborer:

The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations . . . has no occasion to exert his understanding . . . He generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. . . . The uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind . . . It corrupts even the activity of his body and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance in any other employments than that to which he has been bred.<sup>11</sup>

In *The German Ideology*, Marx described the man whose exclusive sphere of activity has been forced upon him by the distribution of labor, in contrast to the communist community, "where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes" and where it is possible for great variety of activity.<sup>12</sup> And in *Capital* Marx wrote that eventually Modern Industry would necessitate the replacement of the detail worker by a fully developed individual.<sup>13</sup>

The Educational Clauses of the Factory Act in England were significant to Marx in that they provided for what Marx considered to be the germ of the education of the future, education which would involve the combination of productive labor with instruction and gymnastics. This kind of education would not only add to the efficiency of production; it was seen by Marx as the only method for the creation of "fully developed human beings".<sup>14</sup>

In order to understand Marx's philosophy of education, it must be realized that a main goal or purpose of education is the creation of "fully developed individuals." Marx had a vision of man in the future communist society who would be a free, creative, self-determining, social being. This new man would be unconstrained by his social environment, active, versatile and revealing a variety of creative powers. This was in direct contradiction to the existing state

of man in the capitalist system. In Marx's day, under capitalism, man was not free, creative, versatile or whole. He was chained to very specialized, soul destroying tasks. He was the alienated man.<sup>15</sup>

In his *Economic And Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx noted that in the capitalist system, appropriation by having, and thereby breaking up the potential plenitude into little pieces of private property, makes man stupid and one-sided.<sup>16</sup> Marx was interested in the humanizing of the senses. He did not want material or spiritual impoverishment, standardization or depersonalization. Rather, he looked for the manifold nature of individuality living socially in a free community.<sup>17</sup> This is something that Marx believed could take place only in the future communist society.

Marx included in his writings some specific references as to what kind of education he felt could provide for both increased production and the creation of fully developed human beings. Mention has previously been made to what Marx considered to be the germ of the education of the future: the combination of productive labor with instruction and gymnastics. Further on in *Capital*, he wrote: "Though the Factory Act, that first and meagre concession wrung from capital, is limited to combining elementary education with work in the factory, there can be no doubt that when the working-class comes into power, as inevitably it must, technical instruction, both theoretical and practical, will take its proper place in the working-class schools."<sup>18</sup>

In his *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx included among the ten measures to be taken with the commencement of proletarian rule, free education for all children in public schools.<sup>19</sup>

In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx added that government and Church should be equally excluded from any influence on the school.<sup>20</sup> Further on, in defense of child labor, he emphasized that an early combination of productive labor with education, strictly supervised, is one of the most potent means for transforming society.<sup>21</sup>

Marx was, at this point, referring to his own set of regulations which he had presented nine years earlier in his instructions to the delegates of the 1866 Geneva Congress. In those instructions he proposed that every child, upon reaching the age of nine years, must become a productive worker—and he must work not only with his mind, but with his hands as well. For physical reasons, he arranged children into three age divisions, their working hours varying

accordingly. Only such child labor as was combined with education was to be allowed. And as for the kind of education Marx desired, he wrote: first, intellectual education; second, physical education; third, technical education, acquainting the child with the basic principles of all processes of production and at the same time giving him habits of dealing with the most simple instruments of production.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, I turn to Marx's reference to the education provided in the Paris Commune. Marx glorified the struggle of the Communards, and he found their education worthy of praise. In *The Civil War In France*, he described it: "The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it."<sup>23</sup>

In summary then, within the future classless society, Marx looked for a well rounded education that would combine mental, moral, physical and polytechnical instruction, all closely related to each other. Education would be free and universal. No longer would there be any distinction between mental and physical work; children would be able to do both without status distinctions. Neither Church nor State would have any influence on education, since they would no longer exist in a communist society. Under such conditions, education would be truly democratic, reflecting the classless nature of society.<sup>24</sup>

It is by means of this well rounded education of the future that there would exist not only increased production, but the creation of fully developed human beings, and in this way, all members of society would be guaranteed the greatest possible development of their varied aptitudes.<sup>25</sup>

#### SOVIET EDUCATION – ITS BEGINNINGS

By way of introduction to a study of the current education system of the Soviet Union, some historical background is appropriate. The February and October Revolutions of 1917 led to the formation of a Soviet government and raised the curtain on a new world of Marxist hopes and plans. But because Russia was not a highly industrialized country at the time of the Revolutions, it became necessary to further adapt the principles on which Marx's plans were based, in accordance with the prevailing conditions. Lenin extended Marx's application of historical materialism to a war ravaged, agricultural country.<sup>26</sup>

For Lenin, education was a unified process of theory and practice. As new conditions were created, old educational objectives had to be revised in order to correspond with each new situation.<sup>27</sup> Lenin declared that the school should become the weapon of the proletarian dictatorship. He believed that education should be directed toward the development of the "new Communist man".<sup>28</sup>

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party in 1919 formulated the following aims, structure and program of the Soviet educational system: free, compulsory, general and technical education for all children up to the age of 17 years; establishment of a system of preschool instruction; full realization of the principle of a uniform industrial labor school with instruction in the native language; coeducation free from religious influences; schools which would involve students in socially useful labor and prepare members of a communist society.

Children were to be supplied with food, clothing, books, and other necessities, at the expense of the State. A new staff of teachers who would be imbued with the ideas of Communism was to be prepared. General state assistance to self-education and intellectual development of the workers and peasants was to be provided and the toiling masses were to take an active part in educational work.

Universities were to be made accessible to anyone wishing to study, especially the workmen. All art treasures were to be displayed and made accessible to the people. Propaganda of Communist ideas was to be developed on a wide scale—state resources and apparatus would be utilized for that purpose.<sup>29</sup>

These were utterly fantastic plans, considering the existing conditions of 1919. Lenin and his contemporaries were certainly not lacking in ambition and optimism when they set forth these educational objectives. Some of these goals have yet to be accomplished in the Soviet education system.

#### THE CURRENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE U.S.S.R.

##### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Although there have been many changes in the educational system of the Soviet Union throughout the years, certain features have remained constant. It has always been a mass system. This has been necessary in order to produce skilled workers, technicians, specialists, etc., in a developing industrial society. Also, a positive political commitment of the people is sought through mass education.<sup>30</sup> Another feature that has remained constant is that it has been a planned system, subject to political control and strictly supervised. This has been necessary in an educational system that is so closely tied to the needs of the developing society.<sup>31</sup>



In the Soviet educational system, the teaching of Communist ideology penetrates all subjects at all levels. This is accomplished, for example, through textbooks, teaching manuals, lectures, class syllabi, and youth activities. Major elements of this Communist ideology include the inculcation of collectivist thinking and the "correct" Communist view that emanates from the current Party leadership. The Communist Party is concerned that the schools should be producing the "new Communist man".<sup>32</sup> As of 1970, three million teachers were members of the Communist Party; that accounts for more than 20 percent of the total Party membership.<sup>33</sup> This gives some indication of the importance placed on education by the Party.

In Soviet schools, the sciences have always been stressed to a great degree. Reasons for this are twofold. Practically speaking, the industrial society needs people who are trained in the sciences. However, there is also an ideological reason for the stressing of science: it is helpful in molding a materialistic world outlook in the students, and it tends to discourage any tendencies toward religious or mystical thinking.<sup>34</sup>

Another characteristic of Soviet schools is the lack of streamlining in the classes. Children are not divided into groups according to their learning ability. Also, IQ tests are not used in the Soviet Union. Reasoning for this stems from Marx's emphasis on the importance of environment, rather than heredity, in shaping the individual. As a consequence, slower learners are helped by the more able students. This is considered to be good social training, since the emphasis is placed upon cooperation and helping one another.<sup>35</sup>

Moral education (upbringing) is taken very seriously in Soviet schools. If education is to be successful in creating future Communist citizens, the children must be taught what are considered to be right values and how to act accordingly. In a sense, it is a form of political education. Every school aged child is expected to know and observe the 20 standard "Rules For Pupils". The same set of rules is used throughout the U.S.S.R. Students thus presented with such a standard of behavior and attitudes know what society expects of them, since these rules go far beyond the needs of classroom discipline. The rules are, in fact, quite comprehensive, covering the students' behavior both in and out of school.<sup>36</sup>

As part of their moral education, students regularly participate in what is referred to as socially useful work. This is voluntary work done for the community and is considered valuable in that it accustoms children to work for others, and helps make them aware of themselves as members of the collective. These activities are planned and integrated with the school curriculum.<sup>37</sup>

Teachers are not expected to take on the task of upbringing singlehandedly. They receive invaluable help from parents and the youth organizations. Parents are expected to be active supporters of the school and its work. Each school has a Parents' Committee which provides parents with the knowledge and help necessary to carry out their educational duties—to insure positive reinforcement in the homes of what is being done in the schools. The Parents' Committees also help run extracurricular activities, and assist the teachers in dealing with problems of discipline or scholastic progress. Concerning each child's upbringing, the school and the family are in partnership together.<sup>38</sup>

#### THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The picture of the educational system of the U.S.S.R. would certainly not be complete without describing the mass organizations for young people: the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomol. These organizations play a very important role in the education and upbringing of Soviet youth, serving political, educational and recreational functions. These organizations work with the school to prepare young people to work collectively and to become socially responsible citizens.<sup>39</sup>

The Octobrists is an informal organization for school children who are seven to ten years old. Anyone who is well behaved and does his school work can join. Very simple forms of socially useful work, such as planting the school garden or cleaning up the classroom, are organized. The main objective of the Octobrists is to prepare children for membership in the Pioneers.<sup>40</sup>

Upon reaching the age of ten years, students are eligible for membership in the Pioneers. This is a mass organization and virtually all children who are 10-15 years old are members. Exceptions are rare, indeed, and usually involve students who have been suspended or expelled from the Pioneer Organization because of bad behavior.<sup>41</sup>

The primary functions of the Pioneers are educational, including political, moral and social education; the organization also provides for many recreational activities. It provides clubs and circles, either within the school or at Pioneer Palaces and Pioneer Houses, which round out the curriculum of the schools and include an almost unlimited number of activities.<sup>42</sup>

The structure of the Pioneers is closely tied with the school. Each school has a brigade, which is further broken down by classes into detachments and links. Most schools have a Pioneer room where children can gather to work on projects. The activities of each school brigade are guided by a trained adult Pioneer leader.<sup>43</sup> Pioneer Palaces and Houses, which make up a vast network of recreational facilities, are open to all children, even if they are not members. The aim is to get these nonmembers interested so that they will want to join the Pioneers.

Pioneer members can be identified by the red kerchiefs that they wear, and their Pioneer badges with the slogan, "Ever Ready." As of 1967, approximately 23 million children belonged to this organization.<sup>44</sup> It is no exaggeration to say that the Pioneer Organization has more direct impact on the lives of the children than any other while they are at school.

The Komsomol, or All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth, was organized in 1918 as a junior partner of the Communist Party. As such, it is naturally much more selective in its membership than the Pioneers, since it is the beginning of a selection process leading to membership in the Communist Party.<sup>45</sup> Komsomol membership is open to young people who are 15-27 years old. However, membership in the Komsomol is serious business carrying with it great responsibility, and in order to be accepted, applicants must prove their worthiness. Sponsorship is required; this may come from the Council of the Pioneer Brigade, or from two established Komsomols, or from an established member of the Communist Party.<sup>46</sup>

In structure, the Komsomol is closely modeled after the Communist Party, with the branch as the basic unit. At the top of the structure is the Congress and the Central Committee.<sup>47</sup>

Komsomol membership includes not only students, but also mature workers and teachers, giving the organization considerable influence in educational and youth matters. Its Congress serves as a forum for discussion of educational issues; many recent reforms in the Soviet education system have come out of the Komsomol Congress. Considerable control is exerted over the Pioneers and Octobrists, also, through the Congress and the Central Committee. Through its publishing house, Young Guard, the Komsomol exercises control over the publishing of books and magazines for young people, and well as for adults.<sup>48</sup>

Within the institutions of higher education, the Komsomol also plays a significant part. For instance, there is usually a branch within each department at the universities, and Komsomols serve on committees that determine such things as student housing and stipends.<sup>49</sup> The Komsomol organizes socially useful work for students in universities and other

institutes of higher education. These are generally quite ambitious projects, such as helping with the harvest in a nearby agricultural area, working on community building sites, or working at Pioneer camps in the summer.<sup>50</sup>

Many young people do not wish to become Komsomols because of the responsibilities and obligations involved; even so, many who do apply for membership are not accepted.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

### KINDERGARTEN

Free and compulsory education begins when a child is seven years old and it continues until he is 16 or has completed the 8-year school.<sup>51</sup> Although the importance of kindergarten for children who are three to six years old is becoming more and more apparent, such education is not currently free or even available in all places. Kindergartens are often provided by farms and industrial plants, and they are usually open six days a week, from eight o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening. They are staffed by teachers trained in preschool work, doctors and nurses. Fees for kindergarten vary from one place to another, and are adjusted to the parents' incomes.<sup>52</sup>

At the kindergarten level, emphasis is placed on developing a good command of the language; oral expression, reciting poetry, and reading aloud are important activities. The children are also involved in working with simple mathematics and nature study. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the kindergarten is moral education and upbringing. Children are taught to think and act collectively. Slogans such as "Mine Is Ours; Ours Is Mine" are common. Children learn to be cooperative, self-reliant, and to live as part of a group. They are expected to be modest, truthful and diligent. They also learn to love their country and to have respect for people of different nationalities. Even at this early stage in their education, the children are involved in simple forms of socially useful work, such as setting the tables, watering the plants, or helping another child to tie his shoes.<sup>53</sup>

### THE 8-YEAR SCHOOL

The 8-year school, which children attend from age seven to fifteen, is free and compulsory. During the first three forms (years) in the 8-year school, students keep the same teacher; beginning with the fourth form, they have different teachers for each subject.<sup>54</sup>



The curriculum of the 8-year school is academic in content, with special emphasis put on the sciences. For example, Russian students in the seventh form study the following subjects: Russian language, literature, mathematics, history, geography, biology, physics, chemistry, technical drawing, foreign language, physical training, and work training, plus two hours per week for electives, making a total of 32 class hours spread over six days a week.<sup>55</sup>

Work training in the 8-year school is polytechnical rather than vocational. No attempt is made at this level to prepare students for a particular vocation. They start out with simple lessons in the use of tools and materials, learning some carpentry, mechanical and domestic skills. By the time a student has completed the eighth form, he will have had some experience in woodworking and metalwork, in using machines and hand tools. Practice in the care of plants and animals will have been provided, and the student will have visited and sometimes worked in nearby industrial and agricultural enterprises. An integral aspect of work training is the instruction on the relevance of scientific theory to its practical application in industry and agriculture.<sup>56</sup>

The Soviet educational system, being carefully planned to meet the needs of society, is centrally controlled. One of the results of this centralization is the uniformity of education received in the 8-year schools. The same curriculum and textbooks are used in all of the Soviet republics. The only difference between those used in the Russian Republic and the others is that the non-Russian republics also teach the history, geography, and literature of the particular republic, and subjects are taught in the national language rather than Russian; however, Russian must also be learned, so these students are required to study two foreign languages, whereas Russian students study only one.<sup>57</sup>

Teachers are not free to deviate from the curricula or syllabi set up by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, since at the end of the eighth form all students must take standardized tests covering the material they have learned. For this reason also, there is little creativity in the educational process; teachers give lectures and students take notes. Learning becomes very mechanical with students who must memorize rather than analyze.<sup>58</sup>

When a student has completed the eighth form, he has what is referred to as incomplete secondary education.

## SPECIAL SCHOOLS

In addition to the general 8-year school, there are numerous kinds of special schools. There are schools for children who are unusually gifted in the arts: music, ballet, painting and sculpture. Children are admitted to these schools after they have completed the first form of the 8-year school. Prospective students are selected each year through extremely keen competition. These schools take their students through complete secondary education. Because the pupils must spend so much of their time practicing, their daily routines are quite rigorous and so they usually live at the school. This allows them more time to devote to their particular arts.<sup>59</sup>

Language schools are very popular in the Soviet Union. They are ten-year general polytechnical schools where a particular foreign language is stressed. By the time a student reaches the eighth form, all of his classes will be taught in the foreign language he has been studying.<sup>60</sup>

A more recent development has been the establishment of special schools for children talented in science or mathematics. These are open to students at the secondary level only, and entrance is gained through nationwide competition.<sup>61</sup>

In the 1950's boarding schools were quite popular, but by the end of the 1960's, enthusiasm for this particular form of collective education had been lost. Currently, boarding schools cater mainly to children who come from families where there is some kind of hardship, in cases where there is inadequate family housing, or when there is only one parent in the home, or in remote areas where the school is far away from the home, etc.<sup>62</sup>

There are also military academies and special schools for children who are severely handicapped, physically or mentally.

## COMPLETE SECONDARY EDUCATION

As was previously mentioned, upon completion of the eighth form students take standardized tests, and it is thereupon determined what further type of education each will pursue. There are four possibilities: secondary polytechnic school, secondary specialized school, vocational technical school, and the work study program.

The secondary polytechnic school is basically a continuation of the 8-year school, providing two additional years of general and polytechnical education. This type of school is for students who plan to continue in some form of higher education. The polytechnical education received provides students with knowledge of the general principles of industrial production; they do not learn a vocation. At the end of the tenth form, students may take the secondary school certificate, which entitles them to apply for admission to an institution of higher education.<sup>63</sup>

Those who do not continue in higher education may attend secondary specialized school for two years, where they can learn a vocation.<sup>64</sup>

The secondary specialized school is primarily a technical/vocational school which provides general education while training technicians and semi-professionals. As many as 400 different occupations can be learned in these schools. The courses last from three to four years, depending on the occupation being learned. Upon completion of the secondary specialized school, young people may take the secondary school certificate and apply for higher education, or they can go to work. Most begin working, since acceptance into an institution of higher education is difficult to gain.<sup>65</sup>

Vocational technical schools are often referred to as trade schools since the main emphasis in these schools is on learning a specialized trade. General education is limited to 15-20 percent of the time, the remainder of time being spent in the field or workshop. While they train, students are paid apprentice rates, and upon completion of their courses, which may last anywhere from six months to three years, students are granted a trade diploma.<sup>66</sup>

Several million Soviet young people begin working after they have completed the 8-year school. For these persons, there is a part-time system of education available through evening schools and correspondence extension schools. Although these schools are generally of somewhat lower quality than regular full-time schools, they are considered the equivalent, in school credits and diplomas, of the regular school system.<sup>67</sup>

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

Characteristic of the higher education system of the Soviet Union is the combination of ideological indoctrination, specialized professional training, and the system of enrollment quotas in each field, determined by the specific projected manpower needs of the economic plan.<sup>68</sup> The objectives of higher education correspond with these characteristics: to provide specialists who are well trained not only in their particular fields, but who are also well indoctrinated in Communist ideology, in order that they might meet the objectives defined by the State in the economic, scientific, social and cultural fields.<sup>69</sup>

Anyone under 35 years of age, who has taken the secondary school certificate, may apply for admission to an institution of higher education for full-time study. Those over 35 may apply for part-time and correspondence study in a field related to their occupations.<sup>70</sup> As of 1970, there were 4.6 million students enrolled in some form of higher education.<sup>71</sup>

There are over 340 specialties taught in the institutions of higher education. The Government's State Planning Committee has divided these into 22 groups and coded each specialty. Student admission quotas are then determined by the planned needs of the Soviet economy and society.<sup>72</sup> From the time that they are admitted to institutes of higher education, students in the U.S.S.R. are viewed as part of the State's manpower scheme.<sup>73</sup>

Prospective students must know what field they plan to enter before they apply for admission. Each faculty has its own entrance examination and admission quota. Competition for entry is extremely keen and only a small fraction of those who apply are admitted. Preference is given to those students who are able to produce references from Party or Komsomol organizations, or from their trade unions or factory managers. Preference is also given to those who have served in the armed forces or have had at least two years of practical work experience.<sup>74</sup>

There are three types of institutions of higher education: universities, technical institutes, and specialized institutes. Universities function to provide the facilities for study and research in the pure sciences and humanities. They are the training ground for theorists, researchers, professors—the intelligentsia of society. There are fewer than 50 universities and they handle only 15-20 percent of the total higher education enrollment.<sup>75</sup> Technical institutes include those which offer a variety of technological subjects which are related to each other. Stress is put on combining practical work experience and theoretical knowledge.<sup>76</sup> There are also specialized institutes which, as the name implies, provide for specialization in a particular field. There are such institutes for medicine, agriculture, pedagogy, music, foreign language, economics, law, art, physical culture, etc.

Tuition is free in all institutions of higher education, and most students receive stipends from the State to help cover their living expenses. The amount of the stipend varies according to the student's field of study, his academic progress, and his year in school.<sup>77</sup>

The average length of time required to earn a diploma is five years. During this time, students carry a very heavy work load; attendance at all lectures and seminars is compulsory, and the departments often have very lengthy prescribed reading lists. All students are required to study a foreign language. Also, all carry a heavy load of courses in Communist ideology; students majoring in the humanities, for instance, must spend approximately 600 hours in such classes.<sup>78</sup> This stress on political work, on training specialists educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism who will spread their scientific and political knowledge among the people, shows to what extent graduates are regarded as vanguards in building the new society.



They must be prepared not only to accept and understand the political ideas of the Party, but also to propagate those ideas among the masses. 79

In accord with this, students are expected to spend some of their holiday and spare time performing socially useful work (usually organized by the Komsomol) for the community. They must also spend approximately one semester on production training, or on-the-job training outside of the school. 80

There has been much criticism of the overloading of students' time. It is argued that they do not have enough time for independent study, and that there is too great a premium put on mechanical learning and regurgitation. 81

Upon completion of their studies, graduates are assigned to work for two or three years wherever their specialization is needed—most frequently in rural areas or virgin lands. To insure the fulfillment of this obligation, diplomas are not given until one year of the work assignment has been completed. This assignment procedure is considered necessary in order to adequately staff schools, industrial and agricultural enterprises in the remote areas of the Soviet Union. 82

Mention was made earlier that students at the universities and institutes are viewed as part of the State manpower scheme. Lest they be thought of only in terms of statistical abstractions, it is good to take at least brief notice of their *human* dimension. After all, they are human beings, and like students everywhere, they have their individual personalities and personal idiosyncrasies. Many students are not enthusiastic about their courses in Communist ideology; they regard this part of their education as something that must be learned in order to pass the examinations; once graduation requirements are fulfilled, they can be forgotten. Apathy is widespread in this regard. 83 Along with this apathy there is also conformity; for the most part, students either accept the broad outlines of Marxism, or they simply give it little attention because they fail to see the relevance of it in their own lives. 84

On the other hand, there are also students at some of the major universities who are thinking for themselves and questioning the Party line on some major issues, the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia being a case in point. 85 Some students have taken their constitutional rights literally and have demonstrated publicly. Of course, this means facing arrest and imprisonment, and these students are a minority. However, I feel that this is evidence of the fact that expected results are not always achieved through careful planning, because Soviet students are not robots who can be programmed according to the wishes of the Communist Party.

#### PART-TIME STUDY

Higher education is available in the form of evening and correspondence courses of study, taken while maintaining full-time employment. Not only is this possible, but it is carried out on a very large scale. In 1963, over half of the students in schools of higher education were working full time. 86

Men and women who are studying while working receive special privileges; they are allowed some time off from their jobs with pay in order to prepare for exams, go to the schools for consultations, etc. There are some important advantages to this system of part-time study. The cost to the State is considerably reduced, and an increased pool of trained manpower is maintained at the same time. However, the quality of this type of education is being questioned. 87 The trend is toward more daytime courses, with persons of promising ability being given leaves of absence from their employment in order to pursue full-time study. 88

#### PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES

The People's Universities were established in their present form in 1960. They provide non-credit, non-diploma adult education. The People's Universities are not administered through the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Higher Education; they are controlled by the secretariat of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. As such, they are not part of the formal education system. All workers are eligible to enroll in these Universities. They can attend two or three lectures a month for one to three years, depending on their course of study. As of 1965, only five years after their organization, there were 6,500 People's Universities in the U.S.S.R. with an enrollment of almost one and a half million people. 89

#### CONCLUSION

I am hesitant to use the word "conclusion", for it connotes the end of this study and the pronouncement of a final judgement, neither of which is my intention. Any conclusion that I may make at this time would be necessarily premature and in need of revision as I continue to read and study. However, based upon what is written in these pages, I will attempt to make a few observations.

Through the process of critique, Karl Marx revealed the nature of class relations in capitalist society. He analyzed the economic and social tendencies in the development of capitalism, and revealed the development of the working class into an independent political force engaged in conflict with the existing society. 90 Marx could influence the working class consciousness, but he could not predict the future. In each particular society, the exact manner in which the working class would become organized, the form in which its opposition to capitalism would be expressed, and its aspirations for a new society would necessarily

depend upon the historical circumstances and cultural traditions of that society.<sup>91</sup> Marx was certainly not thinking of an agricultural country like Russia as he described the rising up of the proletariat and its appropriation of the modes of production! He could not foresee what the practical outcome in the case of a Russian revolution might be. He could not foresee what *did* occur in Russia—that a ruling totalitarian Communist hierarchy, while calling itself the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercised tight control and manipulation of the masses, including the workers.

Because the Soviet Union is not a communist society, but rather a socialist society, it is not possible to say that the educational system does or does not adhere to Marxist educational philosophy. It is evident that Soviet education is inspired by Marx's philosophy; this cannot be denied. In 1919, the founders of the Soviet government patterned the educational program after that which Marx supported in his writings. Soviet commitment to education is taken very seriously. The principle of free, universal education has been adopted as policy and is in the process of being fully implemented. It is theoretically possible for anyone to receive an education who wishes it, either within or outside of the formal education system. In the U.S.S.R. today, there is free education for all children. It is well rounded, including mental, moral, physical and polytechnical instruction, all closely related to each other and combined with productive labor.

Soviet education embraces a wide range of activities; that which is taught in the classrooms is only one aspect. Socially useful work, the youth organizations, practical work experience, Pioneer Palaces and Houses, People's Universities—these are all part of the planned education system and there is no interference by the Church in Soviet education.

At the dawn of the Soviet socialist system, the Communist Party gave to the schools the task of educating the "new Communist man". The Party believed that, to a great extent, the nature and content of the education received in the school would determine what sort of citizens would go forth into life, and how they would augment the wealth of the society, both materially and spiritually. The educational system has taken on the task of educating the "new Communist man" with great commitment.

The teaching of Communist ideology permeates the Soviet school. A major element of this ideology is the inculcation of collectivist thinking and behavior. Students are being prepared to become active participants in public affairs—to take an interest in

public matters; in this respect, Pioneer and Komsomol organizations are of exceptional importance. The Soviet education system is working to make its students collective-minded, to cultivate in them the desire to use their individual talents and knowledge for the benefit of the whole society. This begins as early as kindergarten, when young children learn that it is good to help another child tie his shoes, or to set the table, or to take care of the plants. From this early age, the children begin to think and act collectively.

Soviet education is providing not only for the immediate needs of the society, but it is looking ahead toward the future. As the U.S.S.R. advances technologically, the people will have more leisure time. Education is working to develop in the students habits of using their leisure time for the development of their creative abilities. They are being educated to want to devote their free time to such things as voluntary scientific study, to social, artistic and cultural creativity. This is being accomplished through the youth movement, with its circles, clubs and variety of activities offered therein, through Culture Palaces, libraries, People's Universities, etc. And as the people are being educated to spend their leisure time creatively, it is anticipated that there will be an ever increasing number of scholars, writers, and artists, for whom the arts and sciences will not be professional occupations, but rather the voluntary manifestations of their individual aspirations and talents.

Yet, the question must be asked: are conditions in the Soviet Union such, that there exists the creation of fully developed human beings and the guarantee to all members of society the greatest possible development of their varied aptitudes? Marx wrote that only under communism would such development be possible. He was convinced that the well rounded development of the people is inseparably connected with the abolition of the division of labor, and with the eradication of any distinctions between physical and mental work. Although there may be a unity of social interest between workers and intelligentsia in the Soviet Union, the old division of labor of which Marx was so critical has not been eliminated.

In the Soviet Union today, education is the key to success. This is why the institutions of higher education are flooded with so many more applicants than they can possibly accept. Parents want to see their children receive a higher education so that they can become members of the intelligentsia, and not merely workers. The way to get ahead in life is through education. How familiar this sounds to us bourgeois capitalists!



The students are also aware that another way to advance one's position in life is to become active in the Komsomol, since it is through this organization that future leadership is carefully developed, and from which new Communist Party members are chosen. And to be fortunate enough to be admitted membership in the Communist Party is to become a member of the ruling class. In the Soviet Union the educational, moral and social goals are not determined by a dictatorship of the proletariat, but by the Communist Party.

Education is not democratic; not everyone has yet been insured a free choice of occupation. People are trained for and directed into occupations according to the needs of society, as determined by the State. Marx felt that government should be excluded from any influence on the school, that education by the State was totally objectionable. Yet this is exactly the current predicament of education in the Soviet Union; it is completely controlled by the State. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx wrote that by altering the character of intervention, the Communists sought to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.<sup>92</sup> It could well be asked if Soviet education needs to be rescued from the influence of the ruling Communist Party.

The Soviet educational system is very much influenced by Marx. Marxist educational philosophy should be understood, however, as a communist philosophy. Marx himself claimed that the kind of education which he desired could be carried out only in the future communist society. Though the Soviet government may *claim* that the country is moving toward communism, the U.S.S.R. is not the new communist society envisioned by Karl Marx.

I should like to end this paper with the following quotation from Maurice Shore's article, "Marxian Thought And Education":

Education could prepare for the future if it were a waiting, separate and detached entity not rooted in the present. One could prepare for the present, were it not a continuous fleeting shadow hiding in the past. Education, however, understood as an expression of life, past, present, and future, urges the necessity of understanding the origin and destiny of that assiduous process of life, gushing with activity and permeated with struggle and strife. It is the understanding of life which is education.<sup>93</sup>

Penny Anderson

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 334.

<sup>2</sup>Maurice Shore, *Soviet Education* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 4

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 437.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup>Ernst Fischer (ed.), *The Essential Marx*, translated by Anna Bostock (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 156.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>8</sup>Maurice Shore, *Soviet Education*, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup>Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 349.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>15</sup>Græme Duncan, *Marx and Mill, Two Views of Social Conflict and Social Harmony* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 56.

<sup>16</sup>Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 73.

<sup>17</sup>Ernst Fischer (ed.), *The Essential Marx*, p. 28.

<sup>18</sup>Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 302.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>22</sup>Karl Marx, "Instruktionen für die Delegierten des Provisorischen Zentralrats zu den einzelnen Fragen," Vol. XVI of *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Werke* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 193-195.

<sup>23</sup>Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 554.

<sup>24</sup>Seymour Rosen, *Education and Modernization in the U.S.S.R.* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1971), p. 31.

<sup>25</sup>Wolfgang Leonhard, *Three Faces of Marxism, The Political Concepts of Soviet Ideology, Maoism, and Humanistic Marxism*, translated by Ewald Osers (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1974), p. 40.

<sup>26</sup>Maurice Shore, *Soviet Education*, p. 132.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 127.

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- 30 Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 29.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 32 Seymour Rosen, *Education and Modernization in the U.S.S.R.*, p. 131.
- 33 George Counts, "Editor's Introduction," *Contemporary Soviet Education*, Vol. XIV., No. 6 (April, 1972), p. 131.
- 34 Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education*, p. 39.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 37 U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Education in the U.S.S.R.*, Office of Education, Bulletin 1957, No. 14 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 114.
- 38 Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education, Achievements and Goals* (New York: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1967), p. 53.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 40 Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education*, p. 64.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 Seymour Rosen, *Education and Modernization in the U.S.S.R.*, p. 45.
- 43 Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education*, p. 68.
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- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- 53 Elizabeth Moos, *Soviet Education, 1970* (New York: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1970), pp. 11-13.
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- 67 Seymour Rosen, *Significant Aspects of Soviet Education*, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bulletin 1965, No. 15 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 10.
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- 92 Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, p. 349.
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# Myth and Andrew Jackson's Indian Attitudes

Proper interpretation of historical material has been and will continue to be a major stumbling block in the search for an accurate description of the past. This difficulty has resulted in the creation of myths in American history. A number of modern histories and historiographical studies, such as *Myth and the American Experience*<sup>1</sup> and *Probing America's Past*<sup>2</sup>, attempt to examine major myths in America's past and expose them for what they are. In his foreword to *Probing America's Past*, Bailey indicates that "they [the reader] should come away with a deepened awareness of the complexity of the historical process, the prevalence of pitfalls, and the folly of making easy generalizations."<sup>3</sup> Andrew Jackson's attitude toward the Indians of the Southeastern United States has fallen into the quagmire of myth. Modern historians have so grossly over-generalized Jackson's Indian attitude that a reevaluation of Jackson is in order.

Edward Pessen's *Jacksonian America* presents a vivid example of the over-generalizations which historians have used in describing Jackson and the Red Man:

Jacksonian Indian policy was a blending of hypocrisy and rapaciousness, seemingly shot through with contradictions. Inconsistencies, however, are present only if the language of the presidential state papers is taken seriously. When the lofty rhetoric is discounted and viewed for what it was—sheer rationale for policy based on much more mundane considerations—then an almost frightening consistency becomes apparent. By one means or another the southern tribes had to be driven to the far side of the Mississippi.<sup>44</sup>

Melvin Steinfield has a lengthy chapter for "Old Hickory" in his work, *Our Racist Presidents*. Steinfield describes Jackson's Indian Policy as an illustration of "vivid genocidal practices sanctioned by an American President."<sup>5</sup> John Reed Swanton, also, helps fan the mythical fires by the following statement:

Particularly inexcusable is the callous indifference of the American Chief Executive, Andrew Jackson, to the sufferings of the Cherokee to whom he was more than half indebted for his brilliant victory over the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend . . . During the removal of all the Five Nations, the sympathy of the Chief Executive with white squatters, no matter of what character, is the most patent fact connected with it.<sup>6</sup>

History texts also join the bandwagon,<sup>7</sup> with the end result being a major myth in American History. This "devil theory" of Jackson's Indian attitudes has captured the imagination of many people, particularly historians, to the point that Jackson's indifference, hypocrisy, rapaciousness and callousness toward the American Indian is now considered a foregone conclusion. It is the intent of this paper to examine this myth and try to discern why, in the light of accurate historical research, this myth still persists.

Many historians claim that Andrew Jackson's major reason for sending the, so-called, "Five Civilized Tribes" west of the Mississippi was that the uncivilized savage had no right to the land which white men could make much better use of.

When speaking on the benefits of Indian Removal in his Second Annual Message to Congress, Jackson said: "It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters."<sup>8</sup>

Edward Pessen's paraphrasing of Jackson's movement reasons, also helps to portray Jackson as a callous white man without any compassion for the Indians:

Jackson, himself, referred to the march of progress and civilization, whose American manifestation was "studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than twelve million happy people and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion," before which "forests . . . ranged by a few thousand savages must give ground."<sup>9</sup>

Mary E. Young claims Jackson's justification for removal was the superiority of a farming to a hunting culture, in which the Red Man had no right to the land.<sup>10</sup> This Jacksonian reasoning might have been valid had it not been for the southeastern tribes' agricultural way of life. The "Five Civilized Tribes", for two or three generations prior to 1830, had been farmers and hunters, and according to Jackson's own logic had a just right to the land.<sup>11</sup> In articles deploring Jackson's treatment of Indians, the authors justly emphasize this inconsistency in Jackson's reasoning.

However, one stumbling block remains. The above was not Jackson's sole reason for wanting the Indians west of the Mississippi. A close examination of "Old Hickory's" letters, show him to feel that many, if not most, of the Indians wished to leave and be rid of their contact with white men. In a letter to Secretary of War, Calhoun, Jackson describes a meeting he had with a group of Cherokees, who wished to move west:

They informed me also, that they had no confidence in Hicks, [a Cherokee leader], and others, that their people had not been heard in council, and for three years had not received any part of the annuities, and that they were fearful that Hicks, etc., would at some future day cheat them out of their land . . . I do believe it to be a reasonable request and ought to be granted. It is a small area compared to what their population entitles them out of the whole country reserved to the Cherokee nation . . . I do believe in political point of view, as well as in justice to these people, their prayer ought to be noticed.<sup>12</sup>



In another correspondence, Jackson indicates that he "believe [ed] every native of the nation left to themselves would freely make this election." [exchange land in the east to go west] 13 Not only did he think the Indians wanted to go, but it was a matter of their survival to do so. 14 Jackson spoke of the Indians "go [ing] to a country in the west where there is every probability that they will always be free from the mercenary influence of white man, and undisturbed by the local authority of the states: Under such circumstances the General Government can exercise a parental control over their interests and possibly perpetuate their race..." 15

Another important consideration Jackson expressed was the need for the Indians to separate themselves from "the council of some white men and 'half-breeds', who have been and are fattening upon the annuities, the labors, and the folly of the native Indian . . ." 16 This distinction Jackson makes between "full-blooded" Indians and whites, and half breeds, merits further consideration.

Many Indian leaders had more white than Indian blood, 17 which caused Jackson to believe the "half-breeds" and white Indian leaders should either take up the white man's ways and be subject to state jurisdiction or move west like the rest of the native Indians wanted. Jackson's belief that white or half-white leaders were the main problem, was not just the rationalization of a President to justify his actions. He had had such experiences in the Creek War of 1813, in which Jackson led the United States forces against the Indians. Jackson's counterpart on the Creek side was Chief Red Eagle, also known as William Weatherford, who was seven-eighths white. 18 After the Creeks were defeated, Weatherford retired to his plantation on the Little River. 19 One can imagine the hypocrisy Jackson saw in a white planter leading the Creek Nation in war against the United States. Little wonder Jackson welcomed the existence of state authority over the Indian leaders and wished the native Indians to escape to the west and be free of their domination.

There is more misrepresentation of Jackson's Indian attitude when historians examine his reasons for refusing to comply with the Supreme Court order in *Worcester vs the State of Georgia*. When the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cherokees, the Indian leaders were sure their rights would be protected by the Federal Government. However, it became obvious that President Jackson was going to ignore the Court's decision and keep the Cherokees under Georgia law. It seemed to matter little to Jackson that this and other similar laws were subjecting the Indians to harassment and in some cases mistreatment. 20 There is no evidence of Jackson making the infamous utterance: "John Marshall has made his decision, let him enforce it."

However, in a letter to Brigadier General John Coffee, Jackson makes his feelings plain: "The decision of the Supreme Court has fell still born, and they find that it cannot coerce Georgia to yield to its mandate . . ." 21

Historians have used Jackson's refusal as proof of his unconcern for Indians and the vice of the political philosophy which he professed. 22 Such is the popular historical picture painted by many modern historians. But, as with Jackson's reason for wanting the Red Man west of the Mississippi, there are more facts to consider before branding Jackson as an impervious white bigot. Most of the legal controversy in *Worcester vs the State of Georgia*, concerned the issue of whether the Cherokees should be considered an independent nation existing inside the borders of the United States of America. The President's opposition to the Court's decision was the result of these long-held convictions. In a letter to President James Monroe in 1817, Jackson had clearly made his decision on the question:

If they [Indians] are viewed as an independent nation, possessing the right of sovereignty and domain, then negotiating with them and concluding treaties, would be right and proper. But this is not the fact, all Indians within the territorial limits of the U.S. are considered subject to its sovereignty, and have only a possessory right to the soil, for the purpose of hunting and not the right of domain, hence I conclude that Congress has full power by law, to regulate all the concerns of the Indians. 23

Jackson's conclusion that Congress had the right to deal with Indians was manifested in the Indian Removal Bill passed by Congress on May 26, 1830. This bill gave the President the power to exchange the public domain in the west for Indian lands in the east. 24 Jackson had already signed this legislation into law before the Supreme Court became involved in the Indian controversy. Moreover, Jackson viewed the Court's decision as an attempt to "embarrass" him and concluded that "the good intelligence and virtue of the people . . . will decide" on his actions. 25

Another aspect of the problem Jackson had to consider was whether the Supreme Court's decision was actually enforceable. Robert V. Remini claimed Jackson knew "the people in the west and south would not tolerate its enforcement." 26

In the following letter, Jackson shows his fear of a confrontation between the Federal Government and Georgia, in which the Cherokees would only suffer:

If orders were issued tomorrow one regiment of militia could not be got to march to save them (Cherokees) from destruction and this, the opposition know, and if a collision was to take place between them (Cherokees) and Georgians, the arm of the government is not sufficiently strong to preserve them from destruction. 27

In this context, it must be remembered that Jackson felt that moving west was what justice dictated for the welfare of the native Indians. In a letter to President James Monroe in 1817, Jackson makes his position clear:

There can be no doubt, but that, in this way more justice will be extended to the Nations, than by the farce which has been introduced of holding treaties with them, for it is too true that avarice and fear are the predominate passions that govern an Indian. And money, is the weapon, in the hand of the commissioner, wielded to corrupt a few of their leaders, and induce them to adopt the plans embraced by the views of the Government, when the poor of the Nation receive but little, and are, by the influence of their Chiefs, (thus managed by corruption) induced to assent to their wills. Honor, justice and humanity certainly required that a change of policy should take place.<sup>28</sup>

Now that Jackson was President he had within his grasp "that change of policy" he was demanding, and neither hell, high water nor the Supreme Court would stand in his way.

In a further attempt to examine Andrew Jackson's attitudes toward the Indians of the Southeastern United States a few interesting cases merit consideration.

These examples seem to depict a man with compassion and a sense of justice. One of Jackson's first official acts as Major General of the Tennessee militia was his insistence on the punishment of a military officer who was accused of killing an Indian.<sup>29</sup> The case of a Cherokee Indian, Ratcliff, again finds Jackson on the side of justice and the Indians. Ratcliff was a wealthy Cherokee who during the Creek War was arrested and his property taken by a detachment of east Tennessee militia. Jackson's view is illuminating:

If any thing could have been proven against old Ratcliff, of any treason, or hostility against the United States, then and in that case he was amenable to the laws of the United States, and ought to be arrested and tried by such tribunal as had competent jurisdiction of the office. But that a set of men should without any authority rob a man who is claimed as a member of the Cherokee nation, who is now friendly and engaged with us in war against the hostile Creeks, is such an outrage, to the rules of war, the laws of nations and of civil society, and well calculated to sour the minds of the whole nation against the United States, and is such as ought to meet with the frowns of every good citizen, and the agents be promptly prosecuted and punished as robbers. have to request on the receipt of this you will cause old Ratcliff to be liberated, his property returned, and the offenders, arrested and punished.<sup>30</sup>

Another similar case in which a Cherokee "whooping boy" had his property plundered by Tennessee troops, again brought Jackson's condemnation:

Is it not cruel that the whooping boy, who fought bravely at Talishatchey and got wounded at the Battle of Tulladega, should be plundered, by the east Tennessee troops, whilst confined with his wounds. What will the general government think of the state, if such things are permitted to go unpunished. It is as much theft as tho the property, was stolen from one of our own citizens, and laws of the United States provide amply for the punishment. Strict inquiry ought to be made whether any commissioned officers were present, or had any knowledge of this atrocious act, and if so they ought to be immediately arrested, and tried by a court martial and afterwards transferred to the civil authority.<sup>31</sup>

Some critics apparently dismiss such examples as merely cases in which an army officer was doing his job. Jackson's actions after the Battle of Talluschetes in the Creek War demonstrates his definite concern for Indians, even those warring against the United States. After the battle a dead Indian woman was found still clutching her living infant.<sup>32</sup> When it was discovered that none of the surviving Creeks would care for the child, Lyncoya, Jackson took it upon himself to care for the boy. His subsequent instructions to his wife are interesting:

I have directed Major White to carry to you, the little Lyncoya. He is the only branch of his family left, and the others when offered to them to take care of would have nothing to do with him but wanted him to be killed. Qualls [?] my interpreter took him up, carried him on his back and brought him to me. Charity and Christianity says he ought to be taken care of and I send him to my little Andrew and I hope will adopt him as one of our family.<sup>33</sup>

Jackson provided Lyncoya with every advantage, including a good education, but unfortunately the boy died of tuberculosis before the age of seventeen.<sup>34</sup>

All the foregoing incidents only involved individual Indians. But Jackson's concern for the well-being of all Red Men can be seen in his letter to Lieutenant Butler in which Jackson deplores the Treaty of Indian Spring:

Nobody did believe that the Indians had any intention of commencing hostilities on the whites. The whole excitement was produced by designing white men to draw the public attention from the means used in obtaining this fictitious treaty, signed by one or two chiefs and the rest self-created for the purpose of multiplying signers to the instrument. I am sure that, with evidence now before the nation, the Senate would not have ratified the treaty. When it was ratified, I was



not in the Senate, being confined to my room by the severe indisposition of Mrs. Jackson. Had I been present, seeing none of the old chiefs names to it but McIntosh, I should have moved its postponement and called for information from the President. 35

Such interesting cases are conveniently ignored by those historians who still persist in their belief in the "devil theory" when interpreting Jacksonian action and policies. In the interest of accuracy and a fuller understanding of the problem, historians must consider all the evidence.

If the material presented here, which is readily available to scholars, is relevant and important, then it remains to be determined why historians insist on referring to Jackson as indifferent to the needs of the Indians, or as one writer suggested, a President bent on "genocidal" tendencies. One reason for the apparent oversight might be a lack of research by some historians, or more likely a prejudicial interpretation of the information they have collected. Historians will commonly be influenced by subconscious bias in their analysis and use of data. But the neglect of important material, or the premeditated distortion of the truth, should not be accepted in the academic community. Another possible explanation for the difficulty is that some scholars, in judging Andrew Jackson as a debased Indian-hater, make the mistake of equating their concept of Indian Removal (which many historians feel was insupportable and spawned in hatred), with the attitude prevalent in Jackson's day. This false reasoning reminds us of the John Birch Society's campaign to impeach Earl Warren, who, they felt, was immoral and a Communist, simply because his Supreme Court Rulings did not agree with their concept of the constitution. To such conservative extremists it mattered little that Earl Warren was a loyal American who occasionally attended church. What was important was how they interpreted his decisions.

Americans today are influenced by Civil Rights movements, minority group pressures and a wealth of literature which emphasize the injustice inflicted upon Indian people through much of this country's history. This creates a great sympathy for the Indian. As a result we now tend to generalize about the people who broke treaty after treaty with the Red Man, and sometimes fail to examine closely the people we condemn. But as students of history we must not let sentimentalism interfere with an accurate description of the past.

Jackson's movement policy was clearly wrong. The Federal Government could have protected the lands of the "Five Civilized Tribes" and still not have ignored the white people's clamor for more land. But to claim that Jackson was unconcerned and/or hated the Red Man is a dubious interpretation of the past.

It is hoped that the reader, whether he be historian or historical reader, will give close attention of the generalizations found in history and examine the basis on which these generalizations were based. Myth is nothing new in history. But if myths are not exposed, they can grow and multiply until all connection with an accurate description of the past is lost. It is therefore imperative that the "devil theory" of Andrew Jackson's Indian attitudes be relegated to the historical dust bin and excluded from our interpretation of the Jacksonian era.

*Harry Lambirth*

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Nicholas Cords and Patrick Gerster, *Myth and the American Experience*, Vol. I (New York: Glencoe Press, 1973).
- <sup>2</sup>Thomas A. Bailey, *Probing American's Past*, Vol. II (Boston: Heath Co., 1973).
- <sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. VII.
- <sup>4</sup>Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969), p. 317.
- <sup>5</sup>Melvin Steinfield, *Our Racist Presidents* (San Ramon, Calif.: Consensus Pub. Inc., 1972), p. 79.
- <sup>6</sup>John Reed Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States* (New York: Glencoe Press), p. 80.
- <sup>7</sup>Typical examples of this view are: Blum, Morgan, Rose, Schlesinger, Stamm and Woodward (eds.), *The National Experience*, Third Edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), p. 222; Morris, Greenleaf, and Ferrell, *America: A History of the People* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969), p. 233.
- <sup>8</sup>President Andrew Jackson's Second Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1830, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the President*, Vol II (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931), pp. 519-523.
- <sup>9</sup>Pessen, *Jacksonian America*, pp. 317-318. This is a recent work, yet it still supports the "devil theory" and Andrew Jackson's Indian attitude.
- <sup>10</sup>Mary E. Young, "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice", *American Historical Review*, LXIII (October, 1958), p. 31.
- <sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 32.
- <sup>12</sup>Jackson to Secretary Calhoun, January 18, 1821, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, John Spencer Bassett (ed.), Vol. III (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931), p. 37.
- <sup>13</sup>Jackson to Colonel Robert Butler, June 21, 1817, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. II, p. 299.
- <sup>14</sup>Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1970), p. 217.
- <sup>15</sup>Jackson to Captain James Gusden, October 12, 1829, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. IV, p. 81.
- <sup>16</sup>Jackson to Colonel Robert Butler, June 21, 1817, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. II, p. 299.
- <sup>17</sup>Dale Van Every, *Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian* (New York: Morrow Co., 1966), p. 47.
- <sup>18</sup>Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson* (New York: Twayne Pub., Inc., 1966), p. 58.
- <sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 61.
- <sup>20</sup>Mary E. Young, "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice", *American Historical Review*, LXIII (October, 1958), p. 35.
- <sup>21</sup>Jackson to Brigadier General John Coffee, April 7, 1832, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. IV, p. 430.
- <sup>22</sup>William Graham Sumner, *Andrew Jackson as a Public Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1883), p. 182.
- <sup>23</sup>Jackson to President James Monroe, March 4, 1817, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. II, p. 280.
- <sup>24</sup>Louis Filler and Allen Guttman, *The Removal of the Cherokee Nation: Manifest Destiny or National Dishonor?* (Boston: Heath Co., 1962), p. 22.
- <sup>25</sup>Jackson to Colonel Anthony Butler, March 6, 1832, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol IV, p. 414.
- <sup>26</sup>Remini, *Andrew Jackson*, p. 58.
- <sup>27</sup>Jackson to Brigadier General John Coffee, April, 1832, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. IV, p. 430.
- <sup>28</sup>Jackson to President James Monroe, March 4, 1817, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. II, p. 281.
- <sup>29</sup>Jackson to Colonel McKinney, May 10, 1802, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. I, p. 62.
- <sup>30</sup>Jackson to John Cocke, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol I, p. 62.
- <sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 414.
- <sup>32</sup>Remini, *Andrew Jackson*, pp. 56-57.
- <sup>33</sup>Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 19, 1813, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. I, p. 401.
- <sup>34</sup>Remini, *Andrew Jackson*, p. 57.
- <sup>35</sup>Jackson to Lieutenant Edward G. W. Butler, February 12, 1825, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. III, p. 289.



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# American Policy in Nicaragua

## INTRODUCTION

United States foreign policy in the Republic of Nicaragua between 1923 and 1933 has gone down in history as military intervention which failed to develop a free-voting self-government, and which promoted an image of capitalistic imperialism that to this day continues to plague American relations with the Central American Nations. 1 Extensive use of the U.S. Marines to contain revolution in the republic, to maintain several Nicaraguan presidents in office, and to enforce "free" elections in 1928, 1930 and 1932, brought criticism upon the United States and distrust by Latin American governments. 2

The purpose of this paper is to review the historical setting related to two interventions by the U.S. Marines, to note the conflict between the Liberal and Conservative factions within Nicaragua, to examine some of the foreign relations statements that were found in correspondence between United States ministers of the U.S. State Department in Nicaragua and policy makers in Washington, D.C., and to describe the military activities that led to withdrawal of the Marines on Jan. 2, 1933, after creation of the first unified national army in Nicaragua's history.

United States action found its roots in the Monroe Doctrine, 3 the Roosevelt Corollary, 4 and a Washington, D.C. conference in 1923 that resulted in a General Treaty of Peace and Amity 5 between the five republics of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. Goals set by the United States in approaching the Nicaraguan problem included strategic, commercial and stability factors, 6 with emphasis placed on economic rehabilitation, purifying elections, and a nonpartisan guard. 7

## BACKGROUND HISTORY

History records that Christopher Columbus first touched the eastern coast of Nicaragua in 1502. He was followed in 1522 by another explorer named Gil Gonzales Davila, who colonized the republic. 8 Intermarriage between the Spanish and native Indians occurred, and eventually less than 15 percent of the pure strain remained. Nicaraguans broke away from Spanish rule in 1822. 9 The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States a year later. In 1855, William Walker of Tennessee was recruited by the Liberals of Nicaragua to overthrow the Conservatives in power at the capital city of Managua on the west coast. 10 Walker, a representative of southern United States slavery interests, made himself president, legalized slavery in Nicaragua, and cancelled the charter of Cornelius Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit Company which had developed a San Juan River-Lake Nicaragua-land route between the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean. Governments of the four neighboring republics created a combined army to oust Walker in 1857. Three years later, he tried to conquer Managua again, but was defeated and eventually beheaded by Honduran soldiers. 11

Despite the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, England continued to have a protectorate along the eastern "mosquito" coast of Nicaragua until 1894. 12 After the turn of the century, the United States took over protection of the Central American Republics through President Theodore Roosevelt's actions, and his Corollary of 1905. Two years later, the first Central American Conference of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador was held with the United States and Mexico involved in discussions of maintaining the independence of the area. 13 The advent of President William H. Taft's "dollar diplomacy" became apparent during the reign of Liberal President Jose Santos Zelaya (1893-1910). 14 Zelaya, who ruled like a tyrant, fell in disfavor with officials of the United States when he began granting duplicate concessions to other countries. A revolution began in 1909 to oust Zelaya, and a year later the American government sent Thomas Dawson 15 as a special agent to Nicaragua to negotiate an agreement for new elections, and financial rehabilitation of the war-torn republic. A \$1.5 million loan was arranged in 1911. One-hundred U.S. Marines landed in the republic in 1912 to insure stability for the next 14 years. The Conservatives gained control of the presidency from 1910 to 1924, as Adolfo Diaz was elected in 1912, Emiliano Chamorro in 1916, and Diego Manuel Chamorro in 1920. The latter died in office in 1923, and was succeeded by Batolome Martinez, who caused a split between members of the party. 16

## PACT OF 1923

Prior to the death of the elder Chamorro, the United States had promoted a conference at Washington, D.C., in which the five republics of Central America signed the General Treaty of Peace and Amity on Feb. 7, 1923. This treaty also bound the United States in its dealings with Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador. The three main points of the pact were: (1) development of national armies in consultation with military experts from the United States, (2) work toward free elections at some time in the future, and (3) non-recognition of persons gaining the presidency of any of the republics by coup d' état. 17

In pursuance of point number (2), the United States had encouraged Nicaragua with economic incentives to hire Dr. Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University to design an electoral law for the republic to help establish the legal machinery for a "free" election in 1924. 18 The emphasis on suffrage, a national guard, and official recognition was evident in the contents of instructions sent from Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes to Chargé d'affaires Walter Thurston on Oct. 8, 1923, for delivery to President Martinez. 19 The note indicated that "the efficient



installation of the new electoral system, free and fair suffrage would be possible in the coming elections so that the government resulting therefrom should have the support of the majority of the Nicaraguan people and would, therefore need no other assistance in maintaining order than that of the Nicaraguan constabulary . . . "

#### **MOST FAVORED NATION**

During the course of assisting the Nicaraguan Republic toward self-government, the United States did not hesitate to exercise its power to attain a "most favored nation" agreement in 1924. A June 5, 1924, note from Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes to President Coolidge indicated that Nicaragua was giving France reduced import duties in comparison to the United States, and "it appears preferable for the United States, rather than to consider the imposition of additional import duties on merchandise from Nicaragua, to negotiate an arrangement with a view to eliminating the discriminations by mutual consent." 20

#### **ELECTION OF 1924**

The conflict between the Conservative and Liberal parties in the Republic of Nicaragua had a historical basis in the native competition between two Mayan Indian tribes that inhabited the west coastal area at the time of colonization. Geographically, the Liberal Party and its supporters lived in the vicinity of Leon, which is the site of the national university; while the Conservatives occupied the area near Granada on the shores of Lake Nicaragua. 21 The latter party tended to be dominated by a particular family as politics evolved, whereas the Liberals drew their support from cooperating factions of the society. The Conservatives controlled the presidency from 1863 to 1893, when Zelaya brought the Liberals into power until 1910. With aid from the Marines, the Conservatives controlled the presidency the next 14 years until the election of 1924. 22

In the promotion of free elections for Nicaragua in 1924, the United States attempted to gain access to the electoral process to insure a popularly supported government that could survive after the planned withdrawal of the marines in 1925. President Martinez allowed Dr. Dodds to return to assist in preliminary arrangements for the election, but resisted direct supervision of the election precincts with support from his Nicaraguan Congress. 23 A three-party contest developed with the coalition of Conservative Carlos Solarzano and Liberal Dr. Juan B. Sacasa defeating former president Emiliano Chamorro (1916-20) by nearly 20,000 votes. 24 The defeat left Chamorro smouldering, and he began to plot the overthrow of the government pending the withdrawal of the Marines. The first withdrawal was postponed eight more months to accommodate the new president, but finally came on Aug. 4, 1925. 25 Chamorro moved quickly and accomplished the coup d' état on Oct.

25. 26 Anticipating the appointment of Chamorro to a Senate seat and his eventual designation as the new president on Jan. 16, 1926, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg informed Legation Minister Charles Eberhardt of the intent to uphold the Pact of 1923, should the elected government be replaced: "Should President Solorzano resign, the Government of the United States would accord recognition to any successor who had been elected or appointed by constitutional means. However, the Government of the United States would not extend recognition to any government which had come into power by violent or unconstitutional means." 27

#### **NONRECOGNITION**

In accordance with Secretary Kellogg's statement of policy, the United States government refused to recognize the government of the dictator, Chamorro, and proceeded to limit his opportunities for recognition by other countries. Under the Pact of 1923, American ministers persuaded the four cosignatory republics to send letters of nonrecognition to the Chamorro regime, which became insolvent in late 1926. 28 A peace conference at Corinto on Oct. 16, 1926, revealed Mexican support of the Liberals for the first time, as witnessed in a note from the Chargé d' affaires in Nicaragua (Dennis) to the Secretary of State: "In the conference this morning the Liberals went on record that they had received aid from the Mexican Government . . . It is now desirable for me to have a clear, forceful statement from the Department with respect to the continuation of the revolution with the aid of other Government, especially that of Mexico." 29

Negotiations aboard the USS Denver brought no settlement, but set the stage for change of president. 30 Chamorro later vacated his office to Sebastian Uriza, who served until Adolfo Diaz, the Conservative president 1912-16, was chosen by compromise to head the government. In legalizing the election, the United States government forced the Nicaraguans to restore the membership of their congress to what it was prior to the coup d' état. When only three of the unseated 18 members chose to return, recognition was given to alternate members. Fifty-three of the 67 members were present with Diaz receiving 42 of the 44 votes cast on Nov. 11, 1926. Quick recognition was granted by the United States on Nov. 18 with hopes of forestalling another revolution. 31

#### **RETURN OF MARINES**

Unrest in the capital city of Managua following the designation of Diaz as president, resulted in a recall of the U.S. Marines to maintain stability. A force of 160 men arrived in Managua on Jan. 4, 1927. 32 This action, as a simple and habitual response by the United States, set in motion circumstances that became a matter of national prestige before the Marines were withdrawn for the last time six years later. 33

Factors leading up to the second intervention included the old image of the "white man's burden" and the Monroe Doctrine, which still found expression in partially justifying the Marine action.<sup>34</sup> Pressure from Belgian officials, and the arrival of the British warship HMS Columbo at Corinto harbor brought the commitments of the Roosevelt Corollary to bear on United States protection of foreign interests.<sup>35</sup> Mexico's recognition of exiled vice president Sacasa as the rightful Nicaraguan president on Dec. 31, 1926, further complicated the situation.<sup>36</sup> The safety of the Panama Canal zone was highly visible in the intervention,<sup>37</sup> as was the continued hope for an alternate route or Nicaraguan Canal in the future as the result of a \$3.5 million option taken by the United States in the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916.<sup>38</sup> Bolshevism, already evident in Mexico, and championed by the Comintern throughout Latin America, aroused American fear which also had an impact on the situation.<sup>39</sup> American Presidents from Taft to Coolidge had virtually followed the same policies in regard to Nicaragua up to the Second Intervention, and none had seemed willing to chart a new course.<sup>40</sup>

**Bankers' Role.** The extent of American bankers' influence on the second intervention in Nicaragua was considered negligible in 1927. Private loans stimulated by the United States Government amounted to \$1.5 million in 1911 for which American banks obtained a 51 percent control of the National Bank of Nicaragua, and a loan in 1912 involved an option to buy the republic's railroad, a transaction that was culminated in 1913 by the purchase of the railroad. The development of a High Commission in Nicaragua in 1917 to help plan financial rehabilitation allowed the Nicaraguans to purchase back the bank and railroad by 1924. By 1926, there was little American bank money invested in the Nicaraguan government. A million dollar loan in 1927 to organize the republic's national guard was paid back within one year.<sup>41</sup> However, a financial survey done for the U.S. Government in 1927 by W.W. Cumberland revealed that American owned businesses and properties in Nicaragua probably amounted to \$17 million.<sup>42</sup>

**Liberals Rebel.** With the Conservatives back in power at Managua, members of the Liberal Party sought return of exiled vice-president Juan B. Sacasa to Porta Cabezas on the northeast coast of Nicaragua, where he set up an opposing government.<sup>43</sup> Carrying the Liberal banner, General Jose Maria Moncada marched an army across the mountainous interior and through the tropical inland jungles to the edge of the Tipitapa River not far from the capital city of Managua.<sup>44</sup> Sensing the seriousness of the Liberal threat, the United States government sent the warships of the Special Services Squadron to establish neutral zones along the eastern and western coastlines. Special priority was given the situation by President Coolidge in sending his personal representative, Henry L.

Stimson, to the republic in April, 1927.<sup>45</sup> An April 30, 1927 note from Secretary of State Kellogg to Stimson indicated the grave concern for establishing peace: "You should use every possible means to keep up the negotiations until every expedient is exhausted . . . The President wants you to know that you have the widest discretion in handling the entire situation."<sup>46</sup>

Stimson met with General Moncada, representing Sacasa, on May 4 and 11, 1927, to resolve the issues, under threat of Marines taking to the field against the Liberal Army. It was agreed that Diaz would stay in power until the free elections of 1928, which would be closely supervised by the United States; Liberals would be returned to the political offices they lost after the coup d'etat of 1925; and that firearms would be surrendered to the Marines with \$10 paid for each weapon.<sup>47</sup> All of Moncada's forces gave up their firearms during the last weeks of May, 1927, except for General Augusto C. Sandino, an avid nationalist, who left the Tipitapa area with about 100 armed men and returned to the Neuva Segovia mountain area in northwestern Nicaragua.<sup>48</sup> At the time, the State Department legation did not view this small group with much alarm.<sup>49</sup> However, by Jan. 13, 1928, Sandino's guerrilla attacks were so serious that Secretary of State Kellogg cautioned that neither should war be declared by the Nicaraguan Congress against Sandino, nor should the United States risk embarrassment by having "Americans engaged in holding courts-martial on Nicaraguans, even captured bandits."<sup>50</sup>

In the meantime, the number of Marines in Nicaragua increased steadily. The intervention forces of Marines present on January 4, 1927, grew to more than 2,000 shortly before the Tipitapa peace meeting,<sup>51</sup> and reached 3,880 by the time of the 1928 election. In addition, some 1,600 Marine electoral workers arrived to help supervise the first "free" election in the history of the Nicaraguan people.<sup>52</sup>

#### ELECTION OF 1928

Director of the electoral commission for the election of 1928 in Nicaragua was General Frank R. McCoy, U.S. Army, who was given full power by the government of the republic to insure success.<sup>53</sup> Marine garrisons were established at 48 strategic points in the countryside, and patrols averaging 25 per day per garrison, were used to hold disruption of the election machinery to the minimum.<sup>54</sup> Special effort was made by the United States representatives to avoid a three-party contest, like that in 1924 which had resulted in failure to obtain a majority backed president.<sup>55</sup> Key candidates for 1928 were General Moncada for the Liberals, and Emiliano Chamorro, former president and Conservative military leader, who had been given a foreign relations post in Europe in the settlement that placed Diaz in the presidency in 1927. Enroute home from overseas, Chamorro had visited the U.S. State Department to



determine if his name on the ballot would be favored over Moncada's. He was told by undersecretary Francis White that the American government played no favorites.<sup>56</sup>

Once back in Managua, Chamorro showed he still possessed political power by leading the defeat of a new election bill and the bill proposing the formation of a nonpartisan constabulary or national guard. The Guard was established later in the year by President Diaz's executive decree.<sup>57</sup>

Registration for the election was held in the spring of 1928 with 148,831 persons signing up to vote. On Nov. 4, a total of 133,633 voted. General Moncada won by a margin of 19,689 votes.<sup>58</sup> To facilitate matters, possession of the native alcohol, "aguardinete", was forbidden from Sept. 6 until Nov. 16; and persons casting votes were required to dip their arm into a vat of mercurochrome to prevent voting more than once.<sup>59</sup> Marines and some of the original members of the national guard were on duty at each voting precinct to prevent violence, but none occurred. Voting for senators and the house deputies resulted in a 12-12 split in the Senate, while the Conservatives gained 24 deputy seats compared to 19 for the Liberals.<sup>60</sup>

#### NONPARTISAN

After the "free" election had taken place in Nicaragua, American policy became concerned with the establishment of the nonpartisan guard which hopefully would prevent a return to the Liberal-Conservative controversy of previous years.<sup>61</sup> In 1924, Nicaragua had been requested to hire Major Calvin Carter of Elgin, Texas, on a private basis to train the guard before and after the first withdrawal of American Marines. Major Carter sided with Chamorro, and supported the coup d' état to the embarrassment of American officials.<sup>62</sup> This time the Marines handled the training, and American officers were assigned to head the guard and each platoon of men.

A struggle soon developed between President Moncada, and the U.S. State Department over the chain of command regarding control of the new national guard. American policy called for direct orders from the Nicaraguan president's office only, whereas a local effort was made to amend the Guard Law to allow lower political officials discretionary command also. General Logan Feland of the Marine Legation, backed by Admiral David Sellers of the Special Forces Squadron, sided with Moncada against Lt. Col. Elias Beadle, head of the Nicaraguan Guard, and State Department Minister Eberhardt.<sup>63</sup> President Moncada eventually backed off on the issue, but won later arguments on similar issues when the United States became eager to withdraw the Marines. In the meantime, Moncada used members of the guard to do personal harassment duty, as noted in the dispatch from the Secretary of

State Francis White to Chargé d' affaires Matthew Hanna in Nicaragua: "The Department considers that the adoption by President Moncada of any general policy of imprisoning those whose political activities seem aimed against his administration, and as in the present instance against the policies of the Government of the United States, would be most unwise and might very easily lead to greater evils than those which by this means he might seek to overcome,"<sup>64</sup>

**Changes in 1929.** Military adjustments, the impact of the Great Depression, and a lull in guerrilla warfare were witnessed in 1929. In March of that year, the friction between General Feland and Lt. Col. Beadle reached the point where both officers were transferred out of the area.<sup>65</sup> Efforts to train local officers for the guard became bogged down in legal technicalities. Fighting in northern Nicaragua slackened as Sandino went to Mexico in June to seek financial support for his liberation cause. He returned to the republic in May the next year without the aid he sought.<sup>66</sup> During his absence from the republic, the impact of the depression was felt along the Caribbean coastline, and many unemployed fruit workers became a ready reserve to join Sandino's ranks when heavy warfare resumed.<sup>67</sup>

**Election of 1930.** Congressional elections on November 3, 1930, saw the Liberals gain control of both the Senate and House of Deputies in Nicaragua. Close supervision was again provided by the Marines. Captain Wilkinson Johnson, U.S. Navy, served as head of the electoral commission. The vote totaled about 70 percent of that cast in the 1928 elections.<sup>68</sup>

#### TURNING POINTS

In addition to the congressional election, 1930 marked a number of turning points for United States activity in Nicaragua:

- (1) The long hoped for Nicaraguan Canal fell by the wayside as the Great Depression increased in magnitude. World trade began to slip drastically, and the utilization of the Panama Canal dropped by 50 percent.<sup>69</sup> Although the U.S. Congress authorized a geodetic survey of the proposed alternate canal in 1929, the route sketched out never became reality.
- (2) A crash program to train the new Nicaraguan officers of the national guard got underway with the establishment of an academy. Inculcation of neutral political values was the main emphasis of the training.<sup>70</sup>
- (3) With Sandino back in Nicaragua the last half of the year, guerrilla warfare stepped up to heights that culminated in the deaths of eight Marine telegraph repairmen in an ambush on Dec. 31. The incident was the last straw for Senator William E. Borah, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who moved for immediate withdrawal of troops.<sup>71</sup>

## WHO WAS SANDINO?

Augusto C. (for Caesar) Sandino was the illegitimate offspring of a Spanish landowner's son and an Indian servant girl in 1895. After his father married a white woman, he was raised under their roof. As a young man administering the family farms, he became involved in a drunken brawl which ended in the shooting of another man. Fleeing to Honduras and later to Mexico, Sandino worked in mines and oil fields. He became attracted to Bolshevism, and developed a strong desire to help the common man.<sup>72</sup> These ideals coupled with a spirit of Nicaraguan nationalism brought him back to his homeland to aid ousted vice president Sacasa and General Moncada. Although neither was delighted by his appearance, Sandino proceeded to collect enough arms and ammunition during the U.S. Navy's temporary occupation of Puerto Cabezas to start his own army of followers. They marched to Tipitapa to link up with Moncada, and withdrew to the mountainous regions when disarmament came. Sandino vowed he would never surrender as long as the Marines were in Nicaragua. An all-out assault by the Marines, the biggest maneuver since World War I, came against Sandino's hideaway at Chipote in the summer of 1928, but he slipped away into the wilds unharmed. Faced with superior firepower and the use of Marine aircraft, Sandino's followers learned to avoid conventional warfare, and became experts in guerrilla tactics.<sup>73</sup>

Sandino's efforts became hailed around the world as sympathetic supporters supplied propaganda to American and foreign news media. Sandino's face even appeared on parade banners during a world conference on Bolshevism sponsored by the Comintern in Moscow.<sup>74</sup> His charismatic cry "liberty and fatherland" shook American policymakers to the bone.

**Time to Leave.** Fearing expansion of the undeclared war, Secretary of State Stimson announced in January, 1931, that the Marines would withdraw on Jan. 2, 1933.<sup>75</sup> Activities to step up training of national guard officers increased. A class of 30 officers had graduated in 1930, and 75 more began training in mid-1931. Meanwhile, a special million dollar loan was made by the United States to provide funds for recruitment of 500 Nicaraguan volunteers to expand guard forces, and enable the Marines to be pulled out of areas where Sandino's activity was increasing.<sup>76</sup> Despite growing hostilities, the United States policy became firm to avoid future battles in the interior. When American firms demanded inland protection of private property through use of the Marines in April, 1931, Secretary Stimson cabled: "In view of outbreak of banditry in portions of Nicaragua hitherto free from such violence you will advise American citizens that this Government cannot undertake general protection of Americans throughout the country with American forces,"<sup>77</sup> and he recommended they go to the coast where they could receive protection or be evacuated if necessary.

**Earthquake at Managua.** On March 31, 1931, further confusion was added to the situation in Nicaragua when a tremendous earthquake shook the capital city of Managua. Many lives were lost, and the city lay in ruins. The American Red Cross rushed to the scene, and Will Rogers, well-known American humorist, flew in to assist at the scene. Among local leaders, a young Nicaraguan named Anastasio Somoza, a former Liberal military leader and member of President Moncada's foreign relations staff, attracted much attention with his ability to organize relief activities. The national archives were destroyed.

## ELECTION OF 1932

The final year of Marine intervention opened with Sandino's four army units operating freely from coast to coast, attacking foreign mines and plantations, and even coming within 20 miles of the capital.<sup>79</sup> Unable to meet the desired number of trained professional officers in time for withdrawal, the American policy gave way to allowing political appointment of untrained officers. In an effort to salvage the concept of a nonpartisan guard, U.S. Minister Matthew E. Hanna obtained pledges from the presidential and vice-presidential candidates for 1932 to maintain the nonpartisan character of the "Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua."<sup>80</sup>

**Sacasa Wins.** In promoting the election in 1932, the United States provided \$200,000 and 643 electoral workers to assist national guardsmen in the 432 precincts.<sup>81</sup> No Marines were present at election sites. Total vote cast was 129,508—some 4,125 less than the 1928 contest. Liberal candidate Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, the coalition vice-president in 1925, won by 22,552 votes over Conservative Adolfo Diaz, who served as president from 1912 to 1916 and as compromise president 1926-28. Diaz's running mate was Emiliano Chamorro, president 1916-20, and unrecognized president in 1926.<sup>82</sup>

**Intervention Ends.** Following the election, final preparations were made for evacuation of the Marines from Nicaragua on Jan. 2, 1933, as previously announced. A U.S. State Department news release marked the end of the intervention disclaiming any further responsibility regarding the "Guardia Nacional" following the evacuation of Nicaragua by the United States Marines.<sup>83</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The second intervention from 1927 to 1933 resulted in the deaths of 136 Marines. Naval records showed that 32 Marines died in action, 15 died from wounds, 24 from diseases, 41 from accidents ranging from a fall in a shower to airplane crashes, 12 committed suicide, and 11 died as a result of homicides.<sup>84</sup> Troop involvement started with 160 men, reached a peak of 5,480 during the election of 1928, and ended with 797 Marines leaving on the last ship. The number of deaths of Sandinistas and civilians caught in between the opposing sides is unknown.



American policy goals of creating a basis for free elections in the future fell far short as the election machinery had been too dependent on United States personnel to be very effective. Hopes for a nonpartisan guard were thwarted by lack of congressional support in Nicaragua which delayed training of enough professional officers to maintain independence from the political parties.

A threat of rebellion by academy trained officers in 1933 because of preferred status given to politically appointed officers by the Sacasa government was quelled skillfully by Guard Commander Anastasio Somoza.<sup>85</sup> Thereafter, Somoza controlled the Guard to the chagrin of his uncle, President Sacasa. Somoza proceeded to plan the assassination of Augusto C. Sandino on Feb. 2, 1934, a year after amnesty was declared; and he ousted Sacasa from the presidency in 1936. An appeal from Sacasa to the United States fell on deaf ears. Somoza became president and ruled until his assassination in 1956, after which his sons headed the palace and guard.

In dealing with the Nicaraguan situation, American policy-makers had relied heavily on the principles of participatory democracy. The belief that self-government would evolve through consent of the people proved fallacious because of the nature of the republic's people. At the time of the interventions, 72 percent of the Nicaraguans could neither read nor write. Participation in government office had been closely related to being an aristocrat. Internal wars were led by the upper class and fought by the farm workers. The winner controlled the presidency and gained most of the government positions in the republic. The loser went into brief exile or merely returned home to organize for future revolutions.

This atmosphere of opportunism was never overcome by American policy,<sup>87</sup> as can be noted from Chamorro's coup d' état in 1925; Moncada's use of the Peace at Tipitapa to gain the presidency in 1928; and the development of the unified national guard into a political power by Somoza.

The unilateral action of the United States in enforcing the 1923 General Treaty of Peace and Amity proved to be unwise. Use of the A-B-C Powers' (Argentine-Brazil-Chile) negotiating council or direct involvement of the other four republics that signed the treaty (El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras) to conduct the elections may have brought the self-government that American policy sought.

Presence of the Marines in the republic led to brutal warfare that began and climaxed with the second intervention period. Sandino stimulated Nicaraguan nationalism with great success, and his propaganda machine outside the republic was more powerful than his armies. Guerrilla tactics developed during the fighting were carried to other parts of the Caribbean for future revolutions. The Marine officers exposed to these techniques used the experience in World War II campaigns against the Japanese.<sup>88</sup>

Although the prestige of the United States was tarnished by the final intervention, the end result was the creation of a unified Nicaraguan army, a stable republic, and a future friend of American government in Somoza.

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- 65*Ibid.*, p. 642.
- 66Kamman, *Search For Stability*, pp. 186-187.
- 67*Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 68*Foreign Relations, 1930*, Vol. No. III, p. 655.
- 69Kamman, *Search For Stability*, p. 228.
- 70Macaulay, *Sandino Affair*, pp. 175-176.
- 71*Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 72*Ibid.*, pp. 48-61.
- 73*Ibid.*, pp. 62-105.
- 74Kamman, *Search For Stability*, p. 141.
- 75*Ibid.*, p. 196.
- 76*Foreign Relations, 1931*, Vol. No. II, pp. 834 and 841.
- 77*Ibid.*, p. 808.
- 78*Ibid.*, March 31-April 13.
- 79Macaulay, *Sandino Affair*, pp. 219-242.
- 80*Foreign Relations, 1932*, Vol. No. V, p. 887.
- 81Kamman, *Search For Stability*, p. 212.
- 82*Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 83*Foreign Relations, 1933*, Vol. No. V, pp. 848-849.
- 84Kamman, *Search For Stability*, pp. 217-218.
- 85Goldwert, *The Constabulary*, p. 43.
- 86Macaulay, *Sandino Affair*, pp. 253-256; see also Jones, *The Caribbean*, p. 395.
- 87Macaulay, *Sandino Affair*, pp. 46-47.
- 88*Ibid.*, pp. 257-273.

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# The Dilemma of American Railroads: a question of Changing Policy

## INTRODUCTION

The railroad industry of America is now facing one of the most serious problems in its entire history—that of full-scale bankruptcy. Bankruptcy is not a new problem. It has persistently plagued the industry and has currently grown to its worst proportions ever. The railroads in the past have also experienced problems in growth and expansion, financing, meeting competition and in regulation. Many of these problems were solved by the railroads themselves through interchange and pooling agreements, by consolidation and government help through direct subsidy, special laws and regulations, land grants that were paid back over time, guaranteed loans and in many other ways. Because of the necessity of railroad transportation to the national economy and to the various regional economies, lines facing bankruptcy were allowed to be absorbed or consolidated into larger railroads operating over the same or neighboring territory. The large, present-day railroad companies are the result of many such consolidations of bankrupt railroads and even now they are facing the same inevitable end—bankruptcy. Today there are no larger railroads to acquire the bankrupts and operate them profitably, so the taxpayers through direct Federal aid are subsidizing the railroads. But even with continued direct subsidies, the future looks bleak for the railroad industry.

## THE DILEMMA

Because of the importance of a sound railroad system to the national defense and to the economy, the Federal Government will not allow the railroads to shut down in the face of bankruptcy. Direct subsidies and other forms of government aid are being given and presumably will continue to be given to maintain the railroads. As an official of the American Association of Railroads wrote in a report on the American transportation system, "Subsidies are undemocratic,"<sup>1</sup> and "government aid which relieves a carrier from bearing full costs is contrary to public opinion."<sup>2</sup> This was made in reference to the aid that motor, air, and water carriers receive in the form of highway, airport, and canal construction, which costs are footed by the government and not paid in full through the taxes paid by the affected carriers. These services are provided by the government for the public use and only incidentally for use by these individual transportation agencies. The railroads on the other hand provide their own means of conveyance at their own cost for their own use. The problem exists because the railroads are necessary, and because they cannot profitably compete with the other modes of transportation. This presents a dilemma: Should Americans be "undemocratic", as it were, and continue to subsidize the

railroad industry, or should they allow the industry to shut down and depend solely upon the other available modes of transportation? This is a difficult question to resolve and many things must be considered to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

## THE NEED FOR CONTINUED SUBSIDY

Among the most important reasons which may be advanced in favor of continued railroad subsidies are the following:

1. Railroads are necessary to the national defense and to the economy.<sup>3</sup>
2. Where there is still passenger service, railroads are a public convenience and necessity.<sup>4</sup>
3. Railroads are more energy efficient and cause less noise and air pollution than do truck and air transport.<sup>5</sup>
4. When all costs are considered, railroads provide the lowest cost service of all existing modes of transport.<sup>6</sup>
5. The costs of providing these essential rail services cannot be met without substantial help from the Federal Government.<sup>7</sup>

These arguments are more than just arguments for direct subsidization; they are arguments for the continued existence of a mode of transportation which is considered to be essential to the welfare of the nation. As George Smathers states it, "The United States couldn't survive without the Railroad. It's that simple."<sup>8</sup> Smathers is the head of ASTRO (America's Sound Transportation Review Organization.)

## ALTERNATIVES TO CONTINUED SUBSIDIZATION

In the past it has been a foregone conclusion that railroads would be subsidized if they faced bankruptcy. But, in fact, there are other alternatives. Some of these are:

1. Bankruptcy followed by dissolution. As noted above the vital role played by the railroads in the national economy and in national defense would militate very strongly against this outcome.
2. Nationalization. "But nationalization would be the worst solution by far," said George Smathers in a statement before a Senate Subcommittee studying the problem.<sup>9</sup> His reasons were that the cost would be immense and experience here and abroad tends to show that Government-owned railroads operate at a deficit. Also this runs against the grain of our privately owned capitalist economic structure.
3. Bankruptcy followed by reorganization. This would involve reorganization and consolidation of existing companies into a limited number of regional and/or national companies. In 1929 the Interstate Commerce Commission designed a plan for voluntary consolidation of the then existing railroads into 21



regional systems. This plan and others since have not been implemented. The main reason has been the fear that such consolidations would violate the antitrust laws.<sup>10</sup> In considering reorganization, one must look at the present Penn Central system. It is composed of smaller railroad companies that have been consolidated and reorganized following bankruptcy. Even so, it is also facing bankruptcy and it is not alone.

4. Changes in regulation and tax structures. In the report published by the Association of American Railroads in 1947, a proposal was made that legislation should be enacted to remove discriminatory taxes levied against the railroads. Also recommended were changes that would establish a fair and proper equality among the several forms of transportation in the area of regulation.<sup>11</sup> The Surface Transportation Act of 1971 introduced before the Senate in July of 1971 provides for this and other recommendations.<sup>12</sup> It is still stalled in Congress. This is a delay of action of over 24 years on recommendations and proposals that were first requested in 1947. Could the present financial stringency have been avoided with earlier action? George Smathers, in his statement, indicates that regulatory reform could have done much in the way of helping the railroads then and now.<sup>13</sup> There is currently much legislation underway in Congress dealing with regulation and tax reform, financial assistance, and many other railroad problems. But they call for action on a local and regional level, not on a national level. The Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 is one of several dealing with problems on a regional level. Enacted into law in December of 1974, this act establishes the United States Railway Association. This association was given the task of devising a plan for consolidating and reorganizing several ailing Northeastern railroads into more profitable lines.<sup>14</sup> One of these railroads is the Penn Central, whose bankruptcy petition in 1970 spurred much of the recent legislation.

5. There is one other major alternative that I feel needs discussion. This alternative involves restructuring of the entire railroad industry. Proper restructuring could place the industry in a more competitive and better financial position in relation to its competitors, the water, truck and air carriers. This alternative, which is a combination of several proposals mentioned above, merits detailed comment. Perhaps because it is such a drastic alternative, it has not been considered earlier in legislative reports and industry studies, at least as far as I am aware. If the current legislation on regulation and tax reform does not solve the railroad problem, I feel that restructuring will be the only remaining alternative.

#### **A PROPOSAL FOR RESTRUCTURING THE AMERICAN RAILROAD INDUSTRY**

My proposal is designed to increase railroad competition in two areas: First, intraline competition between two or more railroad companies; and second, interline competition between railroads and their nearest competitors, trucks. To do this the structure of the railroad industry must be changed to make it more compatible to the trucking industry in an economic and financial sense. As much as 20 percent to 30 percent of the railroads' total costs are fixed, in comparison to trucking firms where fixed expenses are only six to seven percent of total costs.<sup>15</sup> The railroads' high fixed expenses result from high investment costs in the form of trackage and rights-of-way and high discriminatory taxes on this property. The railroads also experience high costs of maintenance of their trackage while the highway maintenance for the trucking industry is paid for by the government through user taxes such as gasoline tax, license fees and through the general tax fund.<sup>16</sup> It is because of these high fixed costs that the railroads cannot lower rates to compete effectively with the trucking industry. They lose business while their costs remain high and fixed without compensatory revenues. Also the rate and regulation structure treats railways as if they were still monopolies without competition when indeed there is strong competition from motor carriers.

My proposal is to have the government, through a quasi-public corporation, purchase the trackage and rights-of-way from the railroads for the purposes of ownership and maintenance. This would serve a two-fold purpose. First, it would put the railroads on equal financial footing with the motor carriers. It would remove the railroads' high investment and associated fixed costs, giving them investment and cost ratios that would be comparable to those in the motor carrier industry. Second, it would give the railroads more room to reduce rates and prove their competitive efficiency. There would also be available one other economic advantage to the public. Along with lower costs leading to lower rates, common ownership of the trackage would allow railroad companies to expand service into other regions and to form individual coast-to-coast transportation companies. Competition between railroads operating in the same areas would hopefully lead to more competitive efficiency and not to competitive confusion in sharing the same trackage and switch yards. Regulation of rates would still be a necessity in order to keep cutthroat competition at a minimum, but I think that the problems of scheduling the two-way traffic of competing lines on a single track could be overcome. At present, through the use of computers, two-way scheduling for one company is an accomplished fact and I think it can be successfully applied to competitive scheduling. Maintenance of track could be

accomplished through the use of government contracts with railroad companies having existing maintenance equipment, or with independent maintenance companies, in much the same manner that the highway departments now do with private road builders. This would eliminate the Government's need to invest in maintenance equipment.

Financing of the initial investment is not an insuperable obstacle. In 1947 the railroads had approximately a \$29.6 billion net investment of which \$19.5 billion or 65 percent was in trackage and rights-of-way.<sup>17</sup> In 1969 there was a total net investment of \$27.7 billion<sup>18</sup> of which I would estimate \$18 billion was in trackage. The trucking industry figures show a \$2.67 billion investment in carrier vehicles<sup>19</sup> compared to a \$9.7 billion estimate for railroad equipment. Here the railroads would still have a high investment compared to the trucking industry, but most of the high fixed costs associated with roadway would have been removed. The government through the quasi-public corporation would assume \$18 billion worth of trackage and property compared to a 1963 total investment of \$63 billion in public highways and streets.<sup>20</sup> But it would gain only 645,000 miles<sup>21</sup> of trackage for its money as compared to over 3 million miles<sup>22</sup> of surfaced highway that it now owns. This is a cost of \$27,900 per mile of track compared to \$21,000 per mile of highway.

Maintenance costs could be financed in part by user charges levied on a ton/mile basis to the operating railroad companies and in financing from State and Federal Government on a sharing basis comparable to what is now used to finance highway construction and maintenance. Projected total costs for rail maintenance in 1972 for a ten year period are \$11.28 billion<sup>23</sup> or just over \$1.1 billion per year. Projected maintenance costs for highways were \$297 billion in 1963 for a 30 year period<sup>24</sup> or \$9.9 billion per year.

Such a quasi-public corporation would be funded by issuing government bonds for the initial investment. It would be operated as an autonomous government agency with an elected board of directors representative of such concerned groups as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Department of Transportation, railroad companies, shippers, and consumer groups. Politics should be kept at a minimum and every effort made to represent and promote the public interest. The quasi-public corporation should handle allocations of maintenance contracts, rate adjustments, user charges, abandonments, and other considerations in the interest of serving the public to the fullest. Continued government subsidization of the quasi-public corporation, which cannot be avoided, should be determined and administered on a basis similar to that used in allocating highway construction and maintenance funds.

I would prefer a privately funded corporation to be established and to operate on revenues derived from user charges and government subsidy, but because of the nonprofitable aspect of this corporation I think it is unlikely that any private investors would be interested. For this reason the government would have to invest in this corporation as it had done in other instances where enterprises were necessary for the public good, but where high costs and highly uncertain profits discouraged private investment.<sup>25</sup>

There would still remain two large hurdles to overcome. One would be to sell the idea of government ownership and administration to the American people and to Congress. The second hurdle would be even more formidable: to convince the railroad companies to change from a monopolistic market structure to a competitive one. But faced with a continuing existence in a profitable and competitive market versus bankruptcy and discontinued existence in a monopolistic situation, the choice may not be too difficult.

## CONCLUSIONS

In view of the overall railroad situation, I feel that regulation and tax changes alone will not correct the inequities existing between the motor and rail carriers. Continuing Federal aid to the railroads will be necessary for them to continue in existence. This Federal aid could be administered directly to the railroad companies as it is presently done, but I feel that the competitive advantages of lower overall rates and better overall service derived from the separation of the track ownership from the railroad companies would be worth the investment. Investment would be higher and overall maintenance costs lower for trackage than for highways, but the public at large would reap the benefits of profitable railroads and dependable service. As Senator Taft of Ohio testified in a subcommittee hearing: "If it is determined that the continuing operation of these lines is essential to the public, the public should pay for their continued operation."<sup>26</sup> It is the purpose of public policy, Pegrum states, "to preserve competition, not to sustain competitors."<sup>27</sup> Past and present legislation in this area has been designed with this concept in mind, but I feel that it has not done a very thorough job and I think restructuring could strengthen this concept. A more detailed study of the railroad situation and its alternatives is warranted and should be made with strong consideration given to the type of proposal which I have presented. In closing, I must say that I think much the same as Scherer stated in the conclusion of a study he made of public policy alternatives for the aerospace industry: "Certainly, however, the government should doff its ideological blinders and experiment with a wider variety of organizational approaches."<sup>28</sup>

*Ronald Strauss*



## ENDNOTES

- 1 Association of American Railroads, *Transportation in America* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Railroads, 1947), p. 12.
- 2 *Ibid.* ch. 22.
- 3 U.S., Congress, House, *House Report No. 93-744, Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 1-3.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 Association of American Railroads, *Transportation in America*, p. 7.
- 7 U.S., Congress, House, *House Report No. 93-744*, p. 3.
- 8 U.S., Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, *Railroad Industry Overview* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 59.
- 9 *Ibid.* p. 69.
- 10 Association of American Railroads, *Transportation in America*, ch. 17.
- 11 *Ibid.* pp. 13, 286.
- 12 U.S., Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, *Surface Transportation Legislation*, Pt. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).
- 13 U.S., Congress, Senate, *Railroad Industry Overview*, pp. 82-92.
- 14 U.S., Congress, House, *House Report No. 93-744*.
- 15 Dudley F. Pegrum, *Public Regulation of Business* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin Inc., 1963), pp. 565-573.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 American Association of Railroads, *Transportation in America*, ch. 6.
- 18 U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics, *Transportation Act of 1972*, Pt. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 381.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Pegrum, *Public Regulation of Business*, ch. 21.
- 21 U.S., Congress, House, *Transportation Act of 1972*, pt. 1, p. 387, table 21.
- 22 Pegrum, *Public Regulation of Business*, ch. 21.
- 23 U.S., Congress, House, *Transportation Act of 1972*, pt. 1, p. 390.
- 24 Pegrum, *Public Regulation of Business*, ch. 21.

- 25 Clair Wilcox, *Public Policies Toward Business*, (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin Inc., 1971), p. 487, ch. 23.
- 26 U.S., Congress, Senate, *Railroad Industry Overview*, p.9.
- 27 Dudley F. Pegrum, *Transportation: Economics and Public Policy* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin Inc., 1963), p. 416.
- 28 Walter Adams (ed.), *The Structure of American Industry* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), p. 377.

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