new foundations

A STUDENT QUARTERLY

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA • LETTERS FROM PARIS AND PRAGUE • *CAPITALISM, SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY: TWO VIEWS* • POETRY • CRITICISM • GRAPHIC ARTS • SHORT STORY • REVIEWS • STUDENT LIFE • BIBLIOGRAPHY.

summer 1948

VOLUME ONE
NUMBER FOUR

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

The Principles . . .

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 practice.

The Staff . . .

Cover and colophon designed by Miss Hannah Heider of Graphic Arts Workshop.

new foundations

THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS

VOLUME I
NUMBER 4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NEW FOUNDATIONS is published quarterly at 106 West 92nd Street, New York 25, New York by the New Foundations Cooperative. Subscriptions $1.00 annually; single copies, 25 cents; foreign subscriptions, $1.25. Entered as second class matter November 26, 1947 at the post office at New York, New York under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Contributors

LEONARD BASKIN, a student in New York City, is the art editor of *New Foundations.* A sculptor and member of the Graphic Arts Workshop in New York City, he is the holder of the Louis Comfort Tiffany Fellowship, 1948.

EUGENE BOHART is a senior majoring in English at City College in New York. He is also writing a novel at the present time.

WALTER BRONSON, a former student in New York, is doing graduate work in Prague.

SIMON FIELD is a graduate student in economics.

JESSE EHRLICH was recently graduated from Harvard University, where he studied music and literature. Mr. Ehrlich is now working on the problems involved in creating a literature which will have significance for working-class people.

P. LESLIE has just completed his graduate work in the sciences.

MARVIN REISS, B. A., Brooklyn College, is pursuing graduate studies in dramatic literature at Columbia University, and has taught the modern drama at the Jefferson School of Social Science. Mr. Reiss is the author of *Karl Marx: Student,* which appeared in the first issue of this publication.

MARVIN SHAW is a graduate student of economics and Chairman of the Council of Student Clubs of the Communist Party. Since his return from the service, Mr. Shaw has been active in national student affairs. He participated at the founding Constitutional Convention of the National Students Association.

MARTIN A. WATKINS worked in a garment factory, and was by turns a sailor, boxer, and CIO organizer, after he graduated high school. Returning to school after the war, he received his B. A. in English at the University of North Carolina, and is now working for his master's degree under a teaching fellowship at Indiana University. Mr. Watkins was the first prize winner ($500 award) in the U. S. Army essay contest on the subject "What Shall We Do With Japan?" (January, 1945). Several other articles and a number of poems by Mr. Watkins have been published in various magazines and newspapers.

Those Who Stand By Share the Responsibility

AN EDITORIAL

WHEN one studies the recent unmistakable trends towards fascism in the United States, there comes to mind the well-known ancient myth about Pandora and her box.

Mighty Zeus and his council of gods determined to punish Prometheus, the Titan who capped his assistance to mankind in teaching his human friends the arts of astronomy, agriculture, industry and medicine by stealing fire from the gods and giving this powerful instrument to humanity. Accordingly, Hephaestus (Vulcan), the god of the smithy, was ordered to fashion a beautiful female creature, Pandora, who was then decked out in the finest raiment of silk and gold. Aphrodite invested this creation with tremendous allure, the other gods presented her with various other gifts, and Pandora was then deposited on earth to carry out her assignment.

Disobeying the warnings of his brother Prometheus to refuse any gifts from the gods, Epimetheus (meaning "Afterthought"), entranced and blinded by the heavenly beauty, welcomed Pandora with great joy. But when the box which Pandora carried was opened, there emerged a host of plagues which visited disease, famine and death upon humanity. All the subsequent sufferings of mankind, according to this legend, have resulted directly from Pandora's infamous box.

Such were the fruits of Epimetheus' lack of foresight and vigilance.

MAKE no mistake about it. The gift package of anti-Communism which is being offered the nation in the holy name of "defense" and "defending the Constitution" contains no boons for our country. In reality, it constitutes the characteristic path towards fascism plotted by Wall Street and Washington. It is designed to conceal the growing threat of a new world war precipitated by the grandiose and insane plans

of American finance-capital for the subjugation of the whole world. "Anti-Communism," in its present advanced stage, is a Pandora's box, a trap for the destruction of peace and democracy.

The introduction of the Mundt Bill in Congress came on the heels of the following domestic developments:

1. the open merging of big business, the brass-hat militarists, and the government.
2. the maturing of the factors making for an economic crisis, intensifying the desperation of the trusts.
3. the shackling of labor with the Taft-Hartley Slave Law; growing open shop-ism; the use of injunctions, police and troops to smash strikes for legitimate demands.
4. "loyalty" lists and oaths, terroristic government purges, thought-control of scientists, etc.
5. the deportations delirium directed against the foreign-born, labor and progressive leaders, and Communists.
6. the growth of anti-Negro lynch terror and anti-Semitism.
7. kangaroo court "investigations" and persecutions by the Un-American Committee.
8. an unbridled campaign of red hysteria by all the organs of propaganda and education.
9. storm trooper-like attacks on supporters of Wallace, refusals to rent halls, attempts to smash meetings of the New Party by force and violence.
10. on the campus, the banning of organizations and speakers, widespread intimidation and firing of faculty members who support the New Party, etc.

These are but a few of the significant developments. Coupled with the growing militarization of the country, the kindling of the flames of war in Greece, China, Palestine and elsewhere, and the Truman-Marshall Doctrine of anti-Soviet provocation, they disclose a shocking danger.

We enjoy an enormous advantage over Epimetheus. We are able to exercise hindsight as well as foresight. The horrible examples of Germany and the ill-fated "anti-Comintern" axis — as well as the ashes and bones left in their wake — stand before us. The lesson is clear: *those who stand idly by as would-be observers share with the fascist cartellists the responsibility for the victory of fascism.*

WE have no desire to be "alarmists," to magnify dangers which do not exist or are not important. But the fact remains that with the introduction of the infamous Mundt Bill, the drive towards fascism has entered a new and qualitatively more advanced stage. This bill, which would in effect outlaw the Communist Party (an infallible omen of impending fascization), and, by legalizing the unconstitutional concept of guilt by association, empower the Attorney General to ban any group voicing independent thoughts, epitomizes the peculiarly American path towards fascism — fascization by "legal" means, in the name of "defense of the Constitution and American democracy".

We have no desire to appear to be pessimists. The splendid fight waged by hundreds of thousands of Americans against the Mundt-Nixon Bill has, at the moment of this writing, seriously weakened the chances of its passage by the Senate. But there can be no doubt but that the threat of its passage will continue to be ever-present. The profit-mad, war-crazed and fascist-minded trusts are making a bid for open, terroristic, fascist power. They are conducting their offensive under the cloak of the most cynical hypocrisy and demagogy. They can be defeated, but only if the whole nation is aroused — and quickly — to the peril.

Students! Youth! Your education, your every aspiration and dream, your very lives, the peace of the world, are involved. The time to act is now!

Defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill!

Halt the drive for a third world war!

Stop the drive towards fascism!

Appeal of the Students of Puerto Rico

Last April 14th the student body of the University of Puerto Rico invited as a speaker Pedro A. Campos, who had recently returned to the island after spending 10 years in Atlanta's federal prison for his pro-independence activities. The university chancellor refused to allow Campos to speak, whereupon a delegation of student leaders protested. Chancellor Benitez labelled the delegation a "riot", suspended 24 students (including the president of the Student Council), jailed three student leaders, and closed down the university for 19 days.

When the UPR was finally reopened on May 3rd, 200 armed policemen were stationed on the campus. A student strike was called and numerous open-air meetings were held protesting the police occupation and urging the students to support the strike. These meetings culminated in a protest rally of 3,000 students in the auditorium, where the Student Council president demanded the chancellor's resignation. After the rally, the students marched to the local prison and demanded the release of their leaders. The next day the police used tear gas to break up a peaceful student meeting held near the university. The police, guns drawn, challenged the students to "fight like men"! Thanks to their leaders, the angry students were calmed down, and bloodshed was averted. On the campus grounds, meanwhile, the police were beating up numbers of students congregated in small groups. These terroristic acts increased the ranks of the strikers, thereby forcing the closing of the university.

The situation is still very tense: the army has been called out, and martial law is threatened. Cablegrams of protest should be sent to Gov. Pinero, San Juan, Puerto Rico, demanding the removal of Chancellor Benitez. Messages of support should be sent to Vanguardia Juvenil Puertorriquena, care of Helen Rodriguez Trias (Ave. Ponce de Leon 1521, Santurce, Puerto Rico). But above all, these embattled students urgently request any and all financial assistance possible — quickly! They have no funds whatever to carry on their fight — a fight which American students interested in independence for oppressed peoples must support.

AL GREENBERG

Paris Letter

SIX of the best known French Resistance fighters — Claude Aveline, Jean Cassou, Andre Chamson, Georges Friedman, Louis Martin-Chauffier, and Vercors — recently published a book entitled *L'Heure du Choix* (*The Hour of Choice*), defining their common outlook on how to put France back into the "coeur de l'histoire." Their position was much the same as that of the author of an article in the Catholic magazine *Esprit,* who said: "One can fight against fascism only with the Communists, and one can fight Communism only with the fascists. It is necessary to choose."

As staunch Resistance fighters their choice was, of course, against fascism. But, in spite of an admiration for the Soviet Union and a recognition of the role the working class played in the Resistance, they refused to enter the ranks of the working class and its party. Instead, as Vercors described it, they wished "to be its flank guard," to criticize at a distance, to gain a moral perspective, to be selective in accepting the components of the general program — but, nevertheless, to travel the same route as the main body.

The particular reservations these writers had about identifying themselves with the Communists led to an extensive discussion in the press and over the radio with such Communist leaders as Roger Garaudy and Pierre Herve (exploding the myth that there could be no discussion with Communists). More important than their disagreements, however, was the generally recognized fact that "the six" had underscored: the time to choose had come.

The choice, as Martin-Chauffier wrote, was not between Russia and the United States (in which case he chose neither, but Europe), nor between capitalism and socialism. Rather, it was between the democratic camp and that of reaction. These writers, by their activities since the book appeared, have indicated that they are all squarely in the camp of democracy — "on the side of the readers of *L'Humanite,*" said Vercors, — in the camp that stands for the national independence of France.

Taking note of those who made this choice, "the young French intellectuals who ranged themselves under the banner of Communism," George Slocombe, literary critic of the Herald Tribune's Paris edition, gave advice on how to lead them to another choice. In an article entitled

"Where the Fight Is" (March 19th) Mr. Slocombe tried to discover why General Charles de Gaulle, with the "notable exception" of Andre Malraux, has been unable "to attract to his standard men of conspicuous mental ability." His conclusion was that French intellectuals dislike authoritarianism. De Gaulle would do well, he advised, to forget his admiration for Caesar, Napoleon, Alexander, and Turenne. With amazing candor, he wrote: "What is needed to attract the hesitant intellectuals to the Gaullist banner — *or for that matter, to the banner of the Third Force* — is a high and noble invocation of some ideal greater than patriotism, greater than France, greater than Europe, the ideal of human liberty" (our emphasis). This latter ideal, says the man who found Goebbels' treatment of writers and artists "subtle," was represented by the General's speech at Compiegne, when he called on France "to organize the defense of Europe against Soviet imperialism, to become the strategic center of Western democracy against Communism."

Also interested in "human liberty" were a cardinal, an admiral, and an academician who organized a short-lived "honor committee" of Vichyites. The particular human whose liberty they desired was the ex-Marshal, Philippe Petain. But why not, after all? The bookshops were selling Laval's apologia — not to mention the works of such traitors as Maurras, Brasilach, Fabre-Luce, Bonnet, Rougier, Therine, and Hermant. The screens were showing Sacha Guitry; the stage — works of de Montheland; while Flandin, Paul Faure, and other infamous collaborators were daring to raise their heads in the political winds once more. So the "Honor Committee for the Liberation of Petain" was quite in tune with the times.

Faced with this added insult to the memories of those who were murdered because of the old Marshal's treachery, the men of the Resistance quickly reforged their unity. One week after the formation of the "Honor Committee" a protest meeting was held in the Salle Wagram in Paris. Participating were all Republican elements including even a number of followers of de Gaulle. Despite this diversity, they were unanimous in their determination that Petain should not be freed. So powerful was their outcry that five days later the government was forced to outlaw this dishonor committee.

Patriotic Frenchmen still prized their national honor. The loss of national independence to the Germans or to an obvious stooge like Petain was never a confusing problem. You were either an honest Frenchman and fought the open enemy — or a Collabo, consciously gambling on the Devil. Not so with the present threat to France's independence. Why complain if you can buy a litre of California wine for 40 francs when the cheapest French vin ordinaire is 60 francs? Is it a loss of independence to be able to buy fine American refrigerators more cheaply than the French firms could ever make them? Shouldn't American business interests get certain

"benefits" from the "assistance" they are rendering us? U.S. control of French economy? — Why that's only to ensure the soundness of our economy. With unemployment on the increase in the French industries ruined by the Geneva tariff treaties and agreements like the Byrnes-Blum film accord, these questions are answering themselves.

Lest the loss of France's economic sovereignity to Wall Street be recognized by all, American imperialist interests are accompanying their economic penetration by a nefarious ideological expansion. The weapons used include the widespread display of translated American gutter literature from *Gone With The Wind* (a new edition just came out), to *Forever Amber* and Henry Miller. While this trash infests every shop window "representing" American culture, Howard Fast's novels mysteriously never appear — although the translator's rights have long since been purchased. *Selection du Reader's Digest* (and an extremely judicious selection it is) improves the picture of American democracy, while "A Vos Ordres," the State Department broadcast over the French radio, repeats the same lies on a really high level. On the screen, for every "Monsieur Verdoux," Hollywood dumps hundreds of their otherwise unsalable grade Z junk. When a film like "The Grapes of Wrath" is shown, it must be prefaced with a note (which evoked loud laughter among most Paris audiences) that these conditions do not exist any longer, because all that is necessary to cure social ills in a democracy like the U.S.A. is to bring the matter to the attention of the public.

Through American news agency trusts like UP, AP, INS, Agence Scoop, etc., the U.S. is able to control a good section of the French press. The object and result? First and foremost, according to an article by Guy Besse in *Democratie Nouvelle* on Yankee Ideological Expansion, to create anti-Soviet propaganda. Thus, on reading the screaming headlines in *France-Soir, Samedi-Soir, Paris-Press,* etc., the choice before Frenchmen is not national independence but "imperialistic Russia" vs. "democratic America." For the Frenchman who is hesitant about making his choice, they supply the bloody facts about why Koestler and Kravchenko "chose freedom."

Kravchenko's "choice" drew attention from another direction. Claude Morgan's *Les Lettres Francaises* focused some pointed attacks on him and was immediately sued by George Izard, Kravchenko's French agent. Instead of running for cover, *Les Lettres* came right back with other articles denouncing Kravchenko, including one by Andre Wurmser which calls Kravchenko a liar at the end of each paragraph, refuting point by point many of the statements in the book. To date Izard has succeeded in obtaining one postponement of the trial and is displaying little desire to have his pal called in from the States for cross-examination. Meanwhile, *Les Lettres Francaises* featured their own "I Chose Freedom": an article by Hanns Eisler, the distinguished anti-fascist composer who chose to leave the American haven of democracy only to learn that honest men

don't leave America today — they get thrown out. (The question of France's sovereignity was again underscored when, *on U.S. orders,* Eisler was refused a French visa although he had been asked to write the music for the Lou Bunin production of "Alice in Wonderland" now nearing final preparation in Paris. Eisler is at present enjoying the hospitality of "iron-curtained" Prague.)

Unfortunately for the American-bought sections of French opinion, there is an increasing awareness among Frenchmen that not only is the real choice of the hour not between the Soviet Union and the United States, but also that there are really two Americas from which to choose. The Wallace-Isacson explosion in the Bronx was clearly heard in Paris. Even the conservative press had to point out that there is another America, determined to set the country back on the Roosevelt path. And although their bookshops do not disclose it, Frenchmen are also learning that there is another American literature.

In an article called "Il y a deux litteratures americains" Jean Kanapa, a talented young left-wing writer, attempts to analyze the main currents of the people's America and of the imperialists' America. He points out that it is the reactionary French publishers themselves who feel the need — to buttress French reaction — for the sexy, the exotic, and the mystic works which exemplify the American literature known in France. He sustains his thesis well, pointing out that Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, and Carl Sandburg — not to mention Fast, Maltz, Sillen, or Langston Hughes — are virtually unknown in France. He seems to assume, howeve that *all* of the best-known American literature in France (and he lists Hemingway, Faulkner, Gertrude Stein, Henry Miller, Caldwell, Steinbeck, and Richard Wright) represents Truman's America. While he admits that some of these writers might play a progressive role in the United States, he denies that literature of "desespoir" can have any further value for France. The praise *L'Humanite's* critic expressed for Erskine Caldwell's *Tragic Ground* just a few days after Kanapa's article appeared seems to indicate that the latter was a little too sweeping. Nevertheless, the article was valuable for pointing out that *French* reaction *has chosen* American reaction; and, though it is true that the French bourgeoisie serves the interests of the American imperialists, it is also certain that only by the use of American arms, ideological and otherwise, can French reaction sustain itself and mount its offensive.

There is, further, no dearth of native material on which French reaction can, and does, draw. But progressive French intellectuals have been on the alert to unmask their lies and slanders. Roger Garaudy's "Une Litterature de Fossoyeurs"* for example, did a nice job burying the "false prophet"

---

* Now available in English under the title *Literature of the Graveyard,* N. Y., International Publishers—ed.

Jean-Paul Sartre, the Vatican servant Francois Mauriac, de Gaulle's sidekick Malraux, and the "pure liar," Arthur Koestler.

But what of the literature of the "other" France, of the spirit of the Resistance? Is it still alive and producing? An examination of this question by some members of the C.N.E. (National Writers' Committee) unearthed an alarming situation. All kinds of progressive writers were finding it difficult to get their works published or displayed in the bookshops. And poets, particularly the younger ones, were finding it impossible. As far as the public knew, French poetry had died. Therefore on Saturday, April 3rd, the C.N.E. called a meeting ("POESIE PAS MORTE") at which the works of six unknown young poets were read. Presided over by Aragon, the proceedings were broadcast over the radio and demonstrated to the French people that a sound, healthy, truly French literature, worthy of the great cultural traditions of the past, needs only the slightest encouragement to flower into its own. The Saturday afternoon meetings of the C.N.E. are continuing to offer this encouragement.

AND what path have the students taken in this time of choice? Thanks to the efforts of the American, Jim Smith*, to form a Western bloc of students, the question was tossed into the lap of the U.N.E.F. (National Union of French Students) Congress held in Nice at the end of March. Did the students want to follow America's lead or remain within the international community represented by the International Union of Students? Attacks against the I.U.S. leadership for its position during the Prague events of February were plentiful, but the prevailing attitude was that U.N.E.F. should not quit the organization. RPF (de Gaullist) students, however, were well represented at Nice, and they succeeded in getting the U.N.E.F. to withdraw from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, But they failed in their attempt to pull the U.N.E.F. out of the I.U.S., and since the I.U.S. is a part of the W.F.D.Y., French students are, in effect, still part of the world fighting youth community. The battle to make U.N.E.F. an independent, truly representative organization fighting for the real needs of French students has not ended. Indeed, the decision to remain within the I.U.S. signifies the beginning of the struggle against the American State Department's penetration (via N.S.A.) of the world student movement.

At about the same time that the Nice convention was taking place, the Communist students of France held their first national congress in Paris. The Central Committee of the French Communist Party devoted a good deal of attention to this gathering: in the course of the two-day conference

---

* Acting as proxy for Bill Ellis as IUS vice-president, he and Ellis resigned at the time of the Czech events—ed.

more than a dozen members of the Central Committee appeared on the speaker's platform. The main report was delivered by Georges Cogniot, editor-in-chief of *L'Humanite,* who gave a detailed analysis of the "revendications" around which all students could unite. (His report, incidentally, included a study of academic freedom, with a reference to the wonderful fight on this issue by the students of Queens College in New York.) Other speakers, besides the student delegates, included the well-known biologists Marcel Prenant and Georges Tessier; Raoul Calas, Deputy, who spoke about the general organizational work of student Communists and young intellectuals; and Andre Marty, Secretary of the Communist Party, who delivered the concluding address after active participation in the discussion both days. Not a single student spoke but was carefully listened-to by Marty, and often pointedly questioned by him. (Marty has a well-earned reputation as a stickler for the facts.)

Marty concluded, on the basis of experiences detailed by students from the country over, that: "It is therefore possible to group for the defense of their immediate interests: the Socialist students who prefer to defend their future rather than to approve the treason of a Blum; the Catholic students who, like the rest of us, want to see more libraries and laboratories; and even the 'Gaullist' students — who are patriots and therefore enemies of the rehabilitated collaborators, Cagoulards, and other plotters, of the 'Man of Providence' and of the neo-fascist RPF. In a word, it is necessary to regroup the great mass of young intellectuals who want to learn, and in order to assure their future, to defend the French University and French thought." Communist students, he said, must show their fellow students that the fight for their immediate needs is part of the struggle for national independence. He vigorously denied the charge that students, because of their class background, are naturally reactionary. The conditions exist today, he continued, for involving the large mass of students in the great popular struggles now unfolding in France. The transformation of this possibility into a reality depends in large measure on the activity of the Communist students and professors.

Marty stressed that the "secret" of success for the Communist is always to link up the defense of immediate needs with the presentation of a clear political perspective. The ideological struggle is therefore of utmost importance, and it is a political task to master scientific knowledge, to master the philosophy of dialectical materialism. Marty concluded by recalling that Gabriel Peri, brilliant intellectual, and Pierre Semard, militant worker, both gave their lives for their country; the Communists, drawing on the best patriots and revolutionaries from all sections of life, defend to the end their national independence.

The invitation to join with the Communists was extended not merely to the students, but also to the entire youth community. Speaking at an immense youth rally at Buffalo Stadium in Paris on April 18th, Maurice

Thorez likewise emphasized the necessity for all honest Republicans to unite in order to call a halt to the super-exploitation the French masses — and particularly the French youth — are now suffering under as a result of American economic and political penetration.

And French youth was making its choice. At its Second National Congress, held in Lyon, the U.J.R.F. (Union of Republican Youth of France) found that many religious Catholics, honest Socialists, and even followers of de Gaulle, were realizing that in the face of rising unemployment, reduced real wages, inadequate school facilities, militaristic government policies (the term of military service has been boosted to 18 months, for example), budget cuts for such items as youth recreation centers: that in the face of all this, only a united fighting youth could achieve any of its common aims. The growth of the U.J.R.F. in the last months has demonstrated that the youth of France — like Yves Farge, Vercors, Jean Cassou, and the other Resistance leaders who have joined the newly-formed "Fighters for Freedom" — have made their choice: for a free and independent France.

"Art belongs to the people. It must let its roots go down deep into the very thick of the masses. It must unite the feeling, thought and will of these masses, uplift them. It must awaken the artists among them and develop them. Must we provide fine cakes for a small minority while the masses of workers and peasants still lack black bread? I mean this, it must be understood, not only in a direct sense, but also figuratively."

— *LENIN*

SHASHI BAKAYA

Pause, Ye Warriors

INTRODUCTION

SHASHI BAKAYA, whose poems follow, died September 13, 1946, a victim of imperialist oppression. Colonial "medical" facilities made fatal his gallant act of donating blood for the victims of the Bombay riots which began September 1st of that year.

Cut down at twenty-five, he was but two years short of the average life-span of his countrymen. But his were years of unrelenting struggle. The General Secretary of the Bombay Friends of the Soviet Union, an active leader in the Indian independence movement, a student of Marxism, Bakaya nevertheless found time to compose more than five hundred poems.

Strongly influenced by Soviet writers, his values are those of a new era. He was a poet on the battle-field, for whom words were

> "Weapons
> Which shall suffice
> As arrows, bullets, shells in these our hands
> Lovers of freedom in all lands." (From "To Ehrenburg")

We are happy to present, for the first time in this country, poems selected from his work. A collection of his poetry is being prepared in London.

The Dedication

Pause
And recall
The warriors
Who are gone,
The strikes,
The demonstrations
And the fights,
Short, momentary,
Slow, intrepid, long,
Glorious like sunny days,
Sombre as nights.

You who assemble here,
Their sons, their friends, their brothers,
Oath-bound
To revenge
The milk of their mothers,
Their children's tear:
Pause, you
Warriors of greater dawns.

The flowers at unsung funerals,
Limbs we have proudly sent to death,
Shadows which clutch the iron bars,
Heads hung from gallows
Under every star,
The vanguard of this festival,
To them belongs
The poet's pen,
The music of his very breath.

Recall those absent men
And pause.
I have to offer them a song.

Sonnet

I shall not say blow Rose through wind and weather,
What of the thorns you bear in your burnt bosom—
What of the nightingale's memorial feather
Which lisps a tale of waste below your blossom.

What though tear-lumined eyes have ever cherished
Your passionate laugh in love's dream-ravished hour
What though for you each winged throat has perished
Whose song made you a proud immortal flower.

I shall not sing to you another rapture
But I shall raise your beauteous face to battle
Where human roses fade in thorny capture
And hangmen singe the leaf and shoot the petal.

And I shall call blow Rose adorn their grave
Who kissed you not but died an earth to save.

The Drawing Room

A dog is more welcome here,
Less a man, least a human notion.
Those who live here in lonely bare
Eternal scansion of these marble walls
Are scarcely human, scarcely animal,
Life's obsolete motion.

Sofas, vases, chairs, cold spaces
And artificial trees.
Domed on the elephant-legged tripod
The ashtray with calamities
Of many ashen cigarettes, like lepers
Burning their stumpy limbs to raise
The sacrificial smoke to God.

Sofas, vases, chairs, cold spaces,
Imprisonment of these.

Dull intellectual photographic faces
Sharp-lined and quick-contoured, unaware
Of the window-winding street, the dust,
The human breath, the faces leaning out of walls, the care
Alive on the stone and pavement there.

There is the human element
In the symbol of the grey walls, the organ
Stood by the mantelpiece, the tall window,
Lean light-stand, breeze-binding window ribbons.

There is the human element
Compressed into the skeleton
Of iron girders, mortared bricks,
The stance, the attitude of all
Inanimate but human-handled things.

There is the human element
In the vast prophesying shade
Invading,
Stretching across the oval curvature
Of the static drawing room.

A dog is more welcome here,
Less a man, least a human notion.

Lo! I Shall Write a Great Poem

Lo! I shall write a great poem!
The greatest poem of the year.
And I shall sing the song of crime and hate,
Of laughter, love and smile and sun and star.
I shall encompass humanity in my hand
And kiss the sea and embrace the air,
And fondle every noble land
For the earth and the men it bears.
And I shall caress the woman weeping
And the dead child tossing in his grave,
And I shall praise the sorrow of the buried,
And heaving passions of freedom's brave.

My words shall be feathered arrows, my verse
Swift shots from a belt of vengeance flown.
My imagery shall be a gleam of the morrow,
My sense an iron beam of joy and sorrow
And my song a great blessing and a curse.

I shall not sing of kings for kings no longer
Mean cruel power that I should flail.
I shall not sing of crowns, bare heads are stronger
Than these emblems of ancient glory.
For in the land, fallen people are not fallen,
And they emerge from suffering at a word
That liberty commands.

Lo! I shall write a great poem!
The greatest poem of the year,
This newborn with its pangs of pain and pools
Of blood, this son of changing spheres.
And the men shall hear my song and rise,
And the men will hear my song and will arise
For I have dipped my pen in their death's blood
And I write on the parchment of their skins
Raising my tireless hand their freedom to defend,
And the men shall hear my call and rise.
And when they rise my song shall breathe,
For in the people it will find a friend,
And the fire in my mind will momentarily cool
For I would have wakened a conflagration
And sung immortal freedom.

Lo! I shall write a great poem!

P. LESLIE and H. W.

Capitalism, Science, and Philosophy: Two Views

Science and Idealism, by Maurice Cornforth. New York, International Publishers, 1947, $2.50.

THE scope of Cornforth's book is somewhat narrower than the title would indicate. The major purpose is to discuss, from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, the philosophical school of "logical positivism" or "logical empiricism" which in one form or another, sometimes diluted into "pragmatism" or "operationalism" is probably dominant among the scientifically educated American intelligentsia today. In discussing this latest and, in Cornforth's words, "it is to be hoped, last" development of the philosophical trend of "pure empiricism" and "sensationalism," Cornforth's purpose is to bring up to date the classical Marxist critique in Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1908). This reviewer seriously doubts Cornforth's success in this ambitious and difficult task.

For a full understanding of the role of any philosophy of science a clear analysis of the historical relationship between modern science and capitalism is essential. The book under review has a lengthy and interesting historical section providing much useful data on the British materialists and "empiricists." However, the historical analysis is confined almost entirely to *philosophy* of science, that is, to the ideological superstructure. But it is precisely in the relation of science itself, of the social activity of science, an activity of greatest economic significance, to capitalism, that the key to an understanding of the whole matter lies. Cornforth undoubtedly understands this. But it is not brought out clearly in this work.

The rise of modern science in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was organically connected with the rise of the bourgeoisie. The science of Mechanics was first developed by canal builders, hydraulic engineers, and gunsmiths — Galileo was trying to solve problems of artillery ballistics when he discovered the laws of falling bodies. The first scientific studies of magnetism were accomplished by seamen and makers of nautical instruments: the first treatise on magnetism was by an instrument maker, Robert Norman (1581), and it was largely plagiarized by the university scholar William Gilbert, whose "On the Magnet" (1600) is generally considered

to be the first scientific book on the subject. Lack of space prohibits further exemplification.*

The development of modern science, of organized, systematic knowledge of the world, based on experiment and observation, was an essential facet of the struggle for supremacy of the new capitalist relations of production. Cornforth shows how, on the level of ideas, the struggle of the rising bourgeoisie, the predecessors of industrial capitalists, against the restrictions of a decadent feudal organization of society expressed itself in the emergence of a scientific, fundamentally materialist philosophy. This materialist and, therefore, basically anti-religious philosophy of the rising bourgeoisie found its first clear expression in the work of the Englishman, Francis Bacon (1561-1626), and reached its apex in the eighteenth century with the French materialists La Mettrie, Diderot, and the other "Encyclopedists."

This philosophy, with its affirmation of man's ability to know and conquer nature, with its rejection of fear, superstition and tradition, was a revolutionary philosophy, the philosophy of a revolutionary class. It was destructive not only of the theological authority of the Church — the Encyclopedists made no bones about their atheism — but of *all* authority based on "God-given rights," tradition, and superstition. To the degree that the bourgeoisie consolidated its victory, as it emerged as the oppressor class, it increasingly had to bolster its own state authority by itself adopting obscurantism, traditionalism, and theological authority.

It is not surprising, therefore, that as the bourgeoisie turned reactionary, it did its best to "refute" and forget scientific materialism. Materialism was universally scorned and ignored by the philosophers of triumphant capitalism, who now vied with each other in constructing ever more complicated and absurd philosophical systems to justify the existing order of things. Materialism could rise anew, in its modern form, only as the new revolutionary class, the industrial proletariat, developed its own revolutionary ideology. This modern form of materialism based on the tremendous further advances of science — social as well as natural — since the time of the great bourgeois materialists is Dialectical Materialism, the philosophy first developed by Marx and Engels.

The capitalist class finds itself in the contradictory position of having to support or at least tolerate science, which is, after all, still essential to modern capitalist production, and increasingly, for the destruction of imperialist war, while at the same time it devotes more and more of its energies to combat and suppress the scientific ideology, materialism. The result, as one might expect, is ideological schizophrenia.

---

* For a general discussion containing much useful factual material on the rise of modern science see E. Zilsel's "Sociological Roots of Science," *American Journal of Sociology,* January 1942.

Some philosophical apologists of the ruling class, it is true, take the bull by the horns and, rejecting science altogether, openly return to the spiritualism, mysticism, and theological dogmatism of the Middle Ages. Such is the "neo-Thomism" of Maritain, and of Mortimer Adler with his "hundred great" authorities; such also is the protestant spiritualism of Kierkegaard which, via Jaspers and Heidegger, leads on the one hand to Sartre and his "Existentialism," and on the other straight to Hitler's court philosopher Rosenberg and his "Mythos of the Twentieth Century."

But outright rejection of science can hardly be the philosophy for the scientists and technicians whose scientific knowledge and skill in industry, the universities, and the government research laboratories is so essential for keeping the creaking machinery of decaying capitalist economy going for a while longer. To assert the validity of science while emasculating its social implications — that is the ideological sleight-of-hand more or less successfully attempted by the "pure empiricism" of Hume and Mach and its modern variants of "conventionalism" and "logical positivism." These philosophies all begin by praising science to the skies as being the only valid method of acquiring knowledge — and end up by asserting that this knowledge tells us nothing about the "real" world and is, in fact, not knowledge *about* anything except possibly "sensations." Science to the logical positivists is a sort of postulational game with axioms and logical rules of procedure, not referring to anything, but hanging freely suspended in mid-air like Mohammed's coffin.

Such a philosophy is just what is required for the scientist who would keep his laboratory researches and their scientific consequences in a water-tight compartment away from his reactions and thinking as a citizen, who wants to avoid coming into conflict with the blatantly anti-scientific ideological mumbo-jumbo of his capitalist rulers and employers. The social role and philosophical fallacy of "pure empiricism" in general was subjected to a devastating analysis by Lenin in his *Empirio-Criticism.*

Where Cornforth has gone beyond Lenin is in a detailed account and philosophical analysis of Wittgenstein's and Carnap's "logical positivism" which arose after Lenin's book had been written. In this he has done a detailed and scholarly job. None of the writings of the positivists themselves, insofar as they are known to this reviewer, has set forth the basic tenets of the various exponents of this philosophy in such a concise and yet thorough manner. Yet one cannot help wondering for what kind of audience Cornforth was writing.

For the general public, a detailed study of the very abstract technicalities of the positivist terminology and logical apparatus seems hardly necessary, or, to put it more strongly, is really a waste of time.

For the scientist who is influenced by positivist ideas in one form or another, on the other hand, Cornforth's criticism, valid as it is, seems to miss the point. The attraction of logical positivism for the natural scientist

— apart from its social basis — lies in the detailed and pseudo-plausible analysis the positivists make of the current scientific theories and problems. It also resides in the highly technical complexity and pseudo-mathematical rigor with which logical positivism clothes its analysis. General philosophical arguments will not, in this reviewer's experience, cut very much ice with the scientist.

What must and can be done is, rather, to show the inadequacy and even absurdity of the positivist analyses of specific scientific theories within the specific scientific fields. Mach, the spiritual father of logical positivism, spent a good part of his time in denying the existence of atoms and the validity of the atomic theory of matter which was then achieving its first great successes. This absurd position in a particular scientific field followed directly from his philosophical point of view. The present-day absurdities of Mach's disciples must be ferreted out in the particular sciences and exposed, just as this particular absurdity was exposed by the development of science itself. This is a job that remains to be done.

P. Leslie

Maurice Cornforth's *Science and Idealism* is indispensable reading for the American college student in all fields and at all levels. Here at last, and in eminently readable form, we have a scholarly and penetrating analysis of the pure empiricists and logical positivists from Berkeley and Hume to Bertrand Russell, Wittgenstein and Carnap. Cornforth exposes these professed "friends of science" as in reality its worst enemies. He shows them to be supporters of obscurantism, hostile to the struggles of the people for a better world.

Equally important for American students and progressives is the fact that *Science and Idealism* furnishes us with the equipment necessary to analyze and expose pragmatism, and especially the version of John Dewey — even though Cornforth does not treat this philosopher specifically — for the anti-scientific, anti-progressive doctrine that it assuredly is. Dewey, like the logical positivists, is in the pure empiricist tradition; in essence his philosophy reduces to a concealed form of subjective idealism. For him, scientific knowledge is not knowledge of the objective material world. "As long as the notion persists that knowledge is disclosure of reality, of reality prior to and independent of knowing," writes Dewey, "and that knowing is independent of a purpose to control the quality of experienced objects, the failure of natural science to disclose significant values in its objects will come as a shock" (*Quest for Certainty*, p. 44).

Dewey is far more dangerous than the logical positivists because he not only dresses in naturalist, if not materialist, clothing, but also talks "socialism." Actually, his philosophy is in all essentials the same old solipsism, warmed-up and camouflaged. Dewey claims to be ultra "scientific" and "socialist," but in fact he undermines the very basis of science

and perverts socialism into its opposite: anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. The virus of Deweyism has had no small measure of success in infecting unsuspecting students with confusion as to the nature of scientific truth, and paralysis in regard to progressive action. Cornforth has furnished us with an effective ideological anti-toxin.

Cornforth applies the critical method employed by Lenin in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* to the developments of positivism and empiricism during the past forty years. He traces the origins of these doctrines to the materialist philosophies of Bacon and Hobbes, and shows how Locke's half-hearted materialism was exploited by Berkeley and Hume to establish subjective idealism. With this transformation of materialism into its opposite, the task set for philosophy by the recently triumphant capitalist class — to limit science and thereby make room for religion — was brought to successful completion.

So successfully was this task carried out by Berkeley and Hume that the modern "logical" philosophies are in fact merely complex variations on the same theme, designed to be less openly subjective and therefore more useful in "rejecting" the cumulative truth of science.

Lenin first exposed these subtle positivist attempts to cover up solipsism. He summed up his criticism of the positivist schools by saying that "There is nothing in the teachings of Mach and Avenarius besides a paraphrasing of subjective idealism" (p. 46).

Science and Idealism serves as an excellent extension of Lenin's classic treatment of the subject. The book divides readily into three parts. The first, 96 pages long, clearly and concisely traces the rise of pure empiricism out of the materialism of Bacon and Hobbes through the half-way station of Locke, to the frankly solipsist positions of Berkeley and Hume, thence to the agnosticism of Kant, and on to the first attempt to conceal subjective idealism in the positivist philosophy of Ernst Mach.

The second, and — due to its complex subject matter — by far the most difficult part of the book, is the 130 pages devoted to a searching analysis of the more recent logical schools in the positivist tradition of Mach. This is the section of *Science and Idealism* which carries forward Lenin's analysis into the intervening forty years of bourgeois philosophy's major attempt to limit science in favor of religion. Of necessity, Cornforth must expose the technicalities, the fine distinctions, the subtle maneuverings of these "up-to-date" enemies of progress. It is difficult reading for the layman unversed in the peculiar jargon of philosophical obscurantism. But reading and digesting this section is well worth the effort required.

The final chapters ("The Interpretation of Science" and "Conclusion") summarize the argument in clear and simple language.

Cornforth's *Science and Idealism* is most welcome in this country, where students are exposed either to logical positivism of the Nagel brand, or to pure empiricism of the Dewey brand. H. W

WALTER BRONSON

*Prague Letter**

IN order to place the events of February 25th in their proper perspective a brief general survey of previous political developments in the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) is necessary.

In the course of the resistance to the Nazi occupation and the years of revolution (1944-45), there had been hammered out a coalition of parties and a unity of program unique in this country. When the Benes government went from London to Moscow to pick up Fierlinger and Gottwald, and when this united government of internal and exiled resistance elements established itself in Kosice, something new had appeared in Czech life.

At Kosice a program was drafted with the complete unanimity of all the sections of Czech life represented there — approximately 95% of the nation. A series of proposals for the reorganization of the economic and political structure of the nation along more socialist and democratic principles was adopted.

The structural form of the government unanimously decided on involved the legalization of the Committees of the National Front which had grown up during the revolution. These National Front Committees, established on national and local scales, were not to be debating societies or arenas of struggle among the four participating parties; rather, they were the instruments for the fulfillment of the Kosice program, which the parties were solemnly pledged to carry out to the maximum degree possible by the time of the coming elections. Between 1945 and 1946, there was no effective basis for determining representation on these committees. Consequently, their composition was largely carried over from the liberation period. The 1946 national elections differed radically from those in the States. There were no debates on program, and no opposition was voiced among the parties on any question of platform. The elections served to indicate the representative strength of the various parties as a means of determining representation in the National Front Committees, and to permit the establishment of a representative national government.

Despite the expressed unanimity and pledges to fulfill the common program, it was obvious that the various parties had different orientations,

* This communication, which arrived too late for our Spring issue, is being published at this time because the issues involved are still of great significance for American students.

and accordingly the people had a basis on which to choose. The Communists, with a plurality of some 38%, won the premiership and other posts in the Cabinet; all the other parties were also represented in the Cabinet. And between them, the Communists and Socialists had achieved an absolute majority of 52%.

Between the elections and February 20, 1948, various differences arose from time to time on methods of carrying out the program. In the early days, all parties accepted the working principle of unanimity in the National Front Committees. But difficulties arose later, and it is here that a study of the composition of the National Socialist Party (NSP) and the People's Party (PP) becomes important.

When the people voted in the 1946 elections, they did not select individuals, but voted for parties; and the seats apportioned to the respective parties were filled by the central executive committees. It thus developed that many of the representatives appointed to the constituent assembly and various governmental bodies turned out to be former members of the Agrarian and other dissolved reactionary parties who had flocked to the legal parties in order to carry out their policies. Many of these had formerly been leaders of the older parties and were extremely capable in maneuvering themselves into leading positions in the parties they joined after the revolution. Although some of them were definitely tainted with collaborationism, their parliamentary immunity and protection by their parties enabled them to function with relative ease. One must also bear in mind the effect of international developments on internal events.

It must be stated very definitely that there was absolutely no popular basis, no mass support whatever, for activity directed against the Kosice program. With the exception of the conservative base that existed among the students, the overwhelming majority of the people did not support any attempts to alter or weaken the government program. This is borne out by any number of facts, not the least important of which were the growth in strength and influence of the CGT, the mass organizations, and the Union of Czech Youth — and particularly the phenomenal growth of the Communist Party itself, which, shortly before the February crisis, had recruited a membership greater than the combined membership of all the other political parties in CSR.

Much of the base of the NSP and PP was to be found among the Czech students. In fact, the student sections of these parties were the most active of all, and these parties spent more funds on student activities than for any other purpose. This was a major accomplishment, for these parties could point to few other successes in the other sectors of Czech life. Moreover, it must be recalled that students in Czechoslovakia were considered a kind of privileged group; and they received many benefits not accorded to the population at large. The NSP and PP centered much

of their attention on the students, therefore, because of the significance of the Czech students both at home and abroad.

Czech students during the war can be classified on the basis of three kinds of experience. One group attended the middle schools which had not been closed by the Germans but rather had been used by the latter to disseminate their fascist ideology. Another group was driven off to the concentration camps because of anti-Nazi activity. Finally, there was the majority of Czech students of university age sent off to work camps by the Nazis. This latter group of slave workers separated from their families at a tender age underwent painful, demoralizing experiences. The Czech students therefore consisted of groupings which approached the problems of post-war Czechoslovakia from different points of view.

Moreover, it is essential to understand that the overwhelming majority (98%) of the students came from the propertied and professional classes, both before and during the war. It is precisely these classes which lost most as a result of the changes in CSR since the war. This is probably the most important factor to be considered: the majority of the Czech student population was out of step with the rest of the Czech nation.

The Secretariat of the International Union of Students (IUS) here in Prague could adopt only one orientation in this entire situation; the IUS could take no steps which would weaken the democratic struggles of the students and the people, but must, on the contrary, undertake those measures — many more than in the past — necessary to strengthen those struggles. While the IUS does defend the rights and interests of the students wherever they are threatened or attacked, it does so only when the struggles of the students concerned further the principles of democracy and of the IUS — and certainly not when anti-democratic activities are undertaken. The students in Egypt who demonstrated for war against Jewish Palestine, the students in Turkey who demonstrated for war against the Soviet Union, the students of Gary, Indiana, who protested against the admission of Negro students — in all cases after incitement by fascist adult groups — were all exercising what Americans consider democratic rights. No one would suggest that, should these demonstrations have been dispersed in any way, the IUS should come to the students' defense. On the other hand, when the IUS has acted on behalf of the students of Greece, India, Spain, and China, it has never done so simply on the basis that students were prevented from exercising democratic rights. The IUS has, in each case, supported these students because they were attacked in the course of pursuing activities which contributed to the welfare of the nation, to the democratic national life. In no case has the IUS acted in the past simply upon receipt of a telegram stating that rights had been suppressed. Each situation has been examined in the light of its background, and action is determined in such a way as would help defend or extend the existing democracy.

THE crisis during the week of February 20-25 largely hinged on whether Pres. Benes would accept the resignations of the reactionary ministers and permit the appointment of new ones, or continue to attempt to re-establish the status quo ante. During this period the streets overflowed with masses of marching and demonstrating workers and youth calling for the acceptance of the proposals of the Prime Minister which had been seconded by the National Council of the CGT, the Congress of Factory Production Councils, and the mass organizations. During this period, also, there were demonstrations in the main square of Prague and parades in the various streets by students opposed to Premier Gottwald's proposal. In fact, one of these parades wound up at the castle of Pres. Benes, and he received a student delegation which talked with him on the evening of February 23rd. On the morning of the 25th, a meeting of all Prague citizens was called for 4 PM that afternoon to hear the decision to form a new government. Everyone in Prague knew at this time that a new government had been accepted by Pres. Benes and that its composition was to be announced by the Prime Minister at this mass meeting — thus ending the government crisis.

Pres. Benes formally requested in a statement to the press and radio that there be no demonstrations at his castle, to prevent interference with his study of the problem and negotiations. It should also be indicated that many factories which tried to organize such demonstrations to the castle after they learned about the student demonstration of the eve of the 23rd were dissuaded by the trade union leaders, who requested them to respect the wishes of the President. Pres. Benes pledged that he would permit no solution of the crisis other than one in full conformity with parliamentary, democratic procedure.

The student demonstration of February 25th therefore occurred after the crisis had been ended; contrary to the wishes of Pres. Benes; and at a time when most of the Prague population was assembled in Vaclavski Nametsi to hear about the new government's composition.

The occurrence of the demonstration is not the important factor; of greater significance is a study of how and why it was organized. The investigations of the IUS have established that the parade was organized at a meeting called by a Czech student named Navratil and several leaders of faculty organizations who were members of the NSP. *At no time was any meeting called of the central committee of the Prague NUS or of the central NUS to discuss it.* On Wednesday, February 25th, Mr. Ondrus, President of the central NUS, sent a letter to the organization tendering his resignation on the ground that he opposed the organization of such a demonstration without his consultation; and he protested the unauthorized use of his name in the call for the demonstration. Further, he protested the calling of such a demonstration in the name of the Czech NUS.

The procession was organized from four assembly points around Prague, with the aim of a merger into a single column somewhere near the castle. Students marching from two of these points dispersed before they reached the final assembly site after being requested to do so by the police. Another group tried to reach the castle through some abutting gardens, but it too was dispersed by the police. The students returning from these assemblages brought back wild accounts of shooting of students in the other processions, and it is with these reports that the "impartial" and "objective" press conducted a Roman holiday. Subsequent investigation revealed that in only one demonstration was one student wounded, accidentally, in the leg.

Many students of the Czech middle schools, not attending the university, participated in the processions. Several of them stopped at a news agent's kiosk and asked if they might remain there to avoid participating; they stated that their fathers were workers and would not approve of the action: rather, they had been instructed at school to join the demonstration. Further, the person carrying the flag and leading the procession was not a student, but a member of the NSP employed at an airplane works at Jinonice.

It is abundantly clear that the meeting was carefully planned and led by members of the NSP. The action had no relation to the activities of the Czech NUS or the Prague NUS, except insofar as some of the organizers were also elected representatives of a number of the faculty organizations and used their positions to further the policies of their particular party. Moreover, in view of the solution of the crisis — and it was not as though any given viewpoint had not already been heard — the stated mission of the demonstration bore no relation to the actual circumstances. The responsibility for what occurred, in view also of the failure to obtain permission for the assemblage and to disperse peacefully at the request of the police, lies with those who organized it. The aim of the NSP leaders during the whole crisis period was to provoke inflammatory incidents and prolong the atmosphere of crisis. And there can be no doubt that many participating students were totally ignorant of the nature, objectives, and methods of the ringleaders: they were the victims of rumors and false reports about "seizure of power," etc. Insofar as one student was wounded and a number of others hurt — which is indeed extremely regrettable — it is clear that the students were duped by a dishonest, self-appointed leadership.

Having read copies of the *Herald Tribune* here, I know that we can effectively discredit American journalism, although I am aware that the technique of Hitler's big lie still unfortunately works.

CONCURRENTLY with these events, other very significant developments were unfolding as regards the students in CSR. There was the

work of the student action committees, the expulsions from the universities of professors and students, the changes in the Czech NUS, and the consequences of all these in Czech educational life. Once again, no separation can be made between the events in the student world and those in the nation at large. The changes in the universities were an integral part of the changes effected by the solution to the government crisis.

Between Monday, the 23rd, and Wednesday, the 25th, in accordance with the government's advice and the call of the central action committee, student action committees were established in all the universities. There were committees in each faculty which included representatives of professors, students, and even employees, drawn from all parties. Similar committees were established in each student kolej. Meanwhile, the normal organs of the university, the professorial councils, and the Ministry of Education continued to function; during the interim before the appointment of a new Minister of Education, work in the Ministry was conducted by the action committee set up there. In some of the faculties and kolejs — as throughout the nation — the action committees were able to achieve a very broad basis for their work, since most of the professors and students were solidly behind the Kosice program. Where it was impossible to include representatives of all groups (which was largely true only among the students) because of their refusal to participate, action committees were nevertheless set up on the basis of existing progressive forces.

The program of all these student action committees was concerned with the fulfillment of the 1945 program as it applied to education: the exclusion of all collaborators, the democratization of the universities, the completion of reforms in education. (*All of these decisions, which had been unanimously adopted by the various parties, had been ignored by the Minister of Education; this cabinet member, an NSP'er, was one of the resigning ministers who provoked the governmental crisis in the hope of defeating the will of the people by creating an international "incident."*) Further, there was begun the implementation of the program of student demands adopted at a student conference in the summer of '45 but never carried into effect by the old Czech NUS leadership. These demands were for:

1. The issuance of regular university student stipends similar to the system in effect in the Soviet Union;
2. The management of all student hostels by representatives of the government and by democratic councils in each hostel;
3. A general reform of all university studies;
4. Special study arrangements to be made for students enrolled in 1939 or earlier;
5. All university examinations to be given by an examining board;
6. No pro-fascist professor to be allowed to teach university students.

On the evening of February 26th, the central action committee of Charles University called a meeting of the various faculty action committees to discuss the main lines of its program. It was confirmed that in the future students would participate in all faculty meetings — both in commissions for educational reform and at meetings of national examining boards. And during the whole of this week, there was a great deal of activity among the students of the faculties in preparing new plans and suggestions for educational reforms and examining the cases of professors and students whose expulsions were to be proposed to the Minister of Education.

During this period also, hotels formerly centers for prostitution and other shady activities were taken over by the students for use as hostels. Prices were cut 20% in student restaurants, and organization of facilities in student hostels was improved.

As for the expulsions, it must be noted that each such case resulted from recommendations of the action committees to the Ministry of Education; and in every instance the right of appeal to the central action committee was guaranteed; moreover, all cases were made subject to review by the courts of honor formed after the revolution and now revived. Prof. Novotny, expelled from the Commercial University, had the following record, for example: in 1942, he published a book awarded a prize by Moravec, then Fascist Minister of Education, and he participated in an organization which dealt with the expropriation of Jewish property. In no case that the IUS has investigated has a student or prof been expelled simply for his political beliefs; the documented history has always been one of active opposition over a period of time to the government program. This is in sharp contrast with the reports circulated abroad, from which one would gather that the changes in Czech university life consisted merely in the exclusion of professors and students regarded as "politically undesirable" or adhering to the NSP or PP.

I have been able to sketch only a few of the significant aspects of the tremendous events in Czechoslovakia. The popular, democratic solution of the Czech crisis created by reactionary elements encouraged by foreign powers, and the subsequent achievements (adoption of a new constitution, etc.) indicate that the people of Czechoslovakia are now determinedly on the path of progress to a great socialist future. And there can be little question but that students in this republic, their democratic composition and reformed university structure much strengthened, will play a significant, progressive role.

EUGENE BOHART

From the Mouths of Babes

"MAMA, she's trying to jump out of the window!" I yell.

I put my hands up to my face. They feel smooth. My eyes stick to the window. I yell again, my voice sounding loud far away inside my head.

"Mama, Mama, Grandma's trying to jump out of the wind—"

"Mother!" Mama yells. Mama runs over to the window and grabs Grandma around the belly. Grandma's mouth is open, her eyes are big and wide. A little spit is coming from the side of her mouth. Uncle Jack comes running from the kitchen. He also runs over to Grandma.

Mama and Uncle Jack take Grandma to the bed where she was sleeping before. The covers are all messed up. They sit Grandma down on the bed. The bed bends like a bow and arrow in the middle. Mama is talking softly to Grandma. Uncle goes to the window and closes it. The outside looks shiny. Grandma doesn't even say anything. She is laying flat on her back now. She just looks up at the ceiling. Oh Grandma, don't look up at the ceiling, don't try to jump out the window, I'll be a good boy.

"Call the doctor, Jack. Tell him that —" Mama looks at me "— that she — what she tried to do." Mama's voice shakes.

Uncle Jack walks out of the room. His face looks funny. My heart feels very sad around it. Mama sits down by Grandma. Then she looks at me.

"Paul, go outside for a while. Go to the movies or take a walk or something. Come back in a couple of hours. Grandmother doesn't feel well."

Mama's face looks funny too.

"You have some money left over from your allowance. Use that."

Mama looks away from me and looks at Grandma. Grandma still looks up at the ceiling. Her mouth is a little open. Mama is holding her hands. Grandma's breathing sounds like a choo-choo train. When the train comes yelling into the station I stand by the tracks as much as I can. Then I put my hands over my ears and run away. First the train is very little, then it gets bigger, then it's big like King Kong. King Kong jumped from the big big building. So did Grandma. Maybe that is why my heart feels so sad. When King Kong fell from the window with all the airplanes shooting at him I cried. My heart feels sad because Grandma tried to jump

also. The room is very dark. When my heart feels sad, it feels very dark too.

"Go ahead Paul, do what you're told."

I walk away. I'm afraid to look at Grandma. She looks so funny. I open the door. The knob is a dark shiny color. Then I close the door. Maybe if we had a telephone Uncle Jack wouldn't have to run all the way down the stairs. Grandma always used to talk about how hard it was for her to walk all the way up the stairs. She always used to yell a lot. Her eyes would get big when she yelled. Her face got red, too. Now I walk through the living room. I guess the room where Grandma is is the dead room or maybe the dying room. In the living room is where the radio is. The radio has all my programs on it. I listen to them after I come home from school. First I put on the radio loud. Then Grandma yells at me to make it lower because if I don't make it lower her head will break open. Poor Grandma, she was always yelling. Now she's just looking at the ceiling. Lousy radio. I'll make the radio a little more quiet.

I open the door coming from the kitchen. The paint in the kitchen is nice and bright and blue. The janitor painted the kitchen. Then Grandma gave him two dollars. That was a long time ago when Grandma's face was red and she was always yelling. Then she used to yell at Mama and Uncle Jack that if she didn't get more money for the house she would go crazy. Then Mama would yell and her eyes would be big and blue and she would yell that she wasn't making any more money than she was making and Uncle would walk very fast into his room and slam the door hard. And Grandma would begin to cry. Then she would hit her head with her fists. Grandma's hair is brown except that it has lots of white hair in it. Mama's hair has only a few white hairs in it, so she puts her head under the lamp and makes me pull out all the white hairs. She says if I do that she'll let me go to the movies on Sunday.

I walk out into the hall where the floor is stone with all sorts of little colors on it. The door is big and brown. There are chalk marks all over it. Then I remember that I forgot to put on my blue sweater so I catch the big door before it shuts. I open the closet door which has all my finger marks all over it. The closet is dark inside. That's where my sweater is. My sweater is dark too except that it's blue. I take off my jacket and put on my sweater which is very tight and warm around me. Grandma told me a couple of days ago to put on the sweater because she said it was cold outside. But then I knew that my friends would make fun of me for wearing a sweater like a sissy. So when I came upstairs and sneezed twice Grandma began to yell at me that I was always trying to give her trouble. She yelled that if I gave her any more trouble she would go crazy. Now I close the closet door and walk out of my house. The door makes a big noise in back of me.

I run down the stairs. The stairs always smell lousy. That's because of all the dogs. I wish I had a dog. Once I asked Mama for a dog but she said she couldn't afford it and besides Grandma had enough work around the house as it was. If I had a dog I'd take care of him. Then he'd sleep with me in the night time just like I see in the movies. But we'd have to go outside so Grandma won't yell at us if it did something in the house. Maybe when it gets cold outside I'd give it my sweater.

Outside it's very white. There's a lot of noise there, except that outside the noise comes from all over and in my house it comes from a couple of people. Cars run back and forth like cockeroaches in the kitchen. Many little children are by the steps. Some have mothers with them. I see some of my friends playing down the block. I feel something get big around my throat. Then tears come from my eyes. Poor Grandma. Then I remember that only babies cry. So I don't cry, though my chest hurts in it.

Mama says I should be back in a little while. Maybe Grandma'll be all right by then. Maybe if I show her my sweater she'll feel better. I walk down the stoop. Whenever I walk down the steps everything bounces up and down. I walk the other way down the block from my friends so they won't see me wearing the sweater and they won't make fun of me for being a sissy.

When I walk down the block I step on all the lines on the sidewalk. If I walk quickly and take big steps I can cover a whole box but then the boxes seem to get bigger and bigger and then I can't make it all the way. One time I was pushing a wooden box along the sidewalk when the box hit one of the lines and I fell on a nail sticking up from the box. The blood came out of my head. I ran home and I was crying and Grandma washed the blood away and put a bandage around my head. Then she kissed me. Sometimes she doesn't yell at me. Sometimes she just grabs me and kisses me and says that I'm her little boy and that I'm all that she has in the world.

I wonder what the world is. Teacher says that when Columbus discovered America in fourteen ninety two he found out that the world was round. My friend says in fourteen ninety two Columbus was a Jew. But teacher says that he was Italian. Maybe somebody can be Jewish and Italian at the same time. I'll ask Mama when I come home.

I wonder where my Grandfather lives. He used to live in my house, oh, a long time ago, when I was a little boy. He always used to yell at everybody also. He used to say that we were sinful. Then later he would put those striped shawls on his front and the black little hat on his head and he'd look into a book with the words going backwards and all funny and then he'd mumble something. The back of my Grandfather's neck is red. Sometimes he comes around to the house. When he does that Grandma doesn't yell for a while. He always gives Grandma a bundle

which makes Mama very mad when she comes home at night from work. Mama yells that all he does is come around and get Grandma excited and he only gives her his laundry to be washed instead of money to keep the house going. I wonder how much a crazy house needs to spend. Anyway, Grandfather always gives me a quarter when he comes, and he pats me on the head. Then I can buy some candy and some funny comic books. I don't understand everything that's printed on top of the pictures so Mama helps me when she comes home from work at night. Maybe if I have some money left after the movies I'll get a comic book and show it to Grandma.

I cross the street where all the cars are. Everybody walks around much faster around here. The houses are much bigger also. Maybe if Grandma tried to jump from such big houses then she'd feel funny in the belly like I do when I go on the rides in Coney Island or dream about falling from a tree. The place where you pay to get into the movies is right in front of me. There are bright colors and pretty ladies and guns all around me. The lady sitting behind the bars is selling tickets. I wonder what time it is. I'll have to pay more if it's late. So I say to the lady can you please tell me what time it is please? Her face looks mad when she talks. Then her mouth moves up and down and her chin shakes.

"Five-fifteen. It's too late for you to go to the movies without an adult."

What? When I say what the end of it goes all the way up at the end. Then her face looks madder. Her mouth moves. She looks down at me. I don't see the bottom of her eyes.

"I said you can't go to the movies. It's too late. Someone has to bring you."

Oh.

I walk away. The movies gets smaller. The sky is getting darker. The sun doesn't peek out from in back of the buildings anymore. Maybe it'll snow soon. When it gets colder I have to put on my winter coat. Daddy always buys me my winter coats. He also takes me sled riding in the winter. But now he's always looking for a job so I don't know where he is now. Now I cross the street again, except that this time it's the other way. All the cars are making noise and there are lots of people all over. I guess they're all coming home from work.

Mama always comes home from work later. Today she stayed home from work. I guess Mama sent me away because she was afraid that Grandma was going to try and jump out on account of me. Maybe I'll run away. I'll go out where the cowboys are and be a cowboy. Then I'll shoot all the bad guys. Take that you lousy bad guys you. Oh you lousy lousy. I'll knock your eyes out. You made Grandma crazy. You made me leave my sweater off. A big man bumps into me. He looks down at me. His face is far away.

"Watch your step, sonny," he laughs.

I put my hands in my pockets. My hands are cold. Maybe Mama is waiting for me to come home. I'll tell her why Grandma is so crazy. Then Mama won't have to spend any money on a doctor. I'll tell her I'll go home and tell Mama right now I didn't put on my sweater so Grandma tried to jump out the window like she always said she would she did she did.

I'll tell her I'll tell her.

I'll go home very quickly. Maybe Uncle Jack didn't call the doctor. Then Grandma won't be crazy. I'll tell I'll tell I'll tell I didn't put on my nice blue sweater I didn't I didn't don't die Grandma don't go crazy oh don't.

I walk very quickly. When I do that everything moves by me faster than before. The wetness around my eyes feels cold. My heart is sore all around it. All the houses look like the houses before did. My nose is wet too. The sides of Grandma's mouth were wet too. She was looking up at the ceiling. Oh I won't even get a doggy so there'll be more money so Grandma won't yell her head is breaking open. I won't even ask for a nice dog. The sun is going away. I wonder if it'll get dark like it was in the room where Grandma was on the bed. Maybe she's all right now. Poor Grandma don't die. Don't be crazy. I'll be a good boy.

I see my stoop all the way down the block. The stoop is getting bigger and bigger. There isn't so much people around now because they're all home eating supper. I see a horse and wagon pass by.

Grandma is crazy like a horse. Crazy crazy. Me.

I know all the houses now. I know Grandma's looking at the ceiling. Only babies cry. I'm a man. Mama says that I should learn to take care of myself. Me. The air is tickling my face as I run very quickly. I run as fast as Buck Rogers. I'm running after Killer Kane. I run up the stoop, then up the stairs. I'll tell Mama why. Then she'll know. Then she won't have to call the doctor. Oh, my heart feels so bad now and my eyes get narrow and then the tears come out of them and down my face. I cried too when they killed King Kong

I'll tell why

Yes

I won't even get a dog

I'll tell why Grandma's crazy

I ring the bell. It sounds like an old man laughing like the one I heard in the movies. I rub my eyes. Then I ring the bell again. I shouldn't touch electricity when my hands are wet. Then I get a shock. Then I die.

I'll tell why she is

The door moves back. Uncle Jack is there. I hear my voice big inside of my head. Uncle Jack's way up there. The tears taste funny in my mouth. Where's Mama, I gotta tell.

"She's in the bedroom. What's the matter? Are you sick or something?"

I gotta tell. I know why.

I run through the kitchen. The light is on.

Mama, Mama, I know why.

I run into the room where Grandma is. Grandma isn't there. Mama is there.

Where's Grandma ah ah ah, ah

"What's happened? Grand—"

I grab Mama around. Her dress smells nice.

Where is Grandma I know why she tried I'll tell why because

"Oh."

I look up at Mama. Her eyes are very big and red. Her face is still funny. Her voice shakes.

"Stop cry— Oh, it doesn't matter— Here, sit down beside me."

Mama takes my hand. I sit down on the bed where Grandma was. Mama puts my head on her arm.

"Now listen, Paul. Your Grandmother has been sick. Today the doctor came and—"

The doctor came? But I know why she's crazy I know why, you don't have to spend any money now for the doctor so Grandma won't have to yell that she'll jump out the window I'll tell you Mama

"Listen, Paul, Grandma is sick. The doct—"

But I know why why ah ah ah she tried to jump out the window because I was the only one she had so when I didn't put on my blue sweater she thought I might die and everything so then yesterday or sometime

"Paul—"

or sometime I didn't put on my sweater so she said she would go crazy and today she tried to jump out the ah ah ah window and everything

"Oh please Paul, darling, listen. Grandmother didn't try— it wasn't your fault. Now please dear, listen to me—"

Me.

"No, it wasn't you. You are a man now, aren't you, dear? Please don't cry. Grandmother was sick and so the doctor took her away until she gets better. When you get older, you'll understand what was wrong with Grandmother."

But you said I was ah ah ah man now.

"Yes, darling, but even big men have to go to school and learn about the world, and everything that's in it. Everything happens to us because of the world."

I rub my eyes. My fists look very big so close to them.

I don't like the world.

"Why not?" Mama says.

Because it made Grandma crazy.

Mama's eyes get wet too, but she is smiling. I wonder how anybody can laugh and cry at the same time.

MARVIN SHAW

Student Life

THE GROWTH OF STUDENTS FOR WALLACE

The American campus presents an encouraging sight to progressives this summer. The response to Henry Wallace on his recent tours proved the existence of tremendous support for him among students the country over. The hysteria and demagogy of the Republican-Democratic twins couldn't stand up before Wallace's slashing attack. Even so, the mushrooming of organized student activity on behalf of the New Party marks one of the amazing phenomena of the post-war student movement. Spontaneously, with no particular help or encouragement until quite recently, committees and clubs have sprung up on more than 300 campuses. While still in its infancy, Students for Wallace is already the largest and fastest-growing political action movement in the university community.

At a conference in Chicago on April 9th, representatives from 108 of these Students for Wallace groups established themselves as a national organization. An executive committee was elected, headed by six co-chairmen: Wyman Hicks, University of California; Joe Cronin, University of Denver; George Antonofsky, University of Michigan; Walter Wallace, Columbia University; Richard Rainey, University of Texas; and a Negro student from the South, to be elected. In addition to re-affirming support of the full Wallace program, specific resolutions were adopted in defense of academic freedom, non-segregated education, veterans' needs, federal aid to education, and a fairly complete student program.

It was noteworthy that, in spite of a crowded agenda squeezed into but a day and one-half of sessions, the delegates took time out to march on the picket lines of the striking CIO packing-house workers. The Wallace students were no cloistered political novices; they knew that a phase of their own struggle was being expressed by that picket line. American workers are their friends and allies in the fight for peace, security, and the democratization of education. United with them in founding and building the New Party, they could defeat the enemies of the entire people.

This Chicago militancy was demonstrated again soon after the national conference. On April 16th, upon the initiative of the National Students for Wallace Committee, students on dozens of campuses throughout the nation demonstrated in opposition to the Administration war program, UMT, and a new draft. Mass meetings of many thousands at Ohio State, Harvard, and Columbia, and smaller meetings and picket lines at other schools: all indicated that the student peace movement of the 'thirties could not only be revived but also surpassed. Despite red-baiting and hysteria, students were not going to be stampeded into support of a new war.

Wallace supporters were active in other areas of student life as well. At the University of Alabama, for example, an "S4W" leader, Morrison Williams (son of the Alabama publisher and former New Deal leader, Aubrey Williams),

challenged Jim-Crow education by running for campus office on a program calling for the admission of Negro students and the hiring of Negro instructors. Students for Wallace, growing rapidly in both Negro and white schools, thus came to the forefront of the campaign to abolish the segregation system which lowers the quality and quantity of education for all Southerners.

Similarly, the Wallace club at N.Y.U., with a membership of 700 students, took the lead in organizing a committee of student leaders and calling a demonstration on the campus when the administration did its bit to limit education and encourage inflation by raising tuition rates.

At Berkeley in California, Jack Howard, S4W leader and former editor of the *Daily Californian,* has filed for the State Assembly from the University district on the Independent Progressive Party and Democratic tickets.

To be sure, these are among the bright spots. A movement which has grown so rapidly naturally has its load of problems. In places, the Wallace organization on campus resembles an enthusiastic crowd of people rather than a well-organized political movement. At other schools, the group settles down, after an initial surge of activity, to a program of meetings which often ignores the burning issues demanding the attention of every progressive. Further, the growth of Students for Wallace in areas which have been traditionally barren of progressive activity demonstrates that to realize the vast potential for growth more attention to unorganized schools by established clubs in the vicinity would pay big dividends.

Students will be participating at the national nominating convention of the New Party in Philadelphia at the end of July. Immediately following that momentous assemblage, on July 25-26th, there will occur the founding convention of an independent youth organization in support of the principles of the Wallace-Taylor ticket. Joining up with the somewhat newer Youth for Wallace movement, S4W delegates will help to create something America's young people have sorely lacked — a large, popular, national organization uniting thousands of progressive youth in shops and schools and on the farms. Young progressives are determined that there shall be no "Hitler Jugend" in the United States.

NOBODY IGNORES THE CAMPUS. . . .

Other candidates and parties, aware of the 1½ million votes and the prestige that goes with winning the campus, are also attempting to develop student support. More often than not, most of them can only win the columns of a nearby newspaper.

But the supporters of Stassen can point to some accomplishments. At the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan, the Minnesota Republican ran first in straw votes. "Students for Stassen" have organized at some fifty colleges, preponderantly at the wealthy Eastern schools. Stassen is making special efforts to arrange speaking engagements on campuses in states where primary contests are scheduled. Stassen seems to have the very dangerous ability of winning support by covering his extremely reactionary program with a thin veneer of liberalism. But in fact he has achieved the nearly impossible in making his rivals for the nomination appear liberal by comparison. Realizing that American students will have no truck with the open reactionaries of the Taft stripe, with a colorless political hack like Dewey, or with an arch-imperialist Vandenberg, he is trying to pose as the inheritor of Wilkie's "One World" Republican mantle. But the ambitious ex-governor, who has developed into a fine art the practice of speaking out of both sides of his mouth, has taken leadership on a number of issues (such as the demand to outlaw the Communist Party) in the direction of hysterical, war-inciting red-baiting and anti-Sovietism.

Notice should also be taken of the organization of committees in support of William O Douglas for the Democratic presidential nomination. No great measure of success has been achieved, but among some liberals, particularly those in Students for Democratic Action, Douglas support provides a short-lived way out of the dilemma created by the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party. While supporting the Marshall Plan and closing their eyes to the disasters it is reaping in Greece, China, etc., even these liberals could not stomach Harry Truman's betrayal of the Jewish state in Palestine, and his undermining of the UN. Desperately hunting for "an alternative" — any alternative except the real one of supporting the New Party — they first announced with great fanfare the "formation of a nation-wide Students for Eisenhower movement" (*N. Y. Times,* April 4/48). From the beginning, student support for the General existed mainly in the minds of the small group of SDA leaders who jumped on a non-existent band-wagon. Selling Eisenhower's army Jim-Crow and UMT stand to progressives was too difficult, however, and so the SDA national convention on April 16th voted its preference for Douglas, 62-61. Interestingly enough, the eleven-man Iowa delegation came and left the convention pledged to Henry Wallace.

While the bulk of their members are undoubtedly sincere though confused liberals, the twists and turns of the SDA-Students for Douglas national leadership testify to more than confusion. Essentially, they support the Truman-Marshall foreign policy, criticizing it in minor aspects only. Militant not on the issues of concern to the campus, but in the vigor and extent of their red-baiting, this Social-Democratic leadership joins forces with the most reactionary elements among students to combat the progressive upsurge expressed in the Students for Wallace movement. Their feverish, but forlorn efforts to sign a blank check for any figure who might counter Wallace among liberal students, exposes the glaring absence of any principled program. As a result, they can be expected eventually to complete the circle, and lead those who will be foolish enough to follow, back into the Truman camp.

Whatever the names of the standard-bearers chosen by the two old parties at their conventions, the planks have already been written: Marshall Plan, Taft-Hartley, Mundt Bill, anti-communism to cloak a war program, assault on elementary democratic rights. As the campaign proceeds we can expect new heights of demagogy to be reached in an attempt to camouflage the program of war and fascism. But the grass-roots experiences of Spring 1948 show that the American campus will vote for peace, security and freedom — for Henry A. Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

As part of its program of world conquest, American Big Business has been attempting to split and destroy the various international peoples' organizations: the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, etc. These groups, founded on the basis of the unity established during the war and dedicated to peace and democratic advancement for all peoples, constitute no small obstacle in the path of the war-makers.

Wall Street's splitting activities have, unfortunately, not been completely without success. The activities of James Carey in the WFTU are well known. In the student movement, similar dangers to unity are developing.

After the February events in Czechoslovakia, reactionary forces under U. S. leadership renewed their attempts to split and destroy the only really representative center for international student cooperation, the IUS. (For a full reportage on what actually occurred in Czechoslovakia and on the IUS decision, see the "Prague Letter" in this issue.)

While the American press filled their headlines and pages with fairy tales, the carefully documented reports of the IUS have been buried and ignored. Within the U. S. student movement, where these reports were available, they were disregarded. The Catholic and Social-Democratic student leaders who dominate the National Students Association took this opportunity to violate the resolution passed at the founding national convention. Negotiations with the IUS were abruptly broken off, and a delegation of NSA leaders will tour Europe this summer in an attempt further to split the IUS and create a "western bloc" student federation.

They will undoubtedly have some measure of success. The Wall Street-Vatican alliance, with the help of right-wing Socialist "third force" elements, have become increasingly aware of the importance of winning young people for the support of their program. They have been particularly active in Scandinavia, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and the national student organizations in these countries have severed their ties with the IUS.

But the enemies of international cooperation have found that they cannot pull the wool over the eyes of all students. In France, the National Union of Students (UNEF) rejected the efforts of the de Gaullists to pull out of the IUS. Even more significantly, the executive of the powerful National Union of Students of Great Britain passed a lengthy resolution whose clear, cool-headed reasoning makes for a refreshing contrast to the NSA hysteria. This resolution concludes as follows:

"1. The executive committee of the NUS endorses the conduct of the IUS secretariat to date. . . .

2. The executive committee takes note of the resignation of the American vice-president, William Ellis, and his deputy Jim Smith, and expresses its deep regret at these decisions. In the light of the evidence before it the executive committee cannot endorse their action which it regards as hasty and which tends to divide the students further at this juncture. . . .

3. Finally, we cannot recommend a policy of wholesale condemnation of recent events in the Czechoslovak student movement. . . ."

Sometime around the middle of August the IUS is scheduled to hold its International Council meeting. Many American students have indicated a desire to attend as observers, and in some cases they have been so designated by Student Councils and campus newspapers. Based on experiences of the past, it can be hoped that the reports they will bring back to the campus will help create a new understanding of the IUS, its importance, and America's responsibility towards it. The world student community has a tremendous stake in the struggle against war and imperialist oppression. United, it can make important contributions towards achieving a world where peace, freedom and learning are possible.

THE NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

The National Convention of the NSA will be held again at the University of Wisconsin this year (August 23rd-28th). This Second Annual Convention will be faced with many questions concerning the organization and activities of the past year and in the coming one.

Questions of policy, however, will undoubtedly arouse the greatest attention. The NSA has not realized much of the tremendous potential American students saw for it. The excellent program adopted last year has remained a dead letter. In addition to its sharply reactionary stand on the IUS, its virtual transformation into an instrument of the State Department in the field of international student relations, the national organization has completely ignored the vicious attacks of the past year on the democratic rights of students and faculty members. With

a few honorable exceptions, this has been true of the regional groups as well. No efforts have been made to fight for the solution of the pressing immediate problems of students: inflation, discrimination and segregation, housing, rising tuition costs, etc.

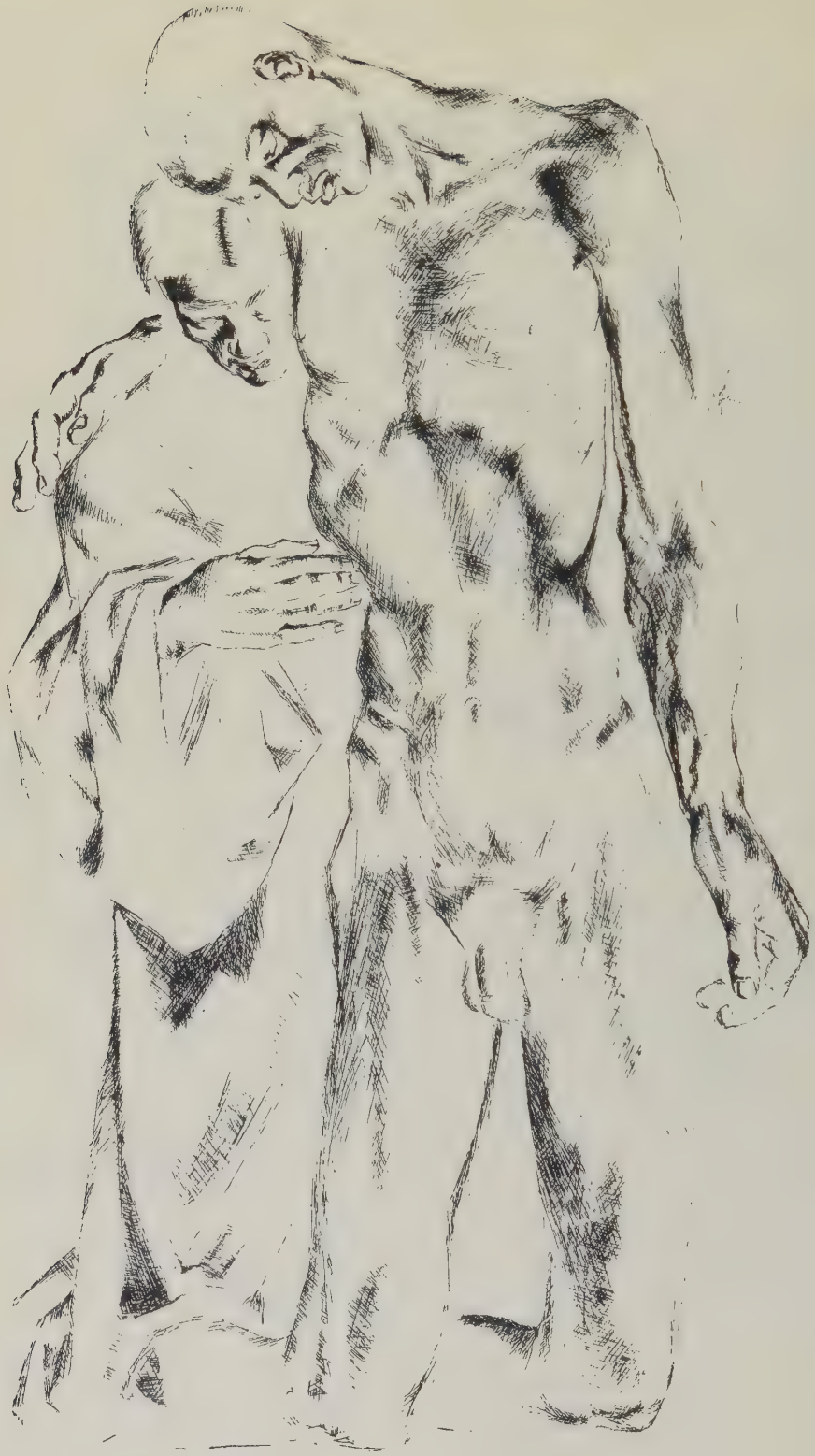
The reasons for this record are not difficult to find. The NSA national leadership is dominated by a small group of leaders of the Catholic student organizations, the SDA, etc. They have established a working alliance with the aim of utilizing the organization as a platform for their own private, reactionary ends. The democratic and progressive program overwhelmingly voted by the 1947 convention has been vitiated and ignored. The blueprint for this reactionary use of the NSA is to be found in "Operation University", the pamphlet published by the Catholic Joint Committee for Student Action.

But the Catholic-SDA cabal, it is encouraging to note, will not have the field all to itself at Madison this August. Reports from various campuses indicate that in spite of the artificially-created hysteria, American support of the IUS remains strong. Delegates from Columbia, Chicago, Wisconsin, etc., are pledged to fight for full cooperation with the IUS. Moreover, the American student body will not sit idly by while reactionaries on and off campus destroy their right to think, speak, and organize freely. The dozens of powerful local struggles during the past year against violations of academic freedom, discrimination, tuition increases prove this.

If the NSA Convention reflects grass-root sentiment on these and other issues, the organization may begin to carry out in deeds the program charted on paper last year. If, on the other hand, the groups now dominant succeed in their maneuvers, the American campus will find that the organization which showed so much hope and promise will not only contribute little in their interests but will actually become a menace to American democratic education and the American student.

Eugene Karlin

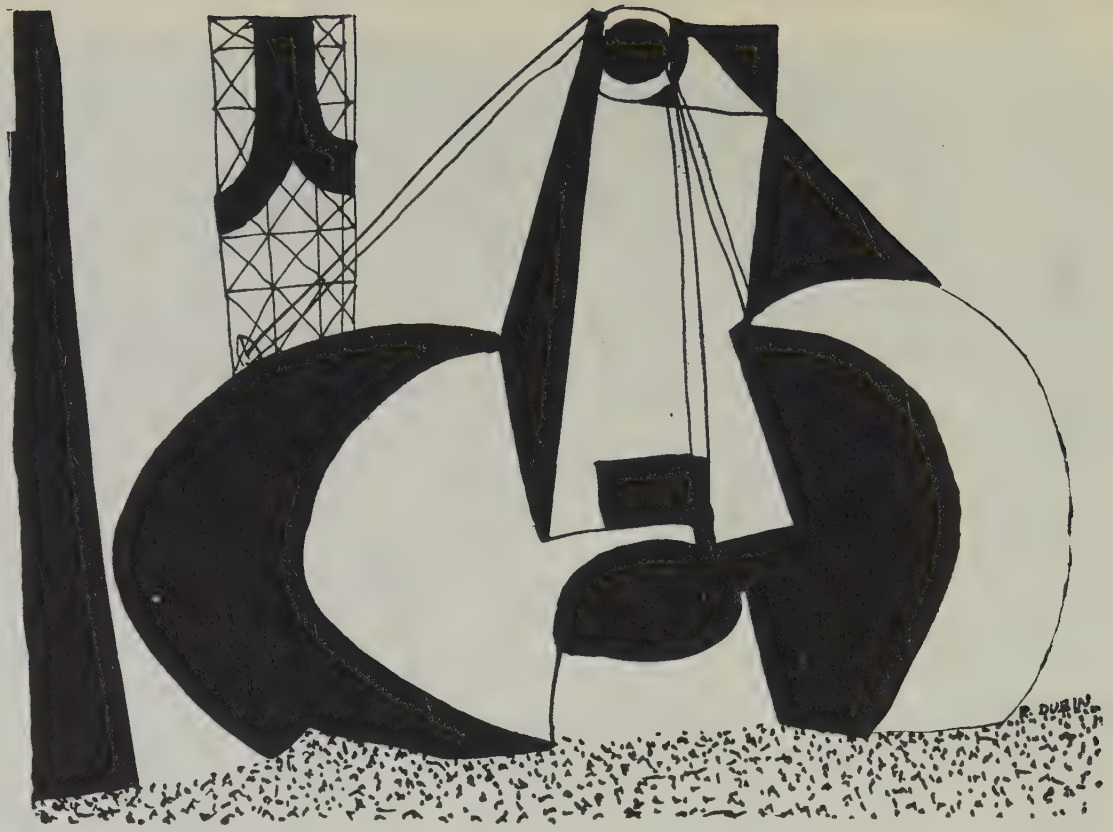
"Railroad Workers": *Drawing*



Ludwig Recht "Exhausted Soldier": *Drawing*

Opposite: Wiley Eisen "Negro Mother and Son": *Scratchboard*

Jacob Landau "Scorched Earth": *Scratchboard*



Ralph Dubin

"Steam Shovel": *Brush Drawing*

Frank J. Casa

"Conflicts": *Engraving*

Helen Maris "Young Boy": *Drawing*

Judah Ben Shmuel

"Study": *Drawing*

LEONARD BASKIN

Some Notes on Style and Reality

OUR purpose in this article is to deal with what we consider to be the central esthetic problem facing young artists, namely, what direction to adopt in our present-day confusion of movements, schools, fads, and so on. This problem, to be sure, largely rises out of and is complicated by, the cast-off, stepchild position in which art and artists find themselves in our capitalist society. But we address ourselves here primarily to those artists whose allegiance is to the "debased, the spat on, the exploited"; to those who consider their work as something more than the pictorial manipulation of introspective ecstacies and despairs; to those who recognize the degradation of culture in our society, understand the reasons therefor, and seek to fight against this condition.

The eight works of art reproduced in the center section of this issue of New Foundations will be used to exemplify a number of trends among young artists. We trust that this brief discussion will be instructive and perhaps constructively controversial.

Frederick Engels wrote two letters to authors who had submitted their novels for his criticism. To Minna Kautsky he wrote:

> . . . by conscientiously describing the real mutual relations, breaking down conventional illusions about them, it shatters the optimism of the bourgeois world, instills doubt as to the eternal character of the existing order, although the author does not offer any definite solution or does not even line up openly on any particular side.

And to Margaret Harkness:

> Realism to my mind, implies besides truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances. . . . I am far from finding fault with your not having written a purely socialist novel . . . to glorify the social and political views of the author. That is not at all what I mean. The more the author's views are concealed the better for the work of art.

Engels, then, postulates that the prime concern of the artist must be his truthfulness to reality. What he meant is best seen in the case of Sidney Finkelstein's distinction between the realist and the naturalist. Both realist and naturalist observe an identical phenomenon — the setting of the sun. The naturalist exclaims: "See, the sun revolves about the earth." The realist replies: "No, the earth revolves about the sun."

Realism means probing beneath surfaces, the penetration of crucial relevant knowledge into perception, exposing the structure and social

meanings of life. Naturalism tends to exclude the individual, to limit his function to nothing more than a kind of camera obscura. Realism in no way means the depiction of things as they seem, but rather as they are. Moreover, it is not true that the portrayal of reality necessarily involves themes of an immediately political nature. True, subjects such as war, starvation and strikes constitute a portion of reality, and as such they should be dealt with. But it is *all* of man's existence that is the artist's province. Whatever he deals with, the artist must inform as to the inner workings and meanings of society.

Stylistic means by which to express reality are numerous, but their usefulness and validity must be measured by the profundity of their revelation. The drawings under discussion exhibit a variety of approaches to reality, with varying degrees of success. Stylistically, they mirror the major tendencies among contemporary artists, and in discussing them, meaning will perhaps be thrown on these schools.

Eugene Karlin's drawing of "Railroad Workers" is naturalistic in concept, and in stylistic handling shows tendencies toward realism. Naturalistic details have been sacrificed to emphasize movement and weight, perspective relationships have been distorted to enhance compositional unity, and, in several instances, opaque forms have been rendered transparent. Conceptually the drawing is a kind of documentary note, recording a group of men working. It affords us no knowledge of the men other than the fact that at this particular moment they are laboring. We derive no profound insight into their nature, backgrounds, struggles.

Wiley Eisen's drawing is precisely antithetical to Karlin's. His "Negro Mother and Son" is realistic in concept and naturalistic in treatment. This subject of suffering does not depict a moment in appearance, but rather derives from an understanding of the plight of the Negro people in our society. Unlike the group of railroad workers, these two figures have never been actually perceived by Eisen. Created in his mind out of his understanding of reality, his work carefully juxtaposes the two figures to express poignantly a sorrow and a latent potential strength. He has employed a naturalistic style to concretize his concept, taking pains convincingly to limn gestures, expressions, and other significant details.

Ludwig Recht's "Exhausted Soldier" presents us with a subtle interrelation of realism and naturalism. The concept and the style betray an intermingling of both elements. The soldier Recht depicts is at once signified and ennobled as an individual; yet he typifies all soldiers. More than a recording of a momentary episode, this work informs us of that painful and special exhaustion which is the lot of every soldier. Stylistically, the same integration of realism and naturalism is apparent. Naturalistic details are given which render the subject recognizable — the soldier's cap, the uniform, the rifle; but once recognition has been achieved, these details are abandoned, and the figure is treated realistically. The simplifica-

tion of forms and the elimination of detail lend weight and permanence to the figure.

Jacob Landau's "Scorched Earth" completely abandons naturalism. Thematically the drawing is a conceptualization from reality, and stylistically it uses symbols and formalist, expressionist devices which in Laudau's usage are also realistic. Unlike the previous drawings, this one employs technique developed in the modern movement to visualize concepts of time and space. The front-line Red Army soldier and the home-front guerilla girl are separated by time and space in reality, yet here they act simultaneously. They are united into one head in the picture, just as they are linked by a single purpose in reality. The stark, wild horse and the clenched, fisted dagger are readily apprehendable as potent symbols of war terror and destruction. This drawing excellently illustrates how the tremendous technical development of the modern art movement can be utilized to good purpose. Our point, that reality can be expressed in a variety of styles, is thus emphasized. Landau has used a style which is normally exploited to express personal and subjective vision. One must be cognizant of all the technical advances produced by the bourgeois artists and bend them — and in so doing, change them — to one's own use.

The drawing of a "Steam Shovel" by Ralph Dubin, like the Landau drawing, is executed in a specifically modern idiom. Dubin's reaction to reality is primarily a personal one. The awe and wonder the steam shovel evokes in Dubin he expresses in the manipulation of design elements, and indeed some of the strength, the claw-like power and monstrous grotesquerie is appreciable. Yet we feel that Dubin has not been completely successful in converting his emotions into an iconography that is wholly and universally comprehensible. In borrowing from the modern school Dubin has also taken aspects of its personal and subjective expression. In many respects the drawings of Karlin and Dubin are alike. Both are expressions of the moment: Karlin's the moment of perception, Dubin's the moment of feeling. Neither delves deeply into reality for a concept that supersedes the specific, unessential moment, that has relevant meaning as it reveals forces operating in a social matrix and continuum.

Influences, if they are to be healthy and constructive, must be fully assimilated and converted to one's own expressive idiom. The taking-over of an entire symbolic iconography must limit the individual as an expressive force, just as naturalistic imitation excludes personal vision and comment. Since the 'twenties Picasso's work has been a Xanadu in which a sojourn of a day or two was sufficient to provide one with a melange of symbols, stencilled subject matter and pre-digested vision. The spurious fabrications which are ubiquitously seen in galleries and schools are at one with academic paintings in their deathly adherence to established dogma.

"Conflicts," the engraving by Frank J. Casa, suffers greatly from an influence which is more a directive than a guiding help. To express his concept of conflict, Casa presents us with two violently opposed horses struggling in a strangely unknown and lost landscape. The picture evokes a terror which is not, however, directed toward any special knowledge. Surely there is a conflict manifested here, but we must ask — what is the nature of this conflict? Is it a psychological struggle involving an individual or individuals, or is it perhaps symbolic of war or the class struggle? One wonders, and we strongly feel that one has the right to know why and to what purpose an emotional response has been awakened in us. We admire the formal beauty of this work, its superb draughtsmanship and excellent distribution of forms, but its essense as an art-work revealing an aspect of reality is unfortunately ambiguous and obscure.

The profound simplicity of Helen Maris' "Young Boy" almost savagely offsets the eclectic ostentation of Casa's engraving. Eschewing the sentimentality usually accompanying drawings of young children, she has created a small boy who somehow represents the special wonder and incredulity of children. As in the Recht drawing, there is an intermingling of naturalist and realist elements. This child is at once an individual and an invocation of all small children. The sensitive elimination of detail and the insightful accentuation of the eyes and mouth reveal the artist in the role of commentator rather than observer. The poetic spirit and delicacy of the drawing is remarkably reminiscent of Greunwald's drawings of children and tells much of Miss Maris' understanding and regard for people, a quality unpleasantly absent in so much of contemporary work.

The "Study" by Judah Ben Shmuel is a powerful drawing departing from naturalism to express somewhat confused notions of sadness, turmoil and strength. The head and neck vie one with the other for primary importance, and are perhaps symbolic of the conflicting emotions Ben Shmuel wished to project. Being merely a study, it suffers somewhat from a kind of aimlessness on the page, and its functioning as a preliminary note for a projected work no doubt accounts for its indecisiveness in terms of a central emotion and idea.

Our purpose here has not been to espouse pedantry and didacticism — to lay down laws or to create covenants. We have postulated that an expression of reality is the key concern of artists informed with the Marxist concept of society. We have further endeavored to show that the expression of reality in no way implies only one stylistic approach. A Marxian art will in fact be distinguished by its lack of uniformity. As individuals, artists must necessarily differ in taste, interest, background, and the numerous psychological details that account for personality What will unite them will be their common interest in man as Shelley sung him: "Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free."

SIMON FIELD

Economic Planning in Czechoslovakia

INTRODUCTION

THIS study of economic planning in Czechoslovakia does not pretend to undertake an exhaustive analysis of the many significant features of the new People's Democracies which have emerged in Eastern Europe. The many basic questions which arise concerning the nature of state power, the transition to socialism, etc., are merely touched on in passing. Still, it is believed that, in view of the dearth of material in this country dealing with the important question of Czech economic structure and planning, this contribution will prove to be informative.

It should also be indicated that this article, which was prepared in order to meet a graduate course requirement, was completed some time before the Czechoslovakian developments of February 1948, and before the fulfillment of the Two Year Plan. Many qualitative changes have occurred since then, some of which are treated very briefly in the Postscript.

NATURE OF PLANNING

Economic planning in Czechoslovakia aims to build the economic base of the People's Democracy by ending the crises and attendant unemployment which prevailed before the war, by increasing production to raise the living standards of the people, and by developing democratic methods of control of the productive forces to ensure equitable distribution of the total social product.[1] The Two Year Plan, the first step in this direction, is intended to restore the economy to its pre-war footing rather than to expand or materially alter it. With the experience gained in fulfilling this plan, the Czechs will be prepared to formulate long-term plans designed to make major changes in the character of the economy.[2] Further, the Two Year Plan did not seek to rectify entirely the backwardness of industrial development in Slovakia and certain areas of Bohemia and Moravia, a condition due primarily to the failure, after the first world war, to break up the large semi-feudal estates. However, the Plan does provide for the

transfer of factories which will ultimately employ 25,000 workers from the border regions to Slovakia, and a much higher rate of industrialization in the undeveloped areas is stipulated. But this aspect of the Plan is secondary to the primary aim of restoring the economy to its pre-war level of production.

The Two Year Plan calls for indirect, rather than direct, planning of production in the individual industries or factories; control figures, or targets, are established for the decisive section — about one-third — of the economy.[3] These targets provide realistic goals which can be achieved if a strong spirit of cooperation motivates the people.

Over-all controls have been instituted to guarantee the integration and fulfillment of the plan. Comprehensive statistical and accounting methods are being refined to provide more accurate means of assessing and testing the targets.[4] The direct methods of control function via the administrative apparatus, and vary somewhat for nationalized and private industry and agriculture. Indirect control is effected by means of the nationalized banks, credit being provided or withheld depending on the firm's or industry's success in completing its share of the plan.[5] It is important to remember that a large sector of the economy remains in private hands: the smaller industrial firms, agriculture, and wholesale and retail distribution. Private ownership in these areas materially complicates the problems of control.

SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

The socialization of Czechoslovakian industry grew out of the people's desire — expressed by the underground movement during the Nazi occupation — to terminate the concentration of economic and political power in native and foreign capitalist hands.[6] It was the monopolies that aggravated economic crises and unemployment on the one hand and had capitulated to Hitler on the other.

During the first days of liberation many industrial owners and managers disappeared with the retreating Nazis. The workers, through their works councils which had functioned underground throughout the war, took over the factories and operated them between liberation in May 1945 and the official nationalization in October of that year. The national government appointed many of the administrators, with the advice of the works councils, from among the trade unionists who had taken over.[7]

In October 1945, the new Czech government socialized certain basic industries by law: all the joint-stock banks, all private insurance companies, coal and other types of mining, the iron and steel industry, electric supply and gas, cement, most of the chemical industry, armaments production, and certain sections of the glass, sugar refining, distilleries and film industries. The extent of nationalization of other industries was determined by the number of workers employed by the firms, ranging from 150 in ceramics, saw mills, and the margarine industry, to 500 in the engineering, textiles,

and candy industries.[9] Some 2000 nationalized firms were amalgamated into 250 national enterprises on both a regional and an industrial basis.[8] The remaining firms are privately owned.

This act of socialization consolidated the gains of the workers and integrated the individual firms into the national framework. It must be distinguished, therefore, from the "nationalization" of a few firms or industries — such as took place in England — within the framework of a planless system; in the latter case, privately-owned trusts operated solely for profits continue to control the decisive industries. In Czechoslovakia socialization implies a growing degree of control over the basic sector of the economy by the people's state in the interests of the people. This kind of nationalization is fundamental to any kind of effective planning in a People's Democracy.

ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALIZED INDUSTRY

The primary task in organizing the newly socialized industries was to set up integrated, democratic controls within the framework of the People's Democracy. The Czechs learned from the early experiences of the Soviet Union that industries and factories cannot be run by "debate councils." On the industry-wide and individual factory level, therefore, the director-generals and managers respectively are responsible for current business. But they are advised by boards of management. One-third of the members of these boards are trade union representatives, and the remainder are experts and professionals. To avert over-centralization, the General-Directorate is responsible only for general policy, while each individual factory management carries out its own program.

Training cadres of technical experts sympathetic with the people's program is of immense importance. A danger to nationalized industries lay in the fact that some of the former managers ousted by socialization obtained posts in the new management because of the lack of sufficient qualified personnel. A number of director-generals were formerly top executives in the industry-trade associations. Many directors of the national enterprises were originally discharged on suspicion of collaboration but later found their way back into various firms — sometimes those formerly their own. These elements obviously constitute a potential danger for the fulfillment of the Plan.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In a People's Democracy the labor movement must be in the forefront in establishing the democratic planning and controls necessary to achieve the goals of the entire society. This new role of organized labor was emphasized by the chairman of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement:

> In a capitalist system the activities of the Trade Unions were restricted to struggles for an improvement of living and working conditions. In the People's

Democracy the Trade Union Movement plays a very direct and very important part in the reconstruction of the state, and endeavors to eliminate exploitation.[10]

The Constitution of the Trade Union Movement asserts its task even more emphatically:

. . . to unite the working people, to lead them to participate actively in the building up of a people's democratic state, to ensure the rights inherent in their activities, and to protect their economic, social and cultural interests.[11]

The pre-war Czech labor movement largely paralleled those in the other European countries, except that it was probably more disunited. In 1938 there were eight unconnected federations of 485 unions, as well as 209 independent unions. The strongest federations, in the order of size, were the Social Democratic Federation, the Czech Socialist Unions, the Communist Unions, and the Christian Unions. Each of these had its own political party, and all were politically active. Despite the absence of unity, the workers were conscious that their problems could not be solved merely by demands for shorter hours and higher wages so long as the state was controlled by the capitalist class.[12]

Immediately following the Munich betrayal, the Communist and Social Democratic Unions united, thus taking the first step towards the broad unity which the anti-Nazi struggle was to stimulate.

During the occupation, the Nazis created two large federations, one embracing all industrial workers, the other all public workers. Although these bodies did not serve to hold the workers in check, they unintentionally assisted in breaking the hold of the bureaucratic leadership on the pre-war unions. Meanwhile, the works councils in the factories became the centers of underground activity through which all resistance parties and unions functioned. A permanent unity was thereby forged among the workers. After the liberation, the wartime works councils, which led the uprisings in the factories and prevented large-scale German demolitions, merged into a single Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (Revolucni Odborave Hnute, ROH).

The ROH is not affiliated with any political party, inasmuch as the political goal for which it strove is expressed in the Czech People's Democracy. In addition to vigilantly protecting the workers' conditions in individual factories, the union is active in the campaign to increase productivity, helps guarantee the efficient operation of the factories, and performs other tasks necessary to fulfill the plan.

Internally the ROH is democratically organized along industrial lines: all workers in a given factory, including the engineers and white collar personnel, belong to the same union. Membership is voluntary, but approximately 70% of all eligible workers are union members. The local unions elect the district councils, which in turn elect the Central Council (URO). URO acts in a direct advisory capacity with various government agencies in addition to providing internal leadership for the union.[13]

The works councils, although no longer in direct control of the factories as they were for a few months immediately following liberation, have been integrated into the planned economy as agencies of control in the factories. These councils are to be distinguished from the ROH in that they are compulsory features of all enterprises, whether socialized or privately-owned. The councils are elected for one year by direct secret ballot from lists of candidates submitted by the trade union. Their duties are to protect the economic, social and health interests of workers, to control working conditions, and to advise the factory management. Each factory administration must allocate a sum no less than 10% of the net income of the enterprise to the works council, the funds to be used for the benefit of the workers.[14]

To make its advice to the management effective, the works council is entitled to receive regular accounts of

> . . . the economic, commercial and technical state of the Works, its degree of productivity, and its future plans. An authorized member of the Works Council is entitled to inspect the books and documents of the management, and may take copies, while each year the Works Council must be given a copy of the firm's balance sheet. Twice a year, in a full assembly of the workers, the management committee must report on the state of the Works.[15]

If a works council is unable to persuade the management to alter what it believes is a wrong policy, it may appeal to the district council of the trade union, or, in matters of great importance, to the URO, which will then take the matter up with the Minister of Industry. The workers have therefore been given, through the works council, a share in the responsibility for managing the factory. This power is not confined to criticism, moreover, for the councils must also contribute positively in raising the levels of production and in improving working conditions. It may be surmised that in the private sectors of the economy, considerable friction has been generated as the works councils carry out their functions.

LABOR CONDITIONS

In a People's Democracy the workers' standard of living is determined not so much by a continuous struggle against individual capitalist employers for more adequate wages, as by the workers' own collective, productive labor. Consequently organized labor gives its full support to the essential task of increasing productivity. To implement the Two Year Plan, which aims to raise productivity to 110% of the 1937 levels, piece rates are being introduced wherever possible.[16]

In capitalist nations workers have correctly regarded piece rates with suspicion, as a means of greater exploitation. This traditional attitude was strengthened in Czechoslovakia during the occupation, when it became the patriotic duty of every worker to restrict production. Today, however,

piece rates are regulated by the Institute for Labor Norms, which is affiliated with URO. Adjustments have been made in the tax structure to prevent the premium earnings of skilled workers from being taxed away. The piece rates are being introduced with surprising rapidity, because the workers realize that in a People's Democracy piece rates permit the individual *to increase* his income while simultaneously augmenting the total product.

Increased division of labor, also associated under capitalism with the hated "speed-up" and mass firings, is undertaken by the workers themselves in Czechoslovakia, without fear. For in their planned economy there is no room for technological unemployment. On the contrary, since the expansion of production is not limited by the needs of monopoly profits, there is a shortage of workers. As production expands and commodity shortages are eliminated, the hours of work will be reduced for all workers.

The introduction of these methods of increasing production is stimulated by socialist competition. In contrast to the invidious cut-throat competition fostered under capitalism, groups of workers, in competition with other groups, strive to improve their collective methods, not merely for personal gain, but also to expand the national income.

As might be expected, Czech wages have risen gradually since the initial cut in real wages necessitated by the successful anti-inflation policy. Wages will continue to rise as productivity increases. The workers will not, however, realize every increase in productivity directly through higher wages: a considerable portion will be distributed via extended government services.

The shortage of labor, a difficult problem for post-war Czechoslovakia, and in marked contrast to the unemployment prevalent before the war, has been aggravated by the transfer of the Sudeten-Germans, a large portion of whom were industrial workers.

The control techniques used to diminish this shortage are similar to those employed in other countries and are accepted as part of the sacrifices which individuals must make to further the welfare of the whole people. In the latter part of 1945, a decree made work compulsory for all, and specified the conditions under which an employee could accept or leave a job. Offices for the Protection of Labor, or Labor Exchanges, with workers' representatives on their executive boards, have administered the law quite successfully, enabling the transfer of workers to industries where they are needed.[17]

Moreover, volunteer labor brigades, under Communist initiative, have gone to work in agriculture and mining. During harvest periods, when there was a danger that the crops would not be harvested on time, the Czechs have resorted to the conscription of youth. On a longer-range basis, vocational training is being extended in conformity with industrial needs.

AGRICULTURE

The primary aim of Czech agricultural policy is to build a healthy peasant class and to forge intimate unity between the peasantry and the rest of the population. The first step undertaken in this direction was the division and distribution of the large landed estates which had exploited and oppressed the peasants and retarded agricultural development. The confiscated land, previously owned primarily by the Germans and Hungarians, involved a total of 270,000 farms covering an area of 3,706,000 acres of arable land and 750,000 of forest land.[18] Most of this was in the border regions and had to be resettled. Landless peasants and small holders received twenty to thirty acres each, depending on the fertility of the land and the size of their families. Payment for land — ranging from nothing to a maximum of two years' harvest staggered over an ample period of time — is contingent upon the condition of the plot and the financial status of the peasant. Distribution is effected democratically and non-bureaucratically by means of district and local commissions consisting of farmers who function without payment.

The distribution of the land and the integration of agricultural production into the planned national economy is not without its attendant difficulties. The rather serious labor shortages on the farms may have been accentuated by land division, but this may be solved by the large increase in tractor-production provided for in the Plan. The tractors are to be made available to the farmers through tractor pools operated by the collectives.

The difficulties of control over the agricultural sector of the economy are complicated by the necessity of collecting the produce from many small, individualistic farmers. Should the individual farmer be unwilling to cooperate with the Plan, he is able to thwart collections substantially by not planting, by feeding the crops to his animals, or by consuming them himself. Food collection and distribution are controlled by the Ministry of Food, in which the farmers are represented, through four state monopolies and cooperatives. District quotas are determined on the basis of the estimated crop yields and the amount necessary to meet rationing requirements. District committees composed of the local farmers fix the portion of the quota to be delivered by each farmer.

There is always the danger that the lower production costs on the larger farms will permit the larger peasants to take advantage of the middle and small peasants, to crowd them off their newly-acquired land. To prevent this, lower prices are paid for the produce of larger farms and the difference so obtained is used to establish kindergartens and provide other social services.[19]

A basic feature of the Kosice Agreement of May 1945 was the provision that individual farmers should not have to bear the expense of losses caused by unfavorable weather conditions. During the severe drought of 1947, this provision became vital for the protection of the smaller

peasants. The Communists proposed a special capital levy on persons owning large amounts of property or securing excessive profits, with the aim of providing funds to pay emergency bonuses to the farmers. This was opposed by others in the cabinet, but when their stand was publicized in the Communist press, popular indignation rose to such heights that the other parties were obliged to reverse their position.[20]

Whether the agricultural system will have to be collectivized in one form or another seems to depend on the ability of the peasants to solve these problems and expand production rapidly enough to support the growing industry and improving living standards of the people.

FOREIGN TRADE

The foreign trade problem was potentially one of the most serious obstacles to the fulfillment of the Two Year Plan. Before the war, Czechoslovakia derived about one-third of her national income from foreign trade.[21] A highly industrialized nation, eighty-five percent of her export trade consisted of manufactured goods, while she imported primarily raw materials and but little food. Historically, her trade has been mainly with Western European countries.

Two problems arose after the war which threatened to disrupt the plan. First, Czechoslovakia, like most European nations, was short on western currencies, particularly the dollar, which are required to purchase imports needed for economic restoration and expansion. Basically, this shortage reflects the failure of the United States to provide a market for Czech exports, which would enable the Czechs to obtain the necessary dollars. The loans received from neighboring countries, and part of the loan contracted for with the International Monetary Fund, were insufficient for her needs. When the United States, for political reasons, refused to grant Czechoslovakia a loan through the Export-Import Bank to purchase wheat during the 1947 drought, the Czechs received a loan, and wheat, from the more friendly Soviet Union. The foreign currency shortage is obliging the Czechs to solve their production problems alone, with what little assistance their Eastern and Southern neighbors (who suffered much greater war destruction) can provide them.

The private ownership of the import and export agencies by Czech capitalists further aggravates the shortage of western currencies. In addition to seizing quantities of goods for black-market operations, these elements receive higher prices abroad than they report to the government, and they hoard the unreported surplus of foreign currencies in foreign banks. This constitutes a continuous drain on Czech purchasing power abroad which must be halted if the necessary raw materials are to be imported.

The second and more fundamental obstacle to planning occasioned by trade with the western nations is the unplanned nature of the demand for

exports and the supply of imports. The temporary expedient devised in the first Plan was to make production figures for certain export items more tentative than for goods which were to be consumed at home. This still leaves the Plan at the mercy of the wide fluctuations in demand which inevitably accompany the recurrent industrial crises of the planless western capitalist economies. The Czechs are therefore attempting a long-run solution. Initially, they hope to fill, in part, the position once held by Germany as the supplier of machinery to Europe. The countries of Eastern Europe, including Poland, are also excellent markets for industrial goods and equipment, and they can also supply many of the raw materials the Czechs need.

The planned economies of the East European countries provide three advantages for Czech foreign trade over the capitalist west. First, since planned economies have well-defined needs, these countries can order Czech goods on a long-term basis. Second, they will be free from industrial cycles and crisis. Third, the Czechs can place orders which will be filled according to plan.

The Czechs have signed a new kind of trade treaty with the other new democracies and the Soviet Union, providing for economic and political cooperation for the mutual benefit of the nations concerned. Thus, a commission has been set up to study the duplication of productive effort in Poland and Czechoslovakia. The two nations have already signed an agreement that neither will produce chemical materials which the other can produce more advantageously. Such agreements do not aim to restrict production and raise prices — as do the cartel agreements of capitalist monopolies — but rather to increase production for the benefit of the people of both nations.

A large portion of Czechoslovakia's trade continues to be with the western nations, and must so continue because of the nature and geographical position of the Czech economy.[22] Except insofar as such a course will not lead to the economic or political undermining of their People's Democracy — as the Marshall Plan would accomplish, for example — the Czechs must maintain and develop their trade relations with Western Europe and the United States.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR*

In the private sector of the economy, the search for profit rather than the creation of the People's Democracy and the march toward socialism, is the primary motivation. The problem of control here is one of containing this motivation and directing it along paths of development which are not contradictory to those of the Plan.

* Much of this section particularly is now out of date because of recent changes. (See Postscript.)

The profit motive still prevails in agriculture, the non-socialized sections of industry, and wholesale, retail, and foreign trade. Inasmuch as the basic industries are public-owned, private owners of small manufacturing firms may reap personal profit at the expense of the growth of the social product, but they cannot disrupt the entire economy. Control over these firms is exercised in two ways. The Federation of Industry, to which both the private and nationalized firms must belong, assesses the needs of, and allocates materials to, the private firms after the needs of the nationalized sector are filled. Additional control is provided by offering raw-material priorities to those firms which are producing for the Plan.

Potentially the greatest danger of disruption of the Czech planned economy comes from the private control of retail and wholesale distribution. Many consumer goods produced by nationalized industry are distributed through private hands. Frequently, the private distributors hoard the goods to create artificial shortages, and then sell the goods through black-market channels at much higher prices. This funnels super-profits to private distributors and interferes with the Plan.

The Czechs have instituted an extensive system of rationing and price control which has been quite successful in restricting this disruption. The works councils are also vigilant in detecting these operations. But black markets remain an ever-present danger.

In the long run, the Czechs hope to replace private distribution by socialized forms. The government is reducing the number of private distributive centers and the nationalized industries are setting up their own wholesale outlets. Cooperatives are also being encouraged to expand wholesale and retail distribution. Distribution will ultimately be socially-controlled through these outlets.

POSTSCRIPT

Clearly, the economic base of the Czech People's Democracy is in a stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. A coalition of workers, peasants, and sections of the middle class controls the economy, the large capitalists have been ousted from their strongholds, and planned, socialized production is beginning to replace the anarchic, capitalist mode of production. But elements of capitalism continue to exist. The private sectors of the Czech economy provide footholds for those capitalists who seek to restore capitalism on a larger scale, or at least retard socialist progress. The path to socialism, therefore, continues to be one of constant vigilance and struggle against domestic and foreign enemies who leave no stone unturned to halt the march of progress and turn back the wheels of history.

The foregoing picture would not be complete without a brief glance at the much-publicized events of February, 1948. This study, which was finished sometime earlier, indicates the presence of seeds of conflict

between the people, who enthusiastically support the creation of the People's Democracy, and the groups which — with foreign imperialist support — sought to destroy it. We have, because of the limitations of space and our focus on the economic developments, been unable to analyze political developments or illustrate by specific examples. A few key "incidents" should be briefly indicated here:

1. Reactionaries took advantage of the drought in the summer of 1947: land-owners and big farmers refused to deliver their full quotas; land distribution was not carried out in many cases, due to the pressure of large estate owners; in Slovakia, food distribution broke down because of infiltration by Slovak fascists into the Slovak Democratic Party, the state administration, and economic institutions.
2. Sympathetic judges prevented nationalization in many plants, upon appeal by capitalist owners.
3. Black-marketing, irregular trade, and poorly organized distribution provided immense profits, simultaneously cutting the flow of goods to the markets despite increased production.
4. Foreign-trade balances were kept in foreign countries by the capitalists, reducing the possibilities of importing needed goods.
5. A demagogic campaign was waged by reactionaries to win the civil service workers for reaction.
6. The building industry failed to fulfill the goals set by the Plan.
7. The United States refused to provide loans for political reasons.
8. Reactionaries who slipped back into the legal parties started pressure to destroy the National Front and tear up the Kosice Agreement. In Parliament, these groups opposed bills relating to land reform, sought to stop nationalization of industries and enterprises, and tried to disrupt all economic and political advances.

The culmination was the "February crisis." The right-wing Ministers resigned, provoking a government crisis, the aim being to eliminate the Communists from the government and to destroy the People's Democracy. Pres. Benes soon realized their machinations endangered the future of Czechoslovakia, and a new government was formed. The people's action committees, composed of members of all parties, proceeded to examine the records, and those who had interfered with the fulfillment of the government program were ousted.

Two measures were enacted immediately following these events. A Parliamentary decree nationalized all home trade, all export and import, the big department stores, the production of spirits, the production and distribution of medicines, the building industry, and all capitalist enterprises employing more than 50 workers. A second measure was designed

to complete the land reform by distributing 25,000 hectares of church land and further breaking up the landed estates which had originally been cut only to 250 hectares; the landlords may now retain only 50 hectares.

The February events represented not a "Communist coup" or "Soviet aggression" — as our "free" press would have us believe — but the defeat of a reactionary, foreign-inspired attempt to destroy the People's Democracy and return to a capitalist state. This rightist plot was defeated only because, as Jan Masaryk declared in giving his support to the new cabinet: "The people are on the march."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dr. Ing. Edvard Outrata (President of the Central Planning Commission), "From Liberalism to a Planned Economy," *The First Czechoslovak Economic Plan* (Orbis: Prague), p. 5.
2. *Ibid,* p. 20.
3. *Ibid,* p. 21; also Josef Goldman, "Czechoslovak Industrial Development," *Changing Epoch* (No. 2), (Birch Books Ltd, 1947: London), p. 27.
4. *Statistical Bulletin of Czechoslovakia* (State Statistical Office, August 1947: Prague). All material describing Czech statistics has been taken from this bulletin.
5. Decree nationalizing the banks.
6. Frank Munk (Economic Advisor, Czech UNRRA Mission), *Report on the Economic and Financial Situation in Czechoslovakia* (UNRRA, 1946: Prague).
7. Gustav Bouer, *New Czechoslovakia* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1947: London), p. 129.
8. Goldman, *op. cit,* p. 18.
9. *Czechoslovakia — Six Studies in Reconstruction* (The Fabian Society: London), p. 42.
10. Statement by Mr. E. Zapotocky, Chairman of the ROH, April 4, 1946; reprinted in a release by the Czechoslovak Government.
11. United Trade Union Organization, Act. No. 144 Sb. (Prague, May 16, 1946).
12. James Gallaghan (British M.P.), in *Czechoslovakia — Six Studies.* . . . All data on pre-war trade union organization has been obtained from this source.
13. *Czechoslovakia* — 1947.
14. Gallaghan, *op. cit.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Reported in the *Central European Observer,* June 12, 1947.
17. *Statistical Bulletin of Czechoslovakia.*
18. *Agriculture and Food in Czechoslovakia,* Operational Analysis Paper No. 11 (UNRRA, December 1946: London).
19. *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,* Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, No. 2, December 1947 (Belgrade).
20. *Prague News Letter,* November 8, 1947 (Svet V. Obrazech: Prague).
21. Unpublished report prepared for the Division of Economic Stability, United Nations.
22. Occupational Analysis Paper No. 21, UNRRA, p. 19, and *Czech Economic Bulletin* November 6, 1947.

MARTIN A. WATKINS

Thomas Hood: Poet of the Poor

WITH the growth, recognition, and appreciation of proletarian literature in this declining period of capitalism, there has grown the desire to re-examine and claim as ancestors those authors and works of social protest too long obscured by the literary lieutenants of the status quo. The poetical and prose works of Thomas Hood, nineteenth century English author, merit a revaluation in these terms.

Born in London in 1799, the son of a poor bookseller and grandson of poor Scottish peasants, Thomas Hood could not regard the injustices heaped upon the laboring poor of his England without intense sympathy and outspoken partisanship. Unlike Carlyle, whose remedy for the sufferings of the working people consisted in a fascist-like state of serfdom, and unlike those who lavished maudlin sentimentality on the workers, Hood cried out against social injustice.

To be sure, Hood lived and wrote during a period of rapid economic, social and political transformation. His was also a period of transition, as regards the developing working-class movement, an interval of growing maturity. As we shall see, Hood himself grew in understanding as the issues were being clarified and the class struggles intensified. By and large, however, the over-all characteristic of Hood's serious works is a *moral condemnation* of the inhuman oppression engendered by capitalism. But within this framework, he was successful in presenting the lives of the exploited and the contrasting affluence of the rich; he denounced Negro slavery and anti-Semitism, the monarchy, war; he showed that the workers are not represented in the governing bodies, that their pressing needs are ignored, and that they do not receive justice in the courts. And he wrote in a simple, popular style, addressing himself directly to the people. Known as the "Poet of the Poor," Hood was recognized in his greatness by James Russell Lowell:

> "Here lies a Poet. Stranger, if to thee
> His claim to memory be obscure,
> If thou wouldst learn how truly great was he,
> Go ask it of the poor."
> (From "To the Memory of Hood")

Years after his death Hood's biographers found it necessary to suppress his agnostic and atheist writings and actions; they pictured him as a

religious man — although Hood mentions attending church only three times during his life: once to hear a Dissenting minister, and twice when forced to attend. The characterization of Hood as a religious person is undoubtedly due, in some measure, to the moral fervor of his indictment of social injustice. But perhaps of greater significance is the fact that the "definitive" biography of Hood was written by his daughter, Frances Hood Broderip, who early in life fell under the influence of Hood's fanatically religious sister, Betsey, and later married a clergyman. A study of the writings of Hood's daughter reveals that she, too, was unquestionably a religious fanatic. Could she picture her father but as a religious person?

The record speaks clearly on this question of Hood and religion. Hood recognized, early in life, that organized religion was the handmaiden of wealth and privilege, and he warned: "always suspect a man that carries his religion into his counting house, and opens his Bible with one hand, and his ledger with the other." The following passage in *Up the Rhine* pursues the same tack:

> Is it the same universal God that the parish pauper must only address from a wooden bench, and the proud noble can only praise from an embroidered velvet cushion? Is it the same Providential Being that the lowly peasant thanks for his scanty, hardly earned daily bread, and the rich man asks to bless his riotous luxury and wasteful superabundance?

Hood seems also to catch up the feelings of the poor masses with regard to religion in *Our Family*:

> When a poor man or woman, as low down in life as myself, talks to me about heaven above, it sounds as sweet-like as a promise of going back some day to my birth-place, and my father's house, the home of my childhood: but when rich people speak to me of heaven, it sounds like saying, now you're old and worn out, and sick, and past work, and come to rags, and beggary, and starvation, there is heaven for you, — just as they say to one, at the last pitch of poverty — by way of comforting — there's the parish.

Hood's reputation has also suffered from his usual classification as a "humorist." Although his large output of humorous works is presented as *prima facie* evidence that he was primarily a non-serious writer, it is seldom mentioned that Hood was obliged by economic circumstances to write humorous verse to support himself and his family. His contemporaries, Allan Cunningham and Barry Cornwall — among others — felt that Hood's poetic genius would be lost, should he assume the barren task of "cracking the shells of jokes which have not always a kernel." Moreover, Hood was favored with success in the case of his humorous works, whereas his serious efforts were plagued with failures of one kind or another. We know that his humorous works, *Odes and Addresses to Great People* (published 1825) and *Whims and Oddities* (1826) were highly successful; but his volume of serious short stories, *National Tales,* and his beautiful serious poetry, *The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies* (1827) were

financial failures. Among his contemporaries it was well known that Hood was driven to "breathe the comic vein" due to the failures of his serious work, although "his real work lay in another direction." Hood was "obliged to produce [humor] under the compulsion of necessity. Joke or starve was often the alternative."

After the failure of his two serious works of 1827, Hood again attempted a serious work, *Tylney Hall* (published 1834); this novel condemned the false charity, commercialism, religious bigotry, prejudice and false morality characteristic of capitalist society. Bad luck continued to hound him, however — his publishers failed — and Hood was forced into exile to seek the means to repay his losses. Then, in 1840, he published his novel *Up the Rhine,* which is filled with critical observations on German life; and in *Our Family* (published posthumously) he indicts the economic, social, political and moral decadence of his society.

Throughout his life, especially in his poetry, Hood breathed the growing anger of the poor masses against a corrupt and undemocratic social system, awakening in them a rebelliousness directed toward a redress of their grievances, and instilling in the rich rulers a justifiable fear.

We know that when he was but twenty-one years of age, Hood had become acutely aware of

> "The want, the woe, in many a British cot,
> Where manly hearts distill the big round tear,
> And bleed in silence like the stricken deer."
> ("An Address to the Social Literary Society, July, 1820")

"An Address to the Steam Washing Company" (1825) pictures the plight of the laundresses and their families upon whom unemployment has been thrust by the invention of the steam washing machine. In "The Forsaken" (published 1827), Hood observes that once he "only wept the dead, but now the living cause [him] pain," for the worker, "labor as he may, can but be a pauper." He took up the cry of the shop clerks for a shorter working-day. He petitioned in verse for the repeal of the law of 1834 which forbade chimney sweeps to cry their trade, a law which generated partial unemployment among these workers.

"As regards the peasantry," wrote Hood in *Up the Rhine,*

> great labor is a matter of necessity: by the hardest labor, the land being highly taxed, they only procure the hardest fare; and there being no poor-rates to fall back upon, they must either work hard or starve. You may read in their faces a story of severe toil and meagre diet.

We are made to feel the tragedy of the poverty-stricken in "The Elm Tree":

> "The tatter'd, lean, dejected wretch,
> Who begs from door to door,
> And dies within the cressy ditch,
> Or on the barren moor,

The friendly Elm shall lodge and clothe
That houseless man, and poor!"

The working people are made to suffer not only physical privation, but also what Karl Marx termed "misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation":

> There is something painful and humiliating to humanity in the abjectness of mind, that too often accompanies the sordid conditions of the working-classes; whereas it is soothing and consolatory to find the mind of the poor man rising superior to his estate, and compensating by intellectual enjoyment for the physical pains and privation that belong to his humble lot. Whatever raises him above the level of the ox in the garner, or the horse in the mill, ought to be acceptable to the pride, if not to the charity, of the fellow-creature that calls him brother; for instance, music and dancing, but against which innocent unbendings some of our magistracy persist in setting their faces, as if resolved that a low neighborhood should enjoy no dance but St. Vitus's, and no fiddle but the Scotch.

In his famous poem "The Song of the Shirt" he condemns this society based on exploitation simply by showing a seamstress at work:

"With fingers weary and worn
With eyelids heavy and red,
A Woman sat, in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread—"

Two lines in the same poem pass judgment on his Victorian England:

"Oh! God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!"

But Hood does not plead with the upper classes for charity, for alms are "too often like the London-made stuff, nothing but chalk and water," which, "like curses and chickens will come home to roost." And whereas in 1843 ("The Song of the Shirt") and the early part of 1844 ("The Bridge of Sighs") Hood sought to arouse the conscience of humanity to act for the oppressed poor, by the latter part of 1844 — in tune with the revolutionary Chartist agitation — he appears to be arousing the class-consciousness of the workers and actually to urge them to revolt as the only solution for their ills.

"Gushing, rushing, crushing along,
A very torrent of Man!
Urged by the sighs of sorrow and wrong,
Grown at last to a hurricane strong,
Stop its course who can!
Stop who can its onward course
And irresistible moral force."
(From "The Workhouse Clock")

A similar mood prevails in "The Lay of the Laborer":

"Ay, only give me work,
And then you need not fear

That I shall snare his worship's hare,
Or kill his grace's deer;
Break into his lordship's house,
To steal the plate so rich;
Or leave the yeoman that had a purse
To welter in a ditch. . . .
Whatever the tool to ply,
Here is a willing drudge,
With muscle and limb, and woe to him
Who does their pay begrudge!"

"Miss Kilmansegg and her Precious Leg" satirizes the wealthy and their admirers:

"Oh, happy Hope of the Kilmanseggs!
Thrice happy in head, and body, and legs,
That her parents had such full pockets!
For had she been born of Want and Thrift,
For care and nursing all adrift,
It's ten to one she had had to make shift
With rickets instead of rockets!"

As his democratic and revolutionary attitudes matured, Hood expressed deepening understanding of and sympathy for the oppressed minorities — particularly for the Jewish and Negro peoples. He expressed the hope, "for the sake of Christianity and human nature, that Jew-hating and Jew-running will not be the last . . . of the brutal sports and pastimes [to fall] into decadence with the progress of civilization."

Hood's feelings on the subject of Negro slavery are revealed as early as 1840 (in *Up the Rhine*):

> Heaven knows how far I might have carried my reflections on the iniquity of hating a man for his yellow face, if I had not suddenly recollected that, ere now, many a human being has been stolen, enslaved, bought and sold, scourged, branded, and even murdered, merely because he happened to have a black one.

"The Doves and the Crows," published in 1839, on the emancipation of the slaves in the British Empire, caught up the emotions of the liberated.

"Tell them to-day is Slavery's eclipse,
And Love and Liberty must be embraced —
From this day forth your freedom is your own. . . .
Talk, all together, talk! both old and young,
Pour out the fulness of the Negro heart;
Let loose the now emancipated tongue,
And all your new-born sentiments impart —
From this day forth your freedom is your own. . . ."

Hood observed that Justice, like Religion, is of two varieties — one for the rich, who profit, the other for the poor, who suffer in the balance

of its scales — and that the law courts, even as at present, function in the interests of the ruling class.

> Honesty begs for bread, and knavery prospers, adding houses to houses, land to land. The just suffer, whilst the unjust judge sits in ermine. Folly rules, and wisdom pines unheard. Vanity is caressed at the expense of genius, — and sanctimonious hypocrisy tramples on humble piety. The mortal balance, indeed, preponderates in favor of the wicked. (*Tylney Hall*)

Hood's views on education make interesting reading in the light of subsequent educational experiments and practices. They are to be found in "Copyright and Copywrong," where he also observed that "there are certain well-educated ignorant people, who contend that a little learning is a dangerous thing — for the poor."

The poet was considered a revolutionary Whig by the Tories in the early 1840's. He was held in high esteem by the "physical force" Chartists, his aid was enlisted by the radical Anti-Corn Law League, and he was highly praised by the Christian Socialists. Hood appears to have been favorably disposed towards the movement for a classless society which was then taking scientific form in the writings and activities of Marx and Engels. This outlook is to be observed not only in his blows against the economic, political, social and juridical institutions of capitalism, but also in his favorable attitudes regarding the socialist and cooperative experiments of his time.

> We liberals must beat sooner or later: the money and commerce interests will beat the landed, who have too long had it their own way; and then no more corn laws! . . But you abroad have a plan, on the supposition that the Tories will come again into power — so they may, but will never keep it, nor the Whigs either: there is a third party, not Radicals, but a national one, will and must rule at last, for the general and not private interests. I do not meddle, but look on, and see it quietly getting onwards towards a consummation so devoutly to be wished for. (From a letter to a friend in Germany.)

It is the opinion of this writer that, although the work of Hood is not of uniform quality nor of first rank, he looms much larger than is generally admitted by the bourgeois critics. Moreover, his championship of the exploited, the downtrodden, the oppressed, his compelling satirization of the capitalists and their religious spokesmen, his vision of the future: all these — despite the limitations impressed by his time — transcend his own period and reach down to ours, constituting a noteworthy and permanent chapter in the cultural tradition of the working people.

As with so many other artists who served the people, Hood, although recognized by his contemporaries as the "Poet of the Poor," a fighter for the rights of the workers, has been cast into the shade by later literary critics as a minor punster and humorist. It is the duty today of those who wish to promote the interests of the working class and to create a new and higher culture in its image, to seek out these earlier tribunes and present them in their proper light and full stature.

JESSE EHRLICH

Marxism, Spain, and Art

Illusion and Reality, "A Study of the Sources of Poetry," by Christopher Caudwell. $3.75. *Art and Society,* by Sidney Finkelstein. $2.75. Both books: New York, International Publishers, 1947.

JOHN STRACHEY wrote a brief comment on Caudwell's death in 1937 in the Spanish Civil War which appears at the beginning of *Illusion and Reality.* "It seems," says Strachey, "that nothing less than the indubitable signature of death will make men believe in their (the Communists') sincerity."

A fine tribute — but in view of Strachey's role since Spain, we know that sympathy with a corpse is too easy, and it is hypocritical if it does not stem from a previous rapport with the living man. Witness the recent crocodile tears shed by reaction over the body of Jan Masaryk.

Those who cannot understand the artistic and political activity which was Caudwell's life, misunderstand also his death.

Caudwell would probably have enjoyed the famous remark that those who fought in Spain were "premature" anti-fascists. He would have seen that it unconsciously recognized one of the propositions at the root of his theory of art. The artist, bound to the present (reality), realizes the future prematurely by means of fantasy (illusion). In so doing he achieves an understanding of the future which enables him to orient himself through the progressing time of his present reality until that future time is reached and itself becomes a present reality. "The like, space, is generated by the ingression of the unlike, time." The artist and his art, then, perform a function which is seen to be necessary once we reflect that we cannot separate from our consciousness of the present moment the necessity of being conscious in the succeeding one.

The artist is a person who has at his command the technique, the knowledge, and the time to develop in broader terms than can other people a fantastic realization of future reality. His stature as an artist will be judged by two considerations: the breadth of his fantasy, and the degree to which it integrates the reality of the present with that of the future.

It was "premature" to fight in Spain, because such an act required in 1937 a deep understanding of the world situation that was *becoming* 1939, 1945, 1948 — and a vision of how those dates might be changed by the

removal in 1937 of one man from his study in London and his placement behind a machine-gun on a hill above the Jarama River.

Let us be clear: we do not believe, as did some of the Italian futurist "poets," that the act of firing the machine-gun was an "art-act." There is nothing beautiful about the pom-pom-pom of the gun; bombs do not open like roses. We are saying that the comprehension required for the performance of that act is basically the same as that required by the artist in the creation of a work of art. Those who fought in Spain knew more, understood more, about the future; this was premature of them. It is the duty of the artist, Caudwell shows in words and deeds, to be constantly premature in this sense.

Caudwell was a Marxist; his book is, in a sense, a development, within certain limits of inquiry, of the principle of Marxism, "The history of all previously existing societies is a history of class struggle." He makes clear that for him Marxism is not a matter of arbitrary allegiance; it is the only adequate tool available for achieving the deep understanding he seeks. And so skillful is his probing that it is safe to say that *Illusion and Reality* is an original contribution to Marxism of a very high order, and the most brilliant discussion of literature and art that the twentieth century has produced.

This is not the kind of book "on art" we are accustomed to see. Its subject matter does not exclude any topic of thought, philosophical or scientific. For Caudwell carries out the axiom to which so many others pay lip service: one cannot understand art without understanding life, of which it is an inseparable part. After saying this, many writers proceed to examine art separately. Caudwell not only will not do this; he cannot. His insights into art flow from an understanding of social and scientific matters. The illumination of his mind falls upon the entire idea-world, enabling the reader first of all to see what place art holds in that world, and secondly, to see what place the idea-world as a whole occupies in the concrete, material world.

The integration he achieves of all those materials we are accustomed to call separate and "varied" is so complete and successful that it is fruitless to attempt a summary of the book's contents. There is a certain emphasis on psychology — or perhaps it is only because other Marxist writers have ignored this important aspect in their discussions of literature, that it seems "emphasized" in Caudwell's rounded treatment. Caudwell recognizes that, especially in the domain of the creative arts, a sloppy adaptation of Freudian terminology and thought has exercised an influence suspiciously connected with the politics of the "disillusioned radical"; and he sets out to clear up a good deal of this nonsense.

Similarly — and to this end the punch of the entire book is directed — it cannot be doubted that a new clarity of purpose for all artists who are socially conscious will flow from the intelligence Caudwell has spread over

the pages of *Illusion and Reality.* The concluding chapter, "The Future of Poetry," contains a remarkable little imaginary heart-to-heart talk addressed by a "conscious proletarian" to a "bourgeois revolutionary":

> Your conception of freedom, because it is rooted in a part of society, is also partial. All consciousness is determined by the society which produces it, but because you are ignorant of this mode of determination, you imagine your consciousness to be free and not determined by your experience and history. This illusion you exhibit so proudly is the badge of your slavery to yesterday, for if you could see those causes which determine your thought, you would be like us, on the road to freedom. The recognition of necessity in society is the only passage to social freedom. . . .
>
> Our demand — that your art should be proletarian — is *not* a demand that you apply dogmatic categories and Marxist phrases to art. To do so would be bourgeois. We ask that you should *really* live in the new world and not leave your soul behind in the past. . . .

"But," Caudwell continues, "the message is not understood; it is regarded as formal or even insincere. The debate cannot be solved in theory, for the essense of this dispute is that the antagonists live in two worlds — one of bourgeois categories and the other of proletarian. It can, however, be solved in the world of practice, for both are living in the same real world. . . ."

If a niche were required in which to fit the book, it would be philosophy, but only in the sense that philosophy provides a framework for an organized picture of all human thought and knowledge. But the philosopher's language is absent from *Illusion and Reality.* Caudwell has no time to waste in language vagueness; he is seeking constantly to reach a level of unconstipated thought possible only when language helps, not hinders. His technique is remarkable and worthy of study by anyone who wises to think or induce others to think.

As soon as a subject is introduced, Caudwell begins to cut away the shrubbery and prepare a path for entrance. Sometimes this procedure occupies a good deal of space; topics such as "The characteristics of poetry" and "The psyche and fantasy" (two of the chapter headings) have been almost overgrown with weeds. But in good time this preparation is completed, and we enter a new realm of ideas. The reader's trip through these passages is intense, creative, and inevitably exhausting. It is in this sense only that the book is difficult; its offerings are full-strength, its ideas hit with merciless impact. A certain amount of time must be spent away from the book, digesting its concentrated food.

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN'S music and art criticism has achieved a deserved popularity during the past few years. His thorough acquaintance with his field, displayed in short reviews; his keen evaluation of performance and composition; the general orientation of his ideas in pressuring for constant improvement in American arts: these qualities have enabled him to step into a niche too long vacant in the progressive press.

Perhaps the greatest single factor contributing to Finkelstein's popularity is the warmth and interest he communicates; it is a rare critic who is able to assume that he is on such friendly terms with his readers, and that the excitement he feels in his work is one the reader can be made to share with him.

Art and Society embodies these positive qualities. It is a discussion calculated to enlarge the reader's understanding and appreciation of the arts. Finkelstein organizes his material into chapters covering ten significant topics; and this organization is well-suited to display the author's insights into the relatedness of the various arts and the course of their development through history. His selection of subjects for discussion is fresh and stimulating: two chapters are devoted to the question of folk art; a third discusses the relationships of the different artists in history to their audiences; another is titled "The National Question in the Arts." *Art and Society* will probably prove interesting reading for many lay people who seek to become better acquainted with cultural matters.

It is unfortunately true, however, that this book, while characterized by so many virtues, also exhibits some very serious flaws. They are, for the most part, mistakes in over-all approach. The author subscribes to Marxism; it is somewhat unpleasant to have to criticize his book in these terms. But it is apparent that, contrary to the intent expressed in its preface, *Art and Society* is not an application of Marxism to art. It is an evasion of Marxism.

The *Communist Manifesto* opens with the words: "The history of all previously existing society has been a history of class struggle." This principle is a basic tenet of Marxism. It signifies that the struggle between classes is the basic and most profound unit of reality at any moment or period in history since the decline of primitive communism. It means that whatever matter we are considering, in science, economics, culture, or philosophy, we cannot achieve a clear picture of it unless we discern its basic impetus, its class-struggle heart which has brought it up to the moment and pumps into it the blood of its future development.

Finkelstein does not take this as the guiding principle of his analyses. Instead, he consistently presents a scheme in which a distinction is made between artist and laymen (or "society," or the artist's audience). In Finkelstein's scheme, "the artist" is a positive cultural force; "society" may succeed or fail in distributing his product properly. The crucial wrong in American society, insofar as culture and the artist are concerned, is that the artist's product is not properly distributed. Furthermore:

> There is a pattern repeated in the artistic lives of such men as Charles Ives, Roger Sessions, George Antheil, Roy Harris, and Carl Ruggles, John Marin, Alfred Maurer, and Marsden Hartley, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Robinson Jeffers, Archibald MacLeish, Eugene O'Neill; a pattern of increasing difficulties which may seem to be purely technical or stylistic, but *resolve themselves down* to the unwelcome place of the *honest artist* in American society." (My italics—J. E.)

This orientation is thoroughly un-Marxist. It ignores the important fact that some of these artists are enemies of the working class while one or two are allies, and lumps all together into the meaningless category of "honest artists." And surely "the layman" is not a homogeneous individual. Wall Street bankers are laymen also. Finkelstein's bashfulness about admitting the class division which cuts through both artist and layman categories leads him to ignore or gloss over the realities of the present day. "Society" is not striving for something special, such as more culture. On the contrary; there are two conflicting purposes at work which are so all-embracing and utterly urgent that no person, whether poet or publisher, scientist or shop-worker, can avoid, in any action he performs, supporting either one or the other of them. On the one hand, the capitalist class is fighting to maintain itself in power and wealth. On the other, the working class is struggling to achieve the consciousness and solidarity necessary to free itself from capitalist oppression. Out of the progress of the conflict between these two forces will flow the development of every aspect of our society.

Finkelstein, in summing up, proposes three ways in which American cultural life can be rehabilitated. They do not include the struggle to achieve a socialist society. And his concluding remarks reveal the logical outcome of his position:

> Today, more than ever before, we need a living culture far greater than any that has so far grown up on our soil. . . . We need it so that we can affirm ourselves as a democracy to the rest of the world. . . .

It would be unfair to the author for us to speculate as to the cause of these mistakes. But the impression persists that they are connected with an underestimation of the powerful influence of Marxist thought on non-Marxists. This question goes beyond Finkelstein's book, for many of our students have been led by a similar error of judgment into the same theoretical mistakes that *Art and Society* presents. It is important to consider this point briefly.

THE bourgeois efforts to discredit and illegalize Marxism clutter all channels of communication and education; so the notion arises that a Marxist who wishes to communicate had better hide his Marxism, lest his words fall upon prejudiced ears and be rejected out of hand. Several flagrant miscalculations are embodied in this notion.

In the first place, aside from the fact that such a method can never be useful in the struggle to establish the validity of Marxism, it shows a lack of understanding of the significance of these bourgeois efforts. In singling out the Communist for his crudest vituperation, the capitalist has not made an arbitrary choice. He sees in the Communist the most uncompromising representative of his deadly opponent, the working class. And the hysteria he creates, a confession of that opponent's strength, constitutes one of the ways in which the capitalist generates his own destruction. Communism is on the mind and tongue of every person. It is a fatal under-

estimation of the intelligence of our workers to miss the fact that most of them are largely aware that they do not know what Communism is. The working people know only that they are not supposed to like Communism; but there is curiosity — perhaps not entirely open-minded, but curiosity nonetheless — about something they instinctively feel to be powerful, rational, emotionally moving, and growing. A prime duty of the Marxist author is therefore clear. He must satisfy that curiosity to the limit of his abilities.

In the second place, the notion that a Marxist can make a point more strongly by "toning down" his Marxism is a contradiction. A Marxist is a person who has come to understand that society in all its aspects can be satisfactorily comprehended only by applying the revolutionary principles first formulated by Marx and Engels; and he uses and develops these principles in thinking, learning and teaching. At no time, then, can the Marxist dream of making a point effectively unless it is posited within a thoroughly Marxist framework. Any other orientation leads away from, and attenuates, Marxist theory and practice.

Finally: it is certainly true that the writer who is uncompromising in his Marxist insight achieves only limited circulation, and that the media of communication have been pressed into use to intimidate people from acquiring even the minute product of the proletarian press. This problem faces not only our critics, but our creative artists as well. There is only one solution to this problem: to struggle for a society in which the means of communication — as well as the factories, mines and land — will belong to the people who work these resources. Marxism is the ideological weapon guiding the most intelligent activity to this end. To put Marxism aside is unintelligent. Does this attitude seem insistent, unyielding, harsh? Intransigence has always been a characteristic of the truth.

It is not sensible to press for a wider acceptance among the working class of existing American culture. Workers have to a great extent rejected our classical music, painting and poetry, because they recognize that this art has rejected them. In Caudwell's words: "There is no classless art except communist art, and that is not yet born; and class art today, unless it is proletarian, can only be the art of a dying class." To "refashion the categories and techniques of art so that it expresses the new world coming into being and is part of its realization" is the "difficult creative road" of artists today. To call forth this art, encourage it, mould it, is the constructive task of the critic.

Artist and critic, moreover, have another task: to take part in other activities through which a society will be born in which the product of each will meet its audience. That is what Caudwell's life and writing teach, and it is the lesson of his death. The more urgent the writer's creative flow, the deeper is his self-interest in fighting fascism. The greater the artist, the more necessary his Spain.

MARVIN REISS

World Empire or Peace

Peace or Anarchy, by Cord Meyer, Jr. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1947, $2.50.

Because World Federalism seems to appeal rather more to students than to others, this book, the current scripture of that movement, requires the special attention of progressive students.

Mr. Meyer's work is a remarkable demonstration of the inability of philosophical idealism to analyze or solve the tensions of modern society — even when used by an author of such genuine goodwill as he displays. The author, a wounded veteran, proceeds from a deep-going appreciation of the horrors of atomic and biological warfare, whose destructiveness he describes with unflinching realism mixed with powerful imagination.

But the analysis he provides is quite superficial, and, unfortunately, may sow dangerous illusions among many students sincerely desirous of preventing the development of a third world war. Looking at appearances only, and failing to probe beneath the surface of events to the basic economic, social and political systems, Mr. Meyer — without any effort whatever at theoretical justification — asserts that the "institution that is ultimately responsible for two world wars within a generation and the growing danger of a third is the sovereign nation-state" (p. 7). Adopting a "plague on both your houses" approach with regard to the Soviet Union and the United States (not without, however, ideologically stacking the cards in favor of "our Democracy" as against the "Russian police-state" by glibly accepting and repeating many of the Hearstian myths and slanders), and naively viewing the original purpose of armament by all countries to be "national defense" — Mr. Meyer then develops a "logical" analysis which bears little and only accidental resemblance to reality.

Because of the peculiar nature of newly-developed arms, he claims, defensive and aggressive preparations become outwardly indistinguishable, and a rationale of "preparedness" develops which *leads to* regimentation, the suppression of liberties, and the "growing influence" of the military and of the monopolists in the cabals of government. War hysteria spreads, armaments grow, incidents develop . . . then the third world war. After presenting a purely formalistic study of the structure of the League of Nations and of the UN (with many obvious errors), Mr. Meyer springs his panacea: the creation of a supra-national government with limited jurisdiction and delegated powers, complete with legislature, executive and judicial branches, and a Constitution (by way of an amended UN charter).

Before examining the two basic failings in Mr. Meyer's work, it should be noted that, on the first level of his thinking, he has made serious errors. What is specific to atomic and biological weapons, as regards inability to distinguish between defensive and offensive purposes, which does not apply in the invention of the airplane, the Maxim gun, or even a wooden spear? This one-sided, hair-raising account of a push-button war goes to extremes, and it totally blunts Mr. Meyer's vision on the fundamental fact that millions of people will have to fight should another war develop. Associated, perhaps integrally, with this deficiency, is Mr. Meyer's fail-

ure to see that millions of people are not only opposed to another war (a fact mentioned by him in passing only), but *actively fighting against it.* And, although it is true that the generation of widespread war hysteria does hasten regimentation and the suppression of civil rights (at least in capitalist countries), Mr. Meyer fails to observe that it is the drive of the monopolists, the imperialists, *in the first instance* — and not merely as a "result" — that creates the war danger, the hysteria, the need for suppression of democratic rights, etc. This brings us to our first major criticism.

". . . Capital," said Marx, "comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." Unfortunately, it would appear that the reactionary monopolies are trying to provide capital with the same exit out of this world. But the conditions now exist for accomplishing this peacefully. The fact remains, however, that every war during the modern era has arisen, inexorably, out of the very nature of the capitalist system. True, many of the wars of the period of capitalist ascendancy were progressive in nature, particularly — and here we can see Mr. Meyer twinge with horror — the wars for national unification fought against the feudal barons.

The ultimate basis and cause of the two world holocausts, and of dozens of "minor" conflicts is imperialism: a system of monopolized finance-capital which, by its very nature, feeds on the super-exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and generates an insatiable drive for foreign markets, sources of raw materials, and capital export. Having once divided the world among themselves — by trickery, bribery *and* the force of arms — the various imperialist powers have since been occupied with effecting (or preventing) a redivision of the world. This is the essense of imperialist war in general.

But imperialism also signifies constant, daily warfare against the colonial millions, and against the workers at home. The growth of the socialist Soviet Union, the emergence of the new democracies, the colonial revolt: these constitute a growing double threat to imperialism. On the one hand, so much territory, so many millions of virtual slaves, have been and are being removed from the contracting orbit of imperialist exploitation; on the other hand, the very social system of capitalism faces a strengthening camp of anti-imperialism, of peace, of cooperative collectivism. And increasingly, as the anti-imperialist camp strengthens itself, as the threat to the imperialist system grows, the various imperialist powers — despite deep-going contradictions in their own relations — are obliged to focus their attention on the anti-imperialist camp, and first and foremost, to seek a common anti-Soviet denominator.

The end of the recent war left the system of imperialism greatly weakened, but it also found the United States the final citadel, the last fortress, the aggressive champion, of imperialism. The responsibility for the preparations for a new and most devastating war lies at the doorstep of Wall Street and Washington. And national sovereignty — far from being the "cause" of war — constitutes *a powerful obstacle* in the path of American world conquest. It is not "nationalism" which threatens the UN and world peace, but American imperialism.

Mr. Meyer fails to see the significance of even the surface manifestations of America's position as the monger of world war three. He witnesses Washington support and cultivation of militant reaction and naked fascism in all corners of the globe, but "justifies" this in terms of the need for "defense" and by pointing to "Soviet aggression." Failing to see beyond his nose, which seems to us exceedingly short, Mr. Meyer falls into all kinds of circumlocutory thinking and rationalization. He nowhere indicates any understanding of the forces at work in the world today.

Our second major criticism, a corollary of the above, concerns Mr. Meyer's complete failure to understand the origins, nature, and future of the

nation, or as he terms it, the nation-state. A lengthy discussion here is not possible, but it should be indicated that the rabid reactionaries who have for decades been making a luxurious living by "criticizing" and "refuting" Marxists for their alleged failure to "take into account the significance of nationalism and national traditions" — these are today the gentlemen trumpeting about the "need to eliminate that dangerous institution, the nation." (They always refer to "other countries" of course, never to the United States.) We regret that we must disappoint these gentlemen and those "liberals" who have been issuing carbon copies of this approach, but the fact of the matter is that Marxists have long since "recognized" the significance of the nation; Marxists have long pointed out that the struggle for national independence, self-determination, and equality is an important facet of the struggle against imperialism, and that *the true flowering of all nations* will be possible only after socialism has replaced capitalism.

All this is not to say that World Government is unrealizable. Yes, since the dawn of civilization man has dreamt of peaceful, cooperative World Government. This dream springs from profoundly human, progressive yearnings. But the fact is that this aspiration — like man's long hopes for a classless society free of all exploitation — can be achieved only under socialism. The plans for a "Western bloc of nations," for a "United States of Europe" — exposed by Lenin at the close of the first world war on the same grounds — have, however, nothing in common with peace. Their objective is an anti-Soviet war, and it is fitting that Winston Churchill should be their vociferous spokesman.

The fight for a stronger and more effective UN, for a genuine, enduring peace: this is the peoples' struggle, and its hostile enemy is not the "nation-state," but American finance capital. We face a real and growing danger of war. Of that there can be no question. But we must reject the myth deliberately propagated by the saber-rattlers, that a third world war is "inevitable." The peoples of the world insistently demand peace, and the camp of active struggle for peace grows daily. Here in America, those of us who want to banish the threat of war are rallying in Gideon's Army, behind the Wallace Peace Party. The issues are clear, the decision is now.

People in Colonies, by Kumar Goshal. New York, Sheridan House, 1948, $3.50.

This work is a powerful, explosive study of the billion and one-half colonial and semi-colonial people, their history, their oppression, their struggles —but one which falls short of the requirements of a Marxist analysis. It is impossible, within the limits of this review, to do justice to this long-needed book or adequately to criticize its shortcomings, but certain major points may be mentioned.

Mr. Goshal has compressed into 300 pages an angry, but scientific indictment of "Western civilization": of the great and small imperialist powers, of the capitalist system. The author has torn the sordid veil from the unbelievable inhuman oppression of people in colonies, revealing an inferno which would challenge the powers of a Dante. This work rips to shreds every hypocritical myth — and there have been dozens of them spread far and wide — ever created to justify this state of affairs. Virtually every corner of the globe — the Near and Far East, Asia, Africa, Latin America, etc. — is subjected to close scrutiny. The amazing historical sweep, the incisive analysis of events, the feelingful humanity, the pounding blows, the rich but lucid style: these and many other positive qualities can be appreciated only upon a first-hand reading.

After posing the key problems in his Introduction, Mr. Goshal proceeds to show "Why Colonies Were Acquired"; he traces the origins of colonialism in terms of what Marx called "primitive

accumulation," and then briefly shows the new aspects of colonialism after the industrial revolution, concluding with an elaboration of imperialism paralleling Lenin's classic formulation. "The Story of Colonial Conquest," an historical study of how the various empires were built up, proves to be "a grim and sordid affair... a tale of treachery, bribery, intrigue, chicanery, broken pledges, and brutal aggression" without parallel. The chapter "What Are Colonies Worth?" exposes the plunder and super-exploitation of the colonial masses and natural resources. "How People in Colonies Fared" examines imperialist oppression in human terms: living and working conditions, health, education, culture, independence movements, etc. The three final chapters deal with colonies during and after the second world war and the future of the colonies.

Other reviews in the Marxist press* not having proved sufficiently critical, this reviewer feels obliged to point out the many weaknesses evidenced in this work.

Our first major criticism concerns Mr. Goshal's failure to depict accurately and fully the other side of the picture: the history of the struggles of the people's movements for independence. The story of colonial oppression, as he indicates, is an old tale, but *the newness* of the last generation or two involves precisely *the struggle against imperialism.* Mr. Goshal's portrayal of the people's movements is largely one of sporadic, spontaneous, weakly-led "revolts"; but the colonial peoples have in most cases long since passed on to well-organized, consistent, scientifically-led struggles, often under Communist leadership. There is, moreover, a *continuity* in these struggles which rarely emerges in this treatment. This is a major shortcoming, because although it is true that the story of colonial exploitation, oppression, and suppression is too little known in America, much less is known about these revolutionary movements for independence. One might expect a pessimistic, one-sided treatment from a bourgeois liberal, but hardly from Mr. Goshal.

Secondly, and closely related to the above, Mr. Goshal has failed to indicate the primary significance of the peasant struggles. Again, there is a rather full picture of the alienation of the colonial masses from the land, the "culture system" in Indonesia, etc., but the other side of the picture receives only passing and incidental attention.

Thirdly, this reviewer was surprised to discover that the treatment of the Soviet Union as the leader in the struggle against imperialism in all its aspects is very inadequate. A whole chapter on this subject alone, with considerably fuller attention to the revolution in Soviet Asia, is the very least one might have expected.

Moreover, it must be stated that although Mr. Goshal deals with some of the aspects of American imperialism as regards the colonies his treatment is very inadequate. He studies briefly, the building of "the gigantic 'invisible empire' of America" beginning in the 1890's in Latin America, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, and China, and he explicitly rejects the myth that America is not an imperialist power and has no empire. But Mr. Goshal's otherwise fine portrayal of the building of the various empires totally omits the history of the Spanish empire in South and Central America, the Philippines, etc., and therefore does not adequately depict the history of colonial oppression in those areas when Wall Street took them over. Further, no mention whatever is made of the people's movements in Latin America. Mr. Goshal seems also to accept uncritically the "Good Neighbor Policy" developed by Pres. Roosevelt shortly before the recent war. And, although he portrays the struggles of the Filipino people against the Japanese occupation and relates the shameful tale of America's phoney "liberation" of the Philippines after the war — Mr. Goshal says not a word about the position of Latin

* See, e.g., Alphaeus Hunton in *Masses & Mainstream,* April 1948, pp. 74-76.

America during the recent war and virtually ignores the situation of Latin America since the war. This adds up to a very inadequate treatment of the hitherto major area of American imperialist penetration both before American imperialism moved in and since the beginning of the second world war.

But perhaps most serious of all, Mr. Goshal fails to analyze the full significance of the recent war, especially the emergence of American imperialism as the last major prop of world imperialism. He does mention this fact in passing, and he demonstrates briefly that the Wall Street-Washington coalition has embarked on a more comprehensive and aggressive course in the Middle East and China, has provided the arms to crush the Indonesian Republic, etc. But he does not show the new alignment of world forces at the end of the war in two main camps, an imperialist camp headed by the United States, and an anti-imperialist camp led by the Soviet Union, and he does not show that American imperialism *has taken over the mantle of imperialist world conquest, that Wall Street now actively seeks to subjugate the entire world.*

Finally, although Mr. Goshal mentions the undermining of the UN by the imperialist powers, attacks the notion of imperialist "trusteeship," and calls for the free and equal entry of all colonial people into the UN, he makes some errors. He says that the only way to solve the colonial economic problems peaceably is

> ". . . to dovetail the economic needs of the retarded and the highly industrialized countries in a constructive manner. This will require *an end to monopolies,* the distribution of raw materials, agricultural products, capital goods, and credits and loans in such a manner that those whose living standards must be raised receive their necessary share.
>
> Obviously, the United Nations offers the only medium through which such a program can be put into effect." (p. 297)

This is a fine program, but its optimism flies in the face of reality. We cannot, for example, visualize under any circumstances — except for the sudden replacement of capitalism by socialism — the UN putting "an end to monopolies."

Other weaknesses are present in this work which require a more lengthy and detailed analysis. But this reviewer believes that with all its shortcomings, Mr. Goshal's volume is of major significance. This book should be read by thousands of American students, but carefully and critically.

Books Received

Three Tragedies of Federico Garcia Lorca, New York, New Directions, 1947, $3.75.

Garcia Lorca, by Edwin Honig. New York, New Directions, 1944, $1.50.

The Novel and the World's Dilemma, by Edwin Berry Burgum. New York, Oxford University Press, $3.00.

Gene Debs, by Herbert M. Morais & William Cahn. New York, International Publishers, 1948, $.65.

Woman against Myth, by Betty Millard. New York, International Publishers, 1948, $.10.

Literature of the Graveyard, by Roger Garaudy. New York, International Publishers, 1948, $.25.

The Palmer Raids, ed. by R. W. Dunn. New York, International Publishers, 1948, $.30.

Marxism and the Arts

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Symbols: IP—International Publishers, New York.
S & S—Science and Society.
TMQ—The Modern Quarterly (British); NS—New Series.
IL—International Literature.
NM—New Masses.

PART I: MARXIST PHILOSOPHY OF ART

Basic Works

Marx, K. and Engels, F.: Literature and Art, 1947, IP, pp. 154. Selections from their writings grouped under the following sections: origin and development of art, art in capitalist society, realism in art, and literary history. This basic work presents the fundamentals of a Marxist philosophy of art.

Lifschitz, M.: The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx, 1938, Critics Group, N. Y., pp. 94. An essay on Marx's philosophy of art, covering his school studies, doctoral dissertation and notebooks, and other related writings, presenting a unified outlook. (See also Harap, L.: Review, "Karl Marx on Esthetics," NM, March 15, 1938, pp. 22-23.)

Lenin, V. I.: "Party Organization and Party Literature," Dialectics, 1938, No. 5, pp. 1-5. The role of literature in a proletarian party, with a valuable section on "freedom for the creative artist."

Lenin, V. I.: For some fundamental remarks on art, particularly under Socialism, see Zetkin, C.: Reminiscences of Lenin, 1934, IP, pp. 11-16.

Lenin, V. I.: "Leo Tolstoy, Five Essays," Dialectics, 1938, No. 6, pp. 12-21. Two of these essays are also available in Lenin, V. I.: Selected Works, Vol. XI, pp. 681-691. Lenin evaluates Tolstoy's art in the light of the principles that art mirrors life and art is a weapon, thereby illuminating the Marxist theory of art.

Lenin, V. I.: "On Various Writers," IL, 1935, No. 2, pp. 56-63. Comments on writers, chiefly Russian, but including Barbusse and Upton Sinclair.

Plekhanov, G. V.: Art and Society, 1936, Critics Group, N. Y., pp. 94. Two essays: "French Drama and Painting of the 18th Century" and "Art and Society."

Plekhanov, G. V.: "Historical Materialism and the Arts," Dialectics, 1937, No. 3, pp. 8-29, and No. 4, pp. 25-31. Plekhanov traces the social origins of esthetic tastes in terms of modes of production, using primitive societies by way of example.

Plekhanov, G. V.: Fundamental Problems of Marxism, n.d., IP, pp. 42-49, 59-64.

Mehring, F.: "A Note on Taste," Dialectics, 1937, No. 4, pp. 16-20.

Mehring, F.: "Literature and the Class Struggle," The Communist, July 1929, Vol. VIII, No. 7, pp. 409-412.

Lunacharski, A. V.: "Marxism and Art," NM, November 1932, pp. 12-14.
Lunacharski, A. V.: "Basic Problems of Art," IL, 1935, No. 12, pp. 46-61. An analysis of Plekhanov's views on art.
Lunacharski, A. V.: "Problems of Style in Socialist Art," International Theater, 1933, No. 5, pp. 3-7. A provocative analysis of "socialist realism," treating naturalism, realism, romantic drama and tragedy.
Lunacharski, A. V.: "Lenin and Art," IL, 1935, No. 5, pp. 66-72. Lenin's views on sculpture and other arts.
Lunacharski, A. V.: "Lenin and Literature," IL, 1935, No. 1, pp. 55-83.
Zhdanov, A. A.: "On the Errors of the Soviet Literary Journals, 'Zvezda' and 'Leningrad,'" Political Affairs, December 1946, pp. 1112-1131. A discussion of the tasks of Soviet writers "of good faith" in assisting the ideological and cultural development of the Soviet people.
Gorky, M.: Culture and the People, 1938, IP, pp. 224. Clarification of the role of the artist and the people's audience in a Socialist culture.
Caudwell, C.: Illusion and Reality, 1947, IP, pp. 342. ("A Study of the Sources of Poetry.") A revolutionary study of the social origin and basis of poetry and other arts, the philosophy and psychology of the poet, the main developments and figures in British poetry, the future of poetry. (See review in this issue.)

Other Works and Reviews

"Art as a Weapon" Discussion in NM, 1946:
Maltz, A.: "What Shall We Ask of Writers?" Feb. 12, pp. 19-22;
Schneider, I.: "Background to Error," Feb. 12, pp. 23-25;
Fast, H.: "Art and Politics," Feb. 26, pp. 6-8;
North, J.: "No Retreat for the Writer," Feb. 26, pp. 8-10;
Bessie, A.: "What is Freedom for Writers?" March 12, pp. 8-11;
Lawson, J. H.: "Art is a Weapon," March 19, pp. 18-20;
Maltz, A.: "Moving Forward," April 9, pp. 8-10, 21-22.
Almazov, E.: "On the 'Tendencious' in Literature," Mainstream, Spring 1947, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 199-211. A defense of Soviet "tendenz" literature in terms of an evaluation of the social function of literature and the literary classics of the great European and pre-revolutionary Russian masters.
Biskin, O.: The Place of Art in the Soviet Union, 1936, The American Russian Institute, N. Y., pp. 31. A discussion of the role of art in the Soviet Union, the position of the artist, etc., including a valuable bibliography on Soviet art.
Brewster, D.: "The Interpretation of Social Change in Literature," S & S, Summer 1941, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 234-242.
Brown, M.: "The Marxist Approach to Art," Dialectics, 1937, No. 2, pp. 23-31. Plastic art is studied in terms of function, technique, esthetic limitations, traditions and social forces, the role of "style."
Burgum, E. B.: The Novel and the World's Dilemma, 1947, Oxford University Press, N. Y., pp. 349.
Burgum, E. B.: Review of Prall's Esthetic Analysis, S & S, Winter 1937, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 247-249.
Burgum, E. B.: "The Function of the Critic in Our Day," S & S, Summer 1941, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 243-254.
Casanova, L.: "Communism, Thought and Art," Communist Review (British), October 1947, pp. 312-317.
Caudwell, C.: Studies in a Dying Culture, 1947, John Lane The Bodley Head, London, pp. 228. Essays on Shaw, T. E. Lawrence, D. H. Lawrence, H. G. Wells, Freud, and on various philosophical and political subjects.

"Discussion of Formalism," IL, 1936, No. 6, pp. 77-110. The Soviet controversy of the 'thirties on formalism in art is summarized in a collection of articles, including the *Pravda* editorial criticizing Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth," and articles by Kirpotin, Babel, Olesha, Katezev, and Koltzov.

Fadeev, A.: "The Tasks of Literary Criticism," The American Review on the Soviet Union, March 1948, pp. 30-59.

Finkelstein, S.: Art and Society, 1947, IP, pp. 288. Art as communication; the languages of art; folk art and its relation to "sophisticated" art; the audience; realism, romanticism and classicism; the national question in the arts. (See also Burgum, E. B.: Review, S & S, Spring 1948, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 287-292; also, review in this issue.)

Finkelstein, S.: "National Art and Universal Art," Mainstream, Summer 1947, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 345-361. The relations of national and universal art, with historical background in literature, music and painting.

Foster, W. Z.: "Elements of a People's Cultural Policy," NM, April 23, 1946, pp. 6-9.

Fox, R.: The Novel and the People, 1945, IP, pp. 128. A basic analysis of the origin and nature of literature, particularly of the novel, with a short study of the evolution of the novel; concludes with a study of the current crisis in the novel and socialist realism as the only solution. (See also Reviews: Bicknell, J.: S & S, Summer 1946, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 300-302; Schneider, I.: "The Novel and the People," NM, Feb. 26, 1946, pp. 23-24.)

Fox, R.: "The Relation of Literature to Dialectical Materialism," in Aspects of Dialectical Materialism, 1935, Watts & Co., London.

Friedman, G.: "Revolt against Formalism in the Soviet Union," S & S, Summer 1938, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 300-321. A study of the struggle against formalism in Soviet work in history, literary history, and criticism during the 'thirties.

Gould, L. H.: Art, Science and Communism, 1946, Current Books, Sydney, Australia, pp. 31.

Harap, L.: "Seven Philosophies," NM, Sept. 10, 1946, p. 25. A review of S. C. Pepper's The Basis of Criticism in the Arts.

Harap, L.: Review of Plekhanov's Art and Society and Herbert Read's book of the same name, S & S, Spring 1937, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 422-425.

Jerome, V. J.: Culture in a Changing World, A Marxist Approach, 1947, New Century, N. Y., pp. 94. An analysis of the significant cultural trends in America in the light of Marxism, treating leading modern artists and post-war developments in the arts; concludes with a program of action to make culture a people's weapon for progress.

Klingender, F. D.: "Communism and Art — A Controversy," Communist Review (British), January 1947, pp. 18-21.

Klingender, F. D.: Marxism and Modern Art, 1945, IP, pp. 48. A study of the nature and function of the arts, and of a number of artists, in the light of formalism (the critic Roger Fry) and realism (Chernyshevski, Marx and Engels, Lenin). (See also review by Harap, L.: "Klingender on Modern Art," NM, Jan. 29, 1946, pp. 23-24.)

Literature and Marxism, 1938, Critics Group, N. Y., pp. 95. Ten essays in a controversy of Soviet critics on "vulgar sociology" (mechanical application of class analysis) in literary history and criticism. (See also: "Vulgar Sociology in Criticism: Summary of a Discussion by Vera Nadezhdina," IL, 1937, No. 3, pp. 86-95; and review by F.D.K., "Some publications of the American Critics Group," TMQ, July 1939, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 278-289.)

Lozowick, L.: Review, S & S, Winter 1939, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 120-123. On Kurt London's The Seven Soviet Arts, concluding with a brief discussion on Soviet formalism during the 'thirties.

Lukacs, G.: "Propaganda or Partisanship," Partisan Review, April-May 1934, Vol. I, pp. 34-36. This basic essay by one of the leading Marxist literary critics appeared before Partisan Review became a Trotskyite magazine.

Lukacs, G.: "On Socialist Realism," IL, 1939, World's Fair Issue, pp. 88-96.

Lukacs, G.: "Problems of Marxist Culture," Masses & Mainstream, June 1948, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 6-18. (Part II of this article will appear in the July 1948 issue.)

Mao Tse-tung: "The Cultural Front," Communist Review (British), April 1947, pp. 126-127.

Meyer, E. H.: English Chamber Music, 1946, Lawrence and Wishart, London, pp. 303. Discussion of medieval backgrounds, emancipation from the church, the future of English chamber music.

Mindell, J.: Review of Mortimer Adler's Art and Prudence, S & S, Summer 1937, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 562-567.

Problems of Soviet Literature, 1935, IP, pp. 279. Reports at the first Soviet Writers Congress, including those of Zhdanov, Gorky, etc.

Rosenthal, M.: "Relative vs. Absolute Criteria in Art," Dialectics, No. 8, pp. 15-24. (See also discussion by C. Weinstock, L. Harap and J. Lindsay in Dialectics, No. 9, pp. 24-32.)

Schiller, F.: "Engels against Mechanism and Vulgarization of Marxism in Literary Criticism," IL, 1934, No. 4, pp. 80-89.

Siegmeister, E.: Music and Society, 1938, Critics Group, N. Y., pp. 63. (See also review by Harap, L.: S & S, Summer 1940, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 242-244.)

Somerville, J.: Soviet Philosophy, 1946, Philosophical Library, N. Y., Ch. IV—"The Arts: Socialist Realism." Presents the chief areas of discussion among Soviet artists and critics: class and art, nation and art, form and content, formalism, romanticism, as well as basic questions of criteria.

Thomson, G.: Marxism and Poetry, 1945, IP, pp. 66. A study of the social origins of poetry in human labor and magic, relation to speech and rhythm, improvization and inspiration; the epic, the drama, tragedy; the future of poetry under capitalism and socialism. (See also review by Finkelstein, S.: "New Light on Poetry," NM, Feb. 18, 1947, pp. 22-25.)

Troschenko, E.: "Marx on Literature," IL, March 1934, No. 6, pp. 138-148.

Yudin, F.: "Lenin on Certain Questions of Literary Criticism," IL, 1936, No. 11, pp. 76-89.

Letters to the Editor

[NOTE: With this issue we are inaugurating a regular feature — Letters to the Editor. Space does not permit publication of any of the dozens of generally congratulatory, enthusiastic letters we continue to receive, but we'll do our best to publish more communications in the future. The Editors invite correspondence (criticism, suggestions, etc.) from all readers.]

Mill Valley, California

Thank you very much for sending me the Spring issue of NEW FOUNDATIONS, including "Four Contemporary Novelists," including me (Mr. Pember's *The Needle's Eye* was one of the novels reviewed — Ed.): a courtesy I've never experienced before.

The article by Herbert Shore and Frederick Boyden seems to me an unusually humane job of criticism from the so-called "social significance" viewpoint — a viewpoint which too often expresses itself as from an armchair carved out of solid rock.

Best wishes for both their own novels, and thanks again.

Sincerely,
Timothy Pember.

Chicago, Illinois

I am very happy to find that a magazine such as yours has been created. I find that in the public high school I attend many students have the most progressive intentions, but because they are unaware of the truth they are unaware of their true enemy.

Students in high schools as well as colleges need your magazine and I think they would readily subscribe to a high school edition.

Wishing you luck,
G. F.

Cleveland, Ohio

. . . Would it be possible to have an article on the Marxist approach toward the bourgeois educational system, especially as regards higher education? There is a rather prevalent attitude among our people here that, for someone active in progressive work, a college education is not of any use, unless one studies something like dentistry or engineering. Now how does that attitude fit in with your story on Marx as a student? . . . Also, how about something on the how and wherefore of a Marxist study group on campus?

F.

Where We Stand...

With this issue, which completes our Volume I, NEW FOUNDATIONS has reached an important milestone in its history. We now have a firmly-founded and maturing Marxist student magazine avidly read by thousands of students. In this brief note we should like to take stock of our accomplishments and shortcomings, and indicate the steps which lie before us.

We believe that steady forward progress can be traced in our three issues to date in terms of the quality, diversity, liveliness, and all-around significance of the contents. A number of regular, popular features have been established: book reviews, student life, graphic arts, and bibliographies. We have now achieved an early objective set by the editors: a completely student-written magazine. Our communications from abroad have evoked a justifiably wide interest, broadening as they do our horizons of understanding on political, cultural and student developments in significant areas. And, among other achievements to date, we have begun to stimulate a deeper student interest in Marxist classics, we have focused attention on the imperative need for students to study Marxism-Leninism and actively to integrate it with school studies in terms of theses, term papers, creative artistic work, etc.

In short, we have made a noteworthy beginning towards achieving our objective: the creation of a vital, diversified Marxist student publication of a fighting character, giving guidance to hundreds of thousands of students. Despite the many additional improvements we hope to make in the appearance, the Editors feel that student Marxists have now been provided with a technically-perfected instrument for achieving this goal. The rest of the job is now up to you.

(*Continued inside back cover*)

Our future success requires action on three main fronts. First, and most important, the contents. Manuscripts of a higher caliber are now being received in growing numbers, but nearly 90% of all material is in the field of literary history and criticism, poetry, and other creative writing. We'd like to receive much more material in this area of interest—as well as in the other arts; but we are particularly desirous of securing papers, reviews, etc., in the various natural sciences, history, economics, politics, psychology, philosophy, etc. Many approaches are possible: studies of key bourgeois works, theories, and thinkers; biographical articles; polemics; brief popularizations of Marxist classics and basic principles of Marxist theory and practice; symposia, etc. Not until we provide a richly diversified magazine actively engaging the bourgeoisie in ideological battle will we be able to call this a Marxist student magazine.

Then, too, we need a stronger financial base. We need—and hereby request — contributions from individuals, clubs, study circles, etc. Each Marxist campus organization should undertake to raise an *additional* sum of money each semester by means of parties, lecture-socials, raffles, advertisements, and so on. This is the only means by which we can raise the funds necessary to conduct a large-scale promotion campaign on the campuses and to appear regularly each quarter—or, as we fervently desire, bi-monthly or even monthly during the school year.

Finally, we want to reach an ever-widening audience among the millions of American students. The growth of a powerful, progressive student movement which already numbers in its ranks more members than any previous organization of its kind presents us with a vast potential of interested student readers. And we are certain that there are, at this very moment, literally thousands of unorganized students who — if approached — would buy and read our magazine. All reports received to date indicate that wherever the effort has been made, an unprecedented sale is possible. Accomplishing this task requires an understanding of the role of NEW FOUNDATIONS and of the real mood in student America — and also initiative and energetic effort.

During the summer months, our Editorial Board will be discussing and acting upon many plans aimed to win the battle on these fronts. We request your criticisms and suggestions, and we should like to cordially invite all out-of-towners who will be visiting New York — as well as New York students — to drop in and talk it over.

THE EDITORS