

# New Foundations

a cultural quarterly by and for youth

PHILOSOPHIES FOR SALE

—dr. howard selsam

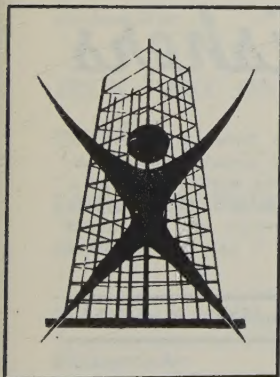
*Letters from China*

KARL MARX: STUDENT

—marvin reiss

**fall**

nineteen hundred forty-seven



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## *... the magazine*

NEW FOUNDATIONS is a publication devoted to the political, cultural and intellectual problems of American students. Its purpose is to stimulate clear thinking and progressive social action in all fields of study and activity, and to express the needs, activities and aspirations of student America. NEW FOUNDATIONS actively combats reactionary and fascist ideologies in all their manifestations and presents a positive approach to the solution of the problems of American students—an approach infused with the creative spirit of socialism. The orientation of this magazine will be militantly progressive, with the aim of stimulating Marxist thought and progressive action.

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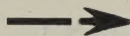
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# New Foundations

VOLUME ONE



NUMBER ONE

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...the earth shall rise on new foundations...

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*Editorial:*

## OUR GENERATION

—the editors

*I could see in him the eternal conflict that tears asunder the soul of all that is best in the younger generation—the desire to enjoy the fruits of culture and the necessity to sacrifice oneself for its preservation.*

These words of the noted British Marxist scientist, Professor Hyman Levy—a tribute to the memory of a brilliant young mathematician who died fighting in Spain—constitute a profound summation of the fate of our young generation.

Born shortly after the First World War, we grew out of our swaddling-clothes during that incongruous period of attempted return to a fictitious “normalcy.” Already, our parents were travelling towards the crossroads of deadly conflict between social progress and barbaric reaction. For in November 1917 the rotting chain which had been subjected to increasing tension suddenly yielded to new hammer blows, and the weakest link was smashed. The old props were weakened and the earth was truly beginning to rise on new foundations. But in the wings and behind the scenes an “antidote” of castor oil was prepared and dosed out to prevent the new idea from spreading. And although the Soviet Republic could not be assassinated, it was finally partially isolated.

Most of us in America were kept blithely unaware of these

events. Those of our elders who sought to investigate whether the future "worked" were imprisoned or effectively silenced.

Came Black Friday of '29. Overnight, we were promoted from the class of supposed "golden opportunity" to that of the lost generation. Workers lost their skills, breadlines formed, and farmers were driven off the land. We became the forgotten children of the forgotten men.

But our parents learned how to fight back. They organized—formed and joined unions, banded together in leagues against war and fascism, and transformed the breadlines into delegations, picket lines, and massed demonstrations. We, too, learned. We united in magnificent youth and student organizations, and conducted outstanding struggles for academic freedom, liberalized education, a genuine legislative program for youth and students, and collective security against war and fascism. Our historical emergence as a unified and active force supporting the struggles of the broad people's movement and advancing our own cause adds up to one of the brilliant chapters in recent history.

The enemy, however, also learned rapidly. Their excess profits threatened, the robber barons clawed back at the unions, shot down the veterans, lynched the awakening Negro fighters, and unleashed an "inquisition" against the youth and students. The international cartellists bolstered up the feudal and monarchical regimes and "modernized" the castor-oil model of 1922. They unleashed the brown terror, fed it on the bodies of innocent peoples, and goaded it against the Socialist sixth of the world. They brought to perfection the hideous techniques of red-baiting and racism.

The new war—for those of us who thought that "politics is the other fellow's concern"—broke loose like a bolt from the blue. Overnight, it seems, we were in uniform. Breathlessly, we watched the slave states extend the areas of darkness and death—until they met the immovable body. Then, superbly armed by the great effort of a whole people, and allied with the Soviet, British and underground millions, we helped whittle Hitler down to size, then throttled him. We smashed Japan's new order. And we paid our heavy price in blood.

Out of the ashes and ruins of the war against Hitlerism, a new world rises. On every continent, the peoples strive to achieve a peaceful, free and cooperative society. Advanced popular democracies are flowering out of the most heroic resistance movements.



The doubly-oppressed colonial nations are rising from their knees and taking their freedom and independence. And in the Soviet Union, Socialist reconstruction heals the scars left by war and prepares for "singing tomorrows."

*But reaction and fascism are not dead!* The profiteers who waxed fat on our battles are pumping life into the monster we left on the battlefield. The last redoubt of world imperialism, American finance capital actively seeks to inherit the other dying empires and takes upon itself the role of atomic policeman of the world. Open and brutal intervention in China and Greece—with the growing threat to use American troops—bolsters up fascist regimes. Food, clothing and machinery—desperately needed by peoples ravaged by Hitlerite invasion and occupation—have become instruments for the strengthening of German, French, Italian and other reactionaries, interference in the internal affairs of independent nations, and the creation of anti-Soviet bases. Meanwhile, in the name of "non-intervention," our cartellists and their representatives prevent effective action to free the millions languishing in the Franco prison-state. The high-sounding titles "Truman Doctrine" and "Marshall Plan" are the new design for world conquest—for a world empire with headquarters in Wall Street and Washington.

And at home, our great nation which demonstrated its limitless potentialities during the war finds itself in a deepening political and social crisis. A new depression creeps stealthily upon us, and a most elementary requisite, housing, has become the stumbling-block of the most industrialized country in the world. As a part of the program for world conquest we find a vast campaign under way which combines the techniques of Goebbels, Himmler and the Japanese militarists. On the one hand, fascist seditionists who undermined the war effort are permitted to freely carry on their nefarious activities. And on the other, fascist-like slave labor and thought-control laws are passed and Communists and other anti-fascists are persecuted. Phony spy-scares and war hysteria are whipped up to cloak the monopolist drive to smash the unions, destroy democratic rights, institute a fascist regime, and conquer the world.

As the successive steps become more naked and the design ever clearer, however, the American people show increasing signs of realization that the peace and democratic well-being of their



nation are at stake. There is a growing militancy evident, particularly among trade unionists, which presages intense struggles in the period to come.

*We are a new student generation.* There are more than two million of us in colleges and universities. Many thousands more are clamoring for admission. A majority of us are veterans, matured by what we saw and did. More than ever before, we come from families which earn their bread by toil on farm and in factory. We have brought a renaissance of education and culture to the campus.

But our classes, libraries and other facilities are overcrowded. Tuition and other fees are on the upgrade. Subsistence allowances, savings, and part-time employment have not expanded to meet inflationary prices. Discrimination because of color and nationality are festering sores. In many institutions, academic freedom is merely a phrase to be found in unexpurgated texts on Renaissance universities. And as the tide of pink slips in pay envelopes rises, our future grows more bleak by the day. At this writing, the Veterans Administration announces that 1,400,000 veterans, or about 35 per cent, have dropped out of the G.I. school program thus far—largely as a result of “financial problems,” housing shortages and despair concerning the morrow.

*Can this be America . . . the home of the brave? Where is the happiness and peace for which we fought and of which we dreamed? Will life always be printed on dollar bills?* These are the questions which growing millions of us are beginning to ask. We have too many memories of Ph.D.’s pounding pavements for non-existent jobs, of war preparations and support of fascist terror under the guise of “fighting Communism,” and of tensed moments in blackout waiting to splash ashore into the unknown, to be complacent. The books and “politics” refuse to remain worlds apart.

That is the lesson which growing numbers of us are coming to realize. Political, economic and social ferment engendered by the war and postwar period grows among us. The students of Georgia startled the nation by their resistance to an attempted fascist-like coup d’etat. Everywhere, in a host of local actions, we are showing our determination to fight for housing, increased subsistence, free education and other issues which confront us. Out of our growing understanding and activity, the outlines of a new student movement are beginning to emerge.

All over the world, youth in general and students in particular are playing a greater part than ever before in the lives of their nations. The valiant young fighters who refused to submit to the iron heel and performed a vital role in the ultimate victory are today forming significant centers of reconstruction and social and cultural regeneration. In virtually all of these countries, there are publications by and for youth and students which counteract fascist and imperialist ideologies, stimulate progressive thought and activity, and present Marxism as a positive and humanistic philosophy.

In our nation, the two hundred families have traditionally displayed unrivalled interest in the institutions of learning. Declared enemies of free education, their chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations and utilities corporations have become the openly secret censors of the text books. They sit on the boards of trustees and determine what is to be taught and by whom. And when these methods become ineffectual, they set up legislative "committees" with unlimited powers to trample on the Bill of Rights.

The classroom is the heart of the college campus. And it is here that the revolutionary content in all fields of study—the arts, the sciences, the social sciences and the professions—is blasphemed or ignored. Elaborate apologies of the status quo are compounded of half-truths and fabrications. Sterile philosophies begetting only defeatism and cynicism are the intellectual fare. If Marxism is mentioned—and increasingly educators are obliged at least to mention it—Sidney Hook, Koestler and even Trotsky are offered as "authorities."

Despite this, increasing numbers of students are displaying a heightened interest in Marxist theory and practice at home and abroad. More and more, Marxism shines as a beacon-light to a shipwrecked world, offering a scientific, ethical and cooperative solution based on the real needs and interests of the exploited and oppressed majority. But the Marxist outlook is more than a political and economic system. It is an all-embracing philosophical synthesis whose principles are derived from the critical evaluation of all practical and intellectual pursuits; and its principles and methods are richly applicable to every field of study and activity.

NEW FOUNDATIONS was born in the imagination of a group of



overseas Marines who foresaw that student America would need a channel of expression after the war. The publication rapidly grew in scope from the small and limited magazine originally envisioned to the publication you are reading today.

NEW FOUNDATIONS is a magazine by and for students. We invite the participation of all students who are dismayed by the resurgence of fascism and imperialist interventions and who honestly seek to understand and combat the ruthless and greedy trusts. Our pages are open to all material which comes to grips with the pressing problems facing us, unearths and popularizes the democratic tradition in political history and in all fields of study, and creates artistic images of the real world and the future which is coming. We seek manuscripts dealing with the needs, problems and activities of students in America and abroad. We request critical, instructive and suggestive communications from all readers. NEW FOUNDATIONS is designed to serve your needs, activities and aspirations.

The orientation of this magazine will be militantly progressive, with the aim of achieving a sound Marxist approach.

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## COMMUNISM AND HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

*Marxism is an example of how communism arose out of the sum total of human knowledge. . . .*

*Marx took his stand on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism. Having studied the laws of development of human society, Marx realized that the development of capitalism was inevitably leading to communism. And the principal thing is that he proved this only on the basis of the most exact, most detailed and most profound study of this capitalist society; and this he was able to do because he had fully assimilated all that earlier science had taught.*

*This is what we must bear in mind when, for example, we talk about proletarian culture. Unless we clearly understand that only by acquiring exact knowledge of the culture created by the whole development of mankind and that only by studying this culture can a proletarian culture be built, we shall not be able to solve this problem.*

—V. I. LENIN



# PHILOSOPHIES FOR SALE

—dr. howard selsam

*Based on a Dialogue of the Syrian-Greek satirist Lucian, the following attempts to do for the philosophies of our time what Lucian did for the philosophical creeds of the Second Century of our era.*

AUCTIONEER

ASSISTANT

DEALERS

PHILOSOPHIES

AUCTIONEER: Get those chairs stright there and tidy up a bit. We have some fine goods to offer today. Bring up the lots, one of you, and put them in line. Give them a going-over, though; we must have them looking their best to attract our bidders. Everything ready? All right, I'll declare the salesroom open. For Sale! A rich and varied assortment of Live Philosophies. Tenets of every description to suit every need and purpose. Cash on delivery, or credit allowed on suitable security.

ASSISTANT: Here they come, swarming in. What are we to put up first?

AUCTIONEER: That French fellow there, with the clerical look and smart moustache. He's a conservative-looking piece of goods.

ASSISTANT: Step up, Intuitionism, and show yourself. Here is a creed of the first water. Who bids for this handsome article? Who is interested in Creative Evolution . . . Dynamic Morality . . . *Élan Vital*? And notice his Nicholas Murray Butler Gold Medal in Philosophy! Who bids?

FIRST DEALER: He looks first rate. What can he do?

ASSISTANT: Good old-fashioned metaphysics with modern twists; plain and fancy mysticism. He can refute Darwinism on the highest level. He has mastered all the sciences and is above them all.

FIRST DEALER: Sounds good. May I ask him some questions?

ASSISTANT: Anything you desire.

FIRST DEALER: From whom did you get your training?

INTUITIONISM: Schelling, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and the best opponents of the Enlightenment that Nineteenth Century France could produce.

FIRST DEALER: If I buy you, what can you teach our students?

INTUITIONISM: No matter where I begin, they will end up in silence. The highest wisdom is inexpressible.

FIRST DEALER: But what do you know?

INTUITIONISM: What do you mean by "knowing"? I reject the common, vulgar "knowing" that only moves around things and describes them relatively. True knowing is intuition—which grasps the perfect and inexpressible absolute.

FIRST DEALER: Do I get you straight? When you really know something, you can't say anything about it?

INTUITIONISM: Correct. You could make a good pupil. The thought of most men is fettered by habits of mind more useful to life.

FIRST DEALER: I am not interested in being a pupil. I want a fit teacher for our youth—they are too much taken up with science and scientific method. Can you do something with them?

INTUITIONISM: That's precisely my purpose. I will make them distrust science—which is nothing but analysis—and look to intuition instead.

FIRST DEALER: But what is this intuition? Give me an example of how you can know something and yet not say anything about it.

INTUITIONISM: That's easy. Take yourself as an example, and then you'll have a model of the universe. Do you know your innermost essence? Can psychology give it to you? No. But when you get it you'll know the inside of everything, instead of the outside which science superficially describes.

FIRST DEALER: But how can I know myself, my own essence?

INTUITIONISM: It's simple: just like peeling an onion. First strip off the outer layers of memories, thoughts, and so forth. These aren't really you: they're nothing but your sensations and the like which you get from the material world. Finally, just as when you peel off all the layers of an onion you are left with only the essence of onion-ness itself, so you will find in yourself a flux which you can't compare with any flux you've ever seen.



FIRST DEALER: I can't say that's too clear.

INTUITIONISM: Well, if you can't see it yourself, nothing I can say can ever give it to you. All I seek is to promote the effort.

FIRST DEALER: Well, all right. It's good to make people look into their own fluxes instead of concentrating so much on what's outside. What else can you do?

INTUITIONISM: I can prove that matter is only an excrescence of spirit—of spirit that's gotten so habit-bound that it follows what are mistakenly called laws. I can prove that space and time are illusions: there is only duration. . . .

FIRST DEALER: But isn't that the same thing?

INTUITIONISM: Of course not; you're slipping. Duration is real, absolute, spirit, God himself; time is only the ossified, mummified abstraction of it—what's marked by the motions of bodies and clocks.

FIRST DEALER: That's pretty rarified stuff, it seems to me. I'm not sure our students will go for it. But we might use you for lecture tours: the D.A.R. and things like that. Auctioneer, what do you start him at?

AUCTIONEER: Fifty thousand.

FIRST DEALER: I'll take him.

ASSISTANT: No other bidders? Then he's yours.

AUCTIONEER: Take the gentleman's name and address.

ASSISTANT (to Auctioneer): He must come from the United States, the East or the West Coast. They go in for that stuff in the fashionable circles there.

AUCTIONEER (to Assistant): I'm glad that one's off our hands. His line isn't doing so well in France these days. It's pretty old hat, but you never know what these rich Americans will take to.

ASSISTANT: What shall we put up next?

AUCTIONEER: That tall Britisher there.

ASSISTANT: You there, with the pipe. Display your wares. Here is "scientific method" in philosophy, the purest kind of analysis. A title of nobility, too, and a worshipper of the free man.

SECOND DEALER: Hold on there! Are you going to sell a free man?



ASSISTANT: Oh, he would as soon be sold as not. He feels just as free as ever. He's perfectly resigned.

SECOND DEALER: But what is one to do with such an aloof-looking person? He might not even deign to notice me.

ASSISTANT: Try him. You can ask him some questions.

SECOND DEALER: You there, "scientific method." What have you to offer?

(No answer.)

ASSISTANT: Come on there, forget your pipe long enough to be civil.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: Civil to *whom*? My logic forbids me to accept the existence of anyone else. Can you prove to me that you exist? You simply can't. It's only an inference, and my system allows only constructions, not inferences.

SECOND DEALER: So . . . then I'm nobody, and I guess you're everybody. Is that it?

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: Logically, yes; but then I can't overcome my feelings of human benevolence; some of my best friends are human beings. I'll talk to you.

SECOND DEALER: Then I do exist?

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: Oh no, I didn't say that. I meant only that I'll accept your existence on emotional grounds, although it violates the principles of scientific economy of thought.

SECOND DEALER: Do you believe there is an external world?

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: Such ignorance! I've written a whole book on the external world and our knowledge of it. It's not as simple as those untutored in these problems think. All you know—all I know—are the ideas supposed to come from the place it's supposed to be.

SECOND DEALER: But do you mean there isn't really anything there?

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: I didn't say that; but we don't know there is anything there. We can infer, without logical grounds, of course, that there are sensibilia there which would be sensations if any minds were present and which are sensations when I'm looking.

SECOND DEALER: But of what earthly use is such an unearthly philosophy?

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: Well, my philosophic life has been happy and I hope that after some centuries such philosophic rationality as mine will arise again.

SECOND DEALER: But what can you do for me now?

SCIENTIFIC METHOD: My first book refuted Marxian political economy, and I've been doing the same ever since. And I can teach that modern physics, relativity, quantum theory and Heisenberg indeterminacy prove—well, that old Berkeley wasn't so far wrong.

SECOND DEALER: That puts another light on things. I'll take him. But one more question. Students aren't easily sold on idealism these days. Where does he stand on the matter-mind question, to put it bluntly?

AUCTIONEER: I can answer for him. He's absolutely neutral; his Bill of Lading specifies "neutral monist"—neither one thing nor the other constitutes either him or the universe.

SECOND DEALER: Good! Put him aside for me. We'll settle terms later.

AUCTIONEER: He's yours, to have and to hold.

ASSISTANT: Who's next? . . . we have to keep moving.

AUCTIONEER: Step up there, Perennial Philosopher, and identify yourself.

PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHER: I was born eyeless in Gáza.

THIRD DEALER: Where are you now?

PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHER: In Hollywood, with my eyes open.

THIRD DEALER: So! And what does this Perennial Philosophy get you?

PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHER: Publishers, copyrights, royalties, fame. But my purpose is to purify humanity.

THIRD DEALER: This "purifying humanity" business—how do you work that?

PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHER: It's simple. I show that time corrupts everything and therefore you must ignore it in order not to be corrupted. The idea of time was the beginning of evil: the serpent, Eve, Hegel, Marx. Point: time; Counter-point: eternity. I stand by Eternity, while all my contemporaries are obsessed with Time. Time! I despise it.

THIRD DEALER: It would be pretty hard to get along without time, though, wouldn't it?

PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHER: Don't provoke me. That "getting along" business suggests means and ends. In my brave new world there are no means, only ends.

THIRD DEALER: Oh, a short cut to Glory! You may be the merest clown, yet there is nothing to prevent your becoming famous. How much?

ASSISTANT: If there are no other bidders you can have him for one hundred pounds. . . . Sold!

THIRD DEALER: An obstreperous package, but maybe I can make a scenario writer of him . . . and leave something over for the *Reader's Digest*.

AUCTIONEER: Now for the Harvard-bred Spaniard, the true aristocrat.

ASSISTANT: Attention please, gentlemen. A precious article that calls for a big bank roll. Poet, sage, philosopher. A creed for a king. An extraordinarily sweet thing in creeds. Look at him. Polish, urbanity, luxury! Who bids?

FOURTH DEALER: I do. (To Aristocrat) Come, tell me what you know. If you're a practical creed I'll have you.

ASSISTANT: If that's what you want, you had better wait. I have just your article to put up later.

FOURTH DEALER: He's handsome, though. Perhaps I would be interested. (To Aristocrat) What do you think of the world today?

ARISTOCRAT: It's very far from my thoughts. I live in the eternal.

FOURTH DEALER: My God!

FIFTH DEALER: I'll consider him. He might be just the thing for a fashionable girl's college.

ARISTOCRAT: Then you don't want me. I don't believe in women.

FIFTH DEALER: I see, a true follower of the Divine Philosopher. But suppose you could make intellectual contact with my students: what would you teach them?

ARISTOCRAT: That all is vanity, and that wisdom consists in laughing at human misery. I view all life as a dream, and still I



am merry. I understand the joy of disillusionment. I stand for the spiritual life.

FIFTH DEALER: How did you come by such a philosophy?

ARISTOCRAT: I never came by it. I didn't conceive it in the babel of modern speculation like my contemporaries. I got it from my childhood; in fact, it was already in the embryo with me. I never did think it. I am it; it is I.

FIFTH DEALER: Yes. . . . But after all, I'm in business and. . . .

ARISTOCRAT: I understand. All my life I've had to make that compromise with the capitalist world. But I abhor it. In fact, I have never recognized anything but feudalism. I love Tory England and Absolutist Spain. But even in my convent in Rome I need those publishers' checks, you know.

FIFTH DEALER: I see. But what do you have to offer?

ARISTOCRAT (to Auctioneer): Can the Dealer and I speak confidentially a moment?

AUCTIONEER: Go right ahead.

ARISTOCRAT: You see, I was one of the first to discover that modern young people want materialism. So . . . I called myself a materialist. Even now in my advanced age I am reported to be reading Stalin. I was very clever. I said sure, we're all materialists—it's animal faith. But really, all we know are essences.

FIFTH DEALER: Essences, what are they?

ARISTOCRAT: I've supplied many different definitions, from which you can take your choice. In essence they're the indefinable moments of experience after everything else is gone.

FIFTH DEALER: I'm not sure I understand you.

ARISTOCRAT: No matter. I write beautiful prose and it all sounds good.

FIFTH DEALER: But do you really know how to get along in this world?

ARISTOCRAT: I'd as soon be feasted in one world as martyred in another. It's all the same.

FIFTH DEALER: Then I'm not taking too much of a chance. Ten thousand!

ASSISTANT: Sold. And why not—it's all the same.

AUCTIONEER: Let's offer next that Thomism in modern dress.

ASSISTANT: Gentlemen, here is a veritable museum piece—the Angelic Doctor of the Twentieth Century! Stand up and be seen, Neo-Thomism.

SIXTH DEALER: What is your specialty?

NEO-THOMISM: Medieval humanism. Oh, the glory of the Thirteenth-Century!

SIXTH DEALER: But what does that have to do with the world today?

NEO-THOMISM: It teaches that man is a person.

SIXTH DEALER: So what?

NEO-THOMISM: But you don't understand it in the sense of the existentialism and humanism of St. Thomas.

SIXTH DEALER: Did I hear you say *existentialism*? You may have something there.

NEO-THOMISM: I fear we're not thinking of the same thing. First I must explain it in the order of speculative knowledge, then in the order of practical knowledge, and finally in the order of spiritual life.

SIXTH DEALER: That sounds too long; skip it. What are you good for?

NEO-THOMISM: I oppose these modern idealisms which deny *Veritas sequitur esse rerum*, that truth follows the existence of things.

SIXTH DEALER: What! You're a materialist then?

NEO-THOMISM: Heavens forbid! I believe in the super-intelligibility of the very act of existing, possible or actual. I follow Saint Thomas in placing at the root of metaphysical knowledge the intellectual intuition of that hidden reality which is concealed in the most common every-day word of our language, the word *to be*. Oh, the incomprehensible glory of it! Oh, that victorious thrust by which it triumphs over nothingness! Away with the enmity between intellect and mystery. Spinoza only loved God intellectually; but I love Him lovingly.

SIXTH DEALER: I'm bewildered. I question your usefulness when you talk so.

NEO-THOMISM: You're mistaken. I have many followers among poets, former newspaper editors, university presidents and retired congresswomen.

SIXTH DEALER: Please continue, you intrigue me.

NEO-THOMISM: I teach organic democracy—the democracy of the person—and I oppose the bad modern democracy of individuals. I oppose Marxism's anthropocentric humanism with integral humanism. I—

SIXTH DEALER: Hold on there. I get the fact that you oppose Marxism but the rest is Greek to me. Have you an educational theory? Maybe I can use you there.

NEO-THOMISM: That's one of my features. I teach man *qua* man. I *am* the new educational theory. Chicago, St. John's . . . it's spreading everywhere. I advocate education appropriate to man which holds before the rising generation the habitual vision of greatness, concerned not with relative ends and immediate adaptation of the individual to the existing surroundings, but with values independent of time and particular environment.

SIXTH DEALER: Not bad! What's the asking price?

ASSISTANT: He's yours for seventy-five thousand dollars.

SIXTH DEALER: He comes high, but we need him on our campuses. I'll buy.

ASSISTANT: Let's see, what's next?

SEVENTH DEALER: I'd like to see this Existentialism fellow.

AUCTIONEER: He's not in our catalogue yet. We deal in more durable goods. If you're interested in him you'll have to go over to the Left Bank, where the current fads are exhibited. Anyway, you don't stand a chance. Broadway is going for him.

ASSISTANT: How about that old article there with the white hair and drooping white moustache?

AUCTIONEER: Here is a genuine homespun Vermont piece of goods, a very oracle for obscurity; highly theoretical he is, but most practical. In fact, he is the essence of practicality: pragmatism, instrumentalism, experientialism.

SEVENTH DEALER: I'll have a try at him. (To Pragmatism) What do you have to offer?

PRAGMATISM: The reconstruction of philosophy and the quest for uncertainty.

SEVENTH DEALER: How about some examples?

PRAGMATISM: Ask me some questions—say, what is thought?



SEVENTH DEALER: All right, what *is* thought?

PRAGMATISM: Thought, well, thought . . . it's just . . . just . . . *thinking*.

SEVENTH DEALER: Good! What is truth?

PRAGMATISM: Truth is what you believe. Only I don't believe it.

SEVENTH DEALER: What do you believe then?

PRAGMATISM: I believe in warranted assertibility.

SEVENTH DEALER: Do you believe in the external world?

PRAGMATISM: Don't be naive. You experience only experience. I reject all such questions; they transcend experience.

SEVENTH DEALER: What about the world before there was any experience?

PRAGMATISM: I refuse to talk about that.

SEVENTH DEALER: But doesn't something cause our experience?

PRAGMATISM: Did you ever see anything with a tag on it, "This causes experience"?

SEVENTH DEALER: You are not a materialist, then, after all? I always thought this practical philosophy was materialistic.

PRAGMATISM: Wrong. For practical purposes, I'm more materialistic than the materialists. In fact, I'm the oldest living opponent of materialism. I'm practical.

SEVENTH DEALER: Oh, I'm beginning to catch on. But you do believe that practice can change the world?

PRAGMATISM: Wrong again. It can only change our experience. But you can't plan that change. The future is completely indeterminate. Anything can happen. We don't even know that the sun will rise tomorrow.

SEVENTH DEALER: How dreadful! If that's the case, then we don't know that capitalism will last forever.

PRAGMATISM: Don't worry about that. It works both ways. We can *prove* that socialism is *not* inevitable, and that's a considerable blessing these days.

SEVENTH DEALER: Excellent, but excellent! But mightn't we have a little planning under your system? It's useful sometimes, you know.

PRAGMATISM: It's never useful. Planned policies initiated by

public authority are sure to have consequences totally unforeseeable and often the opposite of what was intended.

SEVENTH DEALER: I imagine that you don't take kindly to the Soviet Union.

PRAGMATISM: I have been on every committee against the Soviet Union formed in this country since 1931. Some of my best friends are professionals in that line.

SEVENTH DEALER: I beg your pardon. You said since 1931: what about before that?

PRAGMATISM: I confess I once regarded the Soviet Union as a great experiment, the biggest experiment in history. And I'm all for experiments; in fact, I am the very incarnation of the experimental method. When I was there in 1928 it looked as though anything could happen. It was wonderful! Everybody was enthusiastically going somewhere and I thought nobody knew where he was going. But I became disillusioned; they had deceived me. The Marxists knew where they were going and the people fooled me: they followed the Marxists and started that First Five Year Plan. It wasn't really an experiment at all. They violated every principle of my scientific method. They prejudged the consequences of their acts.

SEVENTH DEALER: Now I'm beginning to understand. But hasn't there been talk about Marx's having a philosophy like yours—his being a pragmatist?

PRAGMATISM: Yes, there was, especially down on Washington Square. But either that was wrong, or Engels, Lenin and Stalin have betrayed Marx's true position.

SEVENTH DEALER: What's your opinion?

PRAGMATISM: I think that line is worn out. I don't follow it any more.

SEVENTH DEALER: Let's go back to the question of experiments. You said the outcome is always indeterminate. But when you break water down by electrolysis you get two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen. Don't you know beforehand what you will get and that water is  $H_2O$ ?

PRAGMATISM: Not at all. The proposition "Water is  $H_2O$ " is only a kind of recipe; it tells you that if you do so and so you may expect such and such results. I'm against all belief in antecedent

realities. Scientific propositions only tell us what to expect in the future, not what anything is.

SEVENTH DEALER: You mean that there is no reality before thought and investigation?

PRAGMATISM: The only reality is what we experience and therefore it couldn't exist before we experience it.

SEVENTH DEALER: That sounds just like Bishop Berkeley.

PRAGMATISM: Let's talk about something else.

SEVENTH DEALER: How about those occasional rumors that you are still for socialism?

PRAGMATISM: Theoretically I am, but I can't approve of the means used to achieve it.

SEVENTH DEALER: I have seen many contradictory statements about your philosophy. How would you characterize it authoritatively?

PRAGMATISM: One says I'm a naturalist and another an empiricist; one a realist and another an idealist. I can deny anything they say about me and say everything they deny. The fact is, I'm anything that's against materialism.

SEVENTH DEALER: But don't you give a somewhat materialist explanation of philosophy in Greece, the Middle Ages and early modern times, with the view that these ideologies expressed class interests?

PRAGMATISM: Yes, I do. But that's the past. History has stopped and there's no explanation of current ideologies—mine, for example. I am above class. I am against all class interests. I represent intelligence in society.

SEVENTH DEALER: One last question. What would you say is the major contribution you can make?

PRAGMATISM: That of introducing opportunism into philosophy . . . and philosophy into opportunism. I am a specialist in seeming more materialist than the materialists and being more idealist than the idealists.

SEVENTH DEALER: Fine! The more confusionists the better. I offer one hundred thousand.

ASSISTANT: Treat him well and he'll repay you many times over. No other bids? Sold—although you should have paid much more.



His is a truly extraordinary creed, American *par excellence*—full of push and bluster and going places.

AUCTIONEER: Gentlemen, pragmatism is sold. But we have something else just as good under another name. Genuine imported Viennese positivism—logical, too. A smart creed it is, and not centered so much in one man, but a whole school. Stand up there, Vienna Circle, Machism, empirio-criticism, logical empiricism, unity of science, logical positivism . . . and any other title you go by.

EIGHTH DEALER: My, this *is* a creed! It's less shopworn than the previous one, sharper-looking, and more sophisticated. (To Logical Positivism) What do you think of pragmatism?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: It's not bad for a native-born American product, but we're more scientific. We follow Mach and keep close to physics—the real science of the century.

EIGHTH DEALER: Good. You might attract scientists and science students.

ASSISTANT: That's right up his alley.

EIGHTH DEALER: How do you begin?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: We begin with physical things, with bodies, but then we show that they do not produce sensations; we say that complexes of sensations make up bodies. We regard sensations as the elements of the world.

EIGHTH DEALER: But what do the physicists think of that?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: We show them that by eliminating metaphysics they can defend themselves from the attacks of those who oppose the advance of physical science.

EIGHTH DEALER: How is that?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: Why, metaphysics is the belief that there is an objective reality, and by denying any such thing we avoid conflict between science and . . . religion.

EIGHTH DEALER: I don't quite understand. Could you give an example?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: Certainly. Take Galileo. He got into trouble with the Inquisition only because he professed to know that the earth really moved. Had he used our method, he would have said that the movement of the earth was only a mathematical fiction—a matter of economy of thought, the simplest explanation

of the observed phenomena—and not a question at all of what *really* happens.

EIGHTH DEALER: Then your doctrine holds that the teachings of science can never conflict with religion or anything else because they're not really about the real world?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: But you mustn't talk of a real world. That's metaphysics and scholasticism. We never say such a thing as real world.

EIGHTH DEALER: But what do you say about those things on which we all agree?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: We substitute for "reality" the notion of intersubjective propositions; that is, statements on which several "subjects" or persons agree.

EIGHTH DEALER: But doesn't the Church object to your denial of a real world?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: Not too much. They are so concerned with the dialectical materialists who say that the world is material, that our silence on this score works in our favor. If they want to have theology above science they're welcome to it.

EIGHTH DEALER: Then you are against dialectical materialism?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: Certainly—its metaphysical. We've been trying to win them over for fifty years now and were really succeeding for a while, until one of their people gave us an awful shellacking. Now we pretend we're not unfriendly. We even call their philosophy "diamat" to show our intimacy.

EIGHTH DEALER: But you're not really friendly, are you?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: No. But they have some good points; if only they'd discard that dialectics business and stop describing matter as something existing objectively. That's idealistic in the last analysis, you know.

EIGHTH DEALER: Just a moment—Materialism is idealistic?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: It talks of a real world, but we *know* only sensations. Idealists claim to know the real world—that it is spiritual. Materialists claim to know the real world—and that it is material. We don't claim to know anything.

EIGHTH DEALER: It's fascinating the way all these creeds seem

to end up with the same thing no matter how you begin. But how about something like the atom bomb?

LOGICAL POSITIVISM: Now you're talking. The atom bomb was the first real refutation of materialism. It showed that matter can disappear from the world, that the mass can be converted into energy. It finished once and for all the name "matter." What you call it from now on is not a question of science but convenience.

EIGHTH DEALER: That's good enough for me. (To Auctioneer) What are you asking?

AUCTIONEER: Two hundred thousand—twice the price of pragmatism. You see, this philosophy looks like it's going to outlive pragmatism.

EIGHTH DEALER: It's terribly steep, but I need it for all our physics students. All right, I'll take it.

AUCTIONEER: Sold. Hm, there's time for only one more sale today.

ASSISTANT: The Polish Count then.

AUCTIONEER: Gentlemen, our last offering of the sale. A fresh new creed . . . the last word in versatility . . . an endless subject for parlor conversation. It combines philosophy, medicine, psychiatry, politics, economics—and all in one package. Semantics!

SEMANTICS: Don't say anything! Before you talk, learn to use your nervous systems more efficiently. You've been trained only in two-valued, macroscopic, "objective," Aristotelian orientations. You must learn from me to have modern electro-colloidal, sub-microscopic, infinite-valued process orientations in life. And you can acquire these only in the Institute of General Semantics for Neuro-Linguistic and Neuro-Epistemological Scientific Research and Education.

NINTH DEALER: That line should pack them in. Is this fellow serious?

SEMANTICS: And here's what I can do. I can eliminate emotional disturbances, neuroses, psychoses, and general maladjustments in professional and/or personal lives. I can alleviate or eliminate all psychosomatic symptoms such as heart diseases—also digestive, respiratory, and skin diseases, sex disorders, arthritis, decayed teeth, and alcoholism—to be modest about it all.

NINTH DEALER: Is there anything you cannot do?



SEMANTICS: That's a wise question. There is nothing I can't do—in time. But first I must overcome the harmful, gross, macroscopic, brutalizing, biological and animalistic types of orientation which arise from the two-valued Aristotelian systems which could not deal adequately with the electro-colloidal levels of the functioning of our nervous systems.

NINTH DEALER: And what do you do about our social ills?

SEMANTICS: How can you ask? The difficulties of civilization and culture are due, of course, to the ignorance of philosophers about neuro-semantic issues. The present world tragedies are the result of their intentional delusional neuro-linguistic detachment. Present-day totalitarianisms were built by the dumping on the human nervous systems of such terms as communism, bolshevism, and the like, which cause the ruling classes to behave suicidally.

NINTH DEALER: You mean that all our troubles flow from using the wrong word?

SEMANTICS: If our neuro-colloidal, sub—

NINTH DEALER: I get you. All we have to do is use the right word. Now, if I bought you, what would you do?

SEMANTICS: I would create a State Department of General Semantics and employ semanticists to advise us how to conserve and prevent the abuse of human nervous systems. "Classes," "capitalism," "fascism," "economics," "profit"—these are all mere words, and they end up in nervous habits and so-called "social problems."

NINTH DEALER: That's magnificent. How much for this thinker?

AUCTIONEER: You can have him for one dollar, to make it legal. (I'm happy to get rid of him—he's been wearing *my* nerves down.) Now, Gentlemen, I fear that's all for today. Thanks for your attention. I don't think you'll be interested in what we are offering tomorrow. It's quite a different line of goods—better suited for workers, farmers and the plain people generally.

DEALERS: Thanks for the tip. There's no money in that for us.

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## ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

*I hate those ill-designing men, that form plans of injustice, and then gild them over with artificial ornament. . . .*

— Euripides, Ion

## KARL MARX: STUDENT

—marvin reiss

The period 1947-8 marks the centennial anniversary of Marxism as an organized movement with a definite theoretical program. Throughout the globe, millions of workers, farmers, intellectuals and students are marking this historic occasion of the birth of the world outlook of the Communist movement.

In February, 1846, Marx and Engels, while in forced exile in Brussels, began to organize a Communist Correspondence Committee with the aim of propagating scientific communism throughout Europe. In May, 1846, this Committee proposed to the League of the Just and the Workers' Education Society which had been organized in London, composed largely of radical German immigrant workers, to organize a similar Committee in London. In June a Committee of this nature was established. The Brussels Communists also had their own emissaries in Paris, London, Kiel, Cologne, and Silesia.

In June, 1847, the First Congress of these Communist organizations was held in London. The League of the Just was reorganized into the Communist League. In September of that year—almost exactly one hundred years ago as this is being written—the new organization published its *Communist Journal*. Here, for the first time, the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" appeared.

The Communist League held a Second Congress, also in London, during late November and early December of the same year. Marx and Engels, the most advanced and consistent Communist thinkers and organizers, were assigned the duty of preparing a party program to be published as a manifesto. They worked on it during December of that year and January of 1848, and in February the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published.

The *Communist Manifesto* is a passionate critique of the capitalist system and an exposition of the nature of and the path to socialism. In simple and clear language suffused with a revolutionary fervor probably unsurpassed in world literature, Marx and

Engels brilliantly sketched the major outlines of Communist theory and practice.

As Lenin wrote in 1885: "This small booklet is worth whole volumes: the organized, fighting proletariat of the civilized world to this day lives and moves in its spirit." By 1890, Engels could declare that the *Manifesto* had become "the most widely circulated, the most international product of all socialist literature, the common program of many millions of workers of all countries from Siberia to California." To date, many millions of copies of this document have been printed; there have been more than 100 editions in Russian alone, with many dozens of translations embracing virtually every language on earth.

In attempting a brief study of the student aspects of Marx's life—a subject particularly appropriate to a publication like *NEW FOUNDATIONS*—we are also throwing light on some of the preparatory labors which found fruition in the *Manifesto*. Adoratsky notes this in his pamphlet, *The History of the Communist Manifesto*:

*The Manifesto of the Communist Party* was the fruit of a gigantic amount of preliminary scientific investigation, of a huge amount of preparatory work.

While still a university student (1836-37), Marx began to study philosophy, history and law, and by 1847 had critically worked over all the best studies of the preceding development of scientific, theoretical thought in the works of German classical philosophy, English political economy, and French (and English) socialism.<sup>1</sup>

Karl Marx was born at Treves (or Trier), in the Rhine district of Western Germany, on May 5, 1818. After having been coached at home, he entered the local *Gymnasium* in October of 1830 at the age of 12. His work at this high school was praised equally for the industry and seriousness displayed by him.

Marx's father, Heinrich, a lawyer, was a simple, serious, cultured man. He was a disciple of Leibnitz, Voltaire, Lessing and Kant, and although he was a retiring and conforming liberal, he participated in a local intellectual circle which discussed the trends of the day. He soon recognized the insatiable thirst for knowledge and unusual capacity for thorough and critical thinking which were evident in his precocious son. Heinrich Marx was probably the first significant influence on the intellectual development of the founder of scientific socialism.



Marx *pere* believed with Condorcet that man is by nature both good and rational. In order for man's unhindered progress to unfold, all that is needed is to remove unnatural obstacles: social, political, religious, and racial barriers, emotionalism, obscurantism of all kinds, etc. This doctrine of rationalism he implanted in his son at an early age; it "performed a definite work of inoculation, so that when later he (Marx) encountered the romantic metaphysical systems developed by Fichte and Hegel, he was saved from that total surrender to their fascination which undid so many of his contemporaries." <sup>2</sup> The kernels of truth in this enlightened rationalist instruction are clearly evident in Marx's later thought in a developed and synthesized form.

In high school Marx was fairly proficient in mathematics and theology, but his main interests were literary and artistic. These cultural interests he derived in part from his father and to a greater extent from the family's neighbor and friend, Freiherr Ludwig von Westphalen. Westphalen, a distinguished Prussian government official of liberal views, was educated and cultured. Sharing the new intellectual tastes of his time, he had read deeply in Dante, Shakespeare, Homer and the Greek tragedians. Westphalen was drawn to the eager and early-matured Karl and encouraged him in every way, lending him books, taking him for long walks in the nearby woods, and talking to him about Aeschylus, Cervantes and Shakespeare. Although he was much older than the young Karl, he treated him on terms of equality. His sympathy and encouragement were glowingly remembered in Marx's dedication to his doctoral thesis. Westphalen also had much to do with Marx's independence of thought and self-confidence—life-time attributes which stood the later revolutionary in excellent stead. In addition, it was Westphalen's daughter Jenny, who was often present at these discussions and drank deeply of the same cup of humanistic knowledge, who became the wife and close comrade of Marx. Marx's esthetic interests may by this time have led him to the versification which soon became a leading avocation.

It was on his father's advice that, after his graduation from the *Gymnasium* in September of 1835, Marx became a student in the Faculty of Law in the University of Bonn in the autumn of that year at the age of 17. Here, as a student of criminal law, he devoted, as Mikhail Lifschitz relates, "as much attention to the history of art and literature as to jurisprudence. He attended Schlegel's lec-

tures on ancient literature; he delved into ancient mythology, a subject lectured upon at that time by the famous Welcker; he studied modern art."<sup>3</sup> This was in addition to his studies in law and philosophy. But Marx's interests, as he demonstrated throughout his years, were not confined to theory. "Although we are missing information on this score, it is probable that he tried to write poetry at an early age. What is certain, however, is that he devoted a good portion of his two semesters at the Univeristy of Bonn . . . from the autumn of 1835 to the summer of 1836, to this interest."<sup>4</sup>

Marx left Bonn at the end of the summer of 1836 and transferred to the University of Berlin that autumn. This change marks a crisis and sharp change in his life. He left behind the placid, and provincial atmosphere in which he had been nurtured and found himself in a seething political and intellectual center. This new environment had a great sobering effect on his life.

In Berlin Hegel had held complete ideological sway for some time. His philosophical system was idealistic, deriving changes in the material world from changes in the realm of ideas; it was also politically reactionary in its conclusions. But the great newness of Hegel's work lay in its emphasis on man and society and in its dialectic method, which stressed the inter-related all-sidedness of the universe and the non-static, changing nature of all phenomena.

By the time Marx arrived in Berlin, a group of "Young" or "Left" Hegelians had developed. Disgusted with the reactionary theological and political uses being made of Hegel's theories and disturbed by the complete backwardness of every aspect of life and thought in Germany (excepting philosophy itself, as Marx later noted), these younger followers of Hegel adopted their master's method, dispensed with many of his conclusions, and began to criticize theology, politics and other fields from a radical standpoint. David Strauss' critical *Life of Jesus* (1835) raised a storm among the orthodox. It also generated controversy among the Young Hegelians and produced an attack from Bruno Bauer, then a lecturer in theology at Berlin University and leader of the Young Hegelians. Bauer took an even sharper and more extreme position than Strauss.

Both these works were considered subversive by the Prussian authorities, who brought Schelling—a bitterly reactionary old man and greatest opponent of Hegel—to Berlin to refute these new

doctrines. Schelling was not very successful, and so the censorship was tightened. The universities remained the only area where, despite some limitations, genuine academic freedom continued. Meanwhile, the Young Hegelians were themselves in a process of inner conflict and some of them were moving ever further to the left.

Marx began his studies in Berlin under the Faculty of Law, where he attended lectures on jurisprudence given by Savigny and on criminal law by Gans. Savigny, though politically reactionary and not strictly a Hegelian, was the leading theoretician for an historical approach; he emphasized necessity, change, and environment. Marx was much impressed by the brilliant and painstakingly detailed historical research which Savigny brought to bear in making his generalizations. Gans, the chief professional opponent of Savigny, was a humanitarian radical of the type of his friend (and later Marx's), Heine. Marx received at Gans' lectures a broad, free and non-mystical criticism of legal institutions and legislative methods. He was deeply affected and inspired by the conception of theoretical criticism which Gans demonstrated.

Marx was much disturbed, and at first repelled, by his new, extended readings in Hegel. A long letter to his father dated November 10, 1837, describes the impact upon him of his readings and lectures.<sup>5</sup> He spent sleepless nights and wild days in his attempt to create a rival system of thought, fell into illness as a result, and left Berlin to recuperate. Upon his return, Marx—despite admonitions from his father to drop this speculation, to conform to his environment, and to think only of his career—plunged into a thorough reading of Hegel. At the end of three weeks, Hegel was victorious.

Marx's growing interest in philosophy at the expense of both law and literature was signalized by his joining the Doctors' Club, a group of free-thinking university intellectuals and bohemians. They met in beer cellars, wrote critical verse, opposed all political, religious and economic authority, and argued at length about Hegelianism. Marx met some of the leading figures, such as the three Bauer brothers, Max Stirner, Friedrich Koeppen, Dr. Ruthenberg, etc. Marx abandoned his law studies and planned to become a university lecturer in philosophy, since this subject seemed to him to be of the greatest contemporary significance. Together with Bauer, he launched a campaign to expose the philistine radi-



cals who were toying with dangerous doctrines. This took the form of a hoaxing, anonymous diatribe against Hegel by a pious Lutheran, accusing Hegel of atheism and subversion of morality and public order. This joint work, which created a stir, ended in the discovery of the authors and the removal of Bauer from his academic position.

Marx attended a literature course at Berlin, during 1840-41, Geppert's lectures on Euripides, and did some extensive readings in esthetics. He also continued his writings in poetry, as well as some efforts in dramatic form. In connection with his esthetic interests, Marx "frequented social and literary salons and met the celebrated Bettina von Arnim, the friend of Beethoven and Goethe, who was attracted by his audacity and wit. . . ." <sup>6</sup> Before he succumbed to the appeal of philosophy, Marx underwent a violent "conflict between the urge to write poetry and the stern necessity of finding an answer in the field of science to the problems of life. . . . The outcome of this inner battle was a complete renunciation of poetry and a conversion to the philosophy of Hegel. . . ." <sup>7</sup>

The plan of this article does not permit an exhaustive study of the readings and activities of Marx while at Berlin University. Suffice to state that he finished his studies there in March of 1841, and in April of that year he applied for his doctorate to the University of Jena, submitting a dissertation on Greek philosophy: *The Difference Between the Démocritean and the Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*.<sup>8</sup> He received his doctor's degree from the Faculty of Philosophy of this institution in 1842.

Although Marx had accomplished an enormous amount of work during his student years, he had not yet found correct and exhaustive answers to these gnawing problems, the solution of which he had undertaken. In 1841, in conformity with the new career that he had decided to make for himself, Marx moved to Bonn with the intention of becoming a professor of philosophy. But the reactionary Prussian government about this time prohibited his friend, Bruno Bauer, from continuing his tutorial chair there. This, added to the rising tide of political struggle which was engaging Marx's interest, was enough to make him give up his intended vocation and turn to journalism and politics.

A study of Karl Marx as a student cannot, of course, end with

his graduation or achievement of a university degree. As a matter of fact, his studies in almost every field of thought and activity were really only begun during his years of formal education. Thereafter, and for the remainder of his intensive life, Marx continued and extended his studies. In addition to his continuous readings in literature, and philosophy, Marx engaged in periodic detailed and intensive studies, some of them lasting ten or more years, as in the case of his preparation for *Capital*.

The intention of this article is to indicate some aspects of Marx's intellectual interests and habits which should prove of great interest to all students today. The information which follows is derived, in the main, from the reminiscences of Marx which were written by Paul Lafargue and William Liebknecht.<sup>9</sup>

The very varied writings of Marx and his "alter ego," Engels, cover almost every significant field of human endeavor. Marx's favorite maxim was: "I regard nothing human as alien to me."<sup>10</sup> An examination of the indexes to his works which have been translated into English alone reveals Marx's astounding familiarity with the most diversified intellectual and practical pursuits. Marx was a *whole* man: he made all his studies fully rewarding. His works on philosophy, for example, are not only philosophical, but also political, economic, historical, literary, artistic. All his writings abound in striking literary allusions which prove that he not only knew Dante and Shakespeare, but that he had assimilated their *images* and ideas as well. Thus Liebknecht is moved to speak of the "all-sidedness of this universal mind—that is a mind embracing the universe, penetrating into all essential particulars, despising nothing as unessential and insignificant. . . ." <sup>11</sup>

It is necessary at the outset to grasp the complete unity of theory and practice in Marx, a fact which we have already had occasion to note. Marx's thought can hardly be separated from his activity. The writing of poetry, journalism, teaching study circles and large classes, the writing of full-length books, extensive correspondence, organizational work (the Communist League, the First International, etc.), and political practice in the important centers of revolutionary activity, are not just another side of Marx's life. These constitute the reality which constantly influenced and helped determine his theoretical work. In the words of Engels, "Marx was before all else a revolutionary." Lafargue states that:

. . . We shall never understand him unless we regard him simultaneously as man of science and as socialist fighter. While he was of opinion that every science must be cultivated for its own sake and that when we undertake scientific research we should not trouble ourselves about the possible consequences, nevertheless, he held that the man of learning, if he does not wish to degrade himself, must never cease to participate in public affairs—must not be content to shut himself up in his study or his laboratory, like a maggot in a cheese, and to shun the life and the social and political struggles of his contemporaries.

Science must not be a selfish pleasure. Those who are so lucky as to be able to devote themselves to scientific pursuits should be the first to put their knowledge at the service of mankind. One of his favorite sayings was, "Work for the world."<sup>12</sup>

Marx constantly emphasized the need to learn and to master all previous knowledge if philosophy was to perform the new function which he emphasized for it of not only comprehending the world but also changing it.

. . . Marx's favorite quotation was the proud verse of Dante: "Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti." (Follow your path and let people say what they will.) . . . "*Phraseur*" (phrasemonger) was in his mouth the most severe blame possible, and if he had once recognized someone to be a *phraseur* then he was finished with him. Logical thinking and clear expression of thoughts—that is what he instilled into us "young fellows" on every occasion and compelled us to study.

At about that time the magnificent Reading Room of the British Museum, with its inexhaustible book treasures, had been built, and to this, where he used to spend every day, Marx also drove us. Learn! Learn! That was the categorical imperative which he often enough cried loudly to us, and which was also evident from his example. . .

Politics for Marx was a *study*. Empty political talk and talkers he hated like poison. . . .

How angry Marx could become when he spoke of the empty heads who settled matters with a few stereotyped phrases and who, taking their more or less confused desires and notions for facts, decide the fate of the world at the cafe table. . . .<sup>13</sup>

Regarding Marx's study in London, Lafargue wrote:

Anyone who wants to realize the intimate aspects of Marx's intellectual life must become acquainted with it (his room). . . . On both sides of the fireplace and opposite the window were crowded book-shelves, on the top of which packets of newspapers and manu-



scripts were piled up to the ceiling. On one side of the window stood two tables, likewise loaded with miscellaneous papers, newspapers, and books. In the middle of the room, where the light was best, was a small and plain writing table, three feet by two, and a wooden arm-chair. . . .

He would never allow anyone to arrange (really, to disarrange) his books and papers. The prevailing disorder was only apparent. In actual fact, everything was in its proper place, and without searching he could put his hand on any book or manuscript he wanted. . . . He was at one with his study, where the books and papers were as obedient to his will as were his own limbs. . . .

To him books were intellectual tools, not luxuries. "They are my slaves," he would say, "and must serve my will." . . . He did not make notes in his books, but could not refrain from a question mark or a note of exclamation when an author kicked over the traces. His system of underlining enabled him to re-find with great ease any desired passage. He had the habit, at intervals of some years, of re-reading his note-books and the marked passages in the books he had read. . . .<sup>14</sup>

From the time when he was reading seriously for his doctorate, Marx had adopted the habit of making notes of the books he read; these often included copious extracts from his readings.

Regarding Marx's literary readings, Liebknecht reports that Marx "would recite long passages from the *Divine Comedy* of which he knew almost the whole by heart, and scenes from Shakespeare. . . ." <sup>15</sup> Lafargue also describes this at some length:

He knew Heine and Goethe by heart, and would often quote them in conversation. He read the poets constantly, selecting authors from all the European languages. Year after year he would read Aeschylus again in the original Greek, regarding this author and Shakespeare as the two greatest dramatic geniuses the world has ever known. He had made an exhaustive study of Shakespeare, for whom he had an unbounded admiration, and whose most insignificant characters, even, were familiar to him. There was a veritable Shakespeare cult in the Marx family, and the three daughters knew much of Shakespeare by heart. Shortly after 1848, when Marx wished to perfect his knowledge of English (which he could already read well), he sought out and classified all Shakespeare's characteristic expressions; and he did the same with some of the polemical writings of William Cobbett, for whom he had a great esteem. Dante and Burns were among his favorite poets, and it was always a delight to him to hear his daughters recite Burns' satirical poems or sing Burns' love songs.<sup>16</sup>

For relaxation, Marx sometimes

... would lie down on the sofa and read a novel; he often had two or three novels going at the same time. . . . He had a preference for eighteenth-century novels, and was especially fond of Fielding's *Tom Jones*. . . . He had a predilection for tales of adventure and humorous stories. The greatest masters of romance were for him Cervantes and Balzac. *Don Quixote* was for him the epic of the decay of chivalry, whose virtues in the newly rising bourgeois world became absurdities and follies. His admiration for Balzac was so profound that he had planned to write a criticism of *La Comedie Humaine* as soon as he should have finished his economic studies. Marx looked upon Balzac, not merely as the historian of the social life of his time, but as a prophetic creator of character types which still existed only in embryo during the reign of Louis Philippe, and which only reached full development under Napoleon III, after Balzac's death.<sup>17</sup>

Lafargue reports that another form of mental relaxation for Marx was mathematics, which as we have seen was one of his better subjects when he was at the *Gymnasium*, and of which he was always very fond. He even wrote a reportedly significant essay upon the infinitesimal calculus.

Although Engels was better versed in natural science than was Marx, Liebknecht points out Marx's abiding interest here also.

Marx was one of the first who grasped the significance of Darwin's investigations. Already prior to 1859, the year of the publication of the *Origin of the Species*—by a remarkable coincidence also the year Marx's *Critique of Political Economy* appeared—Marx had recognized the epoch-making significance of Darwin who, far removed from the noise and bustle of the big city, was preparing on his peaceful country estate a revolution similar to the one *Marx himself* was preparing. . . .

Particularly in the sphere of natural science—including physics and chemistry—and of history, Marx followed every new appearance, noted every progress: and Moleschott, Liebig, Huxley—whose “popular lectures” we conscientiously attended—were names as often occurring in our circle as Ricardo, Adam Smith, MacCulloch and the Scottish and Italian political economists. And when Darwin drew the conclusions of his investigations and made them public, for months we talked of nothing else but Darwin and the revolutionizing power of his scientific achievements.<sup>18</sup>

Both Lafargue and Liebknecht pay tribute to Marx's linguistic abilities:

Marx could read all the leading European languages, and could write in three (German, French and English) in a way that aroused the admiration of all who were well acquainted with these tongues; he was fond of saying, “A foreign language is a weapon in the

struggle of life." He had a great talent for languages. . . . He was already fifty years old when he began to learn Russian. Although the dead and living languages already known to him had no close etymological relation to Russian, he had made such progress in six months as to be able to enjoy reading in the original the works of Pushkin, Gogol and Shchedrin. His reason for learning Russian was that he might be able to read certain official reports of investigations—which the government had suppressed because the revelations they contained were so appalling. Some devoted friends had managed to procure copies for Marx, who was certainly the only economist of Western Europe who had cognizance of them. . . . 19

Marx was at home in both modern and ancient languages. I was a philologist and it gave him a childish pleasure when he could put before me some difficult passage from Aristotle or Aeschylus which I could not immediately understand. How he scolded me one day because I did not know—*Spanish!* In a moment he had pulled out *Don Quixote* from a heap of books and proceeded at once to give me a lesson. . . . He had the closest knowledge of Grimm's German grammar, and he was more familiar with the German dictionary of the brothers Grimm, in so far as it had appeared, than I, the philologist, was. He wrote English and French like an Englishman or Frenchman, though it is true he was not quite fluent in speaking. His articles for the *New York Tribune* are in classical English, his *Poverty of Philosophy* . . . in classical French—the French friend whom he got to read through the manuscript for the press found very little to correct.

Since Marx knew the essence of language, and had busied himself with its origin, development and structure, he did not find it hard to learn languages. In London, he also learned Russian and during the Crimean War he had even the intention of learning Arabic and Turkish, but this was not carried out.<sup>20</sup>

LaFargue gives a vivid picture of Marx's thought processes:

Thinking was his supreme enjoyment. I have often heard him quote from Hegel . . . "Even the criminal thought of a scoundrel is grander and more sublime than the wonders of the heavens." . . .

Marx's brain was armed with an incredible quantity of historical and scientific facts and philosophical theories, and he was amazingly skilled in making use of all this knowledge and observation which he had gathered during lengthy intellectual labor. At any time, and upon any conceivable topic, he could supply the most adequate answer anyone could possibly desire to any enquiry, an answer always accompanied by philosophical reflections of general significance. His brain resembled a warship which lies in harbor under full steam, being ready at a moment notice to set forth into any of the seas of thought. . . .

Vico wrote: "Only for God, who knows all, is the thing a substance; for man, who knows externals merely, it is nothing more than a surface." Marx grasped things after the manner of the God of Vico; he



did not see the surface only, but penetrated into the depths, examining all the constituent parts in their mutual interactions, isolating each of these parts and tracing the history of its development. Then he passed on from the thing to its environment, watching the effect of each upon the other. He went back to the origin of the object of study, considering the transformations, the evolutions and revolutions through which it had passed, and tracing finally even the remotest of its effects. He never saw a thing as a thing-by-itself, out of touch with its setting; but an extremely complicated world in continual movement. His aim was to expound all the life of this world, in its manifold and incessantly changing actions and reactions. . . . He was never content with what he wrote, altering it again and again, and he always felt that the presentation remained inadequate to the idea. . . . Marx united both the qualities essential to a brilliant thinker. He was incomparable in his power of analyzing an object into its constituent parts; and he was a master in the art of rebuilding this object, in all its details and in its various forms of development, and also in the art of discovering inner connections. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Marx's scientific, questioning attitude led him to take severe pains with all his work. Liebknecht discusses the statement that "Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains." He says of Marx: "He worked colossally, and since he was often prevented from working during the day—especially during his first period as a refugee—he had recourse to working at night." Marx "worked on every occasion when it was at all possible. Even when he went for a walk he had his note-book with him and made entries at every moment. And his work was never superficial. There is work and work. He always worked intensively, thoroughly. . . . On *Capital* he worked for forty years—and how he worked!"<sup>22</sup> Lafargue also describes Marx's extreme conscientiousness:

He never gave facts or figures which he could not substantiate from the best authorities. In this matter he was not content with second-hand sources, but went always to the fountain head, however much trouble it might entail. Even for the verification of some subsidiary item he would pay a special visit to the British Museum. That is why his critics have never been able to convict him of an error due to carelessness, or to show that any of his demonstrations were based on facts which could not stand severe examination.<sup>23</sup>

Marx's reading of original sources led him to quote many little-known authors. This was not to parade his learning, however, for as Marx said:

"I mete out historical justice, and render to each man his due." He considered it his duty to name the author, however insignificant and obscure, who had first expressed a thought, or had expressed it more precisely than anyone else.

His literary conscience was not less strict than his scientific conscience. Not merely would he never rely on a fact about which he was not quite sure, but he would not speak on a topic at all unless he had made a thorough study of it. He would not publish anything until he had worked it over again and again, until what he had written obtained a satisfactory form. He could not bear to offer half-finished thoughts to the public. . . . His method of work often involved him in tasks the magnitude of which is hardly to be conceived by readers of his books. For instance, in order to write the twenty-odd pages of *Capital* dealing with English factory legislation he had worked through a whole library of blue-books containing the reports of special commissions of enquiry and of the English and Scottish factory inspectors. As the pencil markings show, he read them from cover to cover.<sup>24</sup>

If this very limited study of the student aspects of Marx's life contributes to a more thorough reading of his writings at this historic moment in world history, it will more than have fulfilled its purpose. It is also to be hoped that all of us, as students, will take due note of Marx's breadth of interest and accomplishment and of his method of theoretical work. Above all, the need of the moment is to emulate Marx's refusal to divorce himself from life and its struggles.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Adoratsky, V.: *The History of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels*, International Publishers, N. Y., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, I.: *Karl Marx*, 1939, Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, p. 36. I am indebted to this volume for considerable information about Marx's schooling.

<sup>3</sup> Lifschitz, M.: *The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx*, 1938. Critics Group, N. Y., p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ollivier, M.: *Marx et Engels Poetes*, 1933, Editions Bergis, Paris, p. 19. (My own free translation.)

<sup>5</sup> Ruhle, O.: *Karl Marx*, 1943, The New Home Library, N. Y., pp. 15-24.

<sup>6</sup> Berlin, I.: *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> Lifschitz, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> For a full analysis of his dissertation see Lifschitz, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 14-23.

<sup>9</sup>, 11-24 Marx, K.: *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N. Y., n.d., Vol. I.

<sup>10</sup> Marx, K. and Engels, F.: *Literature and Art*, 1947, International Publishers, N. Y., Appendix.

# HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

—*karl marx*

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, esthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production.

Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*,  
1904, C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago



*Poetry:*

## AND A CHALLENGE TOO

—john henrik clarke

### *no age for roses*

This is no age for roses.  
The air is filled  
With rank fallacies,  
And reason is dead  
As last season's leaves.  
With men struggling desperately  
To keep alive,  
How can roses thrive?

### *I will live on*

My feet have trod the sands  
Of many nations;  
I have drunk the water  
Of many springs.  
I am old—  
Older than the pyramids;  
I am older than the race  
Which oppresses me.  
I will live on . . .  
I will outlive oppression . . .  
I will outlive the oppressors.

## *sing me a new song*

Sing me a new song, young black singer,  
Sing me a song with some thunder in it,  
And a challenge that will  
Drive fear into the hearts of those  
Who think that God has given them the right  
To call you slave.

Sing me a song of strong men growing stronger  
And bold youth facing the sun and marching.  
Sing me the song of the angry sharecropper  
Who is not satisfied with his meager share  
Of the products that he squeezed from the soil  
While watering the earth with his sweat and tears.

Sing me a song of two hundred million Africans  
Reviving the spirit of Chaka, Moshesk and Menelik  
And shouting to the world:  
"This is my land and I shall be free upon it!"  
Put some reason in my song and some madness too.

Let the reason be the kind of reason  
Frederick Douglass had  
When he was fighting against slavery in America.  
Let the madness be the kind of madness  
Henri Christophe had  
When he was driving Napoleon's army from Haitian soil.

Sing me a song with some hunger in it, and a challenge too.  
Let the hunger be the kind of hunger  
Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey had  
When they rose from bondage and inspired  
Ten thousand black hands to reach for freedom.

Don't put "I ain't gonna study war no more" in my song.  
Sing me a song of a people hungry for freedom  
Who will study war until they are free!

# PEN AND INK

—the graphic arts workshop

All over the world, particularly since the end of the war, peoples' art groups are blossoming—cooperative theaters, art colonies, publications, music projects, and so on. In America also the young artist is banding together with his co-workers more than ever before, and is discovering increasingly the meaning of the slogan, "Art is a weapon."

Typical of the many groups of this nature is the Graphic Arts Workshop of New York City, composed of young artists whose means of communication to the people are the print media.

NEW FOUNDATIONS is proud to present in this first issue the work of two outstanding members of this group, Irving Amen and Charles White. Their work exhibits a complete rejection of the ivory tower concept of art and of any escapist philosophy of despair. Instead, it comes to grips with the dominant social problems of the day.

Mr. Amen's woodcuts, while on diverse themes, are a unified protest against the forces attempting to enslave the world. Such works as *A Mad*

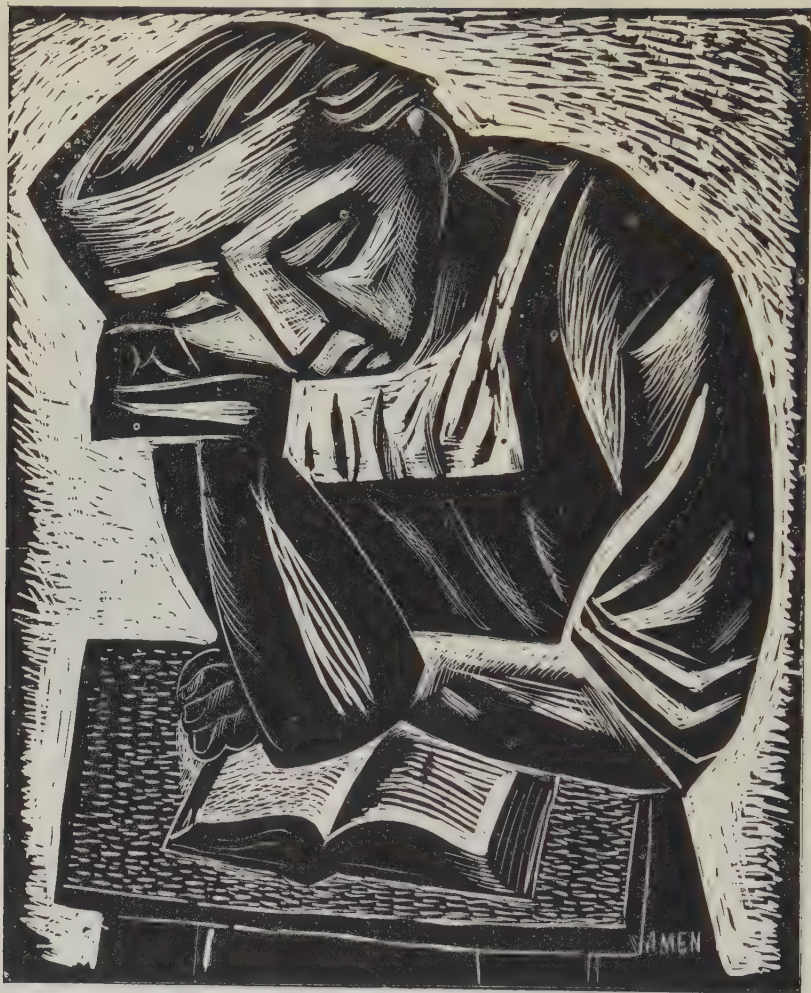


## *A Mad Militarist*

*Militarist* and *The Modern Equestrian* defiantly satirize the atom-bomb imperialists. *Descent from a Southern Cross* is a poignant protest, in human terms, against lynch terror.

The pen sketches of Charles White, an American Negro, were completed during a tour of Mexico. The subjects are inhabitants of a small Mexican village and are of mixed Indian and Negro ancestry.





### Study

The Mexican Indians, for many years the victims of subjection and oppression, played a significant role in the formation of a free Mexican Republic under the leadership of Benito Juarez. They organ-

ized and smashed the yoke of three and one-half centuries of tyranny. But today, as a result of resurgent reaction, they remain in a state of virtual peonage in the land which they helped liberate



*Descent from the Southern Cross*





### *Blind Musicians*

from foreign domination. Mr. White has attempted to show not only the sufferings of this people but also their strength.

The work of both Mr.

Amen and Mr. White exhibits a mastery of the medium utilized. They demonstrate a personalized style, a sensitivity to line and space, lights and



shadows, and a warmth of interpretation that transmutes each sketch or cut from a drawing of admirable intent to a genuine work of art. Both artists recognize clearly that progressive content alone is insufficient for art, and that the content must be fully realized and expressed in terms of the medium and style utilized, necessitating a maturity of artistic craftsmanship.

As a new progressive publication, *NEW FOUNDATIONS* allies itself with the Graphic Arts Workshop and similar



*Modern Equestrian*



organizations whose common cause is the struggle for, and creation of, a people's culture.

Irving Amen and Charles White are only two of many artists who have chosen to enter the struggle against a decadent society and for a new world by utilizing the pen and brush as their weapons. Similarly, the Graphic Arts Workshop under the direction of its organizer, Jay Landau, is only one of many groups of its kind which refuses to



create an exiled art "wandering by lone sea-breakers and sitting by desolate streams." These groups recognize that only in organization—in alli-

ance with the working class and in the unity of all progressives—can we find the guarantee for peace, security, happiness and freedom.





*Editorial Note:***THE MEANING OF RACE**

NEW FOUNDATIONS presents *The Meaning of Race* by Mr. Louis Landor as the first of a series of articles on this subject. We consider that this contribution is an important one for a complete analysis of the entire realm of theory and practice concerning the question of "race."

We do not agree with some of Mr. Landor's conclusions, however, and we believe that in several instances he has contradicted his own premises. This criticism is particularly true when the author extends his treatment of the problem to the human level and specifically when he applies himself to the question of the Negro.

*The Meaning of Race* treats of its subject from the viewpoint of a zoologist. The fact that Mr. Landor is a specialist in taxonomy and has approached this analysis from its more factual and "scientific" side may account for the lack of a sufficiently polemical presentation. In addition, we do not consider that he has fully applied the principles of Marxism to his field. This may be best indicated by such an astounding conclusion as "In some instances, as for example the Negro people in America, the combination of racial distinctness and race prejudice have contributed to their development as a nation."

We do not feel that the author has answered the question of whether the American Negro constitutes a race or a nation. The Editorial Board is not attempting a detailed analysis of *The Meaning of Race*; rather, in accordance with one of the chief aims of this magazine, we invite a symposium on the question of the meaning of race and its significance in American life.



# THE MEANING OF RACE

—louis landor

Few words in the English language have been as badly misused as the word *race*. The *Negro race*, the *Jewish race*, the *white race*, the *Aryan race*, the *German race*, the *American race* are terms that are encountered frequently in popular usage; but which of these groups, if any, may properly be referred to as races does not seem to trouble the mind of the average writer.

Hitler described the typical Aryan (more or less synonymous with the Nordic of classical anthropology) as tall, blond, blue-eyed and slender, and then accepted the Japanese as examples, thus demonstrating that his definition of race was on political grounds. The average American accepts a person with one sixty-fourth African ancestry as a Negro, thus demonstrating that his definition is a social one. One frequently hears reference these days to the German race, which includes, in this sense, all persons who live in Germany or speak German regardless of any other factors, showing the use of a cultural definition.

The anthropologist, taxonomist and geneticist may disagree among themselves as to just what is meant by race, but there are at least two points on which all scientists are unanimous: first, the word race properly used is a biological term; and second, a race is a subdivision of a species. Other species besides man are considered to be divided into races; in fact, modern taxonomy declares all widespread species to be so divided.

If we are to understand the meaning of race and to apply the concept to man, it seems reasonable first to discover how the word is used by taxonomists. Before this can be done, we must understand quite clearly what is meant by a species. Since this is intimately bound up with some fundamental biological concepts, it will be necessary to expound this point at some length.

When Linnaeus completed his *Systema Naturae* in 1735, he provided the world with the first method of classifying the increasingly bewildering types of animals and plants into a rational hierarchical system. All animals of one type were collected into a single *species*; all lions, for example. Now tigers and leopards and pussy

cats are related to lions, but are not lions; so Linnaeus created a larger category to encompass close relatives, which he called a *genus*—in this case, the genus, *Felis*. The lion now received the name, *Felis leo* and the pussy cat, *Felis domestica*. Several related genera were then collected into an *order*, several orders into a *class*, and so on. The concept of the species as the basic unit was extremely simple: all like organisms belong to the same species, mate with each other and produce more like themselves.

But with increasing knowledge of the infinite wealth of life on earth, certain contradictions began to appear in the system. The naturalist who had described the characteristics of a species on the basis of a single individual soon found, as he examined more and more individuals, than many of his specimens were *almost* like the first one. He often found that two of his “species” represented the extreme forms of a variable species, a fact which could become clear only when the intermediate forms were found.

The advent of the theory of evolution in the mid-nineteenth century added to the confusion by showing that the species of today are not the species of a million years ago. Clearly, the emerging concept of species must be dynamic, must allow for intra-specific variability, and must reflect the newly appreciated objectively existing evolutionary relationships between individuals, species, families, etc. Such a concept has emerged in recent years.

The discovery that individuals of a species differ from each other led biologists to a careful examination of the nature of this variation. Causes of variation fall into two interpenetrating categories: heredity and environment. But, insofar as the characteristics of individuals are concerned, it is only the hereditary traits that have any significance in evolution. The environment has a decisive effect on the evolution of a species or race by destroying those individuals least compatible with the circumstances in which they must live. But whatever changes the environment may induce in an individual, these traits die with the individual; they cannot be passed on to its offspring, and can have no effect in the evolution of the race or species. Therefore, if our system of classification is to have a real meaning in terms of the evolution of the species, it is important that all environmental variation be eliminated from consideration. Furthermore, classification by environmental characters can quite easily place two parents in one group and their children in another, and the stability of the groups would become



so slight as to render the whole concept meaningless. Thus, we must classify organisms not according to their visible characters, but according to their hereditary tendencies. This principle holds regardless of what type of taxonomic category is in question.

Detailed study of many different animals has revealed that any small local population of such animal differs slightly but definitely from other such populations, even adjacent ones, in many different hereditary traits. In the case of snails, for example, it has been found that there may be several such populations in a single garden, differing from each other in proportion of individuals with certain color patterns, average size of individuals, and so on. These populations consist of groups of individuals with a high rate of mating among themselves, but with less frequent mating with members of other populations.

It is this inter-population mating that justifies the inclusion of both populations in a single species—a species that varies somewhat from place to place.

The Amazon River is wide enough in some places to effectively bar the ant thrushes on one side of the river from coming into contact with those on the other, and this may be taken as a typical example of a geographic barrier. Some others are mountains, ocean inlets, and straits separating islands. But the ant thrushes from opposite sides of the river are so very similar to each other that it seems likely that they could mate, and would do so if the river were to dry up. To keep our species concept natural, we must consider these fortuitous geographic barriers specifically designed to prevent us from discovering whether these two populations are members of the same species. We must decide on the basis of past knowledge of this and related species whether members of these two populations *would* mate if given the opportunity. But this must be under natural conditions, since many species hybrids can be produced in the laboratory that would never occur in nature—the tiger and the lion, for example.

We may summarize this modern concept of a species in the following definition adapted from Mays: species are groups of actually or potentially interbreeding natural populations, which are incapable of producing fertile offspring by interbreeding in nature with other such groups.

This definition is rather limited, as it applies only to sexually reproducing forms. The species is quite a different type of category

for other organisms, but since our interest is in man, the definition is applicable. We may now turn our attention to the natural subdivisions of this category.

One of the earliest products of the breakdown of Linnaeus' concept of uniformity of species was an epidemic of new taxonomic categories into which the species was divided. Varieties, subvarieties, forms, ecotypes, races, subspecies were—and still are—named, very often with complete ignorance of the significance of the variation. The Banded Snail was at one time classified into 28 varieties and 180 subvarieties, with each subvariety having certain variable characteristics that might have been used for still further subdivision. There was a tendency to lose sight of the transcendent importance of distinguishing hereditary variation—which might have some significance in evolution—from environmental variation—which could have none. The logical end of this process is a different name for every individual.

In modern taxonomic practice, the attempt is made to have the relationships expressed by classification corresponding to the evolutionary relationships. Thus, two species will be placed in the same genus if they are thought to have evolved from a common ancestor in the recent geologic past. This is impossible to achieve completely because the actual evolutionary relationships are more complex than the Linnaean hierarchical system still used, but approximate correspondence is possible in most cases. To maintain the naturalness of our classification at levels below the species, it is necessary that we use only categories that have some significance in evolution.

Let us return to the South American ant thrushes to illustrate this point. A species of ant thrush, like any species, consists of a series of more or less contiguous populations, each of which is composed of individuals which have, on the average, slightly different characteristics from the members of other populations. But the interbreeding between populations, small though it may be, prevents any single population from becoming very different from the others, because hereditary traits are continually being exchanged back and forth.

Let us assume that the Amazon River forms an absolute barrier, and that no ant thrush can fly across it. Then any evolutionary changes on one side of the river will not be transmitted to the populations on the other side, and the ant thrushes on opposite

sides of the river will evolve independently of each other. After many years, it will be found that the ant thrushes north of the river will be, on the average, quite different from those south of it. The difference will become so great that anyone familiar with the birds could tell in most cases which side of the river any given bird came from just by looking at it. If the isolation continues for many more years, the differences increase to the point where there is no longer any intergradation of characteristics and the birds north of the river would be incapable of mating with those south of it. One species has divided into two.

The point at which this single species becomes two is fairly sharply marked: the two sets of populations are no longer capable of interbreeding. This discontinuity develops through a gradual divergence of characteristics until a qualitative break is reached. Some of the specific hereditary factors that may develop to isolate two newly-separated species are (1) different breeding seasons; (2) different habitats; (3) incompatibility of sex organs; (4) different courtship patterns; (5) they mate, but produce sterile or poorly-viable hybrids, thus allowing development of discontinuity even while the two species are in contact.

But we must not overlook the fact that just before the species difference becomes established, another, less absolute difference does exist, and that the species in this stage is divided into two *geographic races*, or *subspecies*. These subspecies represent incipient species, and this is the only infra-specific category which has been shown to contain the potentiality of developing into full species.

When can a single more or less uniform species be considered to have become divided into subspecies? As the divergence is gradual, and the races are completely interfertile until a species boundary is established, there is no natural boundary to a race, and an arbitrary one must be used. Ornithologists at least have agreed that when it is possible to tell the geographic origin of 75 per cent of all individuals by examining their hereditary traits, they shall be classified as separate subspecies. Thus, while a species is a natural category with natural limits, a subspecies or race (like all other taxonomic categories) is a natural category with *arbitrary* limits.

The following definition, then, can express the concept of subspecies which was developed above: a subspecies or geographic race is a geographic subdivision of a species which differs in

hereditary traits from other such subdivisions to such an extent that any individual can be classified as to geographic origin with an arbitrarily chosen degree of certainty.

Notice that the definition says nothing about geographic barriers between subspecies. Actually such barriers are unnecessary for the development of subspecies, but these subspecies can develop into full species only if such barriers arise.

According to its most widespread use in zoology, race is a broader term than subspecies. It may be possible, for example, by examining the hereditary characteristics of an individual animal, to make a fairly good guess as to its habitat; that is, whether it came from a meadow or a swamp or a forest. In some cases, it may be possible to guess at what altitude it was found if it is a species that lives in mountainous regions. It may be possible to tell at what time of year the individual breeds. Thus, in addition to geographic races, there may be considered to be habitat races, altitude races and seasonal races, and perhaps other types as well. But none of these types of races has been shown to develop into separate species, except the geographic race, and these only when a complete geographic barrier exists. Only the geographic race, therefore, is considered to have any evolutionary and taxonomic potentialities, and thus only the geographic race may be listed as a subspecies.

But certain characteristics are shared by most races of whatever type and no matter how well or poorly developed the racial boundary:

1. A race is a subdivision of a species that occupies a position marked off in time (breeding season) or space from other such races. No two races of a given species may breed in the same area at the same time.

2. Races occupying contiguous ranges interbreed along the boundaries with complete fertility unless there is an insuperable geographic barrier separating them.

3. Races are natural units, but the boundaries between them are usually arbitrary, depending only on the certainty of classification that is desired. The greater the certainty desired, the fewer races will be recognized.

4. Every race consists of a group of individuals varying about some mean type, and including some individuals very different from this mean. *Thus, there is no such thing as a pure race.*

5. The race of an individual is a concept that has meaning



only in reference to the breeding population of which the individual is a member. An individual's race cannot be determined with certainty merely by an examination of its characteristics.

6. Racial characteristics are traits with definite statistical distribution in the whole race, and are not uniform in all members of that race. Most races contain many individuals whose physical characteristics are similar to the mean of some other race.

7. Only traits which are hereditary can be used as the basis for separation of races or any other taxonomic category.

In applying the above concept of race to man, we shall try to keep its meaning as close as possible to that employed in dealing with other animals.

In spite of some serious omissions, necessitated by space limitations, the above account is a reasonably accurate picture of the present concepts of race and species as applied by most modern zoologists to sexually reproducing animals, man excepted. These concepts are valuable insofar as they correspond to objectively existing entities, to natural groupings; in other words, to certain definite stages in the evolution process. If we are to retain the natural character of these ideas in applying them to man, certain complicating factors must be recognized—factors that exist for man but not for other animals.

First, man is the only animal that has spread to every corner of the earth and can occupy every habitat at all latitudes and altitudes, with very few exceptions. Other species have spread widely, but in doing so have broken up into separate species. Authorities from Linnaeus to the present have agreed that man is a single species. Man has failed to divide into separate species because of his ability to cross geographic barriers, so that no population of man has ever been isolated for a long enough period to evolve into a separate species.

Second, man has established in practically all societies a type of reproductive separation of individuals that exists for no other animal. In nature, two animals of the same species living close to each other are potential mates, but the same cannot be said of two residents of Park Avenue separated only by the width of 96th Street. In other words, man establishes *social* barriers between populations. No animal has the mental endowment to develop tradition; that is, to transmit ideas and modes of behavior from one generation to the next without physical heredity. Therefore, no animal can

develop language, religion, prejudice, superstition, politics, classes and all the other factors involved in characterizing a society. These factors vary from society to society, but are present in most human and only human populations, where they serve to establish population boundaries.

We find, then, that there are two types of barriers between human breeding populations: geographic, as in most animals and social, found in man alone.

Having determined the nature of populations, it is now possible to provide a tentative answer to the question of which of these populations may be considered races and subspecies.

This brings us to the most controversial aspect of the whole problem. My own treatment of the question depends absolutely on the basic concepts outlined previously, which are the guiding concepts of the progressive taxonomists of other animals today. Some slight modifications will have to be made to fit the special characteristics of man, and these will be based on the two propositions with which this discussion of subspecies began.

The viewpoint of the classical anthropologists on the question of race is perhaps best expressed in a recent book (1939) by Carleton Stevens Coon, a work which purports to be a study of the races of Europe. The following definition is given: "A race is a group of people who possess the majority of their physical characteristics in common." No single idea in this definition stands up under careful examination. The word "people" limits the definition to one species, an idea certainly not acceptable to anyone who believes that man is related to other animals. Whatever our definition may be, it must certainly be applicable to all animals, not just one species chosen arbitrarily.

The "majority" of characteristics: the number of characteristics of an individual depends only on the imagination of the cataloguer. When enumeration of the usual characteristics is completed, we can start counting hairs on every square centimeter of the body surface, listing internal organs and their chemical activity, describing the shape of every epidermal cell, and so on, literally *ad infinitum*. I will undertake to provide five characteristics in which Professor Coon resembles Gargantua for every point of difference that he can mention. If this proves that Professor Coon is a gorilla—well, it is his definition.

Why "physical" characteristics? Zoologists have proved again

and again that physiological characteristics are subject to geographic variation, just as morphological ones are. Besides, I defy Professor Coon to draw a sharp line between the two.

If I contract jaundice, does that make me a Mongoloid? Professor Coon should certainly have specified that, when dealing with racial characters, only traits which are hereditary are to be considered.

This "modern" book lists in Europe a total of ten "races" and nine "subraces." All of these are plotted on a map showing the range of each race. One region, according to the map, contains no less than four of these races! To justify this, Professor Coon would have to demonstrate a partial reproductive separation of his four types in this region—and do not forget, show that the extent of the differences amounts to no more than color of hair and eyes, length of head, and so on. I doubt that the eligible bachelor of southern Austria measures his girl's cephalic index before deciding whether to propose.

The method of operation employed by Professor Coon is typical of the classical school of anthropology. A random sample of the people of any region is taken and their physical characteristics studied: hair color, hair texture, color of eyes, cephalic index, height, skin color, distribution of hair, and many others. Statistical averages of these characters are taken of the whole population, and the anthropologist then compares his data, not with corresponding data of neighboring regions, but with certain ideal races which are presumed to have existed in pure form in the remote, golden past. He will then state that the dominant race in the population is Mediterranean, with a strong admixture of Nordic, probably of recent date, and a small and much older sprinkling of Lappish. If you turn to another section of the book, you will discover that Nordics are characterized by blond hair, tallness, long-headedness, blue eyes, etc.

His general idea, then, seems to be that present day populations represent mixtures of "races" which at one time in the past were hereditarily pure and uniform. But variation is part of the very nature of all populations, even intraracial ones. Without this variation, no evolution into separate races is possible, so the concept of pure race disproves itself. Ever since human races existed, which is probably ever since man existed, these races have been variable and changing. New contact between two hitherto isolated

populations and new establishment of isolating factors have been developing continuously to change the nature of these races, so that they have never been the same in successive eras.

Professor Coon has not realized that races are changing entities. His attitude implies a constancy of race that is quite at variance with our modern knowledge of evolution.

I have dwelt at such length on a single book because it represents the type of work that is typical of classical anthropology. Fortunately, the newer schools of anthropology have studied zoological taxonomy and have a better understanding of the nature of their problem. Ashley-Montagu (1945) gives the following definition of race, which is very similar to that used by the zoologists Dunn and Dobzhansky (1946):

A race may be defined as a population differing in the incidence of certain genes . . . , but actually or potentially capable of exchanging genes across whatever boundaries separate it from other populations.

The reader will recognize this as a definition completely in accord with modern ideas of classification of animals, except that it omits one vital concept: the limits of the race. Any attempt to apply the definition in practice would be futile, because there is no specification as to how great the difference in the incidence of these genes must be. Some arbitrary degree of certainty of classification is needed to make the definition useful. In order for populations to be considered races, it is necessary first that the species be divided into a series of populations whose members breed most frequently with others of the same population; and second, that it be possible to take any individual of the species, examine its hereditary characteristics and state with an arbitrary certainty that this individual belongs to thus and such a population.

This is fundamentally the view embraced by Ashley-Montagu--in theory. But in an otherwise excellent book (1942), he states:

It is true that some biologists have seen fit to create new sub-races among lower animals on the basis of such single slight characters as differences in the pigmentation of the hair on part of the tail. Such a procedure would be perfectly justifiable if it were taxonomically helpful. One would not even have to require that animals in other groups did not exhibit this character, but one would have to insist that every member of one or both sexes of the new sub-race exhibited it.

The insistence, of course, is as unnecessary as the requirement. One would have to insist only that enough individuals of other



races lacked this trait, and enough individuals of the new sub-race shared it, so that the trait could serve as a 75 per cent reliable indicator of the population to which any individual belonged. (Actually, most races are distinguished by many traits, not just one.) And, of course, one would have to insist that the new sub-race represented an interbreeding part of the whole species, not an arbitrarily chosen collection of individuals.

Ashley-Montagu represents a progressive school of anthropologists who feel the social injustice wrought by racial prejudice so keenly that they react by attempting to argue race differences out of existence as much as possible. He "admits" (*sic!*) the existence of three major races of man: Negroid, Caucasoid and Mongoloid, and even here prefers to use the word "division" rather than race where possible (1945) in spite of the fact that "division" has already at least two other meanings in taxonomy. He subdivides each of the races into several "ethnic groups," which correspond fairly closely to the "races" of older authors. In describing these "ethnic groups," Ashley-Montagu indicates that they differ from each other in such obviously hereditary traits as skin color, body proportions, hairiness, and so on. Professor Ashley-Montagu's motives are of the highest, and his contributions to the science of anthropology are of the greatest value. Much of his work has been effective in combatting the many myths of racial superiority. But in this case, we must take issue. As Dunn and Dobzhansky point out, one can hate "ethnic groups" just as venomously as real or imaginary races. In the long run, the only way to combat racism is to seek the truth, scientifically and without preconceptions of any kind. There are two questions arising in this field that can be answered by science alone: first, do races of mankind exist; and second, if so, what is the nature and extent of the differences among them?

Let us apply the biological race criterion that he himself espouses, and see if we can answer, to a first approximation at least, these two vital questions.

We can now examine a little more closely the "ethnic groups" described by Ashley-Montagu (1945). He lists several of these groups for each "division" of mankind. For the Negroid division, for example, he describes the group of *True Negroes*, who occupy a circumscribed area on the west coast of equatorial Africa, and are characterized by black skin, wooly hair, broad flat noses, thick everted lips, a cephalic index of 73 to 75, prognathism, husky

bodies, etc. These are differentiated from the *Forest Negroes*, who live further east and possess shorter legs, protrusive lower faces, retreating chins, prominent cheekbones, sloping foreheads, etc. No percentages are given, but it is reasonable to assume that in this particular case, the individuals of the two groups can be distinguished with a high degree of certainty. In the case of the Bushman-Hottentot "ethnic group," Ashley-Montagu states that members of this group can be distinguished at a glance from all other Africans.

Here we have groups of individuals, geographically separated from other such groups, and fairly easily distinguishable on the basis of hereditary characteristics. If the word race has any meaning at all, surely it should be applied here!

In Europe, the situation is somewhat different. Probably at some time in the past, the Nordic and Alpine races of man were as nearly distinct as some of the modern African races, but communication and travel are much better developed in Europe than in Africa, and have been for some time. The result has been the progressive blurring of the racial boundaries. It is probably possible even today to describe the races of Europe in a scientific way if we are willing to accept a low enough degree of certainty, but to my knowledge this has not been done. The current descriptions of European races, even by progressive anthropologists, are descriptions of the races as they probably existed many centuries ago, when the distinctness of the races was much sharper. This is valuable information, but it tells us very little about the races of European man today.

The classification of man in America is a problem that has not yet been touched. Anthropologists referring to the American races are speaking of Indians—again describing the races of the past, not of today. It is impossible, in the light of our present knowledge, to state whether there has been any racial distinctness established in American Caucasoid man.

How about the American Negro? For any non-human animal species, the fact that a putative race occupies the same geographic region as another from which we might separate it would immediately cause us to deny racial distinctness. But, as pointed out before, man sets up social population boundaries that do not exist among other animals. One of these tends to keep Negroes reproductively isolated from Caucasoids in America, the reproductive crossing of

the boundary being a rare event. And certainly it is possible by examining hereditary traits to determine with a good degree of certainty to which population any individual belongs. We can only conclude that the American Negro belongs to a different race than do white Americans. *The racial boundary is socially determined, but biologically real nevertheless.*

But the American Negro is also quite different from his African forebears. On the average, he is taller, lighter-skinned, has thinner lips and nose, etc., as a result of the small but steady introduction of Caucasoid traits. And geographic isolation exists. We may say then, that the American Negroes constitute a race geographically separated from the African Negroes and socially separated from the American Caucasoids.

Any investigation of the total racial picture in America must necessarily include a study of these two types of races: the cultural and the geographical. We have, for example, cultural separation of religious and class populations, but unless anthropometric studies are made, it is difficult to state whether these populations constitute well-defined races. The best current opinion seems to be that they do not.

There are certain statements, then, that can be made concerning the present infra-specific classification of man. Geographic races exist, and they are most distinct from each other in more backward regions, such as Africa; regions like the United States which were colonized from all over the world probably have no such divisions. Social races exist wherever migrations have caused two hitherto geographic races to occupy the same region and interbreeding is severely limited by the mores of the society.

In the discussion of infra-specific classification of animals, I pointed out that in some cases racial boundaries are classified by taxonomists as subspecific boundaries. This is done when the races are geographically separated and the distinction between the races is good, because under these circumstances the races may be considered to be potential incipient species. E. Raymond Hall has applied these criteria to man and has come to some very strange conclusions.

Hall states, quite accurately, that two subspecies of animal never occupy the same geographic region. If one subspecies is introduced into a region already occupied by another, either the two fuse into one, or one of the subspecies is exterminated. By applying

this and a few more simple rules, he comes to the conclusion that we must stop the immigration of the Mongoloid "subspecies" or the Caucasoid "subspecies" in America will be exterminated.

This is the type of result that can only be reached by a man so completely immersed in the details of his work that he has lost all contact with the meaning of his concepts and retains only the ability to apply a few rules mechanically. Dr. Hall might, with as much justice, start a crusade to destroy all steel and brick houses, because no animal builds such houses. He loses sight of the fact that man, although he is an animal, is qualitatively different from all other animals in many ways.

What Dr. Hall fundamentally overlooks are man's intelligence and social organization—each inconceivable without the other. The most stupid men, occasional aberrant individuals excepted, are capable of thought processes completely out of the range of abilities of the most intelligent chimpanzee; the most primitive men, except for the few known cases of feral men, live in relationships with other men involving ideals, morals, ethics and social behavior of all types. And in human society the position of the individual in the society is determined, by and large, by the society itself, largely independent of biological inheritance. Man alone has the adaptability to live in a wide variety of types of social organization, and these societies themselves are constantly evolving. As every man has the capability of adapting himself (if taken young enough) to any of the social forms, we must conclude that the racial war to which Dr. Hall dooms us could result only from attitudes engendered by society and its least desirable members, such as Dr. Hall. And these social forms change and can be changed.

Furthermore, I question his use of the word "subspecies" in referring to the major races of man. True, the three main races are still fairly well separated by characteristics and geography, and in any other animal this would justify their classification into subspecies. But the reason that we make this distinction is that subspecies are potential, incipient species, and the possibility of man dividing into two or more separate species has long since disappeared. Geographic separation is not absolute in the case of man, and cannot be as long as civilization, along with its airplanes and ships, etc., exists. A geographic barrier that would completely isolate one group of men from the rest is today unthinkable.

Of all the problems connected with race, the question of



"superior races" is the one most loaded with social and emotional connotations. The doctrine of race superiority has been an instrument of suppression of the Negro people in America for many years; the same idea in a different context resulted in the greatest slaughter of innocent people in history. This idea, in milder forms, is held by the large majority of Americans, who learn it from the movies, the radio, often their schools, and their reading, starting with their first picture books. The ludicrous Hollywood stereotypes of Negroes, the Jim-Crow housing and transportation, the menial jobs for Negroes, and uncountable other facts of our daily experience in our society speak to our conscious and subconscious minds, drilling with irrepressible assuredness, the message: "there are superior races." *But are there?* Only the scientific approach to the problem can supply us with an answer.

The word "superior" itself has so many emotional connotations that we had best begin by clarifying its meaning in connection with races. The word is never used by zoologists in connection with animal races, except in conjunction with "survival value." A given race of animals may be better fitted to survive and reproduce itself in a given environment than another race, in which case one race is superior to another *in a given environment*. For animals, "superior" has no possible meaning independent of environment.

In many cases, we find that different races of animals are adapted to different environments—the northern and southern races of most American birds, for example. But, for reasons too complex to be discussed here, geographic races of animals will be formed even when there is no necessity to adapt to different environments by evolution. We therefore find both *adaptive* and *non-adaptive* race differences among animals.

But man is man precisely because he differs from animals in this respect: his intelligence-and-social-organization (I cannot bear to make separate words of them) enable him to control his environment by producing houses and clothes, finding new sources of food, and developing tools to produce the necessities and luxuries of life. And thus man is not limited to a single type of habitat, but can thrive practically anywhere. The history of any human race is a history of wandering, of travel to new climes and new means of subsistence. The American Indians, for example, developed from a Mongoloid people who traveled across the Aleutian Islands (then a land bridge) and colonized the whole Western Hemisphere.

In short, man, in contrast with all other animals, is not adapted to any single environment, but is adaptable to all environments.

This fundamental adaptability of man, a part of his very nature, has largely eliminated the cause of evolutionary adaptive divergence. Man's evolution into races has not been controlled by environment because man has made himself superior to his surroundings, and we can reach the *a priori* conclusion that human racial differences are of the non-adaptive type. For traits of this type, of course, the words superior and inferior have no meaning.

This conclusion, of course, must be tested by scientific investigation. A great deal of work has been done in attempts to prove that there are psychological differences between human races, and they usually follow a certain pattern. A research worker will give intelligence tests to a group of people of different races and emerge with the none too startling conclusion that Negroes in any part of the country score lower than Whites from the same region, and then will reach the conclusion that there is a psychological inferiority among Negroes. Entirely apart from the fact that the tests have been standardized on Whites, whose culture differs somewhat from that of Negroes, this is not proof that there is a racial difference, *unless it is shown that the inferiority is hereditary*. This has never been shown; but it has been demonstrated that the oppression of Negroes results in lowered opportunities for education and informal intellectual development—and the probable cause of lower intelligence tests scores becomes obvious.

One of the most comprehensive works in this field is Otto Klineberg's *Race Differences*, which is a careful investigation of the types of differences that exist among races. He comes to the careful conclusion that "the case for psychological race differences has never been proved." It is of the nature of scientific investigation that this is the strongest statement that can be made; the burden of proof is on those who claim that they exist.

The existence of the phenomenon of race prejudice and of theories of racial superiority have forced scientists to make of the topic an important field of investigation. Inexact knowledge and terminology on the part of large masses of people and of many otherwise sophisticated authors in the fields of politics and sociology have beclouded the main issues involved to the point where careful work by scientists is necessary to untangle the confused mass of

misinformation which has become part of the literature of various fields of endeavor.

Chief among these difficulties is the confusion of race with nation. This has come about in part because in many instances the two are coexistent. The Japanese people, for example, are unquestionably a nation, inasmuch as they occupy a common territory, share a common language and culture and a common economy. Also, they are indubitably a race, inasmuch as they share, on the average, certain inherited physical characteristics that distinguish them from other peoples. In some instances, as for example the Negro people in America, the combination of racial distinctness and race prejudice have contributed to their development as a nation.

But the same does not hold true for the various peoples of Europe, such as the Germans, and in any given case the appropriate concept must be used. It is quite incorrect to use the term race when dealing with a political or cultural problem, just as it is incorrect to speak of a nation as having a biological existence.

The contribution of the biologist, then, to political problems in this field is a negative one: he dispells the myths and misconceptions that cast a gloom over political thinking. He can add nothing positive for the basic reason that a race as such does not enter into political and cultural relationships unless it happens to be co-extensive with a nation.

On the positive side, the study of race can add a great deal to our knowledge of the history and prospects for the future of the species. But, since man is man, this is possible only in conjunction with the science of history.

As was indicated above, the geographic limits of races are becoming more and more vague as a result of improved and increasing use of transportation facilities. Just as the structure of human society is becoming too complex and far-reaching to exist for long within the confines of national boundaries, no race is now confined in its activities to any circumscribed region. As this tendency increases, we may expect that the classification of mankind into geographic races will become meaningless.

Likewise, the social races are not completely isolated, and the boundaries are becoming more diffuse as time goes on. With the achievement of the next higher form of society, present race prejudice will prove too strong an inhibiting factor to further social

development, and we may expect that social boundaries will likewise disappear.

Extrapolation of our knowledge of the present trends in biological and social changes allows us to make some very good guesses as to man's future as a species. We know that communications and transportation are destroying the geographic separation between populations. We know that in the socialist society of the future, the social separation of populations will also be destroyed—a process which has also accelerated far beyond its rate of a few hundred years ago. Then it becomes possible to state that the long-range trend in human evolution is not for differentiation of populations into races, but for integration of the present-day races into one widely variable and freely breeding population. Black skin, blue eyes and blond curly hair may grace the same body, and cross with yellow-brown skin, kinky red hair and green eyes. The traits of the children are anybody's guess.

In the world of the future, man's social and scientific progress will add to his already large number of remarkable characteristics among animal species, still another: man will become the only wide-spread species of animal that is not divided into races.

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*If there is one thing we love in the United States, it is that every man should have the privilege, unmolested and uncriticized, to utter the real convictions of his mind. I believe that the weakness of the American character is that there are so few growlers and kickers among us. We have forgotten the very principle of our origin, if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices.*

—Woodrow Wilson

*Let us consider that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should see its approach.*

—Lord Chesterfield



# TOWARD STUDENT UNITY

—marvin shaw

The Fall of 1947 marked a significant turning-point in the growth of the American Student Movement. Hundreds of delegates from 351 campuses, representing 1,100,000 students, flocked to the University of Wisconsin to create the National Students Association.

While a rampant reaction intensified its war on human rights, the progressive campus tradition which has contributed immeasurably to American life was reborn. Negro and white, Catholic, Protestant and Jew, Republican, Democrat, liberal and Communist united to chart a new course for the defense and extension of democracy.

The United States National Students Association, at its very birth, is the largest student organization in the country. It is not a membership organization, but a federation of student councils and other student government bodies. An annual delegated and representative Student Congress will determine its program and elect five officers. One or two representatives from each of the twenty-five regions into which the country was divided constitute the Executive Board. But the regional organizations are more than electoral districts. The regional officers and assemblies will work out local programs and help implement the plans developed on the national level.

The Wisconsin Constitutional Convention was the third in a series of meetings which led to the creation of the NSA. During the summer of 1946, an American student delegation attended the World Student Congress that founded the International Union of Students. Although there were more students in America than in any other country except the Soviet Union, this country had no single "National Union of Students" as an all-inclusive center of student life. The two million men and women then attending 1700 different institutions were "fragmentized" into scores of organizations without any appreciable unity. The delegation organized itself as a Preparatory Committee to arrange the epoch-making Chicago Students Conference, which in late 1946 accepted the perspective of a national students association, elected

a continuations committee to draw up a constitution, and issued a call for the Wisconsin Convention.

This call met an unprecedented response on the campus—one which arose directly from the real needs of American students. The largest campus population in American educational history—aggregating 2,700,000 this semester—suffers from the severe sharpening of many long-existing problems which demand speedy solution today.

The problems of acquiring higher education which we previously faced—inadequate facilities, exorbitant fees, outworn curricula, discrimination and segregation—have been greatly sharpened. Even the bourgeois authorities speak of the “crisis in education.” But a host of new and severe problems: crowded or non-existent housing facilities, skyrocketing prices, and new attacks on student democracy have combined to produce an emergency situation. Nor are the returning veterans and other students complacent about the reactionary big-stick atom-bomb policy.

Some of these issues were present in the past and gave impetus to the militant movements of the thirties which waged many struggles involving masses of students. Significant victories were won in many instances. Today the needs are greater—and so are the possibilities. Student are more aware than ever before of the indivisibility of our country's problems. The student population now includes a majority of veterans, who bring maturity and consciousness of responsibility to their classrooms and organizations, and as issues arise they are now being met by increased activity.

Despite their many differences, the student leaders at the NSA Convention were, on the whole, aware of this. The excellent program on educational problems, student rights, discrimination and economic questions is a realistic one, and it can be achieved. The opening of negotiations for affiliation with the International Union of Students implicitly—and the resolution passed explicitly—recognized that students must make their contribution to world peace.

But the future course of NSA is still to be decided. Deeds and accomplishments are, in the last analysis, the only measuring rod. Too often good programs have been adopted—but never carried into life. The technical problems faced by the new organization, admittedly severe, cannot take precedence over programmatic activity. It is only as the NSA begins “to produce” that student

support will be consolidated and the Association established on a firm foundation.

This consideration is also important for the unity of the NSA. Every trend of thought on the campus is represented. Most are satisfied to put partisan differences aside in order to unite on matters of general agreement. Some, perhaps, have yet to learn the advantages of such cooperation. This is especially true of Catholic student leaders, who are participating for the first time as a group within a non-Catholic movement and constitute the largest single group in the NSA. With their policies largely determined and controlled by the Hierarchy, they seem too often to be motivated by partisan political considerations rather than the best interests of all students.

Left and progressive students have actively participated in the NSA from its inception. Too often in the past they have been the only groups actively concerned with uniting the Student generation and with problems which are now major planks in the NSA program. In the months ahead one can be certain that they will contribute their utmost towards the building and strengthening of the Association.

The post-war period has been one of progress for student organization. But only a beginning has been made. The NSA program is the *minimum* basis on which all students can unite. As it is carried into action, the level of thinking and activity on the entire campus must and will be raised.

Momentous issues face the American people. Since the end of the war and the death of President Roosevelt reaction has stepped up its offensive. The "bi-partisan" Truman Administration and Republican Congress have tried to shackle labor, destroyed price controls, seriously curtailed democratic rights, undermined and repealed New Deal legislation and ridden rough-shod over the demands and needs of the people. Our foreign policy makes a mockery of international agreements for which hundreds of thousands of American students and other youth have died.

These, too, are "student issues." They directly and immediately concern every college student. High prices have driven large numbers of veterans out of the universities. The labor movement, which pioneered in the struggle for free public education, continues to be the most powerful force for university expansion and democratiza-

tion. The Taft-Hartley Law is a blow at the best defenders of American democracy and free higher education.

In the thirties the annual united student peace strikes galvanized hundreds of thousands of students. The Truman Doctrine is as much a threat to the future of American students as it is to their brothers and sisters in other countries. In particular, the renewed attempts to institute universal military training are a major step toward the control and regimentation of American youth.

These are political questions, and if we are to participate in decisions which affect our education and very lives, American students must jump into politics with both feet. There are more than one million student voters. Their strength, if organized in the right direction, can be of decisive importance. The response to the many speeches of Henry Wallace at colleges throughout the country indicate the path along which students are moving.

The "non-partisan and non-political" NSA (actually, its program breathes politics) will not be able to participate in much of this essential activity. Developments on the campus, however, will determine the course and future of the NSA. As a democratic organization with an effective and a forward-looking program, it cannot help but reflect the thinking of its members. The real battles will be fought on every local campus. The traditions of the American student movement and the experiences of the last few months can give encouragement to progressives. But if the NSA is to steer a course toward student unity and progress, the progressives must renew their efforts to build the NSA as a genuinely representative and united student movement advancing the profound and immediate needs of our student generation.

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*No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinion, . . . is only a gang of slaves.*

—Wendell Phillips

*. . . Freedom had been hunted round the globe, reason was considered as rebellion; and the slavery of fear had made men afraid to think.*

*But such is the irresistible nature of truth, that all it asks—all it wants—is the liberty of appearing. The sun needs no inscription to distinguish him from the darkness. . . ."*

—Thomas Paine



## IRON HEEL ON THE CAMPUS

—herbert l. shore

*Youth comes to us wanting to know what we propose to do about a society that hurts so many of them. There is much to justify the inquiring attitude of youth. You have a right to ask these questions. No man who seeks to evade or to avoid them deserves your confidence.*—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The campuses of America have become a battleground in the struggle against a rising native fascism. Once-cloistered halls now ring with the battle cry of academic freedom. As the American reactionary-fascist coalition broadens its campaign to crush *all* independent thought, the student movement is awakening to the realization that it is already in the midst of a life-and-death struggle for democracy on the campus.

The widespread effort to destroy academic freedom is an important strand in the rope with which home-grown reaction seeks to strangle democracy. The attacks on free thought and expression on the campus are molded in the same pattern as the attacks on labor, the government "loyalty" purges, and the campaign against progressive individuals and organizations. Neither the strategy nor the tactics are new. They have been used before—in Germany, Italy, Spain, Japan, China and elsewhere—as a necessary part of the drive toward fascism.

With the "Un-American" Committee acting as the General Staff, a full-scale offensive has been launched against the Bill of Rights. Beginning with the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party—an attempt which failed because of vehement mass protest—there has been, since the end of the war, a series of luridly propagandized "spy" scares and "foreign-agent plots." The Un-American Committee of Thomas (alias Feeney) and Rankin and the F.B.I. have been the initiating factors in the Dennis case, the Eisler "spy" trials, the persecution of the leaders of the Spanish Refugee Committee, and the smear-Hollywood drive. Special sub-committees have been formed to strike at specific areas with the weapons of strike-breaking and red-baiting.

Behind the smokescreen of this artificially created fear hysteria, thinking people of *all* points of view—except of course, the Gerald L. K. Smiths and their cohorts—are being hounded, intimidated and denied the right to speak. Lilienthal's appointment to the Atomic Energy Commission was delayed for a month while the "red bogey" was dragged in by the tail. Henry Wallace's speeches have been met with a conspiracy of silence or distortion in the press and his meetings have been "policed." Dr. Harlow Shapely of Harvard was subjected to physical mistreatment by the "Un-Americans." Paul Robeson has been denied access to auditoriums in several American cities. Charles Bolte, formerly head of the American Veterans Committee, was denied the right to testify before the Texas Legislature on veterans' problems.

These few instances expose clearly the step-by-step procedure in the attempt to *fascisize* America. Under the cloak of this atmosphere, the legislative agents of the fascist-minded monopolists have subverted the Constitutional rights of free expression and petition and have repealed the New Deal, passed the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, and established the Truman Doctrine of imperialist intervention.

It is within this larger framework of suppression of democratic rights that the attempt to impose thought-control on American students can be clearly understood. The offensive to undermine free education cannot be divorced from the multitude of unprecedented problems which the student body faces today. The uncontrolled inflation which robs the take-home pay of workers is also a daily bread-and-butter problem haunting millions of students, particularly veterans. Quota admission systems parallel discriminatory practices in industry. And with universities built for two or three thousand students attempting to accomodate five times that number, housing is a crucial problem in crowded college towns. An impending crisis with its thousands of jobless graduates joining the ranks of unemployed labor hangs as a sword of Damocles over the head of student America. The reactionary Democratic-Republican coalition, far from solving these problems, has instead intensified the assault on peace, security and democracy. A questioning and freely organized student movement would represent a serious threat to the exploiting monopolies of food, real-estate, public utilities and basic industry. It is clear also, that students must be silenced if the warmongers are to succeed in militarizing American youth.

and in provoking new wars under the Hitlerite guise of "saving the world from Communism." As in the past, when the real issues are jobs, democratic rights and peace, these traitors to the American heritage of freedom paint "red" on those who speak for progressive action.

The question of academic freedom is not one facing students alone. It is an essential aspect of the totally integrated intellectual, cultural, social and political life of the nation. The events of the past few years have smashed the false barriers between school and society. The students of today throng to the classroom and lecture hall searching for answers. A growing discontent with the old bourgeois myths is being voiced. Blind faith in the capitalist system as the "best of all possible worlds" is being destroyed by the facts of life. Growing numbers of students are recognizing an identity between their aims and aspirations and those of the working class. Interest in Marxist theory and practice is growing on all campuses.

Consequently, there has been a many-sided vicious campaign—a campaign important enough to engage the personal attention of the J. Edgar Hoovers and various state governors—to limit or eliminate free thought and expression in institutions of higher learning. The American Youth for Democracy has been the first victim on many campuses. Novels by Howard Fast have been removed from school libraries. The re-appointment of Professor Howard MacMurray, a New Deal Democrat, at the University of Wisconsin was denied because he had run for political office. Charters have been refused to the Youth for Progress Club, an independent organization at the University of Syracuse, to the Progressive Citizens of America at Hunter College, and to AVC at Georgetown University. The recent wave of teachers' strikes for a living wage were smeared as "open revolt against the government."

The struggle for democracy on the campus has long historical roots and constitutes a part of the continuous struggle of the American people to defend and extend democratic rights. Witch-hunters are not a new phenomenon in our history, either on the campus or off. It is worthwhile to glance briefly at the historical record and to note the relation between the struggle for academic freedom and the broader social, political and economic struggle for democracy.

The long battle for the emancipation of the Negro people, both before and after the Civil War, resulted in the dismissal of faculty members in the North as well as in the South, for holding abolitionist views. A typical case was the forced resignation of three professors at Western Reserve College who had "a favorable attitude toward abolition."

The introduction of such new concepts as biological evolution resulted in many cases of intimidation and dismissal, and still does in sections of the country. The noted John Fiske was dismissed from Harvard in 1870 after being labelled an "infidel" and the resignation of Professor James Woodrow was forced in 1888 because he advocated the theory of evolution.

The Free Silver campaign of 1896 lost President E. Benjamin Andrews his position at Brown University for heretically doubting the divinity of the gold standard. During the first World War, Professor Simon Patten was dismissed by the University of Pennsylvania and Nicholas Murray Butler expelled Professor Cattell from Columbia University for protesting against the Selective Service Law in letters to Congress.

After World War I, the witch-hunt hysteria grew to epidemic proportions. In addition to the many "political" cases, there was a growing number of dismissals on religious grounds. Anti-Semitic dismissals were numerous but religious attacks were not limited to those of the Jewish faith. For example, Dr. Arthur Slaten was removed from William Jewell College for his failure to believe in the pre-existence and deity of Christ.

The reactionary ax, which generally had fallen on the heads of outspoken faculty members, began to strike at students when, faced by growing problems and awakening to the need for overt action, they began to organize. The first progressive student organization was the Intercollegiate Liberal League, formed in 1919. When the need for greater unity of all students became apparent, this organization merged with the National Student Committee for the Limitation of Armaments. The depression period of 1929, undermining educational opportunity and freedom on a vast scale, marked the birth of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Again, in the face of a need for united action, these groups joined to form the American Student Union.

One of the most important activities of these new organizations was the defense of academic freedom from reactionary attacks. The



records of the period are filled with cases of intimidation, expulsion and suspension on the slimmest pretexts. In 1932, a student delegation investigating miners' conditions during the strike in Harlan County was jailed and denounced by university authorities. When Reed Harris, editor of the *Columbia Spectator*, "dared" to question the profits of the school cafeteria, supposedly a non-profit enterprise, he was expelled. This case did not go unchallenged however. A student protest from coast to coast and a strike of 4,000 students at Columbia resulted in his reinstatement.

The waterfront strike of 1934 in San Francisco resulted in the formation of a University Bureau of Occupation in order to recruit scab labor from the campus. General Hugh S. Johnson was accorded the right of "free speech" at a university meeting on the California campus in which he called for the suppression of "the reds" by force. By "reds," Johnson admitted that he meant every person on the picket line. When the students organized a counter-offensive and issued leaflets supporting the strike, the first restrictive university regulations were effected denying the right to distribute leaflets or to circulate petitions.

The tremendous growth in student organization and activity during the depression years of the 30's gave rise to another epidemic of attacks on student and faculty rights. When local authorities proved unable to "cope with" the new developments, the Dies Committee and state committees, such as the Rapp-Coudert "thought-controllers" in New York, stepped in. The result was an outbreak of wholesale dismissals of faculty members and students, refusal of diplomas to students up on graduation, and censorship of textbooks.

Since the end of the war, the F.B.I., the "Un-American Committee," legislative committees in a number of states and many local university authorities have been working hand-in-hand to destroy democracy in American education. Although these reactionary attacks are not new phenomena, they have a specifically dangerous character today which makes them more significant than anything similar in the past. In the effort to drive students back into the prison of the ivory-tower, the native fascists are following the dictum of a Governor-General in Russia during the reign of terror in 1849 under Nicholas I. He warned the students of the Medical Faculty of the University of Kiev: "You gentlemen may dance, play cards, flirt with other men's wives, frequent women, beat women, but stay away from politics or I will throw you out

of the university." The restrictions on academic freedom are rapidly becoming the "thought control" of the Nazis, the Japanese imperialists, the Falange and the Kuomintang. The pattern of Reichstag Fire, anti-Communism, anti-unionism and "the burning of the books" is being repeated.

As an active progressive organization, the American Youth for Democracy has become the focus of the attack by reaction. Chapters of the AYD have been banned or denied charters at universities throughout the country: Michigan, Michigan State, Wayne, Queens College, Brooklyn College, San Jose State, Temple University and the University of Colorado are merely a few of the institutions at which this action was taken. For the "subversive" activity of distributing a leaflet supporting the FEPC, President John Hannah of Michigan State placed six AYD members on probation, warned that any student who joined AYD would get the same treatment, and prevented the head of the local AYD chapter from re-registering at the university in spite of an excellent academic record.

At Queens College in New York, the charter of AYD was revoked for the following "un-American" activities: (1) holding a campus-wide meeting to help raise the pay of instructors and custodial workers; (2) initiating a petition in support of the Rogers Bill; (3) participating in the march on Albany in support of the Austin-Mahoney Bill to end discrimination in education; (4) taking part in the National Crusade to Washington to end lynching; (5) raising money for the children of Spanish Republican refugees; (6) conducting a petition drive against the anti-labor bills; and (7) raising its membership from 84 to 144 in one semester.

In no case have any charges against the AYD been substantiated by concrete evidence; in no case have there even been democratic hearings. University grants and funds are being used in the same manner that the State Department uses loans and relief supplies as weapons of foreign policy. In a secret caucus of the Michigan State Senate, for example, the legislators voted to deny state financial aid to Wayne University unless the campus chapter of AYD were banned. In presenting the case to the Wayne student body, University President D. D. Henry said: ". . . neither the Senate Committee nor local and state police authorities have furnished evidence that the local chapter of AYD or any other student group has been subversive or even in violation of university regulations." He went on to explain, however, that "approximately 3,000 addi-

tional students, the majority of them veterans, have been admitted to the university on the basis of the state's commitment to build classrooms and a science building here. . . . The educational welfare of over 15,000 students, as well as the future of students now seeking admission, would be jeopardized." This statement was substantiated by Theron L. Caudie, an Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, who stated that the Justice Department "does not have evidence in its possession at this time to prove that the program of AYD is subversive, or that its purpose is advancing the cause of communism."

Excerpts from the editorials of two college newspapers will indicate the conditions under which these actions are usually carried out, and the growing student resentment against these fascist methods. An editorial in the *Queens College Crown* of February 19, 1947, written by staff members *who were against the principles of the AYD*, reads in part: "We are among those who believe that every group has the inherent right to organize. But when a dilemma exists between principles and practices, we believe that the most rationally advantageous choice must be made. Yet, when the Student Council employs such a slipshod, riotous and sketchy method to revoke AYD's charter, even the most decadent democrat recoils." On the banning of the Michigan Youth for Democratic Action, an AYD affiliate, the editor of the *Michigan Daily* wrote: "Two questions every student may ask are 1—what is President Ruthven's evidence behind his withdrawal of MYDA's recognition? and 2—why was this action taken by the President directly rather than by the Student Affairs Committee of deans, faculty members and students which approved MYDA originally as it does all student groups? The by-laws of the University of Michigan state, 'The policy of the Regents is to encourage the timely and rational discussion of topics whereby the ethical and intellectual development of the student body and the general welfare of the public may be promoted.' . . . In order to carry out this policy of the Regents, President Ruthven should place before the students and faculty the evidence and reasons for his action. If the evidence is damning, the President owes it to the university to inform them. . . ."

Opposition to the wave of attacks has been growing steadily. At Queens College, for example, the banning of AYD and the subsequent red-baiting of the 42 faculty members who voted to uphold its charter, was turned into a victory at the school election. A

progressive unity ticket, basing its platform on the issue of academic freedom, elected 21 out of the 28 members of the Student Council.

Although the rantings of the yellow press would give the impression that the Communists and the AYD are their only targets, the evidence indicates otherwise. The banning of AYD chapters has been only the opening wedge in a more general assault on all democratic expression in the colleges. The Student Federalists, the PCA, the AVC, students councils, student publications, all forms of liberal organizations and, most recently, *any* organizations with national affiliations are being subjected to unprecedented and flagrant violations of the rights of academic freedom.

How far is it from the banning of progressive organizations to the dissolution of entire universities, to imprisonment, and to concentration camps? The letters from Chinese student organizations in this issue of NEW FOUNDATIONS reveal the cold and brutal fascist actions of this kind on the part of the Kuomintang. Is it not possible that if the authorities at Wayne University had refused to carry out the dirty work of the "thought-control police" of the Michigan Senate, that the university itself would have been forced to close without state funds?

The all-encompassing and vicious character of these measures is indicated also by a bill drawn up by City Councilman L. Gary Clemente of New York. This proposed law was introduced as a direct outgrowth of the Queens College case. Clemente's bill would bar all "Communists" and "fellow-travellers" from the city payroll and establish a \$100,000 "investigating" committee to bar any workers who advocate, organize, establish, promote, re-establish "or *support* any group" which the committee considers "subversive" or anyone who shall "teach, disseminate or distribute any propaganda or any information" for changes "in the present economic system" or anyone who participates in, sponsors, arranges any meeting or parade, demonstrates or *upholds* "*causes,*" *signs petitions,* or even holds "*discussions*" or *attends "plays" not approved by the committee.*

The *New York Daily News* editorial of May 12, 1947, called academic freedom "a silly old shibboleth dragged out when convenient to shield intellectual dimwits and pedagogical fanatics from the consequences of their misconduct." But, the new student movement, has been bolstered by hundreds of thousands of veterans who will not smugly and complacently accept the gospel according



to St. Rankin. They have refused to "stay out of politics." They are beginning to awaken to a unity of cause with the labor movement. They are beginning to recognize the need for a united student movement which will play an important role in smashing fascism in America as well as in the rest of the world. In increasing numbers, students are taking as their guide for action, the words of Dr. Harlow Shapely: ". . . It (fascism) can be stopped; it can be defeated. How? Through fighting. Through opposing it, without fear of physical harm or social disgrace. If we've got to fight the wars of 1776 again, to establish civil liberties in the United States, and set an example in a fascist bedeviled world, now is the time to start that fight."

*It is impossible, within the limits of an article of this length, to do justice to a complete interpretation of the question of academic freedom—or even to include all of the information that we have received concerning cases and events. Additional articles on academic freedom, campus democracy, and other problems of student life will appear in future issues of NEW FOUNDATIONS. We invite your correspondence on conditions and events at your school, college or university.*

## BOOKS AND LIFE

*"One of the greatest evils and misfortunes bequeathed to us by the old capitalist society is the complete divorcement of books from practical life. . . . The old school was a school of cramming; it compelled pupils to imbibe a mass of useless, superfluous knowledge, which clogged the brain and transformed the younger generation into officials turned out to pattern. . . . Our speeches and articles are connected with daily, all-round work. Without work, without struggle, a routine knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and books would be worthless, for it would continue the old divorcement of theory from practice. . . ."*

—V. I. LENIN

# COMMUNICATIONS

## *from the world of students*

### LETTERS FROM CHINA

*Obtained through the cooperation  
of The Committee for a Democratic  
Far Eastern Policy*

### CHINA'S APPEAL FOR JUSTICE AND UNDERSTANDING

Appeal to American and British Students and Citizens:

... We students in the northern part of China, seeing our country stumbling on the verge of total collapse, cried out the universal demand of the cessation of civil war which has killed millions of innocent people and making millions of others starve. We started an anti-civil war and anti-starvation campaign and strike in the hope that our voice may be heard by the Government. The movement is spontaneous and is generally supported by the people, who love and cherish peace.

Yet, our movement is met with the most cruel and beastly attitude of the Government. Beginning on the date we started the drive, in all main cities, there have been students club-beaten, bayoneted and killed by gunshots. Terror reigns all over the country. And members of university faculty and newspaper reporters suffer with the same fate as students. There seems to be no end to this terrorism. The basic human right that has been so emphasized in the Constitution is utterly ignored and now is totally unknown to Chinese people.

We, as students, shall resume our class this date. But this anti-civil war and anti-starvation campaign shall be continued with more fortitude and grimmer determination. We, on this occasion, shall appeal to the world who has sense of justice and humanitarianism that through your sympathy this terrorism may be brought to a stop and the basic human right may be respected in this territory.

*Standing Committee, The North China  
Students Anti-Civil War and Anti-  
Starvation Federation.*

### STUDENTS PROTEST AGAINST KUOMINTANG REGIME

An American Observes Student Demonstrations in North China

... The students marched in defiance of a Nationalist ban on demonstrations and the warnings of local authorities that any march would be prevented by force, if necessary. The students came out in such strength that the Peiping authorities backed down. Their bluff was called. With national power crumbling they couldn't afford an open attack on the students. So the demonstrators marched 4,000 strong, and met with no opposition. Police were conspicuous

by their absence, and soldiers were confined for the most part to their barracks. Only a few casual uniformed men were seen in the streets and they were unarmed.

The parade was very well organized. First there came the massed columns of marchers holding banners aloft, singing defiant and revolutionary songs, and shouting slogans in unison. They are not grim. Their mood is not violent, but hopeful, friendly, and passionately demanding a better world. On both sides of the marchers, the propagandists go to work. Boys and girls with chalk write on everything both stable and moving. Everywhere the slogans go up: "The People Want Peace," "The People Want To Live," "Stop Civil War," "Chinese Must Love Chinese," "No More Hunger." Then come the paint-pot men and girls. They paint the same slogans with larger strokes and with paint that won't wash off. Competing with the painters in energy and determination are the tar-pot group. They carry pots of liquid tar and rub slogans onto the walls. Between all these folk come the pasters. They paste paper and slogans on everything in sight. All these are only a part of the effort, for there are leaflet distributors and newspaper sellers as well, and then, most effective of all, come the speakers. They stop and talk to anyone who will listen. A girl talks fast and earnestly to the occupants of a streetcar that is stalled in the traffic. The car riders make a fine audience for they are jammed together, unable to move. As the speakers finish, there is clapping and cheering from the crowd. A young student speaking broken English comes up to me: "Sir, we are demonstrating against the civil war. The government must stop this war. The people are starving while Chinese kill Chinese. We hope your country will not send any more arms and will help us build democracy." They are not angry with me for being an American. They only plead for understanding and support.

The response of the people of Peiping to all this is disappointing to the students. They would like to see thousands join the parade and a real mass demonstration grow out of it. Nothing like this occurs but the people are friendly. There seems to be an understanding between the people and the students. There is no mistaking where the sympathies of the people lie.

When the march is over the whole route is littered with leaflets, posters and slogans in red paint, black tar and white chalk. But even more remarkable is the scene next day. Every single slogan has disappeared. Householders are held responsible for what appears on their walls, while the police work all night to cover up the writing on public property. Thus does the government re-establish law and order and rub from sight the truth that has burst forth in a sudden blazing effort. Life goes on then as before, to all appearances, but ideas cannot be wiped out with a broom, or smeared over with black paint, and it is probable that behind the walls in a good many homes the thoughts take root and grow. . . .

*Bill Hinton  
Peiping, China.*

*Mr. Bill Hinton, the writer of this letter, was educated at Cornell University and went to China for the Office of War Information. After the war he returned to the United States for a short stay and then went back to China, where he worked with the United Brethren on agricultural rehabilitation.*

## CHINESE STUDENTS ARE ARRESTED AND SHOT DOWN

Trying desperately to smash nationwide student protest against inflation and civil war, the Chinese government has resorted to mass arrests, violence, and increased suppression of free speech. Newspapers which reported student-police clashes have been closed down. Scores of newspapermen, as well as students, have been jailed. Mr. Douglas Falconer, former deputy director of the China office of UNRRA, said at a public meeting in New York: "There is no longer even a pretense of civil liberties in China. They do not exist." So the Kuomintang is now trying, with a ruthless campaign of killing, beating and arrests, to stem the fury of the student body against a corrupt dictatorial government which denies them sufficient funds for education, but squanders its substance for civil war and the secret police.

The Kuomintang's campaign of terror against the students was denounced by Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, famous for twenty years as the "Christian General" of China, in a statement made at Berkeley, California. Marshal Feng, himself a member of the Kuomintang contended the students were doing "no more than their duty" in petitioning the authorities to stop civil strife, and declared that "when those who are supposed to serve the people kill and wound students it is truly an act of revolt." He held the "Gestapo-like" secret police responsible for the death and disappearance of numbers of students, and charged that they abuse their position for "private gain."

*"News," Committee for a  
Democratic Far Eastern Policy*

## TO ALL AMERICAN STUDENTS

Students of the United States:

With great happiness and gratification we read your letter on behalf of all democratic students in America, in which you extended your hearty sympathy to us and launched a righteous protest against Trumanism which is the chief prompter of the civil war in this country and which runs counter to the interests of the American people. The whole of China's population as well as we Chinese students thank you and hope that the present action is the first step in your fight for Democracy and Freedom all over the world.

China is now the most unfortunate in the family of nations, her people the most distressed, and her future development the most hindered by many obstacles. Very many innocent people have died at the front, or starved in the streets, or have been murdered at the hands of the Kuomintang gestapo. The students who dared to express their free will and patriotic views for the people are banned from any kind of activities. Thousands of our fellow colleagues who joined the "anti-hunger and the anti-civil war" movement in May, were arrested either secretly or *en masse* in public by Kuomintang special agents and are suffering unbelievable tortures in concentration camps. The reign of terror is still under way now. In fact, to the masses of people in Kuomintang-controlled areas, life is Hell! . . .

But, China's civil war cannot exist by itself. It is linked up for the most part with the erroneous policy of your Government toward China. Therefore, we



ask you, students of the United States, to fight to stop the continuous assistance by your Government to the reactionary Kuomintang regime. Your fight will encourage us!

Let us unite as a whole to fight for a better world!

Long live the students of both countries!

Long live Democracy and Freedom!

*The National Federation of Chinese Students.*

What the students think of their present government, despite the recent "democratic" reform, is best summed up in a poem which appeared in *The Yenching University News*.

#### SPEAKING OF DEMOCRACY

Life is bitter; life is cruel; 20  
 Take a look at China and the "people's rule."  
 You are the "people," I am the "rule,"  
 What I say, you must do, you fool.  
 You plough the fields in heat and rain  
 I sell the cloth and reap the gain.  
 You place the brick and lay the tile  
 But I move in and live in style.  
 All the young and strong must conscripts be,  
 They shoulder a gun and fight for me. . . .  
 And if my orders you resist,  
 Then, of course, you're a Communist!

#### Editorial Note:

It is now two years since V-J Day. But the people of China, joyous as they are at the defeat of Japan, are in no position to celebrate. Our nation, too, cannot commemorate this occasion without many qualms.

America, the nation that Franklin Roosevelt called the "arsenal of democracy," has now become the patron and arsenal of reaction, imperialism and fascism. And China, which has suffered *twenty years* of devastating war, undergoes new bloody conflicts.

The period 1926-27 marked the overthrow of popular government in China. Allied with the feudal interests and corrupt war lords and encouraged by the imperialist powers, Chiang Kai-shek began in 1927 his war to annihilate the Communists, wipe out the peasant reforms, and eliminate democratic government. The invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese in 1931 added immeasurably greater burdens on to the shoulders of the masses. But this invasion also created the possibility—and the necessity—of a united China. Despite an active alliance offered by the Chinese Communists and accepted by Chiang, and despite growing revolt among many of his own supporters, Chiang violated every pledge to the Chinese people. Nationalist forces which should have been used against the troops of the Rising Sun were utilized instead to bottle up the Communist armies. Lend-Lease supplies from the United States were used

to attack and hem in the Communists, who alone consistently fought the invading Japanese.

The end of World War II has brought no peace to China. A fascist Kuomintang regime, supported by hundreds of millions of dollars worth of American supplies and by the American Army, Marines and Navy, have reopened new offensives against the people's forces. American "missions" under Marshall and now under Wedemeyer have deliberately sought to improve the "efficiency" of the Kuomintang in order to smash the Communist areas and also—as MacArthur has been attempting with Japan—to transform China into a vast base for potential operations against the Soviet Union. Our cartel-minded government, which shrieks "intervention" when the new democracies in Eastern Europe carry out the Potsdam Agreement by purging their nations of collaborators and fascists, has barely sought to cloak "our" full-scale intervention in China. At the same time, there has never been a single proven instance in which the Soviet Union, which borders on China, has intervened in China on the side of the Communists; the Soviet Union has maintained a steadfast "hands-off policy" in the internal affairs of China.

But we are not merely underwriting the campaign against the Chinese Communists. We are supporting a completely bankrupt and corrupt feudal-fascist regime which wars against the Chinese people as a whole, a government which has lost the support of even the most moderate democratic forces. We are being taxed to arm a state which has adopted Japanese thought control and appointed puppet collaborators to important posts, and which dissolves universities at will, bans strikes and other free expressions of democratic rights by brutal use of arms, sends spies as students to America to report on activities of Chinese progressives, maintains a Gestapo-like youth corps, and saddles the people with brutal exploitation and corruption. The decadence of the Chiang terroristic state has been a thorn in the American imperialist plans, and even General Wedemeyer—like Marshall before him—has felt obliged to lash out at the corruption and lust for power rampant among Chinese ruling circles. But what other kind of government could be expected, one might ask, to carry out the ambitious plans of American imperialism? Certainly the Chinese people as a whole have no stomach for war, least of all against the Chinese Communists or against the Soviet Union. Consequently, we see contrasted the steady degeneration of the Nationalist government and the growing power of the Communists, who are receiving increasing support from the other progressive forces in China, such as the moderate Democratic League, and from the people as a whole.

Nor is the problem of China one which faces only the Chinese people. The only conclusion which can be drawn is not only that American imperialists are interested in continued economic exploitation in China, but also that our government is deliberately attempting to create anti-Soviet bases and even to provoke a war with the Soviet Union. Our policy in Latin America, in Spain, in France, Italy, Eastern Europe, northern Canada (Arctic military expeditions), Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Iran and China is a consistent one: smash popular government wherever it arises, support reaction and fascism everywhere, and build the Wall Street version of Hitler's "New Order" in the name of "Anti-Communism."

Such a policy means ruin and disaster not only for other peoples, but for Americans also. It is a policy which goes hand-in-hand with slave labor bills, "loyalty" purges, and the scrapping of the New Deal.

The task of American students is clear. The letters from the students of China are addressed to *you*. They cry out for American student understanding and *action*. These letters constitute a grim warning of what we can expect *in America* if the domestic and foreign plans of American reaction are achieved.

Moreover, we should not be surprised if General Wedemeyer returns with proposals for armed American intervention in China. It is evident that Chiang cannot defeat the people's overwhelming demand for representative government and thorough-going democratic reforms. Just as our "loans" to Greece are being followed up by growing demands for the use of American troops, the logical conclusion of our suicidal policy in China will be the dispatch of American troops to save the Kuomintang dictatorship.

Do *you* want to be told to leave your books for a uniform and a rifle in order to rescue the Chinese fascist regime? We don't think so. We haven't given the best years of our lives to smash Hitlerism in order to support Wall Street aims for world conquest. We must intensify our struggle against American interventionism and atom-bomb, dollar and relief-supply diplomacy. We must expose and combat American support for the rotten Chiang dictatorship. No more loans to Chiang Kai-shek! End the fascist terror in China! Stop the anti-Soviet war drive!

### MAINSTREAM ANNOUNCES LITERARY AWARDS

*The Editors of NEW FOUNDATIONS congratulate MAINSTREAM on its first year of publication with the appearance of its Fall issue.*

*We are happy to announce that MAINSTREAM is sponsoring a series of annual awards of \$150.00 each. Two of these awards will be presented for the best unpublished short story and poem or group of poems submitted by students in American colleges and universities.*

*This year's competition will end March 31, 1948. The winning stories and poems will be published in MAINSTREAM. The Judges of the awards will be the Editors of the magazine, including Samuel Sillen, Dalton Trumbo, John Howard Lawson, Howard Fast, Meridel Le Sueur, Theodore Ward, and Arnaud d'Usseau.*

*Manuscripts should be addressed to the Mainstream Awards Committee, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., with accompanying return postage.*

# MARXISM AND PHILOSOPHY

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Symbols: IP—International Publishers, New York.

S & S—Science and Society.

TMQ—The Modern Quarterly (British); NS—New Series.

NM—New Masses.

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## NOTES ON THE USE OF THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *There is no substitute for reading the fundamental original works listed as Basic Works.* These masterpieces, which carry forward the best traditions of all previous human thought, constitute a world-shaking outlook which exposes bourgeois ideology and is the basis for all Marxist theory and practice. They live today as vividly as when they were written.
2. a. The Basic Works should be *assimilated*, not learned by rote.  
b. All other works must be analyzed *critically*; they are not all completely authoritative.
3. This bibliography omits the subject of esthetics. A complete bibliography in a subsequent issue will deal with this field.
4. Communications are invited which call attention to errors of omission and commission.

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# *The Editors Say:*

They said it couldn't be done. But we had a recipe, and here is the finished product—the first issue of NEW FOUNDATIONS.

Recipe: Take a few people with a dream, add weeks and months of planning, organization and the willingness to work; add miles and miles of sidewalk that we pounded with aching feet looking for a place to set up shop; mix well with a socialist enthusiasm that ripped the word impossible from our dictionary; add reams and reams of paper, the letters that we typed on a battered typewriter and the announcements that we printed ourselves; and season well with the encouragement of those who believed with us. Stir dialectically, and cook well in the zeal and vigor of youth. The result: NEW FOUNDATIONS, volume one, number one. We hope you like it.

But don't get the idea that it was all our doing. Space does not permit us to thank individually everyone who understood and encouraged our dream from the beginning. Just one big thanks in print for all of them—THANKS.

We've made our wish, blown out the candles. Now pitch in and join the party. The initial work has been done. But just as one piece doesn't make the whole cake, one issue does not make a publication. We're inviting you to join in, r.s.v.p.

We're hard at work on the second issue and the ones to follow. But it all depends on you. We want your reactions. We need your manuscripts: research and critical articles, reviews, bibliographical data and creative writing. There are many campuses without Collegiate Editors or Sales Agents: how about yours?

Beginning with our second issue, we are establishing a broad Communications section. Here's your chance to talk about our magazine, about the problems and activities on your campus, and about yourself. This is the opportunity to pass on your experiences and exchange them for those of students on other campuses and in other countries. Let's hear from you!

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