new foundations

THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS

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Just to Learn Is Not Enough

AN EDITORIAL

ANOTHER school year has opened amid new faces and old friends, football swap-talk and vacation tales. We are worrying about part-time jobs to help meet tuition and dorm fees. We still complain about the same poor food at higher prices. We have made the usual resolutions to attend every class, study really hard, and get better grades.

But the uncertainties of the world beyond the calm of the classroom destroys the comfortable illusion of our resolutions. Will our G. I. subsistence pay for our food and board? Can we afford the increase in tuition? Will we have to spend another winter in quonset huts or ex-barracks? Graduation is closer. Soon we will join the crowded lines of teachers, engineers, artists, and social workers; will we be able to get jobs in our fields? Should we change our majors? Even if we make our quota of "A's," is there any certainty of our making the quotas of graduate schools and jobs? Were our fathers from the right country, do we pray to the correct God, is our skin the proper color?

And beyond these personal problems of jobs and education, we fear the danger forecast in daily headlines. Are we, here in America, to be forced into the straight-jacket of thought-control under the "Red" smokescreen manufactured to hide the real danger? Are we to exchange our books for guns not in the interests of freedom for all, but of profit for the few? As veterans of the last war, are we in danger of becoming veterans of the next to last as the cold war turns hot? Though we greeted our young Russian allies with cheers and handshakes in Germany, we may soon be sending them 30 caliber greetings and atomic hellos—and they may be compelled to send them back, with interest.

With an uncertain tomorrow looming before us, college bull sessions drift away from academic problems. Our studies seem remote from the imperative needs of the world outside our books. History seems to be stale gossip. We do not learn in economics how we may win full employment. Political science and government teach us no way to end wars. And what is the use of science if it is to be used to destroy mankind—and ourselves? How can we paint or write when painting and writing seem so devoid of meaning? What is the sense of an "education" which neither enables us to live in peace nor guarantees us jobs?

Some of us feel impelled to drop it all, to plunge ourselves into something practical: a job in a factory, or full-time work in the progressive movement. Others of us hope we may discover some answer to our questions in the best thinking of the past; we pore for hours through every suggested volume.

Yet by itself, each of these alternatives can only provide an empty answer to our questions. We must seek instead to change the path of world events from the dangerous chaos of unemployment, fascism, and war to the real freedom of peace and abundance. We have to be good students, on the one hand, both to qualify for later jobs and to cut away the overgrown forest of misleading theories which obscure the real nature of our world. On the other hand, we must join the daily struggle to release humanity from the shackles imposed by our society. If we remain passive bystanders, seeking merely false "objectivity," then we too must bear the responsibility for permitting the rule of chaos and destruction.

"Yes," we agree, "but how can we study and be politically active at the same time?" It can be done. The contradiction between study and life only reflects the contradiction of our society. If we make study the tool of living, a weapon in the struggle for a better life, the separation will be replaced be the strong unity of theory and practice. We must unite our studies and our practical work by bringing them into the stream of history, by allying ourselves with the movement of historical progress.

All the eddies and cross currents in the contemporary river of events may be resolved into two fundamental ones flowing in opposite directions. Moving in one direction are the vast majority of people who, working for others, produce all the wealth; the people who must fight for every part of wealth which their employers pay them in return. These people constitute what we commonly call the working class. They are the leaders of the struggle to change society. They are progress.

Battling them at every turn are the owners of the productive facilities who fight to maintain the *status quo* in their own interests. Their every action is aimed to retard (for they cannot forever postpone) the day when production will be owned and consciously operated for the benefit of all the people. In this sense, that they aim to dam and throw back the stream of progress, they are reaction.

All other eddies and cross currents are born, receive their inspiration, from this underlying clash of opposing streams. Here we must choose sides.

The working class is not always aware of its role in transforming history, yet in its every day fight for its own welfare, it leads the battle for all the people. In its determination to raise wages and improve its conditions, it temporarily stems the immediacy of depression and the destruction of the living standards of the people. To abolish Jim-Crow and anti-Semitic splits in its own ranks, it leads the fight for genuine equality through the F. E. P. C.'s and non-segregation laws. Not seeking constantly

for profitable areas to invest its non-existent accumulations of capital, it has no vested interest in Marshall Plans for dominating Western Europe and the world. Knowing that it can only lose its lives and the lives of its sons, it is the strongest anti-war center against the power-profit greed of industrialists. We students have common goals with the working class in striving for prosperity, democracy, and lasting peace; our alliance with it is the natural one.

Nor is it only to win our immediate needs that we march alongside those who toil. Only in the radical transformation of our entire society can we remove the basic conflict and guarantee the realization of the vast potential of our nation and the world. The working class struggle for improved conditions carries within it the seeds of a new society, socialism. Daily the workers learn through their struggles that only under socialism will employment of the masses of people for the private gain of a few be ended. Under socialism, all human activity is consciously and collectively directed towards the goal of plenty for all. In such a society, our aspirations of security, peace, freedom will not be frustrated by the dangers of our chaotic "modern"world, but will be realized through the collective activity of all the people. That such a society may be won only through the leadership of the working class is indicated by the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and the daily deterioration of the people's movements in Britain and the Marshall Plan countries. When we, students, join the working class in our country to organize the production of wealth for all, we will create possibilities that challenge the imagination—possibilities which frighten the beneficiaries of private property.

This is the direction of progress in America, 1948. We must recognize it and enlist in its ranks.

First, we must be politically active and alive. We must fight for our own needs as students: extension of education to all regardless of the color of our skins or our beliefs; increased subsistance and government subsidies to students; full employment; and the end of the draft. We must realize and explain to others that our needs are manufactured by those who have arrogated to themselves the control of our country, the generals who direct the present drive against labor and the people's movements of the world. We must beat back every attempt to hinder or isolate the students from the working class. We have to build on every campus the movements which are advancing the people's interests in the daily struggles for better conditions. In particular, we must support and build the Progressive Party which may win important immediate gains in the welfare of the entire people including the students. In this way, we must join the workers and their allies in every campaign to guarantee full democracy and abundance and to avert another war.

Equal to our role as fighters in the people's battles is the unique contribution we can make as students to progress by helping to forge weapons for the common struggle. We must provide the tool-arsenal which will help to level the towering falsehoods built up by servants of the property owners to insure their exploiting position. We must see every fact of history and political economy, every concept of philsophy, art, and science which lays bare the true character of reality, as added ammunition to the arsenal which we will bring to the side of the workers. We must point to the lessons of history to show that the trade unions and the movement which culminated in the New Deal were built by long struggles. We must bring out the facts which teach that the indictments of the Communist Party leaders, the hysterical deportation drive, and the attacks on militant unions and their officers, are circus masquerades to promote a war economy in preparation for war—the capitalists' only answer to the coming depression. We have the vital obligation to explode the myths that claim capitalism and democracy are synonymous, that despair of changing human nature, that see our society's evils as incurable—the sophisticated falsehoods promoted in our classes to train us as supporters of the reactionary *status quo*. We must seek within the writings of Marxist-Leninists the guides through the mass of confusing theories and data propounded in our books to discover the kernel of rational truth which may increase our understanding of reality. We must work to create in our arts and sciences a culture which will help to inspire the workers in their struggle for progress. We must creatively weld our understanding into deepening aspects of the Marxist science of society to enable the workers to fight even more effectively for bettered conditions and ultimately for socialism.

We cannot solve our problems alone, either as individuals or as students. Unless we ally ourselves with the majority for progress, we may never have the opportunity to work at the jobs we are training for as our nation lurches down the road to war and depression. But the moment we consciously join with the workers, our going to college takes on a positive purpose beyond narrowly preparing ourselves for some uncertain professional job. Armed with a theory for progress, Marxism, and active in the struggle to win progress, our student life will no longer appear as a transitory stage through which we must flounder in striving for a decent job with security. Instead it will have a bold purpose: to contribute to winning peace and plenty for the peoples of the world.

JACK KRONER

William Faulkner

WILLIAM FAULKNER'S philosophy arises from his conception of what life is like in the South. In order properly to understand the actions and motivations of his characters it is first necessary to grasp the nature of the world in which they live. This locale is the South seen through Faulkner's eyes—his version of the region where he has spent almost all of his life. It is presented to us in its manifold aspects in Faulkner's novels and short stories, save several of the short stories and the major portion of the novel *The Wild Palms* which do not deal with the area below the Mason-Dixon line.

Faulkner's South is a land in which

> . . . quietly decay
> makes death a cuckold. . . .

Decay is virtually synonomous with the South. This decay and ruin of Southern life was brought on, according to the author, under the pressure of forces operating both within and outside the South. The two principal forces of decay emanating from within the South are the basically evil nature of man, and the slave system.

MAN AS SINNER

Original sin is conceived of, by the Puritan, as man's attempt to attain the stature of God. His attempt to eat of the Tree of Knowledge was a violation of God's order—in an effort to gain God's knowledge and power. Man's effort was stymied and he was banished from the Garden of Eden, doomed forever more to labor by the sweat of his brow. In this way he might expiate his sin and find salvation. Any attempt to avoid this duty—labor—either by simple refusal and rebellion, or by seeking reason and knowledge is actually a perpetuation of the original sin. It can only lead to damnation and frustration. Diligent labor and the acceptance of one's lot were keystones to Puritanism. However, the Puritan sought happiness in accepting this doctrine. Faulkner accepts the fundamental notions of Puritanism, but he rejects the possibility of man finding happiness. Faulkner is an embittered Puritan.

For Faulkner envisions man as unable to do anything about his fate. He is a pawn in the hands of (a sometimes capricious) God. In his attempts at fulfillment he violates God's will and in turn is cursed. In all of man's strivings, in peace and in war, he is damned and helpless. Witness

Buddy McCaslin's comments on man at war in Faulkner's second novel, *Sartoris*:

> You got an impression of people, creatures without initiative or background or future, caught timelessly in a maze of solitary conflicting preoccupations, like bumping tops, against an imminent but incomprehensible nightmare.

Men are "creatures without initiative" swept like "bumping tops," impotent to find anything but doom. What Andre Gide referred to as lack of "soul" in Faulkner's characters is precisely this absence of control of their destinies. They have no "choice" in the face of enormous and terrible forces—to them incomprehensible and chaotic. Aunt Jenny at the close of *Sartoris* communicates this idea when she tells Narcissa:

> Pawns. But the Player, and the game He plays . . . perhaps Sartoris is the game itself — a game outmoded and played with pawns shaped too late and to an old dead pattern, and of which the Player Himself is a little wearied. For there is death in the sound of it, and a glamorous fatality. . . .

Indeed, we are helpless pawns in the hands of God. But this is only a part of the picture. For God is not the sole agent responsible for what takes place. Man has brought God's curse down on him, much as Adam did in the Garden. Faulkner remarks of the South:

> "The beauty — spiritual and physical — of the South lies in the fact that God has done so much for it and man so little.".

In *The Sound and the Fury, The Bear* and in *The Hamlet,* Faulkner makes frequent references to the "gutted" land, ruined and despoiled by the lazy ignorance of the Southerner. Man's violation of God's gift, the Southern Garden of Eden, brought down upon him God's malediction. This damnation has manifested itself in many ways. Within the South itself, it is represented by slavery.

THE NEGRO

In grappling with Faulkner's treatment of the Negro we should be aware of his conception of the Negro as a human *marked* with his sin—as Cain was—only by his color. And he is destined to go through life suffering in expiation of his sin. Someone in *Light in August* says:

> Remember this. Your grandfather and brother are lying there, murdered not by one white man but by the curse which God put on a whole race before your grandfather or your brother or me or you were even thought of. A race doomed and cursed to be forever and ever a part of the white race's doom and curse for its sins. Remember that. His doom and his curse. Forever and ever. Mine. Your mother's. Yours. . . .

And he continues the same line later:

> . . . escape it you cannot. The curse of the black race is God's curse. But the curse of the white race is the black man who will be forever God's chosen own because He once cursed Him.

And in *The Bear* one character deals with the same notion:

> Don't you see? This whole land, the whole South, is cursed, and all of us who derive from it, whom it ever suckled, white and black both, lie under the curse? Granted that my people brought the curse onto the land. . . .

This attitude is extremely important in Faulkner's work. He utilizes it as a foundation for the themes of his two finest novels, *Light in August* and *Absalom, Absalom!*. In both, major characters are half-castes. Joe Christmas, the hero of *Light in August,* is, on one symbolic level, clearly representative of the South, cursed with slavery and doomed to frenzied efforts to seek peace—only to be cruelly murdered and mutilated by the product of all that is evil in modern town life—the fascist Peter Grimm. Charles Bon, also the son of a union of white and black, is symbolic of this condition. In *Absalom, Absalom!* he is not the central character, but he plays a role of major importance. He represents the evil committed, "the one mistake" as someone says, which was made by Thomas Sutpen—and it leads to the destruction of the Sutpen family and the collapse of the Southern "design."

The South, having instituted a system of exploitation of man by man, was bound to suffer dire consequences. Miscegenation, prevalent in the South, is used by Faulkner directly and symbolically, to illustrate one aspect of the decay of that system. Rosa Coldfield's father in *Absalom, Absalom!* lauds the victory of the North in the Civil War claiming that the South:

> . . . was now paying the price for having erected its economic edifice not on the rock of stern morality but on the shifting sand of opportunism and moral brigandage.

We shall note below the character of the "price" paid by the South. But before we leave the subject of the Negro it is germane to single out what Faulkner sees for the future. In *The Bear,* Ike McCaslin, in speaking of the Negro, says:

> . . . they will endure. They are better than we are. Stronger than we are. Their vices are vices aped from white men or that white men and bondage have taught them: improvidence and intemperance and evasion — not laziness: evasion: of what white men had set them to. . . .

And it *is* they who endure. The fall of the Compson clan in *The Sound and the Fury* is contemplated by the stolid Negro maid, Dilsey, who says "Ise seed de first and de last." As the Sartoris clan goes into its decline it is the Negro housekeeper, Elnora, who remarks:

> I nigger and she (Narcissa, a town girl who has married Bayard Sartoris—JK) white. But my black children got more blood than she got. More behavior

It has been suggested by critics that Faulkner shows a great deal of affection for these faithful stable Negro servants. Actually, his "love" for them is a part of his Puritanical respect for the "sufferer"—for the person who bears his lot, no matter how difficult, without rebellion. This is no humanist respect. In *The Bear* speaking of Negroes, and of man in general, he says:

> Apparently they can learn nothing save through suffering, remember nothing save when underlined in blood.

His fondness is for the subservient Negro like Simon in *Sartoris* who will

say to Caspey his son, who has indicated a desire to strike out for his freedom:

> What us niggers want ter be free fer, anyhow? Ain't we got ez many white folks now ez we kin suppo't?

Faulkner carries the idea that it will be the Negro who will survive to its extreme in *Absalom, Absalom!* where the last descendant of the Sutpen family is Jim Bond, an idiot half-breed. After having heard the tale of the Sutpen "dream," Shreve McCannon, the narrator's room-mate at Harvard, suggests:

> Then I'll tell you. I think that in time the Jim Bonds are going to conquer the western hemisphere. Of course it won't quite be in our time and of course as they spread toward the poles they will bleach out again like the rabbits and birds do, so they won't show up so sharp against the snow. But it will still be Jim Bond; and so in a few thousand years, I who regard you will also have sprung from the loins of African kings.

Man has violated his destiny by plundering the land, and by exploiting his fellow man. God will not tolerate this. He throws his favor—not his blessing — to the North in the Civil War. In the stories in *The Unvanquished,* in *Absalom, Absalom!* and in *Light in August* this notion appears — that the Civil War was a partial punishment administered the South by God in his wrath. And the Civil War, which marked the defeat of those who struggled for "honor" and "pride" and "love of land" brought with it all of the emissaries of Northern capital and of Northern industrialism. He speaks of the carpet-baggers, among others, in the following impassioned passage in *The Bear*:

> That third race even more alien to the people whom they resembled in pigment and in whom even the same blood ran, than to the people whom they did not, — that race threefold in one and alien even among themselves save for a single fierce will for rapine and pillage, composed of the sons of middleaged Quartermaster lieutenants and Army sutlers and contractors in military blankets and shoes and transport mules, who followed the battles they themselves had not fought and inherited the conquest they themselves had not helped to gain, sanctioned and protected even if not blessed, and left their bones and in another generation would be engaged in fierce economic competition of small sloven farms with the black men they were supposed to have freed and the white descendants of fathers who had owned no slaves anyway whom they were supposed to have disinherited and in the third generation would be back once more in the little lost country seats as barbers and garage mechanics and deputy sheriffs and mill- and gin-hands and power-plant firemen, leading, first in mufti then later in an actual formalized regalia of hooded sheets and passwords and fiery christian symbols, lynching mobs against the race their ancestors had come to save.

and further:

> . . . of all that other nameless horde of speculators in human misery, manipulators of money and politics and land, who follow catastrophe and are their own protection as grasshoppers are and need no blessing.

In shifting his favor to the North, God brought down on the South all of the evils described above. And the seeds of the future horrors of a

Sanctuary are sown. "Honor, pride, love" are banished. And in their place are substituted the attendant evils of industrialism, business and the machine.

Jason, in *The Sound and the Fury,* squanders away his money on the stock-market, stealing from his sister's allotment for her child in order to keep in the running. He refers with great venom to the owners of "New York and Chicago sweatshops," along with added references to those "damn eastern jews"—underscoring the anti-Semitism he feels is part of the mutual hatred epidemic in business practice. As Malcolm Cowley has aptly pointed out, Popeye in *Sanctuary* is a symbolic representative of modern machine culture—with his eyes like "rubber knobs," and his physique resembling a figure "stamped in tin." Popeye, by far one of Faulkner's most repulsive and hateful characters, was bred in the city—the son of a strikebreaker and a syphilitic mother. Disease and dishonor are symbolic of industrial life.

Of course, these forces of evil were unleased within the South itself. The Snopes family, headed by Ab Snopes, who was responsible for the death of Grandmother Sartoris during the Civil War (*Unvanquished*), comes eventually to over-run the South. Flem Snopes, and his cold, calculating and ruthless business practice, slowly but surely attains control of the township, and eventually moves on to the county seat. The hand of cash-nexus gradually envelops and suffocates the life of the country. Where the poor farmer and worker could previously depend on credit and honor, cash-and-carry is substituted. The cynical merchant replaces the good-hearted servant of the men of the land. And he chokes the spirit of the countryside.

ITS EFFECTS

In this world, all of the values which Faulkner reveres are destroyed. Harry (*Wild Palms*) in speaking of his choice to give up life in the city comments:

> Damn money. I can make all the money we will need; certainly there seems to be no limit to what I can invent on the theme of female sex troubles. . . . I mean us. Love, if you will. Because it can't last. There is no place for it in the world today. . . . We have eliminated it. It took us a long time, but man is resourceful and limitless in inventing too, and so we have got rid of love at last just as we have got rid of Christ. We have radio in the place of God's voice and instead of having to save emotional currency for months and years to deserve one chance to spend it all for love we can now spread it thin into coppers and titillate ourselves at any newsstand, two to the block like sticks of chewing gum or chocolate from the automatic machines. If Jesus returned today we would have to crucify him quick in our own defense, to justify and preserve the civilization we have worked and suffered and died shrieking and cursing in rage and impotence and terror for two thousand years to create and perfect in man's own image.

Real and human values have been displaced by the "automatic machines" —by the mechanization of social life. In *Pylon,* in describing the peculiarly

inhuman quality of the flying-field stands, he refers to "creatures of that yet unvisioned tomorrow, mechanical instead of blood bone and meat. . ." And there is his description of the automobile:

> . . . a machine expensive, complex, delicate and intrinsically useless, created for some obscure psychic need of the species if not the race, from the virgin resources of a continent to be the individual muscles bones and flesh of a new and legless kind. . . .

Life and love are no longer available to man, and in their place is the bloodless impersonality of the machine. He gives us a summed up cross-section of this world in a typical headline from a modern newspaper:

> FARMERS REFUSE BANKERS DENY STRIKERS DEMAND . . . . . EX-SENATOR RENAUD CELEBATES TENTH ANNIVERSARY AS RESTAURATEUR.

There is an ironic note added in the last section of the headline which juxtaposes the modern Senator and the operator of an eatery. It is clear he is not the swashbuckling heroic Sartoris of the old days. The heroism of the brand of the old Sartorises, Compsons and McCaslins has gone by the boards—and in its place has come the new South of Snopes and Popeye. The decay is of morality as well.

It is relevant to single out one other aspect of modern culture which Faulkner rejects. He has only hatred and disdain for the university—the supposed seat of knowledge and guardian of culture. In *Sanctuary* he achieves one of his most biting passages when he is describing the vapidity of Oxford University and its student body. In *Soldier's Pay,* his first novel, one of his most repulsive characters is Januarius Jones, a learned product of the University. It is he who violates the person of Emmy, the Reverend Mahon's housekeeper—who has been a symbol throughout the book of the pure, devoted and passionate love of the countryside. In *The Sound and the Fury* Quentin Compson's going to Harvard is discredited and derided—for Harvard is "A fine dead sound, we will swap Benjy's pasture for a fine dead sound." And in *The Wild Palms* Faulkner mocks the compulsive shallowness of the "successful prom leader" type. Intellectuality is nothing more than a "fine dead sound." It is interesting to remind the reader of the connection between a rejection of learning, as it is regarded by industrial culture—and the sinfulness of Adam's grasping for knowledge in the Garden. We remember Raphael's warnings to Adam in Milton's Garden:

> . . . joy thou
> In what He gives to thee. . . .

Do not vainly seek after knowledge about the world or its complexities because:

> That which before us lies in daily life
> Is the prime Wisdom. . . .

In both cases the search for knowlege is wasteful and sinful.

In such a world, despoiled of values, overrun by the wicked and cynical, in which worship of the machine has been substituted for love of man, the individual faces a grim future.

There is only frustration and doom in Faulkner's world. This becomes clear and important as we analyze the alternatives available to his characters, and their action in the face of these alternatives.

Directly we read Faulkner we recognize that no matter what man does, regardless of what path in life he chooses, he is fated to a life spotted with frustration. In *Soldier's Pay* the returned flier can find no remnant of the life he had led before—the life of which he had dreamed. It is true on more than one level that his blindness was imposed on him from the outside. Not only did the world deprive him of the use of his eyes, but it also deprived him of anything worth seeing. The world to those who *can* see is also a darkness, ravaged of its beauty. Nor can Gilligan or Mrs. Powers find fulfillment, for love is too dangerous an enterprise in our world. In *Sartoris,* Bayard Sartoris, also returned from the war where he had found some temporary outlet for his passions, crazily chases phantom pleasures, unable to find himself in a world which has no room for passions. This soldier's pay is also death.

In *Mosquitoes* the man who chooses art is misunderstood by the bourgeois philistine. And there is no love in this world either. The one attempt by Jenny and David to find happiness is bogged down in the swamp and they must eventually be rescued. For the world outside us is a swamp and a morass, peopled by snakes and mosquitoes. It is a world which makes tortuous any striving for enjoyment and love.

The Sound and the Fury is shot through with wild efforts to find an outlet for emotions. The sister, Candace, is driven from her home, as is her illegitimate daughter, in order to find love. And young Quentin Compson is frustrated in his love of his sister, and he is beaten up when he attempts to be kind to a young child in Cambridge. Quentin, the one who most treasures the values of honor and love is driven to suicide, unable to reconcile himself to the awful turgidity of life. So too, in *As I Lay Dying,* the efforts of Darl to restore the dignity of his dead mother are rewarded with a trip to the State Asylum, as his moribund father remarries directly after the burial. Ironically enough, Darl goes berserk in this effort, which, in one sense, is illustrative of the strain and power which must be exerted in order to satisfy one's desires. Moreover, it is symbolic of a world in which sanity has become madness and madness has come to be accepted as normal. In this world of topsy-turvy values, real madness must come of honest desires and their incessant frustration.

In *Sanctuary* the efforts of Horace Benbow to find justice for his client are met with frustration, and, ironically again, due to the bland lies of a *judge's* daughter. Lee Goodwin who refuses to violate his principles, both out of fear and sincerity, is convicted of a crime he had not com-

mitted. And Popeye who did murder Tommy is sentenced to death for a murder he did *not commit.* Love is found only in a brothel; it is absent in one marriage and another marriage is destroyed, after all of the tribulations that went into building it, by Lee's undeserved sentence. This is a world in which the only ties that bind are chains.

In *Light in August,* Joe Christmas can find no peace or rest. He is eventually driven to murder and is then himself brutally killed. The Reverend Hightower finds solace in dreamy contemplation of the past; the present is dramatically lacking. And Byron Bunch must crave without response from the resigned Lena.

In *Pylon* the pilot's struggles are met with death. His wife gives up her child and aimlessly goes on her way. There is little evidence that she has known or ever will know real contentment. And the young reporter who tries so vigorously to help them, and at the same time to lift himself out of the boredom of his job, winds up in the brothel area drinking himself away. While the newspaper goes on in its mechanical way, meeting the demands of the teeming unaware city.

Absalom, Absalom! of course is a long tale of failure, where even the most brilliant of "designs" is brought to ruin by the internal miscalculations of its engineer and the ready attacks of the environment. There is only the indulgence of memory for Quentin Compson, and the ranting idiocy of a Jim Bond.

In *The Wild Palms* the effort of Harry and Charlotte to seek love and security ends with death for her, ironically brought about by the hands of Harry in a faulty abortion. And for Harry there is jail. He is left with nothing but memory. In the contrapuntal *Old Man*, the other half of the original *Wild Palms,* the tall convict submits to the futility of life. He chooses the quiet emptiness of the jail to the dangerous, sweeping, incalculable tide of outside life. In *The Hamlet* all values are already far gone. The only scene of passion which offers fulfillment is that between an idiot and a cow. Young Labove's desire for Eula is blocked and even wise old Ratliff's try for riches is stopped by the cold shrewdness of Flem Snopes. Truly the sinful have conquered the earth.

We can say that Faulkner sees two main possibilities for man. One is the attempt to actively find happiness and love. And the other is submission and the cultivation of one's garden. The latter implies giving up one's wants and hopes and the fulfillment of one's needs. It says "I will be unhappy" or "I will castrate myself." The dialectics of the first avenue of life are clear and tragic. The individual, born with needs which demand satiation could find an outlet, were the environment not forbidding. But the only avenues of fulfillment are the warped and perverted avenues of bourgeois society. Driven on beyond his control man is bound also to be perverted and warped. The original needs are still unserved and the objective outlet to which these needs are directed are the perverted ones

of our society. In this constant chase between man and the objects of his desires, man too becomes warped and twisted beyond all recognition. There usually accompanies this struggle by man for an outlet a kind of madness. It would be natural to expect this in the face of the cold impersonality of mechanization. In reality, our society has provided madness in its "method." Thus the relentless and furious seeking of a Bayard Sartoris, of the reporter in *Pylon,* of Harry and Charlotte (particularly the latter), and of Joe Christmas and Thomas Sutpen, are bound to be endless and futile. The closer we approach present day society in Faulkner's chronology, the more frantic the search must be. And the more outrageous and vile the objective conditions of this seeking, the more violent the climax.

Faulkner treats with a certain degree of acceptance the character who submits, who makes little attempt to struggle and who, in most cases, lives on memory. Lee Goodwin is in many respects an admirable person; and in the mad world of *Sanctuary* he shows a limited degree of honor and integrity. He suffers and dies, but we are made to feel by the author that his was the least hateful of fates. The Reverend Hightower in his resignation has also submitted and there is a passion involved in Hightower's reveries which stamps them with a greater merit than the dull futility of the other lives in *Light in August.* We are certain to wonder after reading *The Wild Palms* which of the paths described we would have chosen. Given the conditions presented our sympathies cannot help but rest with the convict. In abandoning the possible satisfaction of his desires he finds a minimum of comfort. And he avoids the pathos inevitable in Harry's temporary happiness.

It is only necessary here to remind the reader of Faulkner's high regard for the sufferer—Negro and white—in all of his writing, and of the important significance which he ascribes to it. This "suffering" is another facet of the possible avenue of submission and the abandonment of hope.

These alternatives are, in effect, the only real ones for Faulkner. It is clear from the novels that the first alternative—the struggle for happiness —is fruitless. The reader is led to believe that the second is the least evil in the most evil of possible worlds. It is Faulkner himself who sums up all of this when in an interview in 1931 he said:

> We are here to work. It is either sweat or die. Where is there a law requiring we should be happy? . . . contentment and happiness come only to vegetables when they sit still, never to man himself, because he is the victim of his own thinking and his own sweat.

Thus the prescription:

> Let a man fill his days with hard work, then he will fill his nights with sleep. If he does this he will not have to outrage moral law.

As we have seen this is the most consistent commentary on life in Faulkner's writing.

MEMORY

Before going on with this development, it is of interest to mention Faulkner's use of the concept of memory. Memory plays an important role in many of his novels and stories. Part of Donald Mahon's strength to live is derived from his memory of what had transpired before he went off to war—of what life *had been,* especially in the brief ecstasies with Emmy. In *The Wild Palms* Harry significantly refuses to commit suicide, choosing rather to live in his memories. As he says:

> Because if memory exists outside of the flesh it won't be memory because it won't know what it remembers so when she became not then half of memory became not and if I become not then all of remembering will cease to be. — *Yes, he thought, between grief and nothing I will take grief.*

Memory keeps alive the dead and forbidden. It serves, then, the valuable purpose of keeping alive in one sense, the glory of what has been and can be no more, and in another and most important sense, it satisfies (indeed, as does a fantasy) the needs which cannot be fulfilled in life. Memory is a valuable palliative. It becomes almost explicit as Hightower revels in his fantasy:

> It is as though they had merely waited until he could find something to pant with, to be reaffirmed in triumph and desire with, with this last left of honor and pride and life. He hears above his heart the thunder increase, myriad and drumming. Like a long sighing of wind in trees it begins, then they sweep into sight, borne now upon a cloud of phantom dust. They rush past, forwardleaning in the saddles, with brandished arms, beneath whipping ribbons from slanted and eager lances; with tumult and soundless yelling they sweep past like a tide whose crest is jagged with the heads of horses and in the brandished arms of men like the crater of the world in explosion. They rush past, are gone; the dust swirls skyward sucking, fades away into the night which has fully come. Yet, leaning forward in the window, his bandaged head huge and without depth upon the twin blobs of his hands upon the ledge, it seems to him that he still hears them: the wild bugles and the clashing sabres and the dying thunder of hooves.

Truly, when we read Faulkner's novels, "they (the heroes of the old South) rush past, forwardleaning in the saddles. . ." This is the satisfaction for the man who submits. It is the satisfaction of Faulkner himself, who has created most of his literature, we might say, out of his "memories." It has been said by most of the critics of Faulkner that he is pre-occupied with the past and that this preoccupation attests to his love for it and to a desire for a return to the life of the pre-Civil War South. Actually this is only partially true. Without going into it at great length it is fairly clear that life in the pre-Civil War South, the life of the plantation was hardly perfect. There was futility and frustration then as well. The important thing to recognize about Faulkner's rendering of that life is that he feels it allowed for accord between man and Nature. It allowed man to enjoy the fruits of the land, in working it and in hunting, riding and generally enjoying the freedom of the countryside. It is this aspect of Southern life which Faulkner reveres. For we know that Faulkner saw that Southern

plantation society contained the seeds of its own destruction— noted above in the evil nature of man and in the slave system.

Thus, in his own "memories" Faulkner is preoccupied with the pastoral life. It is the life of nature, free to enjoy the beauties and bounties of the land, and the plain full passions of the heart. It is with the fullest love that he speaks of this freedom in describing the passage where Emmy and George romp in the moonlit hills, letting free rein to their emotions, in his first novel, *Soldier's Pay*. And it is this last remnant of happiness which is left young McCaslin in the most recent *The Bear*. And quite clearly in his poetry Faulkner says:

> . . . but simple scents and sounds;
> And this is all, and this is best.

And in another poem:

> . . . for where is any death
> While in the blue hills slumbrous overhead
> I'm rooted like a tree? Though I be dead
> This earth that holds me fast will find me breath.

It is this dream world which Faulkner counterposes to the modern world:

> One should fall, I think, to some Etruscan dart
> In meadows where the Oceanides
> Flower the wanton grass with dancing,
> And, on such a day as this
> Become a tall wreathed column: I should like to be
> An ilex on an isle in purple seas.
> Instead, I had a bullet through my heart. . . .

Faulkner looks back beyond the present day, beyond even the 19th century South—to the Biblical world of the ancient Hebrews, to the world of pre-capitalist societies—where he finds that man had some claim to dignity. This is the underlying content of his own dreams—and it colors all of his "memories."

STYLE

This sheds a valuable light on Faulkner's style. To iterate the point, Faulkner prefers the life of submission, the life adorned with "memory." In one sense, it is what Faulkner is doing in his writing on the old South. He is indulging memory in public. Also in his novels which do not deal specifically with the old South, a major section of them is written in satisfaction in fantasy of what cannot be in reality.

Faulkner loves to write. His passages roll back and forth over each element, savouring it as one does the unattainable illusion. His pen shuttles back and forth over each scene, every time adding a new thread in the attempt to complete the image. And the structure of his novels reflects this same effort. The pattern of the novel is also one of consistent addition. Every chapter adds a new light to the events in the preceding one—expanding the same ground suggested lightly in the opening. Every incident, as is every particular scene, is drained of its content. The author

pours association after association upon each scene in an effort to make it real and vivid. In this way also plot develops. Each new incident serves both to expand the original situation and to add to the entire pattern of experience.

An interesting example of most of the effective qualities in Faulkner's style as well as of its many limitations is the following passage where he is describing the setting for the action in which Ike Snopes strives to capture the cow:

> Now he watches the recurrence of that which he discovered for the first time three days ago: that dawn, light, is not decanted onto earth from the sky, but instead is from the earth itself suspired. Roofed by the woven canopy of blind annealing grass-roots and the roots of trees, dark in the blind dark of time's silt and rich refuse — the constant and unslumbering anonymous worm-glut and the inextricable known bones — Troy's Helen and the nymphs and the snoring mitred bishops, the saviors and the victims and the kings — it wakes, up-seeping, attritive in uncountable creeping channels: first, root; then frond by frond, from whose escaping tips like gas it rises and disseminates and stains the sleep-fast earth with drowsy insect-murmur; then, still upward-seeking, creeps the knitted bark of trunk and limb where, suddenly louder leaf and dispersive in diffusive sudden speed, melodious with the winged and jeweled throats, it upward bursts and fills night's globed negation with jonquil thunder. Far below, the gauzy hemisphere treads with herald-cock, and sty and pen and byre salute the day. . . .

We are dazzled by the fullness of the emotional attempt to present Nature in all of its splendor. There is here the proudest enjoyment of the field and a reveling in the magnificence of God's creation. Yet we feel there is a definite lack of sustaining power, that it is unable to continue in the pitch in which it was begun. Although we are stunned by the eminent beauty and lyricism of the prose we also feel there is a kind of emptiness.

Before we can understand this, a basic conflict in Faulkner must be elaborated. It is the conflict he expresses in his writing, the terrible ambivalence one feels in his world. It finds its most obvious expression in the fate of his characters. They may try to find happiness, the expression of their desires, and they will be doomed. Or, they may abandon any possibility for happiness and live in conjunction with "moral law." In any event, the alternatives are mutually exclusive; they are opposites. And as each forces exerts itself it invokes the pressure of the other. Thus, if one chooses to strike out for the satiation of one's needs, one calls forth punishment from "moral law." On the other hand, abiding by "moral law" directly means the suppression of the passions and needs of the individual—thus setting up a conflict.

In the individual himself this contradiction becomes internalized, it becomes a part of him. If he finds himself being spontaneous, expressing his passion, his "conscience" forces guilt upon him and eventually stops him. This contradiction is reflected *within* man, and it becomes, let us say, the struggle between head and heart. His wants and desires propel him in one direction, and his "conscience" (the incorporation of "moral law")

draws him in another. If the conflict is unresolved he is rendered impotent, unable to free himself to utilize his resources. So, socially the two paths are in contradiction. And internally the same contradiction manifests itself.

GENESIS OF THIS CONFLICT

The fundamental contradiction of capitalist society, Marx pointed out, is the private appropriation of what is socially produced. Thus, man is divorced from the objects of his labors. He becomes a commodity, prey to the terrible forces of the market. Marx also pointed out that human values disappear and in their place come the values of the cash-nexus. In bourgeois society man is in a state of self-estrangement. As Kenneth Muir recently wrote:

> Neither his (*bourgeois man's — JK*) wants and needs, nor their possible fulfilment, are truly human. Even his senses are not human; they would become so only if their objects were related to him in a human way. But this depends on the conditions in which man carries on the job of producing his material existence; and these conditions are, today, in contradiction to his humanity.

And as he goes on to suggest, it is only in a society in which those contradictions do not exist, that man can achieve his humanity. When private property is abolished, and the means of production are socially controlled, then man will no longer be divorced from the objects of his labor. He will then achieve *real* wealth—a wealth that lies in himself—in his humanity.

This contradiction reflects itself within bourgeois man, producing what is often referred to as ambivalence. In speaking of money, the "*transformer* and *exchanger* of all things," Marx says:

> It turns loyalty into disloyalty, love into hate, hate into love, virtue into vice, vice into virtue, serfs into lords, lords into serfs, nonsense into intelligence, intelligence into nonsense.

Human values are non-existent in bourgeois society. Man is divorced from the objects of his labors—and equally from the human objects of his desires. *For man, too, is almost a commodity.* What Faulkner refers to as "moral law"serves as the rationalization, both *socially and internally,* for the suppression of man's human desires.

We see this reflected in the Puritan in Milton. He accepted the doctrine of suppression of one's desires and the acceptance of one's lot. One of the central meanings of *Paradise Lost* is that it is Paradise *well* lost. It is argued in Milton that since we cannot have such a Paradise anyway, we must see our daily labors as better. Indeed, Milton's Paradise is a heavenly place too. No more sensuous and glorious garden could be desired. This because the artist paints the objects of his desires in all their sweet sensuousness, even though the "story" may indicate that such sensuousness is to be considered evil. As Kenneth Burke has stressed, the author may present a particular hero, or a particular moral—but if we analyze it

carefully we may find that his own predilections lay with the "Devil." In this sense, the artist cannot lie.

Faulkner is that kind of Puritan. He paints the objects of his desires in their full splendor. This is clear from the lyrical passage quoted above. And we also know that Faulkner has submitted to "moral law." In so doing, his public fantasies — his writing — will express in vivid color the real objects of his desires, which *he* feels he must sacrifice to be allowed to live. *But even in his writing the conflict must be expressed.* In describing the most beautiful or sensuous scene, he must spot it with ugliness. For his "conscience"—internalized "moral law"—forbids him his wishes. He must be able to rationalize their unattainability. Undoubtedly, it is this conflict which produces the subtle irony of counterposing that elegiac description quoted above—alongside of the perverted relations of the sodomist and his mate!

His fantasies are strained from the outset. This is because they are negative—formed in reaction from life. They are not borne out of the positive inclusion of beauty within a context of social reality. The author's passion is expressed in fantasy. It does not find its outlet in the world of reality. It turns frustrated from that world to the world of fantasy. But it cannot be fulfilled here either! Because the very forces which prevent fulfillment in the external world have become incorporated within man. And "moral law" functions, even in the fantasy world where Faulkner may think he is free of it. Here is ample evidence that we cannot "escape" the real world. So that, in what we have called Faulkner's "public memory"—his writing—the attempt to find full expression is also blunted. Because he carries away with him, in turning from society, the morality which he resents. The conflict persists.

George Plekhanov once remarked that "when a work of art is based upon a fallacious idea, inherent contradictions cause a degeneration of its esthetic quality." The contradiction briefly discussed above is of this kind. It causes a degeneration in the esthetic effect of Faulkner's writing. Faulkner's love is not the pure, unabashed love which flows from the artist who is unafraid. It is *that* kind of love which has produced, and will produce the most brilliant writing.

At its best, Faulkner's style allows him to plumb the very depths of his situations—to drain them of their meaning. At its worst it verges on emptiness—the result of an attempt to give dignity to that which, when placed in an unreal context, is at best a beautiful thing out of place.

Faulkner, in contrast to the majority of our Southern writers, save perhaps Richard Wright, has created an important and exciting literature. One can say, at least of *Light in August*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *Absalom, Absalom!*, that they are among the most important of American novels. It would not be unfair to liken Faulkner to Proust and Joyce. They, among

many others, have developed the techniques of subjective writing in the novel to its peak—a technique which found its origin in Lawrence Sterne. Perhaps because of the terror which these men felt in the face of the objective world they turned to introspection and to the careful examination of what Faulkner has called the "deadly detail." Driven back in horror from a harsh reality they have been forced to investigate new fields for their material. They found interest in the provocative subjective. A virile imagination coupled with a refined technique has yielded a vital and compelling literature.

It remains for further critics to investigate the social roots of Faulkner's work more precisely. At this point, when so little critical material is available (and more important, so little of the author's works) it is sufficient if we have helped to clarify some points about him and provoke interest in reading him. His world contains a very important section of objective and subjective reality. Within that world his character development is brilliant and consistent.

Faulkner's world, however, is limited in scope. For he does not see an essential quality of man—his power to act upon his environment and change it. This lesson cannot but be obvious to the most casual observer of the world scene. Thus he denies man the most important part of his "dignity," of his humanity, namely, his social power. In my opinion, humanism rests on this base. And great art has always been humanist art.

Frederick Engels, in a letter to Minna Kautsky, remarked that a novel might achieve its purpose if it "instills doubt as to the eternal character of the existing order." This was qualified in reference to novels with a socialist bias. But it holds true, in great degree, to novels not so oriented. Although Faulkner's solution can hardly be recommended as a progressive one, his picture of the world is so hostile that it will provoke numerous doubts in the reader's mind. He has captured and refined an aspect of the contradictions of bourgeois life, previously unreached in American letters.

HURRAH FOR THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM!

"The disagreements over method and purpose which divide Republicans and Democrats in this year's campaign are real and important, judged from our own national perspective. But they are very small indeed, judged from the perspective of the great overriding issue that divides the free world from the slave world in today's struggle for survival." (Editorial, *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 18, 1948.)

"Neither of these basic issues (foreign policy and inflation) is likely to produce a head-on collision between the parties. As to the first, there is too large a measure of agreement; as to the second, there is too much confusion, and both parties are too deeply involved in the past errors of the other." (Editorial, *N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 20, 1948.)

DAVID BIRON

Communists And The Progressive Party

THE American campus has become a center of political activity in the past three years. The 2,500,000 students, 1,500,000 of whom are of voting age, are reacting sharply to higher prices, inadequate educational facilities, curbs on freedom of investigation, and the growing threat of war. They have emphatically rejected the advice of one university president to "Check your placards and your membership cards at the gate." On the contrary, they are extending their political activity from the campus into the surrounding communities.

By far, the largest political organization on the campus is Students for Wallace, the student division of the Young Progressives of America. Together with millions of their fellow Americans, students are disturbed and angry at the bipartisan distortions of their post-war world. Because they are less bound to the old two-party system, they have rallied to the Wallace movement in greater force than almost any other sector of the population.

But despite the success of the progressive movement in the colleges and universities, it has by no means reached its full potential of size or activity. Perhaps one of the most important reasons for this is the bogey of communist domination, and even of communist participation, which has not only immobilized many students who oppose bipartisan misleadership of our country, but also confuse and frighten many members of the Wallace movement.

The purpose of this article is to dispel that bogey, to show why the communists support the Wallace movement and how. To do this we shall first examine the origin and character of the progressive coalition behind Wallace. We shall then discuss the reasons why, despite fundamental and tactical differences, the communists have joined this coalition. Finally, we shall examine the nature of communist participation in the Wallace movement, and its significance for the development of that movement.

America's economic royalists are engaged in a two-pronged struggle to maintain its mounting profits by means of world domination. On the

international front they have launched an "American Century" of world-encircling bases, dollar and atom-bomb diplomacy, and military aid to both feudal and capitalist reaction. On the domestic front they have attacked real wages, drastically reduced the living standards of fixed income groups, curbed small business, farm and professional groups, and undermined the economic conditions of the Negro people and minorities. The accelerating conversion of our production machinery to "guns, not butter" is a consequence of the international offensive of finance capital which further intensifies the undermining of America's living standards. In order to cajole the American people into accepting the increasing war danger and decreasing living standard which its profits demand, big business has stepped up its output of the red-baiting, Negro-baiting, Jew-baiting, labor-baiting and Soviet-baiting propaganda, with which it seeks to mislead the divide the people. In addition, the Taft-Hartley Act, the loyalty order, the various frame-ups of anti-fascists—deportation hearings and indictments—and the incitement of mob violence have been employed in order to intimidate and coerce where cajolery would not suffice. Particular attempts have been made to mobilize the youth indirectly through the schools, directly through the draft and Truman's projected military conscription program.

In the face of this program of big business, the program which is being effectuated by the bipartisan policies of both of the old political parties, a new people's coalition is developing. This coalition is based on the overwhelming aversion of the vast majority of Americans to the prospect of a third World War, skyrocketing prices, and the destruction of their democratic heritage. Becoming increasingly more prominent in this coalition is the workingman, who feels keenly his low wages and the attacks on his unions. The Negro people, fighting against discrimination and brutality and for representative government, is of central importance in the peoples' movement. The small farmer, caught between the low prices paid by monopoly processors for his produce and the rising cost of machinery, labor and durable goods, is becoming more opposed to Wall Street's program. Negro and white sharecroppers, struggling for subsistence in the semi-feudal conditions of the South, too, are realizing that their oppressors are based in downtown New York. Small businessmen, everywhere faced by the ruthless competition of the trusts, are beginning to oppose openly the big business program. Professionals, who are intimidated and deprived of their livelihoods if they dare to think, are reacting to the issues. National minorities, especially the Jewish, Slavic, Puerto Rican and Mexican groups, feel the consequences of economic, political and social discrimination and the weight of officially-condoned brutality. Finally, the Youth and Veterans, for whom war or peace is an especially vital question, who suffer most from lack of housing, decent jobs, and

adequate training, and who are most immediately affected by militarization, are an important force in the progressive movement.

Already, the more advanced elements of the people's coalition have formed the new Progressive Party. The donkey and the elephant are not following the road which leads to improved conditions for the vast majority of Americans. Because the Progressive Party has a program which expresses the immediate needs of the immense majority of the people, because it has a record of leadership in broad movements around such issues as peace, Negro rights, civil liberties and prices, because it is beginning to associate itself with labor's economic struggles—in auto, maritime and packinghouse—it is winning a growing number of Americans to its support.

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What is the relation of the Communists to the new Progressive Party? Before dealing with some of the distortions of this relationship which are current today, it would seem wise to go to the horse's mouth. The 1948 Election Platform of the Communist Party has this to say:

"Millions of Americans, disillusioned with the two party system, have given birth to a new people's party.

"The new Progressive Party is an inescapable historic necessity for millions who want a real choice between peace and war, democracy or fascism.

"The Communists, who support every popular progressive movement, naturally welcome this new people's party. We supported the progressive features of Roosevelt's New Deal. We helped organized the C.I.O. in the 1930's. We have supported every democratic movement since the Communists of Lincoln's generation fought in the Union cause during the Civil War.

"On most immediate questions before the people of the country the Progressive Party has offered detailed platform plans around which all forward-looking people can unite. Our support of the Progressive policies and campaign does not alter the fact that we have some fundamental as well as some tactical differences with Henry Wallace and related third party forces.

"Our firm conviction that only a socialist reorganization of society will bring permanent peace, security and prosperity is no barrier to cooperation with all other progressive Americans in helping create a great new coalition in order to save our people from the twin horrors of war and fascism."

The confusion and distortions evident in some circles concerning the Communist's support of Henry Wallace continue, however, despite the foregoing statement. These confusions, in the main, center around three questions. The first departs from the Communist position that "only a socialist reorganization of society will bring permanent peace, security and prosperity. . . ." If this is true, why do the Communists support the Progres-

sive Party, which includes a perspective of "progressive capitalism" in its platform? Does this not, at best, give the people dangerous illusions? At worst, would it not seem to indicate that there is some more sinister reason for Communist support of Wallace than has been admitted?

The Communists support the Progressive Party because it constitutes the most effective vehicle of struggle for the people's immediate needs. This point is basic. The Communists believe that the new party is the only means whereby the people can today avoid war and fascism and defend and improve their economic conditions.

An examination of the Progressive Party platform supports this view. That platform spells out the detailed program by which peace can be secured, discrimination and segregation curtailed, standards of living raised, and monopoly curbed. This is a truly historic platform: The Wallace-Stalin exchange of letters is hailed as a basis for peace; draft repeal and armaments reduction are called for; an end to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan is demanded; and genuine relief and rehabilitation through the United Nations is proposed. In these and other proposals, the Progressive Party offers a program that can end the war drive and establish the basis for peace.

On the domestic front, the Progressive Party program of ending the F. B. I. and Thomas-Rankin attacks on freedom of thought and expression, eliminating the loyalty purge, outlawing the poll-tax., promises to reverse the present course towards a police-state and to bring new freedoms to the United States. On the economic front, Wallace calls for a $1.00 minimum wage, roll-back of prices, the full rights of labor—in the public, as well as in the private, sphere—to organize and to strike; and for a sweeping program of aid to education, health, soil conservation, and flood-control for the farmer. Attention is also given to the special problems of Youth, Women and Veterans. For the first time since the turn of the century, moreover, a major party has included a program for curbing monopoly by public ownership in addition to the usual platitudes about anti-trust action.

There must be no confusion on this vital point: the realization of this program will bring a leap forward in the living conditions of the vast majority of Americans. Because the Communists are the party of the working class, because they are flesh and blood of working Americans, they support this program.

But Communist support of the immediate program of the Progressive Party must not be confused with support for Wallace's perspective of a "progressive capitalism" which will forever end the dangers of depression and war. The Communists hold fast to their scientific recognition that a system in which production is determined by the profit of a few rather than the needs of the many cannot under any circumstances permanently

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* Not available in final form at time of writing.

secure peace, freedom and abundance. For this reason, the Commuists continue to educate for socialism among the people. But the issue today is not "progressive capitalism" or socialism; it is peace or war, freedom or fascism, rising living standards or rising prices. If the people do not win on these immedate issues, all talk of "progressive capitalism" or socialism will be destroyed by the straight jacket of fascism. As for the future, Communists believe that in the fight for their needs and under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people will choose socialism. For this reason the Communists continue to build their party and their press. In short, the Communists strive, first of all, to win the democratic conditions necessary to ensure a popular choice between socialism and "progressive capitalism." The Comunists try, secondly, to influence that long-range choice.

A second source of confusion starts with the idea that war between capitalism and socialism is "inevitable." Since Communists believe war between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. is "inevitable," the question runs, aren't they really supporting Wallace because he appeases the Soviet Union, thus helping the latter to win the "inevitable" war?

Communists do not believe war is inevitable. Monopoly capital spreads this idea, implying that it is inevitable that the Soviet Union will try to attack us. This, however, is the reverse of the truth.

This question undoubtedly has its origin in the real and growing danger of war. What is the source of this danger? This danger does not come from the Soviet Union, which desires peace above all things, in order to rebuild her war-devastated country. The Soviet Union has all the market it needs in the Soviet Union. It produces for its people, not for profit. It has no bankers and industrialists who must export the capital they have accumulated. Moreover, it is not the Soviet Union which has troops in Greece and China, a world-wide network of bases, sea and air fleets in far corners of the earth, and the atom-bomb coupled to a $20 billion arms budget.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union has troops only in Germany, Korea and Roumania, and only by treaty agreement. No, the danger to world peace does not come from the Soviet Union. It comes rather from the oft repeated aim of Ameircan finance capital to initiate an "American Century." Translated into policy, this means an attempt to dominate the world and to crush all opposition. The United States is the only capitalist nation which emerged from World War II stronger than it entered it. In the war American industry increased its productive capacity until it now produces some 60% of the industrial produce of the entire capitalist world. During the war, also, the monopolists accumulated huge stores of wealth which they must invest at a profit. Since the war, these accumulated stores have been swelled by record profits. The very acquisition of profits—the difference between the value of the workers' products and their wages—makes it impossible for the American people to consume the huge productive

capacity of finance capital; much less can the American people support increased investment for the domestic market. It is this hard economic fact which stands behind the talk of the "American Century" and American "moral leadership." Because the industrialists face a crisis besides which 1929 will look like child's play, the United States must try to find new markets for commodities and capital.

But the United States faces many obstacles to expansion. Not only do the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Eastern Europe and of liberated China represent almost ¼ of the earth's surface into which Wall Street cannot now expand, but the Soviet Union and the new democracies are the political-military heart of the world-wide anti-imperialist camp, which includes the working class and progressive movements of Western Europe and the United States itself, as well as the colonial liberation movements of Indonesia, Malaya, India, the Near East and Latin America.

Because of these obstacles, monopoly capital desperately pursues the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the rapid development of a war economy in the United States. These policies serve the dual purpose of supplying an immediate outlet for some of the accumulated surplus of Wall Street, and simultaneously developing the strategic positions, alliances, and military power with which it hopes to remove the obstacles to an "American Century" by a horrible atom war.

Thus, we see that the danger of war comes from the reckless attempts of American finance capital to subvert the true interests of the American people in order to dominate the world.

As the ideological support for this drive towards war, the economic royalists try to build an illusion that our policies are dictated by a devotion to peace and democracy, and a desire to preserve our national security from conquest by a "Red Fascist" dictatorship. In this connection we are beginning to see statements to the effect that appeasement failed to stop Nazi Germany, therefore, we cannot "appease" Russia.

The whole question of "appeasement," posed in this manner, is designed to confuse and mislead. The same monopoly capitalists, John Foster Dulles for example, who fought so hard for a policy of appeasing the monopoly capitalists of Nazi Germany, are now trying to label the refusal of the progressive coalition to appease American monopoly capitalism as "appeasement." Were this not so full of serious import for the American people, for whom appeasement of monopoly capitalism means inflation and production for war instead of the peoples' needs, as well as the end of democracy and an unthinkable war, this distortion of history would indeed be ridiculous.

It is because they see war as the solution to needed profitable areas of investments and markets that the economic royalists seek to sell the American people the idea that war is inevitable, and that all those who fight for

peace are "appeasing" the U. S. S. R. Communists believe, as Stalin has had occasion to repeat during the past years, that it is possible for capitalist and socialist nations to live peacefully side by side for long periods. The history of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations during the past thirty years, including a wartime alliance, is "proof positive" of this possibility.

Further proof of the possibility of peace is the growing strength, on the international and American scenes, of the popular movement for peace. The Progressive Party crystalizes, and has advanced, Wallace's crusade for peace. It is for this reason, and not because they are foreign agents, that the Communist Party supports the Progressive Party's peace program.

There are still many Americans, however, who do not see the historic necessity for a new political party to resist war and fascism. These Americans are especially vulnerable to the line of argument which we find, for example in last January's statement of the C. I. O. National Board majority that the Communists support the new party in order to "give the public a taste of real reaction." Or, in the words of Paul Douglas, Democratic candidate for the Senate from Illinois, the Communists seek Dewey's election in order "to destroy the progressive Center." (New Republic, June, 28, 1948.)

Basic to this question is the idea that "Communists thrive on chaos" and therefore desires the victory of reaction in order to ensure poverty and war. It should be sufficient to point to the answer to the first question: why the Communist Party, the party of socialism, supports the Progressive Party. Apparently, however, this is not enough. The red-baiting hysteria has passed the point where a calm statement of fact is sufficient. It is, therefore, necessary to turn to recent history. Recent history in Germany and Italy bears witness to the fact that it is precisely in conditions of chaos that the most reactionary elements are able to drive the people into fascism. History shows, moreover, in Germany and Italy, that the fascists rose to power following a period in which reactionaries controlled the government and repressed the popular movement. Finally, history shows that, with the triumph of fascism, thousands of Communists were ruthlessly butchered. How can the Communist Party, which is second to none in the battle to *improve* the conditions of the people under capitalism, be accused of desiring chaos! Is it not, in the face of this overwhelming evidence of history, absurd to accuse the Communists of a desire for chaos?

It is now necessary in answering this question to examine the idea that Wallace's candidacy guarantees a victory for Dewey. The so-called "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party—the Americans for Democratic Action, Inc. —is the main perpetrator of this nonsense. After feverish attempts to dump Truman on the ground that his record couldn't attract enough progressive votes to elect him dog-catcher, they now hail him not merely as a "lesser evil" but as the hope of labor and all progressives.

The difference between the Democrats, who endorse the "bipartisan"

foreign policy, helped wreck O. P. A., helped pass the Taft-Hartley Act, issued the loyalty orders, afflict labor with injunctions and sabotage legislation for Negro Rights, and the Republicans, who endorse the "bipartisan" foreign policy, helped wreck O. P. A., etc., *ad nauseam,* is only to be found in the depths of demagogy to which the former are forced to sink because of their relative weakness.

It is clear, then, that both the elephant and the jackass are being ridden by the economic royalists on the road towards war, thought control, poverty and chaos. Unless the labor-progressive movement wishes to follow in the droppings of these two animals, it must turn to the new Progressive Party, which fights for the Wallace candidacy and for the election of the largest possible block of progressive Congressmen. Truman's demagogy cannot possibly bring out the progressive voters which this latter objective requires.

In connection with the idea that the Wallace candidacy aids reaction, however, we often hear about the Progressive Party's refusal to support Democrats with good records simply because they favor the Marshall Plan. The case of Helen Gahagan Douglas and Chet Holifield, both of California, is cited. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Progressive Party of California offered Mrs. Douglas and Mr. Holifield the chance to run on the Progressive line. They refused. Nationally, the Progressive Party has given its support to many Congressional candidates who favor the Marshall Plan but who otherwise have progressive records. The same cannot be said for the so-called "liberals" who are among the hardest workers against Isacson and Marcantonio, even though the Marshall Plan is the only issue on which their votes did not coincide with the "right' vote on tweleve key issues selected by the C. I. O. majority.

We have, then, an answer to the confusing questions as to the reasons Communists support the Progressive Party. The Communists support the Progressive Party, despite fundamental and tactical differences, because only the Progressive Party has a program and record of action which meets the people's immediate needs and can rally them for resistance to finance capital's "American Century" of poverty, thought-police and atom-war.

* * *

We must now discuss the effects of Communist support upon the Progressive Party. There is a belief in some Progressive Party circles that Communist suport harms the candidacy of Henry Wallace. Mr. Wallace himself, some months ago, declared that if the Communists ran their own candidate for the presidency he would lose 100,000 votes and gain 3,000,000.

This idea is given apparent force by the refusal of the self-styled "progressive center" to join in a movement which includes the Communists. Let us examine the behavior of the Murrays, the Reuthers, the Liberal Party, the A. D. A. and related forces. Are they a "progressive center"

whose failure to support the Progressive Party indicates an honest difference of opinion in the progressive movement? Or do these individuals represent the lieutenants of reaction who historically, in imperialist nations—the Social Democrats of England and Germany constitute classic examples—have played a demagogic "liberal" role to split and demobilize the progressive anti-imperialist movement?

Take first the case of Phil Murray, President of the C. I. O. Under his leadership, the C. I. O. is being twisted from its original purpose as an organizer into an instrument for raiding brother unions. Reuther, whose U. A. W. has been the worst offender in using the Taft-Hartley law as a means of disorganizing the organized (but non-complying) unions, has received nothing more than a slapped wrist from Murray. In contrast to this, recall Murray's treatment of Nick Migas—a Communist delegate to the last steel workers convention who dared to demand action against the steel barons' arrogant refusal to boost wages. Migas, although permitted to speak at the steelworkers convention, was denounced by Murray in an hysterical diatribe of red-baiting that rivalled Thomas' worst; as a result Migas was attacked by a "goon squad" as he left the convention hall.

Or consider the case of Liberal Party chairman Adolph A. Berle. This leader of the party whose leaders split off from the American Labor Party when they were outvoted, supported the Mundt-Nixon bill some years ago. Berle's "liberalism" is further exemplified by his recent participation in the kangaroo court proceedings of the Un-American Committee against Alger Hiss. Mr. Berle not only joined in the smear attack against Hiss, but did so by citing Hiss's support for the "appease Russia" or pro-Roosevelt group, in the State Department in 1944. In other words, Berle's charge against Hiss was that he was pro-Roosevelt, hence "red." How like the "liberals" of the Hearst-McCormick axis!

David Dubinsky, czar of the I. L. G. W. U., has long been a leader of the "Progressive center." His union, after leaving the C. I. O., has constituted the financial base of many of its maneuvers. The recent convention of the New York State A. F. L. passed a resolution, without dissent, lauding the Board of Education for banning the *Nation.* Nagler, Vice President of the I. L. G. W. U. and a Dubinsky man, chaired the session voting this support for thought control. Previously, the credentials committee, headed by Joseph Tuvim of the I. L. G. W. U., excluded 20 legally elected delegates on the ground that they were Communists.

Finally, the case of Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers Union of America and Vice-Chairman of the A. D. A. At the recent T. W. U. A. convention, the *Herald-Tribune* reported, a resolution against discrimination was tabled after resolutions against the new party and for the Marshall Plan were passed. In an interview with Rieve, the *Herald-*

Tribune reporter was told that the resolution had been tabled because it was controversial and it might offend some delegates, some of whom might even be members of the Klu Klux Klan.

The evidence presented above serves to underline the point: It is not the Communists support which keep these so-called "liberals" out of the Progressive Party and thus splits the progressive movement. Rather, it is the fact that these "liberals" have sold out to the trusts on key issues before the people. To hide this sell-out and mislead their followers, they throw-up the smokescreen which has befouled every corner of American life, from the government offices in Washington to the divorce courts of Reno. They cry "red."

Despite the real character of Communist support for the Progressive Party, the feeling will persist that Communist support causes—or at least strengthens—red-baiting unless it is clearly understood that Communists will support, and reactionaries will red-bait, any and every progressive movement.

There is no question but that red-baiting is limiting to some extent the growth of the Wallace movement. Many honest people are being confused by the hysteria whipped up in Washington by the controlled press, radio and movies. But if we recognize the fact that red-baiting is caused by the anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war character of the Progressive Party, rather than by Communist support, it is clear that we cannot end red-baiting by ending Communist support.

The only way to end red-baiting is to eliminate the reasons for red-baiting and Communist support. In other words, the only way to end red-baiting is to quit cold in the fight against reaction. Even then, as the experience of the A. D. A. and the Liberal Party proves, the melody lingers on. This is a hard fact, but a true one. Though it is true that Communist support of the Wallace movement makes it easier to confuse some people by making them easier victims for the red-baiters, this is essentially because the Communists have been the most uncompromising enemy of finance capital and therefore have been more thoroughly smeared.

But to say that red-baiting cannot be ended is not tantamount to giving up confused and honest people into the camp of monopoly. Red-baiting can and must be combatted. And in combatting it, the Communists can make a special contribution because they have been fighting the red-baiters for many years.

Red-baiting must, first of all, be fought by dealing with the specific lies of the red-baiters. The various charges levelled against Communists, and now against the Progressive Party, must be patiently refuted. This, alone, however, is not enough. For every lie refuted, ten will spring up to take its place, although previous refutation will lessen their credibility.

Red-baiting must, secondly, be combatted by exposing its purpose which is to divide the progressive forces and obscure the real issues before the people.

Finally, and of the greatest importance, red-baiting must be exposed by the most resolute and sustained activity on the issues which most deeply affect the people. In the last analysis, the ability of the Progressives to win popular support depends not on their ability to refute abstract charges, but on their ability to expose finance capital and its political stooges in the struggle for the people's needs. This is the lesson of American and world history. Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt were all labelled "Reds," but because they fought for the people's needs, they won the people's support.

Communist support, has proven and will continue to prove an important asset to the Progressive Party.

It is well-known, for example, that Communists were among the first to point out the historical necessity of a people's party. In addition, Communists have helped to build the Progressive Party by their contributions to strengthening its program and actions for the needs of the people. This has not been done by "domination" but by the democratic process of presenting their position and deciding differences by majority vote. This contribution is exemplified by the influence of the Communists in bringing forward the facts which helped clarify misconceptions about the Marshall Plan and the February events in Czechoslovakia. In addition, because they understand the importance of the Negro people and the working class as a broad coalition against Fascism, the Communists have helped to bring the struggle for Negro rights and labor's economic and political demands into positions of prominence in the platform and activities of the Progressive Party.

It may be asked, indeed it has been asked, why Communists join the Progressive Party instead of fighting for the peoples needs through their own party. The answer, of course, is that Communists do both. Even now, the Communist Party is engaged in a full-scale election campaign, in its own name, in support of a few Communist candidates as well as in support of Progressive Party candidates. But the Communist Party is not a political party in the ordinary partisan sense of the term that it aims merely to win votes and elect candidates to office. Its program and activities have the aim of bettering both the immediate and the long-range welfare of the entire people. Its members are active in other progressive organizations, including the Progressive Party, because they desire to advance the welfare of the labor-progressive movement by every means; they desire no partisan advantage. This indeed, is their democratic right. Like other American citizens they are entitled to join and support any organization which in their view advances the peoples' welfare.

A Reply to Landor

(In the first issue of New Foundations, we published an article on The Meaning of Race *by Mr. Louis Landor. In a prefatory note, the editors expressed warm praise for Mr. Landor's singificant contribution. At the same time. we stated our disagreements with a number of Mr. Landor's conclusions and requested replies from our readers with the aim of conducting a symposium on this vital subject. We are happy to publish the following reply to Mr. Landor by 3 graduate students of biology.)*

MR. LANDOR'S article makes a valuable contribution in pointing out various misconceptions and misues of the word "race." It is encouraging to see a biological approach to this problem. We believe, however, that there are many serious gaps and errors among his statements.

Landor's most fundamental theoretical error is his position that "Causes of variation fall into two interpenetrating categories: heredity and environment. But insofar as the characteristics of individuals are concerned, it is only the hereditary traits that have any significance in evolution. The environment has a decisive effect on the evolution of a species or race by destroying those individuals least compatible with the circumstances in which they live. But whatever changes the environment may induce in an individual, these traits die with the individual; they cannot be passed on to its offspring, and can have no effect in the evolution of the race or the species. Therefore, if our system of classification is to have a real meaning in terms of the evolution of the species, it is important that all environmental variations be eliminated from consideration."

We believe this concept to be outmoded. We feel that the leading statement—"causes of variation fall into two interpenetrating categories"—is correct but that what follows is in direct contradiction to this concept. We would like to cite one example to refute Landor's contention that all environmental variation should be eliminated from consideration if a system of classification is to have a real meaning in terms of the evolution of the species.

Breder (1942) in his initial study on the blind Mexican cave fish has shown a complete intergradation from a pigmented, eyed, river fish through a long series of individuals with intermediate eyes and pigmentation to the blind, pigmentless cave fish. In the cave, where blind, intermediate, and eyed forms were found, there was a pronounced gradient in the features

of presence or absence of eyes and pigment from one end of the cave to the other. The eyed, pigmented forms were in the great majority in the pools closest to the river, and the blind, pigmentless forms prevalent furthest away from the river into which the cave waters emptied. These forms without question represent a single population. Observations of the blind and river forms living in the light have shown that the behaviour patterns of the two forms differ radically in their approach to food, sex, and other stimuli. Other experiments have shown that the normal, eyed, river fish when subjected to periods of up to two and one-half hours of total darkness, assume the behaviour patterns of the blind forms.

Without attempting at this time to examine in detail the causes for the evolution of the blind, pigmentless forms, to deny that the environment had significance in the evolution of the blind from the eyed forms would be to cling to a position that new information has shown to be inadequate.

We would like to correct the misconception Landor has that social barriers between breeding populations exist only for man. These so-called social barriers are found in varying degrees in nearly every type of gregarious animal. In simple types, a social barrier takes the form of a "peck order," in which the higher members of the order may solicit mating with the lower, but not vice-versa. In the more complex animal societies, such as the social insects, social barriers are carried to the extent that the "lower" members (e. g. worker bees and ants) are rendered incapable of mating.

In this brief note it was impossible to do more than sketchily criticize Landor's paper, and at that only the biological aspects have been developed and not their application.

B. Dontzin
M. Johnson
J. Morrow

"WARREN OFF FOR EAST—HOME FOLKS CHEER"
(Headline in *N. Y. DAILY NEWS*)

Never mind, Governor, Wall Street loves you!

DESMOND CALLAN

I. S. D. 1948

ON November 13, 1939, an obscure Czech student named Jan Opletal died in a Prague hospital of bullets from a German officer's gun. A wave of hatred and resentment swept the universities and student hostels. Four days later, 157 of the protesting students perished in a Nazi bloodbath. Every university in the land was closed. At Charles University alone 32 teachers were killed. The massacre was ordered by Hitler; it was carried out by his puppet, a native Czech. Such was fascism's answer to the birth of the Czech resistance movement: murder the students and intellectuals. Two years later students from fourteen of the nations fighting the Axis met to proclaim November 17 as International Students Day. Ever since, this day has been commemorated by the International Union of Students.

We must understand the origin of International Students Day, for certain 'liberal' student leaders have tried to draw a parallel between the heroic student resistance to German fascism in 1939 and the Prague student demonstrations in 1948. Yet what did the leaders of those misguided students seek last February? Was it not an end to nationalization, to progress towards real people's democracy—socialism? Was it not Czech subjugation to the Marshall Plan, the key to which is the revival of those same German elements who financed the invasion of their own country just ten years ago? Clearly no parallel exists between the February student demonstration and the one nine years earlier. The technique of attempting to draw such a parallel is familiar: label both fascism and socialism 'totalitarian;' hide the facts of history; and mislead the people into a third world war against their real allies.

But facts are stubborn things. They explode myths. Throughout the world this November, millions of democratic students will celebrate International Students Day under the I. U. S. slogan of "Students! Unite in the Struggle for Peace, National Independence and the Democratization of Education!" On that day, we American students, living in the very citadel of the new warmakers, must particularly renew our vigilance for peace. The tradition of November 17 calls each of us to remember the devotion and solidarity of our colleagues in Prague nine years ago. It demands that we look overseas to China, where only last July, 32 students were killed and 120 wounded in Peiping when American-armed police machine-gunned a demonstration demanding food, the right to study, and peace—where thousands of Chinese students demonstrate daily against the brutality

of a regime whose violent death agony is prolonged only by the transfusion of billions of dollars of American aid. We must look, too, towards Greece where education has practically come to a halt; the royalists cannot afford such a luxury now that the civil war they launched at Washington's behest is turning against them. Every prospective Greek student must sign a Loyalty Oath to a regime whose outstanding feature is the abject collaboration of its leaders first with Nazi, now with American, gauleiters. But our most direct responsibility is to the students of America's colony, Puerto Rico. The violence against the students there, aimed by the authorities to destroy the growing movement against fifty years of United States imperialism, must remind us of Prague.

On International Students Day we must remember the lesson the Czech students learned in 1939: the only way to beat fascism is to unite against it and fight. Let us rally behind the embattled students of Puerto Rico, China and Greece! Let us demand an end to American interference in their nations' affairs! Let us demand from our government a policy of peace!

(*For further information on International Students Day or the I. U. S., write the Committee for International Student Cooperation,* 144 *Bleecker Street, New York* 12, *N. Y.*)

"If people observe we're not meekly buckling under (to "Russian Injustice") I think we'd get a lot farther," declared Norman Thomas. Asked if his peace program might be construed as another way of aligning the two worlds against each other. he replied angrily, "I'm not God!" (From an interview with Louise Levitas for the *New York Star*).

That's a great relief to *us*, Mr. Thomas!

Notes on Sculpture

RELATING TO LEONARD BASKIN'S SCULPTURE

THE artists who first flung Cubism, Fauvism, Surrealism, and Dadiasm at a shocked and unsuspecting world were subjectively and obectively revolting against the bourgeois concept of art in its totality. They desired most fervently to create a brand new art which was in no way tied to the past, which above all else expressed to the utmost the personality, dreams, desires, feelings of the artist.

These men saw themselves as opponents of all "representation" in art, of all "narrative" or "literary" elements, and desparately sought the creative transformation of reality by the sensitive artist mind, the revolt against society and social meaning alike.

Already an outcast, since the beginning of the 19th Century, when seizure of state power by the bourgeoisie brought aristocratic patronage of the artist to an end, the painter of the 20th Century found himself faced with the disintegration of what meagre social base his craft had found within the bourgois free market. The rule of money drove from the special sphere all production which failed to yield a profit for capitalist enterprise, and spiritual production became a matter of concern only to the producers, the satisfaction of inner needs, the expression of what was most characteristic of the artist individual.

The early Renaissance artist was so integrated with his society that the individual-social antagonism was dynamically resolved in public art forms which permitted tremendous expansion of his individual genius yet channellized his creativity into socially necessary forms.

This relationship between internal and external necessity, between the biological nature and creative potential of man, and the limitations or possibilties of his social environment, was most correctly expressed by Engels: "Freedom is the recognition of necessity."

Today, when society of the Western World appears to be utterly patternless and chaotic, when all paths seem to lead to destruction, and when the artist is deprived of an economic base and hence of the social necessity to be intelligible to others, it is natural that the only necessity to be obeyed is the internal drive for self-realization.

The antagonism between individual and society has apparently become irreconcilable; and within the human organism a corresponding schism takes place between what is native to it and what is assimilated from its environment, between the "natural" man and the Adapted man, between

the biological components and the social components, between the unconscious and the conscious. Self-realization now appears to be possible only on the basis of freedom from society rather than within it. . . leading to a vast expansion of individual creativity, of subjective expression, and naturally, in the absence of social demands, of the esthetic factors associated with the biological structure of man. . . the laws of feeling ,association, perception, explored to the limits of individual capability.

This development accounts for the contradictory character of "modern" art so confusing to artists and public alike. . . its visual beauty, yet its incomprehensibility, its mastery of the means of emotional expression, yet its lack of vital social content. The development of subjective potentials necessitated the negation of social values: the reduction of the human being to an eshetic object, the reduction of human cognition to the laws of vision, the reduction of art appreciation to the "esthetic" level of form perception and plastic response. The entire history of Art has been widely distorted on the basis of such an esthetic of plastic values. All values associated with the subject, matter, function, or socially derived content of past art are treated as irrelevant and even as a hindrance to appreciation of the all-important plastic values existing on separate and superior planes. Just as the modern artist rebels against society and seeks to suppress the social components of his character-structure, so Rembrandt or Giotto are divided against themselves, and their concern for human beings, their philosophical world views, their esthetic outlooks, which in totality were the outcome of individual social relations and tensions in interpretation at a specific historical level, are reduced to individual esthetic components on the psycho-biological level. The contemporary schism of Art and Society is exalted into an absolute law of history—and all creativity is seen as the struggle of genetic expression and plastic tendencies against social restraints.

It is the nature of reality however that deveolpment can take place only on the basis of a recognition of external necessity. Christopher Caudwell points out that only by perfect knowledge of how a chicken is put together can one carve it successfully. Man can release the energy of the atom only by understanding the laws governing its structure and motion. In the social sphere man can beneficially use atomic energy only by understanding that social production is not compatible with private accumulation of the wealth produced by human labor; only by understanding the laws of motion of capitalist society.

The "freedom of imagination" of modern art could initially provide the basis for epoch making advances in art. The necessity to represent something, to communicate, is indeed a restraint on the imagination. Yet, although in the same manner modern science could be said to restrict the human potential for imagining ghosts, demons, or spirits, an attempt to overthrow science in the name of such "freedom of imagination" would

be disastrous for humanity. The end result of an esthetic of "absolute imagination" opposed to the absolute external necessity is the cutting off of human creativity from its only true source, which is society.

Today, the artist who attempts to affirm social values in his art, who treats the human being not as a mere object for plastic manipulation, but as the central theme of art—the artist who re-asserts the tradition of humanism, who identifies himself with socially progressive forces, who seeks intelligible communication embodying components as much derived from society as from himself—such an artist finds himself in every aspect a revolutionary, struggling for a view of art and life which is fundamentally opposed to the prevailing esthetic of plastic and formal values—fashioned by the ideological representatives of the ruling bourgeoisie. But such an artist will find that artistic progress is possible only on the basis of such a view. He will find that in the same measure as his art finds its way back to a social audience, it will become enriched by that audience's own creativity, by the total human creativity now emerging more fully in the very struggle for its liberation. Such an artist will be vastly enriched by the revolution in art methods, resources and outlooks which preceded his own, and which he must now struggle against as a barrier to further progress. Social necessity as an integral part of advancing humanity will not be viewed by such an artist as a restraint on his freedom, but as the only means to further expansion of his individual creativity, to an art more rich and many-sided.

Leonard Baskin, though young and struggling to master his means, is attempting to follow the path of social communication in his sculpture. His work already bears the stamp of distinct individuality which is the hallmark of the modern esthetic. Yet it is warm, powerful, human, and intelligible.

What is most important is the fact that his human beings are not merely "plastic" objects, fashioned to delight the eye and senses. They are humans embodying social concepts and meanings. The *Wounded Soldier* can like African sculpture or Picasso's *Still Lifes* be appreciated for its formal beauty. It is majestic and its forms, lines, surfaces and spaces are melodically and rhythmically superb. But no one can look at this figure and fail to be moved by its tragic intensity, by its symbolication of martyrdom and suffering, by the silent strength and life ebbing fast from its body —by the host of associations which are part of the social field of which this sculpture is a part, which in fact inspired it. Essential is the realization that the very volumes and lines of this work are not separate from these meanings, but are so conceived, so executed as to evoke precisely such meanings. The content is not an extraneous superstructure, a purely subjective business in the observer; it is imprisoned within its very form and is released by the observer because the symbolic meanings are part of the social fabric of feeling and thought.

In the same manner the *Prometheus* hurls its power at the observer by virtue of its immense forms and tensed relations, but its meanings are inextricably linked with all human strivings. We feel in our own bodies the anguish and triumph of Prometheus, the collosal effort to conquer reality.

The work of Baskin already announces in powerful terms a new direction in American art, a direction which he will help to shape, and which will be enriched by the outstanding contributions yet to come.

—J. L.

(This brief critique of the graphic arts section aims to analyze given works with a view to developing an approach to the visual arts which will be of use to the general reader, to artists, and to critics in combatting the degradation of culture prevalent in our country and in creating an art of the people. Readers are urged to contribute their own art work as well as their comments and criticisms. — The Editors)

All photographs by Lionel Friedman and Richard Alexander.

"The American system still rests on the concept of a classless society, despite nearly sixteen years of erosion by New Dealers. Among the 15,000,000 or more investors are many employees. These persons are not exclusively capitalists, nor exclusively workers. Certainly they are not proletarians. . . ." (Rukeyser in the *NY Daily News.*) Why Mr. Rukeyser, you make us feel so much better!

"Mourning Mother" (*Wood*)

Coll. Mr. Julius Stien

"Death Head of Lorla" (*Stone*)

Coll. Mr. and Mrs. B. Beckerman

"Blind Woman" (*Wood*)

Coll. Mr. and Mrs. L. Friedman

"Wounded Soldier" (*Wood*)

"Wounded Soldier" *(Detail)*

"Thief — Crucified with Christ" (*Wood*)

"Pelle, the Conqueror" (*Wood*)

Coll. Dr. Alan Tulipan

"Prometheus" (*Wood*)

MARVIN SHAW
STUDENT NOTES

NSA Was Promises

CONFUSION AND CHAOS

THE United States National Students Association was established at a Constitutional Convention in September, 1947. This year, from August 23rd through 29th, 700 students (426 elected delegates) from about 280 colleges and universities sat through six long hot days of the organization's first annual Congress.

There was a world of dfference between the two meetings.

When the delegates left Madison last year it was with a feeling of real accomplishment. Out of serious debate and discussion, out of late meetings and much work, a student program had been evolved—a program with many limitations, but nevertheless one that called for progressive and constructive action on the major problems facing American students: A "Student Bill of Rights" for academic freedom; abolition of discrimination in education; negotiations for affiliation to the 44-nation strong International Union of Students; federal aid to education; increased veterans' benefits; strengthened student government; cultural projects and international activities. The '47 convention showed the maturity of American Student leadership.

If there was enthusiasm on the special trains that pulled out of Madison the last Saturday of August, 1948, it did not stem from the convention that had adjourned an hour or so before. There were positive results, but in general the Congress was probably one of the strangest and most unproductive in the history of important American student organizations. The most pressing problems facing students were never considered by the full congress. Nearly every discussion was interrupted because of a snafued time schedule. The policy committee, to which all programatic resolutions were referred, never gave its report. Convention "workshops," where the discussion of program and activities was supposed to take place, did not complete their reports to the plenary sessions. No votes were taken on policy issues . . . everything was referred to the incoming executive committee.

Although confusion may charitably be ascribed to lack of experience, many students felt it was no accident. When students are tied up in parliamentary knots, when chaos and confusion reign, reaction finds it possible to make the most headway.

And reactionary forces did make headway at Madison. The gulf between the NSA and the International Union of Students was widened. The widespread campaign against academic freedom was not effectively challenged. The new opportunities that exist for the quick end of discrimination and segregation in education were not siezed. The threat of militarizaion of education was not even discussed. A somewhat vague but nevertheless effective coalition of Catholics, Students for Democratic Action and personally ambitious student leaders dominated the proceedings.

It is a tribute to the delegates sense of responsibility to the students who elected them, to their honesty and often spontaneous liberalism, that the essentially good campus program of NSA remains relatively intact. Progressives too learned once again that there is no virtue in retreat or unprincipled compromise. Militant struggle, alone, can bring results, make allies and win victories.

BETRAYAL OF A PROGRAM

There were obvious indications of a rightward trend in NSA long before the convention. American imperialism is engaged in a life and death struggle for world mastery. In every possible way efforts are being made to line up political support for the Marshall-Truman-Dewey foreign policy, and to isolate and destroy the influence of those who wish to halt the steady drive toward war.

The universities have no small importance in this program. They are one of the major ways of winning the support of young people. Too often education merges into indoctrination. Few universities today do not teach the benefits of the Marshall Plan. Experts on the Soviet Union and "world communism" are much in demand. Expansion of the Army and Navy research program, ROTC and the draft have increased militarization of the campus. The growth of a progressive movement among students and faculty, in particular the favorable response to the Wallace candidacy, has been the signal for many local "investigations," the dismissal of teachers and the banning of student organizations. If the recurrent threats by the Un-American Committee to begin "hearings" on "subversion in the universities" are carried out, we may expect a veritable reign of terror. Peace sentiment on the Thomasized campus will become as disreputable as honest trade unionism is in the Taft-Hartleyized labor movement.

In this atmosphere, the establishment of the U. S. N. S. A. last year presented a challenge to the forces that dominate and decisively influence American education. Its program was "out of line." Unquestionably liberal, it showed the influence of the active progressives who attended the first

convention. This was especially true of the so-called "domestic program" and the resolution which called for negotiation for affililiation to the I. U. S. as a step that "can be decisive in helping to avert even more intensified friction which may lead to a disastrous atomic world war." The National Student Association had to be either controlled or destroyed.

Both tactics were tried. The Detroit Economics Club issued a broadside against the organization and its program in the form of a question-and-answer brochure. Many southern schools, as well as others with especially reactionary administrations, refused to allow their students to participate. In some places, white-supremacist and fraternity students defeated referendums to affiliate to the N. S. A. Various newspapers twisted articles in left periodicals approving the N. S. A. program into proof of Communist domination.

Student support and interest prevented this frontal attack from achieving its aim. So N. S. A. was given the opportunity to become "respectable." Leaders were invited to attend and address gatherings of college administrators. The Office of Education dealt with them. The vice-president in charge of international activities was given a seat on the United Nations UNESCO Commission. The State Department took an active interest in the international program even meeting with N. S. A. representatives going abroad.

Important elements in the N. S. A. were quite happy about this. The large Catholic bloc found the emphasis on achieving acceptance a means of combatting a program they did not dare openly to oppose. "Liberals," seeking retreat, had a good excuse to procrastinate instead of carrying out the adopted program—"people" would be antagonized if anything was done. And some student leaders were frankly intimidated. *The result was a record of shameful failure to carry out the desires of the students who had attended the first Madison convention.*

The report of the outgoing vice-president in charge of domestic affairs, Ralph Dungan of St. Joseph's College, printed in the 1948 Convention Handbook, demonstrates this. On discrimination he writes, "We tread easily and have established a background of knowledge, contacting agencies already working in the field and have planned programs."

In executing the academic freedom program, he declares that

> The factors involved have made each (case) so complex as to render it almost impossible for a rational, intelligent judgment to be made on the specific situation.

Pursuing the next best policy, he asserts,

> "We have endeavored to explain the principles of our bill of rights. . . and to bring about an agrement between students, faculty, and administration. . . ."

Mr. Dungan's statement is an effective condemnation of the N. S. A. leaders' year of work: nothing, absolutely nothing has been done on two of the most important issues faced by students.

The record in the field of international student activities follows the same pattern. The impetus for founding the N. S. A. came from the American delegation to the founding Congress of the International Union of Students. Cooperation with the I. U. S., and eventual affiliation to it, was overwhelmingly (401-35) voted by the Constitutional Convention. But I. U. S., like the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, grew out of the anti-fascist unity that smashed the Axis. Today it is easier to find reasons *not* to cooperate with students from the Soviet Union, colonial nations, and the New Democracies of eastern Europe. That students from France, Britain and many other so-called "western" nations have found it extremely worthwhile to cooperate has been considered irrelevant.

During the year, the N. S. A. and its vice-president for international activities, Mr. Robert Smith, never seriously attempted to establish closer working relations with the I. U. S. As soon as the reactionary student demonstrations in Prague last February had occurred,* upon the receipt of the Smith-Ellis resignations—without investigation, reflection, or consultation with other groups connected with the I. U. S. — the N. S. A. leadership rushed to break off the tenuous relations that had been established. A delegation was sent to Europe before this year's convention to investigate the possibilities of establishing a "western bloc" international student center *outside* the I. U. S. framework.

Of course, the year's work was not totally without results. Noncontroversial and essentially minor activities were carried on. Nor can credit be withheld from the officers for their part in actually setting up the organization. But it is undeniably true that the United States National Student Association, during the first year of its existence, began to move steadily to the right; it no longer represented the students best interests.

MADISON, '48

There were some important discussions at the convention, despite the prevalent confusion.

I. *I. U. S.-N. S. A. Relations*: This discussion was opened by a so-called "expert panel": Jim Smith (resigned I. U. S. proxy vice-president), Bob Smith (N. S. A. International Affairs Vice-president) and the three-man N. S. A. delegation to Europe (Robert West, Bill Birenbaum and Larry Jaffa). Although all speakers opposed affiliation to the I. U. S., three trends appeared among them. Jaffa, speaking for the most reactionary elements present, while giving lip-service to the principle of not establishing a "western bloc," recommended steps to create it. Birenbaum, more impressed by the support for the I. U. S. in all sections of Europe, felt such a

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*The Summer 1948 Issue of New Foundations carried an eyewitness discussion of these events in an article by our Prague Editor, Walter Bronson. "Student Notes" in the same issue discussed N. S. A.-I. U. S. relations in the light of them.

course to be inopportune; he would, however, undoubtedly support it if he thought it had a chance of success. West, in spite of his opposition to affiliation, indicated a sincere desire for cooperation with the I. U. S. on specific projects.

Pro-I. U. S. sentiment did exist, however. Material by the Committee for International Student Cooperation was distributed by various delegates in an effort to break through the wall of ignorance and misinformation surrounding the I. U. S. After 3 days of continual parliamentary and political struggle, moreover, progressives succeeded in winning the right of Walter Wallace, a pro-I. U. S. speaker, to address the full convention. A delegate to the founding world student congress of the I. U. S., a former member of the Executive Committee of the NSA, and National Chairman of the new and powerful Students for Wallace, he gave a stirring 15 minute address that won the applause of nearly every delegate. He called upon the students of America to keep faith with their fellow students who gave their lives in the war against fascism, and to participate in the fight for peace by strengthening the bonds of international friendship.

The convention, by an overwhelming vote, reaffirmed the action of the Executive Committee of the N. S. A. in ending negotiations for affiliations. But at the same time it almost unanimously passed a resolution refusing to participate in any way in the establishment of any form of "western block", and cooperation with the I. U. S. on specific projects was agreed upon although no formal vote was counted because of agenda difficulties.

II. *Discrimination-Academic Freedom*: Although no full discussion on these two major issues reached the floor of the Congress, the delegates indicated their disgust with the sorry record of the outgoing officers in the workshop sessions. They recommended a program calling for action by the staff committee (the elected officers) within 30 days after an appeal reaches them concerning academic freedom or discrimintion.

The program adopted last year on these issues was not strengthened. On the other hand, attempts led by Catholic students to cut the heart out of the "Student Bill of Rights" did not succeed.

III. *Proposals for Activity*: In spite of the confusion in the various workshops, a number of excellent proposals and techniques were discussed for student activity on scholarships, housing, student government, curricula, foreign student relief, academic exchange, and cultural activity.

IV. *Groups present*: The largest single bloc consisted of Catholics, led as in the previous convention, by their well organized, hierarchy-approved Joint Committee for Student Action. The social-democrats and "right-wing liberals" of the S. D. A. lacked any real strength apart from their close alliance with the Catholic leaders. The bulk of the delegates were honest, sincere students, usually of a somewhat conservative background, and greatly affected by the general hysteria cultivated by reaction. The *desire*

of this group to be "liberal," however, was obvious. A small militant group of progressives, most of them supporters of the Progressive Party, exerted great influence for their numbers, but they lacked experience, recognized leadership and organization.

V. *Officers*: Ted Harris, a Negro and former Pennsylvania Regional chairman of the N. S. A., was elected President. Robert West defeated Larry Jaffa for vice-president in charge of international affairs. Dick Heggie, California regional chairman, is the newly designated vice-president for student matters (including academic freedom) and Gene Schwartz, New York regional chairman, is the vice-president in charge of educational issues (including discrimination in education). Helen Jean Rogers of Mundelein College, Chicago, is Secretary-Treasurer. Harris and Miss Rogers are both Catholics, West and Schwartz are known as middle-of-the-road liberals.

THE TASK REMAINS

An objective analysis of the Congress could only consider it a failure, fully in keeping with the character of the year's work that preceeded it. U. S. N. S. A. will only fulfil its promise to the students of the United States and the entire world when it begins to put the interests of students before the will o' the wisp of "respectability." This only can occur when a new coalition of forces emerges within the organization determined to fight militantly for student needs. Such a group may have many differences within it, but it must be able to unite on a minimum democratic program for the expansion and democratization of education and the strengthening of international friendship. The growth of Students for Wallace is perhaps the most encouraging sign that such a coalition will develop on a sound foundation.

In the meantime, N. S. A. still may play an important role. Its officers have a mandate to develop cooperation with the I. U. S. The "Student Bill of Rights" is intact. Hundreds of discrimination cases cry for action. The educational crisis remains unsolved. The new officers of the N. S. A. should quickly learn that the students who are paying their salaries expect more than the empty promises they received last year.

Progressives cannot sit idly by. They are part of the student community. U. S. N. S. A. demands their attention. They must not, by disregard, surrender it to reaction.

HELEN RODRIGUEZ TRIAS

Puerto Rican Students Strike For Freedom

A brief "Appeal from Puerto Rico" appeared in our summer issue. We believe, however, that we students here in the United States should learn more about the struggles of the people of that little island, who for half a century have fought for independence from the imperialists who today hope to impose an "American Century" on the world. We urge students on every campus to hold rallies and to send letters and resolutions of protest to the Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico; and to the Governor, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Letters and resolutions of support should be sent to Cruzada Universitaria, Calle Jose de Diego No. 159, *Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico; letters and money should be sent to Vanguardia Juvenil Puertoriquena, Santurce, Puerto Rico.*

—The Editors.

THE STRIKE at the University of Puerto Rico has begun again. The campus that was once filled with young people walking to classes and laughing together in groups looks as it did last spring, like a huge concentration camp. The Insular Police has invaded the University for the second time this year.

I cannot give you the true significance of the strike without first giving you a general picture of Puerto Rico, this nation of two million inhabitants which has been shamelessly exploited by American imperialism for the past fifty years. The strike at the University must be understood as what it is, a phase of the struggle that the Puerto Rican youth wage on many fronts, a phase of our struggle for national liberation and for econonomic progress.

We, the youth of Puerto Rico, are members of a nation with a long colonial history. At present we have the ironic distinction of being the only nation in the world under the complete domination of the United States. The laws passed by our legislature are subject to the four-fold veto of the governor (who until 1947 was a presidential appointee), the U. S. Congress, and the U. S. President whose veto is final. American sugar trusts have done pretty much as they pleased with the Puerto Rican economy. We are just one large sugar factory to the American "Big Business" interests, a sugar factory which is also a market for their products (ninth in the world and from first to third in Latin America). American corporations quickly thwart attempts of native capitalists at industrialization by dumping products and similar "fair"methods of competition. Our island is considered a strategic geographical spot of great military importance, particularly for the defense of the Panama Canal.

We know only too well the role that American imperialism plays in supporting reactionary governments in our sister nations of Latin America. We have seen your country abandon the Good Neighbor Policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and return to the policy of economic and military

domination which, had since its emergence as an imperialist power at the turn of the century, characterized its relations with Latin America. We have seen the effects of this change in the recent illegalization of the Communist party of Brazil, which had polled 900,000 votes in the last elections; in the cold blooded murder of Jesus Menendez, the beloved Cuban labor leader, by the stooges of American imperialism; in the American consulate's refusal to let Juan Marinello, Cuban senator and great leader of the anti-imperialist Popular Socialist Party, visit Puerto Rico; in the terrorist government of Trujillo in Santo Domingo, which imprisoned more than 400 anti-fascists and murdered many Dominican progressives; and in the establishment of huge concentration camps in Chile into which are thrown those who protest the control by American corporations of Chile's political and economic life. We have watched with growing suspicion the Clayton Plan, which is undermining native industries and reducing Latin American nations to mere markets for U. S. products. We realize that the Truman Plan for the standardization of arms, projected at the Rio Conference in 1947, is making the enemies of democracy a bulwark against the progress of Latin America. We were wryly amused to note that the anti-imperialist resolution, adopted at the United States-dominated Bogota Conference, was directed, not at American imperialism, the parasitic fungus now spreading throughout the world, but rather at the imperialism of European countries—hardly a determining factor in this hemisphere. At the same time we see that the U. S. and Britain plan to coordinate the respective administrations of their colonies more closely.

Above all we have seen how the present government of Puerto Rico has changed along with Washington's foreign policy. The Popular Party has been in power for eight years. It originally won the people's votes with its slogan of "Bread, Land and Liberty" and a platform of land reform (it pledged itself to the enforcement of the "500 acre law" which limits corporation holdings to 500 acres) and of the industrialization necessary for the gradual transition of Puerto Rico from a colony to a free nation. It initiated industrialization by the establishment of the Puerto Rican Development Corporation, a government-financed corporation which built factories and instituted a subsidy plan for foreign and native investors, as well as for the workers. Since 1944, however, the Popular Party has become the party of the apologists for the imperialists. Its program has been slowly adulterated by concessions to American interests; the government even went so far as to invite American industrialists to invest in Puerto Rico because wages are only one-third of what they are in the States. The leaders of the Popular Party declared that both Dewey and Truman are good candidates for the Presidency; either one will do just as well by Puerto Rico, they maintain, although the Republicans offer only colonial status in the intensified form of statehood, and the Democrats offer the abstract slogan of "free determination," which may be interpreted to mean

"no determination at all." Thus the Popular Party has followed the opportunistic path characteristic of Social Democratic Parties throughout the world.

The truly progressive sectors of the Puerto Rican population are backing Wallace. Although we Puerto Ricans cannot vote in the presidential elections, we participated in the convention of the Progressive Party, which passed a resolution declaring the right of the Puerto Rican nation to its independence. This was adopted despite the fact that Tugwell, ex-governor of Puerto Rico, had declared himself in favor of "free determination."

The Puerto Rican Communist Party, consistent in its support of every progressive step taken by the people, is giving its votes and cooperation to a new progressive party, the Independentist Party. This party has adopted a social and economic platform to answer the demands of the people. It includes a demand for the exclusion of Puerto Rico from application of the Taft-Hartley Law, continuation of the industrialization program and land reform, orientation of University education toward an emphasis on Puerto Rican culture, the gradual socialization of medicine, and immediate independence.

It will be difficult to speak about the social conditions in Puerto Rico, difficult to put into words the misery and abject poverty that 50 years of American imperialism have created. I can give you some statistics, but these cannot describe a starving child nor the utter despair of the unemployed. Statistics alone cannot show clearly enough a people's resentment of domination by a foreign power, the confusion of the child who is taught his subjects in a foreign language, or the fierce pride of a people whose spirit will not be destroyed.

The rate of unemployment is, at the height of the cane harvesting season, from 15 to 20 per cent of the labor force; during the remaining 9 months of the year it may rise to as high as 40 per cent. The average annual income of the Puerto Rican is about $185. In the capital city alone half the total population lives in slum areas. Comrade Foster, in his open letter to President Truman, described "The Crime of El Fanquito:"

El Fanquito is sprawled out over a mosquito-infested, marsh-tide flat. The squatters' houses are thrown together of any material that comes to hand, and the shacks are incredibly over-crowded. Most of the places are unfit for hogs, much less for human beings. The houses have no toilet facilities, and there is no garbage collection. The water supply is entirely inadequate, consisting only of occasional community faucets, contrived by the people themselves. Whole areas are completely dark at night, having no street lights, and many of the people are too poor to buy kerosene lamps or candles. Most of the inhabitants' homes are practically destitute of furniture. There are not even streets in the horrible slums, except the people themselvs have carted in soil and rubbish to build up roadways of a sort. . . .

Children, mostly naked, with no toys and no place to play, wade about in the filthy water. At one place we visited, a big city sewer belched its foul contents into an open canal, whence the stinking flood was from time to time swept back into

the squatters' village by the rising tide. As we gazed upon this shocking sight two little naked girls about three years old, waded waist deep in the filthy water pouring from the sewer's mouth. The unfortunate children are growing up mostly untaught and illiterate, along with their other miseries and dangers.

Is it at all strange then to know that for every 9.9 persons who die in the United States from diarrhea and enteritis (an intestinal disease usually caused by malnutrition), 304.1 Puerto Ricans die from the same disease? For every 41.3 deaths caused by tuberculosis in the U. S. there are 215.4 in Puerto Rico. For every 48.6 deaths from pneumonia in the U. S. there are 122.6 in my country. Is it strange that we have more than double the U. S. suicide rate?

Puerto Rican youth struggles militantly against imperialist domination, the cause of these conditions. When, in 1946, President Truman vetoed the Language Bill (a bill which provided for using Spanish as the language for teaching in elementary schools), the Puerto Rican youth organizations were loud in their protests. The students at the University staged a walk-out for half a school day. Thousands of students left their classrooms in protest against the new attack on our culture. In the fall of 1947 the Marines invaded a small island off the coast of Puerto Rico and dispossessed 11,000 families to build a military base. Among the many groups that protested this inhuman action were the students who staged a march to the Governor's Palace. And when President Truman visited the island in 1947, he was picketed by the Puerto Rican Youth Congress, a body representing more than fifty youth organizations. What was most significant about the picketing was that several student leaders spoke against Truman, not because he was an American, but because he was an American who represented the exploiters of Puerto Rico. A new social consciousness was awakening among the youth; a glimmer of understanding of the forces behind imperialism appeared through the emotional nationalism.

When the Draft Bill was passed by the U. S. Congress, the University students protested unanimously. At the student assembly called to adopt a resolution in protest, a Catholic clique proposed a resolution condemning "Russian imperialism" as well as American. They were defeated by a huge majority. When the registration for the Draft took place, many of the youth, including students, picketed the registration booths.

The University, the only one on the island, plays a very important cultural and political role in the life of my people. As in most Latin American countries, it is the scene of heated political struggles. The students are usually much more concerned with politics and aware of social questions than are most American students. For example, the Chairman of the Communist Party, at that time a student, was invited to give a lecture on the "Conflict of Our Times" by a social science club composed of Communist and progressive youth. When the American Legion replied

by red-baiting attacks in another lecture, a heated debate ensued between the suddenly united student audience and the leaders of the most reactionary body of apologists of imperialism that can be found in Puerto Rico. A "cold war" was waged at the University for weeks.

The University was reformed by a law proposed in 1942 by the Popular Party and passed by the Insular Legislature. This Law was intended to give the University greater autonomy and eliminate all legislative and other *ex officio* representation in the governing board, except that of the Commissioner of Education. The Law also provided an increase in the autonomous income of the University. The Law was in keeping with the reformist Popular Party and declared the new obligations of the University

> To study the fundamental problems of Puerto Rico;
> To extend to the people the benefits of culture;
> To prepare public servants.

In truth, the administration which was then initiated was fairly liberal except for its idea that reforms, made by a few intellectuals behind closed doors, should be instituted from the top down.

The change of the Popular Party from an anti-imperialist party to one of opportunistic defence of the Colonial Status was, however, reflected in the University. The Chancellor, who is appointed by the governing body of the University, the Superior Educational Council (which was appointed by the Governor) had, as a student, been an active defender of Puerto Rican independence. But as his Party changed, so did he.

In the fall of 1947 a demagogic labor leader, Landing, was elected as president of the Student Council. Despite his opportunism, he has always been a fighter for Independence; in that respect at least he represented the sentiments of the vast majority of students. As a representative of the student body in the Superior Educational Council, he annoyed the Administration by voicing his and the students' opinions about the budget, faculty appointments, etc., and taking grievances to the student body. The Administration and the Chancellor, whose avid respect for "truth" does not include a regard for students' opinions, were eager to get rid of him.

Their opportunity came when Landing participated in the lowering of the American flag from the flagpole on the University Tower and the raising of the Puerto Rican flag on December 15. This was done by a substantial group of students upon the arrival at the island of the leader of the Nationalist Party who had just been released from an Atlanta jail. He had suffered a ten year sentence for "defying the United States Government" and is something of a beloved national figure. The students, including Landing, who had participated in this tribute to the Puerto Rican nationalist leader, were either expelled or suspended.

The student body united in protest. We sent a petition of readmission to the Chancellor signed by over 5000 students comprising more than five sixths of the student body. The Chancellor threw the petition into the waste basket. A new student regulation prohibiting, among other things, the lowering of the American flag, student assemblies without authorization from the Administration, and the circulation of "unauthorized" literature on the campus, was adopted without the usual public hearings. Upon the refusal of the Administration to let the Nationalist Leader speak at the University we met in a student assembly to discuss our various grievances. We adopted a resolution almost unanimously to request the Chancellor's resignation and a new code of student regulations, and to declare a 24-hour work stoppage in protest of the Administration's actions.

The day of the stoppage, the Chancellor refused to see the student representatives and called the police as thousands of us crowded into the central building where his offices are located. We forced the police to leave by refusing to let them enter. Following this, the University was closed by the Administration. Over 200 policemen were stationed on the campus.

Two weeks later, when the University was reopened, there were more police than trees on the grounds. Then the strike went through its most difficult period. Unarmed students were arbitrarily beaten and jailed. Tear gas was used to disperse student groups. More than 70 students were expelled or suspended including the complete Student Council. An atmosphere of hysteria prevailed among the faculty, the students and the police force. Countless detectives roamed the campus looking for any strikers that might have sneaked in.

The University was closed again, this time for final examinations. A pass system was established so that only selected students, who had been checked for past activities, could enter the University.

Meanwhile, we set up an organization, "Cruzada Universitaria," which presented our case to the people through press releases, speakers, and appeals. This was by far the most significant aspect of the strike; for the first time in the history of Puerto Rico, we, the students' realized that our strength depended upon the support of the people. Several labor organizations, among them the Chauffeur's Union and the University Employee's Union (belonging to the "Unidad General de Trabajadores," the most progressive anti-imperialist labor organization) adopted resolutions in support of the strike. The Veteran's Brotherhood declared itself in complete solidarity with the student strike.

Fearing a general strike, the Popular Party hastened to pass the laws 53, 54, 55 (Little Mundt-Nixon). Aptly termed the "Gag Laws," these laws would sentence anyone who advocated the "overthrow of the government" (this refers to the colonial government) or any of its dependencies

(including the University Administration) to ten years in jail or a $10,000 fine.

The growing political consciousness of the students may be detected in the following statement made in the "History of the Violations of the Civil Rights of Puerto Rican University Students" by "Cruzada Universitariat":

> The University students' strike was the climax of a conflict which has existed for quite a long time between the free thinking minds of the student body and the intolerance and intransigence of a corrupt University Administration. Unfortunately, after having seen the attitude assumed by the Government before the University situation, we have to conclude that all the violations of which we have been victims, are the result of an unexplicable fear on the part of an hysterical government.
>
> On the other hand, we now realize that the persons in whose hands is the actual governmental control are the real instigators of the violence directed against the students, who are on protest because of Chancellor Benitez' refusal to consider their grievances.
>
> First: The backing given to Chancellor Benitez by the Insular Legislation, in spite of his having been rejected by several student assemblies and by the vast majority of the public opinion. Why didn't the Legislature order an investigation before taking such action?
>
> Second: The mobilization of the Insular Police and the National Guard to quell the students' strike.
>
> Third: The passing of Bills 23, 24, and 25 (laws 53, 54, and 55) by the Legislature, and their further signing by Governor Pinero. . . . These bills were passed in an all-night emergncy session and were never submittd to a public hearing.

The passage of these bills was naturally questioned by the students. Who is going to overthrow the government? What justifies these laws?

There is a prevalent idea among University students that they, and only they, lead the struggle for national liberation. It is true that they are, on the whole, a politically conscious and militant group, but we realize that a true understanding of the nature of imperialism leaves one with the conclusion that the student movement must seek alliance with and support of the working class if it is to succeed. The working class is, after all, the sector of society which suffers most under the chains of colonialism; it has felt in its hunger the economic oppression of American rule; because of this it is better prepared to fight a consistent anti-imperialist battle. Perhaps I can clarify these statements by drawing from my personal experience in organizing a club for the Vanguardia Juvenil Puertorriquena. I had gone to a town near the center of the island to speak to the youths there on our program. This was a sugar community and a few of the young men worked at a sugar "Central" near the town. This particular "Central" belongs to the Eastern Sugar Corporation, and they, who worked only three months of the year for 30 cents an hour cutting sugar cane in the hot sun, had no difficulty understanding imperialism. One of them said, "Sure, they kill you, but they kill people in the U. S., too. Workers there don't do so

well. *They* don't live off *our* labor. The Central gets everything whichever way you look at it."

That is why our new youth organization, launched by Communist and progressive youth six months ago, makes an attempt to unite the peasant, working and student youth behind an anti-fascist, anti- imperialist program directed at the conquest of independence and building of socialism.

The nature of a student movement is determined by its allies. A student may become a professional who is unconcerned with the rest of the population and cease to be progressive, but if he identifies himself with the struggles of the working class he will not cease struggling until a system free of the exploitation of labor is established.

You may ask, what should Puerto Rico mean to young American progressives?

I can point to the facts that a large per cent of the taxes you pay go, not to the building of schools, of homes, and the creation of constructive jobs in your country, but into expenditures for military bases in mine. The hunger and chronic unemployment that imperialism creates drives men, women, and children to work for incredibly low wages in my country, and is a constant threat to living standards in yours. The students that were beaten and jailed for defending their democratic rights in my country by the lackeys of American imperialism yesterday, may be the students of your college tomorrow when you petition for freedom of speech or world peace. You, the students of the United States, must see that the Puerto Rican government and its University extension, the Administration, is controlled by the same imperialist forces that control your universities and try to suppress your rights. The same forces that are aiming at the militarization and intellectual castration of the American youth are attempting to quell our struggle for independence.

We, the young Communists of Puerto Rico, know that in your country live both our friends and our enemies: both the Wall Street financiers, the exploiters of our land, and the true gallant workers who fight them. However, we have difficulty convincing many young people of the necessity of an alliance with American progressives. They cannot understand why any American should try to prevent this country from exploiting ours. This is partly due to the fact that many Americans have not grasped the full significance of Puerto Rico, have not supported us in our struggles for national liberation.

But, just as whites must break the chains of white chauvinism which drag down the American working class, so the American progressives must support us in our struggles to destroy the economic, the military and the political stranglehold of American imperialism which constitutes a lever to undermine, not only our standards, but yours. We appeal to you, the young progressives of America, to help us prove to the rest of the Puerto Rican youth that you are our sincerest allies.

JOHN DOWLING

Native Sod

The grave is cold, but not so cold as the hearts
Of men who honor me with fired salutes
And rolling drums and military drills.
My sleep was peaceful there—across the sea,
Where men, at last are set on freedom's road.
My sleep was peaceful there; but I
No longer sleep: This Southern earth's too cold,
And the Georgia sun is overcome by the chill
In the hearts of men who brought me back in a flag-draped
Box and shattered my rest with marching feet
And rifle-squad salutes. Sleep refuses
My soul eternal rest, and the shadow
Of the lynching tree denies my grave the sun.

BOB NEMIROFF

Voices

In London streets I heard a workers' choir,
A path it cleaved where muted misery crawls:
I saw Song's fleeting feet, unleashed, climb high'r
Than poverty's prison, back-alley walls;
It reared its shoulders, proud against the clouds,
Crashed louder 'gainst Death's dumb and echoless traces;
Shattered the shackles, lifted the shrouds
That give to our pavements tombstone faces!
A list'ning worker, wondrous, clasped the hand
Of song that held the hope of harmony:
Of voices merged in notes that know no end,
Of music rumbling deep and low—to rise in victory!
Rise, invincible voices! Soar, O workers' choir:
Ascend to heights where only—worker's hands aspire!
(Dedicated to *The Workers' Music Association* . . . London)
June, 1948

SIMON FIELD

Who Owns Our College?

. . . (E)ducation is the making of the future. Its role in a democratic society is that of critic and leader as well as servant; its task is not merely to meet the demands of the present but to alter those demands if necessary, so as to keep them always suited to democratic ideals. Perhaps its most important role is to serve as an instrument of social transition, and its responsibilities are defined in terms of the kind of civilization society hopes to build. If its adjustment to present needs are not to be mere fortuitous improvisations, those who formulate its policies and programs must have a vision of the nation and the world we want — to give a sense of direction to their choice among alternatives.[1]

The President's Commission on Higher Education seems to envision the ideal role of the American University. Those of us who have been attending universities and colleges since the end of the last war, however, may wonder if the education we are receiving is actually designed to fulfill the role of "an instrument of social transition." This paper, the first of a series investigating that which has been characterized as the "Crisis in American Education," aims to examine the character of "those who formulate its policies and programs" to determine whether they have a "vision of the nation and the world we want."

* * *

The history of American universities begins with the founding of Harvard in 1653 and William and Mary in 1693. The pattern of control developed early. Harvard, when originally founded, was under resident control of the faculty. By the end of the revolutionary period, faculty-control had been permanently lost to a non-resident board. The legal rights of the non-resident board were guaranteed by John Marshall in the famous Dartmouth College case which established, not only the sanctity of contract, but also the right of the university board to freedom from interference by the state.

Until the Civil War, control was primarily in the hands of the clergy. The students for the most part were trained for the ministry. The curriculum was largely classical, including Greek, Latin, and the dialectic. The only exception to this early pattern was the College of Philadelphia, founded by Ben Franklin, which included in its curriculum many scientific subjects; thus it anticipated the later developments of American universities.

The triumph of industrialism through the Civil War signalized the beginning of the secularization of the university. The trend of control paralleled the growth of big business. As finance capital became dominant in American industry, so the bankers have become one of the largest groups controlling higher education.

Beck, in his book *Men Who Control Our Universities,* made a study of thirty universities — fourteen state and sixteen non-governmental — which belonged to the Association of American Universities in 1934-35. This small group sets the pattern for the operation of most of the institutions of higher learning. It comprises only 2% of all the universities, but is attended by 20% of all the students, 50% of the graduate students in the arts and sciences, and 49% of the students in professional schools. Its members grant 50% of the master's degrees and 77% of the doctorates obtained in the nation.

The men who give money to universities do not scatter it indiscriminately; statistics show that they concentrate their attention on the few select ones. The thirty universities and eight others controlled by them received 41.7% of the income from endowments, and hold 28.8% of the stated financial value of the property of the reporting institutions.

The control of the typical university today is vested in a board of trustees. This is true of both state and privately-supported universities, although in the case of state universities without large endowments legislative control of appropriations is often an important factor. The thirty universities investigated by Beck are directed by boards with a total of 734 members.

The method by which these trustees are chosen guarantees continued participation by men who uphold the status quo. Beck's survey indicates that of the 734 trustees, 42% were chosen by the board upon which they serve, in most cases for a life term. This makes the board a "closed corporation."

Since the Civil War, the composition of the boards has been altered due to the growing influence of big business in the universities. A study by Earl J. McGrath of fifteen private colleges and universities and five private institutions at ten year intervals from 1860 to 1930 showed that in 1860 clergymen comprised 39% of the governing boards of private institutions, but by 1930 the percentage had dropped to seven. During the same period businessmen exclusive of bankers rose from 23% to 32% and bankers rose from 5% to 20%.

An investigation of the actual composition of the thirty boards studied by Beck shows, further, that control by big business is not haphazard; it is thorough and complete. Of the 734 trustees, 15.4% were bankers, brokers and financiers. Manufacturing entrepreneurs and executives constituted 15.5% and dealers and transportation officials another 5.9%. None of these

were small tradesmen or storekeepers. Lawyers and judges, the largest single group, comprised over 25% of the total. Only 7% were farmers; only one of these was a member of a board of a private institution and he was also a banker.

Beck points out that these figures actually underestimate the number of businessmen as "at least 47% of the trustees who classed as professional persons were also officers or directors of business enterprises, as were 89% of the proprietors, managers and officials." If the professional persons were reclassified as businessmen, the percentage of businessmen would rise to about 71%.

These business representatives did not come from a cross-section of business, but were concentrated in the large monopolistic enterprises. Of the 400 largest financial and non-financial corporations, 194 of them had officers or directors who were also on the governing boards of the thirty universities. There were 175 such persons, or about 25% of the total board membership. These 175 held a total of 386 positions in the 194 corporations as well as 935 positions in corporations other than the 400 largest.

Forty-six percent of the board members held positions in financial institutions. Among these were four Morgan partners and representatives of most of the other large banks.

Many well—and unfavorably—known names can be found in the list of 734 including Sewell L. Avery, three du Ponts, Frank E. Gannet, Joseph P. Grace, Herbert Hoover, Cyrus H. McCormick, Henry S. Morgan, J. J. Pelly, Myron C. Taylor, and Thomas J. Watson.

Single large corporations, such as American Telephone and Telegraph, make particular efforts to place representatives in positions of influence in the universities. The Federal Communications Commission reported that as of November 1, 1935,

> Men connected with the Bell System in the capacity of executive officers or directors have responsible and controlling positions in the councils of 69 universities and colleges in the United States, including most of the well-known major institutions. In 14 of those 69 institutions, there were at least two Bell representatives in various capacities, and in eight others, there were three or more Bell representatives. . . .
>
> In addition to representation in these accredited colleges and universities, Bell officers and employees are represented in various capacities in scores of lesser schools and other educational foundations. The list of these institutions is too extensive to append to this study.

Beck conservatively concluded from his survey that:

> The numerous high positions of power in industry, commerce, and finance held by at least two-thirds of the members of the governing boards of these 30 leading universities would appear to give a decisive majority more than ample grounds for identifying their personal interests with those of business.

These boards of trustees, so overweighted by business representation, have unlimited powers. The following excerpt from the charter of Columbia University is typical:

> the . . . trustees . . . shall forever hereafter have full power and authority to direct and prescribe the course of study, and the discipline to be observed in the said college, and also to select and appoint . . . a president . . . who shall hold his office during good behaviour; and such professors . . . (and) tutors, to assist the president in the government and education of the students . . . as to the said trustees shall seem meet, all of whom shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the trustees; Provided always, that no such professor, tutor, or other assistant officer shall be a trustee." And, further, the ". . . trustees . . . shall have full power and authority to make all ordinances and by-laws which to them shall seem expedient for carrying into effect the designs of their institution. . . .

The deliberations of the boards of trustees are not public property. "Usually, no verbatim record of board deliberations, and often not even a summary, is made available for public study."

Nevertheless, it is certain that they take their duties very seriously. Kirkpatrick quotes from a report of a committee of Columbia trustees which stated, the "ultimate decision as to whether the influence of a given teacher is injurious to private morals or dangerous to public order and security, is one which the Trustees may neither shirk nor share nor delegate."

The trustees have their effects on what is taught, who teaches, and who may study. Thus Peter Odegard asserted,

> There are many instances of teachers 'fired', not because of incompetence, but because they taught doctrines and ideas unpleasant to those in control. But the boards are no less keen to check radical and unusual opinions among the student body. The record is filled with cases of students suspended and college publications suppressed because they circulated ideas which were thought to be 'immoral and subversive'.

The Un-American Affairs boys will do their best in the coming months to render this record even more glorious.

The powers exercised so conscientiously by the trustees are subject to check and review by no one. Beck states that, "Almost without exception in this country, governing boards exercise their powers and functions without the consent of the governed. Neither faculty nor students have power to review or veto board decisions. Moreover faculty and students practically never participate in the selection of the trustees, have no power to recall them, and seldom share in their deliberations."

Veblen characterized the typical university president as the "Captain of Erudition" parallel to the "Captain of Industry." More than that, he is the direct representative of, appointed by and responsible to, the board of trustees. John Kirkpatrick in his book, *Toryism in the American College*, concludes that the presidents have autocratic powers which they have not hesitated to use. The presidents of most universities are chosen for their money getting powers or administrative qualifications rather than any

particular interest in intellectual activities. A flagrant example of this is the recent appointment of General Eisenhower as the presiedent of Columbia University; his major qualification seems to have been that Thomas Watson of International Business Machines and a member of the board of trustees, wanted him as President. (Many have attributed this appointment to the desire to make the General a more acceptable candidaate for president of the nation; in any case, it seems to have started a tradition, for ex-Governor Stassen, also candidate-hopeful, has accepted a position as University President.) In this manner, the boards of trustees direct campus life through the university president, from behind closed doors.

President Truman's Commission, however, apparently hopes that perhaps these men, who direct the policies of higher education, belong to that rare breed who are public spirited, who rise above their economic interests. A glance at the record dispells this illusion. The fascist government of Italy decorated 21 of these trustees; others were decorated by Nazi Germany. Although during the same period the Soviet Union decorated eight Americans, none of the trustees were among the eight. Beck conducted a survey among the trustees in which he asked them a number of questions. Of the trustees answering these questions, 40% believed that citizens on public relief roles should be barred from voting. Thirty percent believed that strikes should be illegal. These are not men who "have a vision of the nation and the world we want;" nor are they men who will make the university an "instrument of social transition."

Big business influence on the universities is not confined to control of the boards of trustees. The utility interests, for example, frequently criticized for high rates and undemocratic practices, have spent considerable time and money to insure favorable treatment in higher education. The Federal Trade Commission reported that, as part of their campaign, they donated $25,000 to Northwestern University, $30,000 to the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and $16,000 to the University of Michigan. Moreover, they were instrumental in placing men on the faculties. As one of their executives testified," We now have twenty-four public utility company executives as members of the university faculty." E. S. Belden, director of United Power and Light Co. in 1925, received a typical letter from Major Richardson, director of the Pennsylvania Public Service Information Committee, who declared:

> I am enclosing outlines of the public utility course recently run in the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University. The plan was put across in the usual way. We laid the groundwork circumspectly and with care so that the actual suggestion that such courses be started came from the faculties of the institutions themselves. The rest was routine.

That the public utilities have been successful in winning university support for their policies, is illustrated by this declaration by Donald K. David, Assistant Dean of the Harvard School of Business Administration after

receiving $20,000 from the National Electric Light Association: "The Harvard Business School very gladly and very happily accepts its foster parentage."

The National Association of Manufacturers has established a Committee on Cooperation with Education which devotes full time to devising and implementing new means of influencing higher education. In addition, many schools of labor and industrial relations are springing up all over the country which maintain very close ties with industry and business.

The privately endowed foundation, such as the Twentieth Century Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation, constitute another form of business influence on higher education. Although the total amount of money spent by foundations is not very great, they represent a major source of funds for research by private individuals. Lindeman, in a survey similar to that conducted by Beck, found that the control which characterizes the universities is typical of foundations. Over fifty percent of the trustees of the 100 foundations studied were connected with business. Out of the 123 foundations studied by the Twentieth Century Fund, appropriations of Rockefeller and Carnegie account for nearly 60% of all the capital invested.

It may be an interesting commentary on the pecuniary motives of businessmen's interest in education that, as Lundberg reports, a significant correlation existis between an increase in income tax rates and augmented contributions to foundations. The contributions given by the Rockefellers, in particular, have enabled them to avoid large amounts of income tax at the same time that they retain control of the stock which is turned over to the foundations.

A significant new influence has recently invaded the campus: government control through the Army and Navy, particularly in scientific research and the extension of Reserve Officers' Training Corp' (R.O.T.C.). From 1940 until 1947 research financed by the Federal Government expanded from $67,000,000 to $625,000,000 while research financed by the universities only increased from $31,000,000 to $45,000,000. The Einstein report on "Militarization in America" estimated that universities in 1947 held government contracts amounting to $97,000,000. The Steelman Report, *Science and Public Policy,* gives figures of $400,000,000 in contracts to industry and universities. When compared to this enormous figure, the Einstein report appears to have seriously underestimated the total amount of university research financed by the Army and Navy. But even if one accepts the Einstein figures two-thirds of the total research being done on campus is financed through government contracts.

In addition to control over the kinds of research, the acceptance of government contracts by the university involves the acceptance of the right of the Army and Navy to prescribe the students who are allowed to work on secret or confidential research. The loyalty probe has thus been extended to the campus.

The R. O. T. C. program trains students as officers to be drawn upon in case of war. According to the Einstein Report, the Army intends to expand its R. O. T. C. program from 55,000 students to 255,000 and to increase coverage from the present 137 colleges and universities to 239. Thus the bulk of American university students will be attending schools at which R. O. T. C. is a part of the curriculum.

With the passage of the draft act, the government has acquired additional control over students in that deferment policy determines the type of student who may continue his studies. This will increase the concentration of students in scientific and technical fields, as well as those enrolling in the R. O. T. C. program.

The results of this new military influence is evident. A statement appearing in the 1947 summer issue of the *American Scholar,* signed by two of the leading officials in the Office of Naval Research, declared: "It would indeed be indefensible to expend naval funds for purely philanthropic purposes; some connection of the anticipated results with the national security must be recognized. . ." Apparently two-thirds of the research in American universities is being done with the sole purpose of contributing to the militarization of America—preparation for a war which stems from our social institutions which, as President Truman's Commission points out, "have not kept pace with the changes."

* * *

The facts of control over university life are not merely items of curiosity; they are guide posts to enable us to understand the role of the university. The results of close control by business are wide spread. It is no accident that the President's Commission reports:

> Scientific discoveries and their technological application have altered our physical environment profoundly in the space of only a few generations, but our social institutions have not kept pace with the changes. . . ." We must find out how to "make science and technology contribute to man's well-being rather than to his destruction. We need to experiment boldly in the whole area of human relations, seeking to modify existing institutions and to discover new workable patterns of association. We must bring our social skills quickly abreast of our skills in natural sciences.

The development of big business since the Civil War has been reflected in the growing proportion of the university curriculum devoted to scientific and technical studies and those professional studies which are directly connected with business. Beck, in his introductory chapter, comments that "The same persons and organizations that foster unrestrained development of the natural sciences and technology commonly favor development in the social sciences in certain restricted channels only."

The answer to our question, can higher education in America fulfill the role recommended by the President's Commission, is clear. Education in the United States today is designed to serve, not as an "instrument of

social transition," but as one of social stagnation, dominated by the class which aims to maintain the status quo at all costs.

The control of ideas and education by the dominant class is not peculiar to the United States alone; it constitutes an integral aspect of capitalist development. Marx, writing in 1845, described the process, exemplified by the development in this country, by which the rationale for the ruling class is created:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i. e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subect to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships; the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence the relationships which make the class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. In so far, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in their whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.

We who are Marxists know, in contrast to the President's Commission, that ideas alone cannot bring about social change because they are determined by the class which produces them. Ideas of change may only become effective when they become weapons in the hands of the class which is historically capable of executing change. Thus Marx points out that, while conflicts may exist in the realm of capitalist ideas, these conflicts remain within the framework of the status quo:

> The division of labour, which we saw above as one of the chief forces of history up till now, manifests itself also in the ruling class as the division of mental and material labour, so that inside this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusion of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood), while the others' attitude to these ideas and illusions is more passive and receptive because they are in reality the active members of this class and have less time to make up illusions and ideas about themselves. Within this class this cleavage can even develop into a certain opposition and hostility between the two parts, which, however, in the case of a practical collision, in which the class itself is endangered, automatically comes to nothing, in which case there also vanishes the semblance that the ruling ideas were not the ideas of the ruling class and had a power distinct from the power of this class. The existence of revolutionary ideas in a particular period presupposes the existence of a revolutionary class. . . .

Today, the only class historically capable of bringing about the social transition necessary to realize the potentialities of our industrial development is the working class. Therefore, to accomplish the aim of the President's Commission of making "science and technology contribute to man's well-being rather than to his destruction," we students must join the workers to establish *new* social institutions. If we are to fight clearly and

correctly as Marxist students to make contributions to the advance of the working class, we must have no illusions as to who controls our education. We must recognize the university as a molder of ideas within the framework maintained by the capitalist class. Upton Sinclair put this sharply in his book on the control of education, *The Goslings*, by describing strike-breaking on the water-front and the parallel activities of the same strike-breakers in the field of education. Our struggle to win the students from the apologists of capitalism is part of the larger struggle against the strike-breakers, against those who would destroy America before permitting social transition.

We who are students in the American universities may expect increasing controls and censorship as we begin to assert our rights to an education for democracy. When these extended attacks come we will know that they are not isolated but are part of the pattern of injunctions against labor, the draft, the cord war, and sky-rocketing living costs. We will know that, as American businessmen seek to solve their insoluable problems through lowered living standards and increased militarization of the people, they fear that students, along with the other sectors of the population, will discover and act upon new, living answers. We are learning, in contrast to the President's Commission on Higher Education, that we will be successful in making higher education an instrument of social transition only when we participate in the larger struggle of the working class.

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Marxism, Spain and Art

REPLY AND REJOINDER

In the last issue (Summer, 1948) *of New Foundations there appeared a review of Jesse Ehrlich entitled "Marxism, Art and Spain." He discussed* Illusion and Reality *by Christopher Caudwell, and* Art and Society *by Sidney Finkelstein. He made several sharp critical remarks about the latter book. Mr. Finkelstein's reply to these remarks, and Mr. Ehrlich's rejoinder are printed below. Further comment on the points discussed is welcome.*

REPLY

Jesse Ehrlich's review of my Book, *Art and Society,* raises some extremely important points regarding the mistake some Marxists make of trying to hide their Marxism, and the central place of the class struggle in explaining the role of the arts and sciences in history. What I found completely inacceptable was his conception of what these brave words mean.

Every attempt to employ Marxist theory is faced with a double danger: that of opportunism, or glossing over the class struggle, and that of sectarianism, or misusing Marxism in such a way that the working class is left isolated, without allies.

Why is it that in all of its struggles, the working class has allies, and must have allies? Why is it that Communism and the Communist Party must be a vanguard, but never isolated? It is because in fighting for its class interests, the working class is also fighting for the abolition of classes, for the liberation of all humanity. Any theory which robs the working class of its legitimate allies, which leaves it isolated, is bad Marxism. Any Marxist statement which is "for Marxists alone," which does not think out its principles in terms of the new, fresh and real images, experiences and problems which each period brings, so that it is illuminating and effective to all who read it, is bad Marxism. It seems to me this is what Engels meant when he said," the materialist method is turned into its *opposite* (*emphasis mine* —S. F.) when used not as a guide line in historical investigation, but as ready-made pattern on which to tailor historical events." (Letter to Paul Ernst in *Literature and Art,* p. 57.) It seems to me that A. A. Zhdanov was also referring to this mistake when criticizing Alexandrov's pedagogical approach to Marxism-Leninism, he said, "Such reasoning is inconsistent with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism inasmuch as it introduces the metaphysical idea of Marxism as a completed and perfected theory; it can lead only to the drying up of living and enquring philosophical thought." (Political Affairs, April 1948.)

In the course of my bopk, I discuss a great number of painters, writers, musicians, of various countries and historical periods. There is not one whom I do not discuss in terms of the class forces operating in his time, and the nature of the struggle between them. It baffles me how Ehrlich can read throughout the book, in every chapter, and in every discussion of an artist, about the revolts of peasant against landlord, of city artisan and merchant against feudal nobility, of the revolution led by capitalism against feudalism, of the rise of national movements along with the capitalist state, the struggle of the working class within the national movements, the rise of the Soviet Union, the present day monopoly capitalist control of the arts in America, and say that the "Class struggle" is left

out. It sems to me that Ehrlich is so enamored of the words "Class struggle" that he does not recognize the thing itself when he sees it under his nose.

I discuss the rise of imperialism, at the end of the 19th Century, in as close to Leninist terms as I was able to command at the time of writing. I describe the achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union; I describe the Stalin concept of the nation, and the application of this theory to the arts, in as accurate terms as I was able to command. When all this can be called, as Ehrlich insultingly does, "an evasion of Marxism," I can only conclude the following: what he thinks is Marxism is not Marxism, but the infantile leftism which consists of using some of the noblest words every uttered by men as a means to avoid the hard work of examining things as they are, of coping with the actual dialectic and contradictions of every piece of reality, of mastering the laws of the various arts and sciences.

It may startle Ehrlich to discover that the class struggle does not "explain" the arts and sciences. They will continue to exist long after classes are abolished. What the class struggle does explain is the manner in which the arts and sciences have grown and developed in society, through inner contradictions and revolutionary leaps, through struggles between decadence and progress. To trace this relationship, it is first necessary to know what the arts themselves are, what their laws are, just as Marx starts his *Capital,* the cornerstone of Marxist theory, with a long analysis of what a commodity is. Without applying this approach (and I do not claim for myself anything but the scratching of the surface of this complex problem), the Marxist critic is reduced to examining the arts for whatever tracts on economics he can find within them.

What I tried to show in my book is that not only is the subject matter, and the openly expressed ideas, of works of art, subject to class forces; I tried to show that every aspect of the arts, their form and style, their designs and techniques, all of the qualities which bourgeois critics like to clasp to their bosoms, are likewise subject to class forces. It is true that in a class society, a ruling class will try to control the arts, and censor their content. Tto this truth, I added the new truth that such control leads also to the decadence of the arts themselves, to the decline and perversion of all the qualities which to the bourgeois critic seem to have nothing to do with classes, economics, and subject matter. I chose this line of investigation because this was precisely what had been untouched in previous treatises on the arts, particularly in the realm of such seemingly abstract arts as painting and music. It seems to me that my findings confirmed and deepened the wareness of the class relationships of the arts.

To understand this approach, and to criticize it adequately, (for my book can stand plenty of criticism), however, one must first have a liking for the arts themselves. Ehrlich becomes pretty fatuous when he scornfully remarks that in my "scheme" " 'the artist' is a positive cultural force." If art is not culture, then what is it? What would he say to Engels' statements on the arts as a development of the human hand and of labor, of Marx's statements that "the formation of the five senses is the work of the entire history of the world up to now," and that "Man also creates according to the laws of beauty." (All in *Literature and Art.*) Do the "laws of beauty" have any place in Ehrlich's scheme of things? What does he say to Caudwell's closing statement in *Illusion and Reality* (which he justly praised so highly), "Thus art is one of the condtions of man's realization of himself, and in its turn is one of the realities of man."

I cannot understand Ehrlich's scorn for my use of the words, "honest," or "democracy." He might have a point if I had not been careful to show that honesty of itself is not enough, and that knowledge and theory are absolutely necessary, or if I had not been careful

to qualify what I meant by democracy in a changing world. But when the capitalist world is busy spreading lies, and hiring artists to deny or pervert the truth, then honesty itself becomes a working class weapon, for the working class has no other interest than in the fullest and most truthful depiction of the world of reality and its mastery for human needs. The Cominform uses the term "democracy" on its side, not on the side of imperialism. "Culture," "Art," "Honesty," "Democracy," are too important concepts and achievements of man to be given over *gratis* to the reactionaries of our time. Of course, in a real world of human struggle, they take on a constantly changing content, but to prove that was one of the objectives of my book. I do not regard it as an evasion of Marxism not to list socialism as an immediate objective for culture in America. I certainly do not evade socialism in the book itself, and its closing words are "struggle for a society in which exploitation of man by man does not exist."

Ehrlich reaches what seems to me the height of self-kidding, of brave words in a vacuum, when he says "it is not sensible to press for a wider acceptance American culture. Workers have to a among the working class of existing great extent rejected our classical music, painting and poetry because they recognize that this art has rejected them." This is ignorance and contempt for culture, disguised as an appeal for proletarian culture. The same working class unfortunately does not "reject" in sufficient numbers the Hollywood movies, the magazine slicks, and all the other idiocies of art which are the main weapons of monopoly capitalism today in culture. It *is* sensible to press for a wider acceptance among the working class of existing American culture, remembering that this acceptance is selective; that as the working class becomes a force within this cultural life, that its entrance intensifies the contradictions, exposes the irrationalities, festers and strengthens the germs of realism, which certainly exist to anyone who knows the arts of America. One of the essential characteristics of Marxism is its use of the contradictions in bourgeios society. Ehrlich's approach serves in practice to rob the working class of allies.

—SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

REJOINDER

With the intensification of the class struggle in the present situation, particularly in America, the two opposing camps emerge in ever-clearer outline, and the positions of the leading forces on each side become more obvious.

The creative arts share in this increasing polarization of the class struggle. To say this is not to reduce the arts to economics; it is to point out that the class strugle, far from being merely an economic conflict, is one in which all of man's needs, hopes, aims, and drives are intimately related. It also means that a most important, perhaps *the* most important, element in a work of art is its relationship to the class struggle; for this conflict and its progress is the determining dynamic factor in reality, in all of reality, that is, not merely in economic formulations of reality.

Now it is indisputable that to write a book about the arts it is necessary to know what the arts themselves are. Finkelstein turns this truism into his overall major error by the insertion of one word: "To trace this relationship (of the arts to the class struggle) it is *first* necessary to know what the arts themselves are. . . " (my emphasis. J. E.). The implications of this difference are of paramount importance. Finkelstein is expressing a separation between the class struggle and the arts, rather than a recognition that the arts are one manner of expression of this struggle. He believes one can know what the arts are before one considers the most important element of reality involved in them. Obviously this cannot be done; and it is principally for this reason that Finkelstein cannot claim for himself "anything but the scratching of the surface of this complex problem" of what the arts are. He has denied the

foundation importance of muscle, bone, and physiology; nothing remains for him but epidermis.

From Finkelstein's notion that the arts can, in fact must, be considered by themselves stems his inability to see artists as anything but a homogeneous category. An artist is primarily a person. Finkelstein thinks of him as primarily an artist. Considering him as a person, we attempt to understand him and his activities in his relationship to the dynamic forces in society. Finkelstein, considering him primarily as an artist, sees him only as the producer of an idealized product, "culture." "If art isn't culture, then what is it?" he demands.

The fact is that a sufficient number of books on the arts exist which, after describing in romantic terms the beauties of various arts, lead us to conclude with a sigh, "art is culture." Finkelstein has not told us much more. Yet a Marxist knows that there is much more, and Finkelstein's book is being sold to people who believe it is going to give them much more.

It means nothing at all to list the various progressive ideas and "Leninist terms" scattered through *Art and Society* Finkelstein developed many periods and aspects of history correctly and in an interesting manner in his book. But almost without exception, when the discussion turned to a particular art trend or work of art, history was put to one side and art was considered "by itself." Finkelstein is satisfied to have told us the background and foreground. The relationship between the two, the crucially necessary factor for making the picture come to life, and the factor peculiarly within the power of a Marxist to include, he omitted.

Finkelstein says that my approach serves to rob the working class of allies. This sounds like a serious charge. Let us examine it.

Both the profit-making class and the working class have allies in their sharpening struggle, allies who are not placed at either of the two poles where the necessity of the conflict is generated. The motivation of these allies is secondary to the primary motivation of the conflict as a whole; nevertheless on the basis of these secondary motivations; people who are not distinctly either proletarian or capitalist, judging them by their relationship to the means of production, do ally themselves with one or the other side of this struggle.

It is possible to predict such alliances. Thus we know that petty-bourgeois elements are constantly acquiring an awareness that their interests coincide more and more fully with those of the working class. But we must also examine specific actions and political direction if we wish to determine whether or not a specific individual or a certain tendency can be considered allied to working class interests. Louis Budenz, a former Communist, is an ally of the capitalist class: we know this only because we know and understand his present activities. Social Democracy is reactionary; we know it because of its direction.

No special scheme is necessary to understand the role of creative artists in this respect. The actions we examine in this case consist of the art they produce. There are working-class artists, artists allied with the working class, artists allied with the capitalist class, and (perhaps) capitalist artists. To know whether or not an artist is an ally of the working class, one must, of course, understand his art. But one must also understand this: the conditions of alliance are set by the conditions of the class struggle.

Finkelstein persistently tends towards the asumption that the arstist, *per se,* is an ally of the working class. This leads him into two serious errors.

First, instead of preparing his analytic tools sharply for a dissection into the bourgeois and reactionary content of a great deal of contemporary art, it leads him to avoid, whenever possible, such dissection and to probe half-heartedly when he probes at all.

Secondly, and more important: to think of all artists as *ALLIES* of the

working class is to ignore the crucially important artist who will be *OF* the working class, who will express in his art not the point of view of an ally, but the state of mind and the experiences of the workers themselves. The working class, as the leading force in the present progressive struggle, needs its own artists. To think that artists allied to the working class can satisfy this need is as absurd as thinking that middle class allies can provide suitable political leadership for the working class. Working class art has not yet begun to hit its stride in America, and a proper recognition of its real significance will certainly not be found among bourgeois critics. It is the prime task of the Marxist critic to point out the need for such art, to clarify esthetic problems connected with it, and to call forth and encourage it. Finkelstein did not fulfill this task in his book.

Thinking as he does of all artists as working class allies Finkelstein cannot tolerate the rejection by our working class of a great deal of our classical culture. Because I mentioned a rather elementary fact about this rejection, he accuses me of ignorance and contempt for culture. He goes further, he invents a brand new and incorrect definition of sectarianism. Why these personal insults and nonsensical formulations? The reason obviously is this: having decided that the middle class artist in America represents art with a capital A, past, present, and future, he thinks that the working class must involve itself in this art or be left without art. Only by understanding the true relationship of the class struggle to the arts could he show how this art can be rejected, even more vigorously than it is in some progressive quarters, and a new, vital, progressive body of working class art arise.

Since Finkelstein does not understand this, and cannot, because he has placed art to one side of social dynamics, he is forced to invent a new set of dynamics out of his imagination, to explain the progress of cultural forces in America. The final paragraph of his reply propounding these dynamics, defies comment. It reminds one of the acrobatics with which "Marxists" a very few years ago used Marxist terms to prove that the interests of worker and capitalist were reconcilable.

Working class art will grow out of the struggles of the working class, and it will only bear superficial resemblance to the classical poetry, painting, and music of today's America. It will be different because it will tell the truth about these struggles, and because it will be told by artists who know the truth about them. It is to be hoped that the artistic leaders of the working class, its critics, will evaluate this art properly.

—JESSE EHRLICH

The Rise and Fall of Third Parties: From Anti-Masonry to Wallace, by Willam B. Hesseltine, Public Affairs Press, 1948.

This professor of history claims to "examine our political present in light of the history of the third parties of the past." One would hope, from this introduction, to find a well-documented analysis and evaluation of past third parties. Instead, Professor Hesseltine serves only the reheated gossip of the past. He gives us a meager volume, lacking in facts, understanding, impregnated with distortions, cynicism, and a studied avoidance of all the real issues of the new political alignment of today.

Nowhere is there a discussion of the program of the Progressive Party, or of the gross discontents to which it is the answer. Nor will the millions who find the new people's party the only antidote to war, depression and witch-hunting be herded away by the myth of the alleged "wholesale desertions" by Wallace sympathizers after he announced his candidacy for President of the United States. To overlook the growing popularity of Wallace and the third party is to indulge in the wishful thinking of a pseudo-liberal who must rationalize his rejection of the only path to peace and freedom.

Pretending to draw historical analogies, Hesseltine lauds the failure of present labor leaders to support the only major political party which speaks for labor and its allies. He defines this position as favorably consistent with labor's traditional separation of wages from politics. He conveniently ignores the many historical examples of labor's role in progressive politics.[1] That there are several thousand trade union Wallace committees in shops and union locals which are in direct contact with three to four million workers does not deter our Professor from theorizing as to the necessity of labor's non-political role.

Hesseltine also finds labor-agrarian cooperation impossible. He cites the Farmer Labor Party as an example of a farmer but-not-labor party. If this characterization were true, how then could this Minnesota party manage, as it has several times to control the state legislature and elect governors and senators without the labor support of the Minneapolis-St. Paul area? Hesseltine disregards this question. Furthermore, he overlooks the fact that the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, endorsing Wallace, has captured the Democratic machine there, and that Truman's name may not even appear on the ballot.

The result of our historian's wandering is to call for a "real labor-liberal reform party" some time in the undefined future. Avoiding criticism of bipartisan war preparation, the draft and the Taft-Hartley Law, Hesseltine throws the bare bone of his offer: a choice between Truman and Dewey. For him it matters little which one is chosen, so long as Wallace is discredited. Counseling the "lib-labs" (Hesseltine's snobbish phrase for liberals and labor) not to vote for Wallace, but to get behind a group such as A. Phillip Randolph's Committee on Education for a New Party, he becomes, for all practical purposes, an ally of reaction and war. (Along with Grant Reynolds, the Republican Party's Negro front, Randolph recently accepted Defense Chief Bradley's rejection of Truman's mild order to end discrimination in the Army. For Randolph, to present a united front against peaceful relations with the Soviet Union is more important than to fight for the liberation of the Negro people.)

But we do not have to be professors of history to know that the desire of the American people for peace, freedom and abundance will rally many more thousands to the new party before its already-large numbers have wound up the present campaign. The future is with the Progressive Party movement because the future is with the people.

—WILLIAM HOFF

How Shall We Pay for Education? by Seymour Harris. Harper & Brothers, 1948, $3.00.

This book is a class-conscious bourgeois discussion of the crisis in education. Faced with problems in the realm of education that can no longer be concealed or glossed over, the professor treats the question in such a way as to protect capitalist society from any notion of fundamental change. "I disavow any materialistic interpretation or history or education," he says, quite unnecessarily.

Professor Harris makes much of the fact that this is the first book on the subject by an "economist." What do we get? Supply and demand! There are, first of all, too many students—supply—to maintain the present number of teachers in the profession — demand. Here is an unblinking defense of the status quo, when no man can honestly deny that our country needs twice as many doctors and teachers as it now has. Secondly, there are too many students—demand—for the given educational plant—supply—and consequently, says the professor, they get a deteriorated product. "The GI bill (Serviceman's Readjustment Act) was in some re-

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[1] See labor's part in *Lincoln's Third Party,* E. Lawson, International Publishers, 1948.

spects a mistake. In education. . . (it) carried the principle of democratization too far."!!!

The professor shows by means of the income figures of students' families that higher education (except under the *mistaken* GI bill) is virtually closed to working class youth. He also shows that bourgeois youth of inferior ability have a much better chance of attending college than applicants from families earning less than 10,000 dollars per year, *which is nearly all of them.* "Attempts to democratize our colleges raise interesting problems," he says. Very interesting, indeed! "It is not necessary, moreover, to carry the principle of democracy so far as to give all students. . . the oportunities open to wealthy youth." We've got your number, professor!

The problem of teachers' salaries is also brought forth in a "supply and demand" clown's costume. The reason many workers make more money than teachers, says Harris, is because there is a greater "demand" for the existing teaching positions than for jobs in industry. He can say this at a time when teachers all over the country are beginning to find the real answer, *struggle,* and are beginning to strike for higher pay. Here is an example of the role of rationalization played by bourgeois "economics". For, as the teachers' unions have found, their low wages are part of the exploitation of the working class, part of the exploitation on which the capitalist system rests, and no amount of "supply and demand" nonsense will justify low wages.

Endowments and trustee controls by munificent monopolists are not basically criticized by Dr. Harris. They are merely insufficient and must be supplemented. "How much longer will the federal government go on spending less than 100 million dollars a year on the schools in the country?" asks the professor. The answer is, as long as the federal government is in the hands of that twin-header monstrosity of monopoly capital, the Demopublicans, hellbent for war and not in the least concerned with the needs of the people.

Harris proposes an extensive junior college program and a restriction of the four year colleges, after showing how restricted the latter already are. His conclusion, in part, says "Where the resources will come from if... we send three millions to college in the fifties is a mystery."

The defender of bourgeois control of education will reach only a limited audience with this book. We must reach all Americans with a progressive program for education. Unlike the professor we call for a vast expansion of professional service and training. Unlike the professor we call for education of working class and Negro youth above all others. Unlike the professor we point to the war budget and show that these billions must be allocated to social service instead, and we fight for a people's government that will effect this reallocation. Unlike the professor, while we fight for reforms from day to day, we know that the crisis in education is a reflection of the general crisis of capitalism which will find final resolution only in a socialist reorganization of American life.

Bourgeois university professors turn out copious quantities of books designed to hold back the social progress of our country. Bourgeois economics is designed to deflect attention from the scientific analysis of capitalism; such an analysis must expose the rottenness of the capitalist system. This apologetic, unscientific nature of bourgeois economics is best displayed when its opponents attempt to deal with a real situation. This is such a book and like the rest it will soon be forgotten. C. G.

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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.
M&M—Masses and Mainstream.

PART II: LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM

(A number of items on this subject appeared under Part I, Philosophy of Art, in the Summer 1948 issue, Vol. I, No. 4.)

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"The breadwinner must bear in mind two things: 1. that the increase in the general level of prices has reduced the purchasing power of the dollar; 2. there has been a disproportionate increase in some of the things that make up the cost of living." (Article, "Who's to Blame for High Prices" in *Catholic Digest.*) Now we eat too much!

* * *

Dr. William Jansen, Supt. of N. Y. Schools, who has recently banned not only books by Howard Fast, but also the *Nation,* from N. Y. public schools, asserted in a recent speech: "In this period of conflicting ideologies our first task is developing in our students a passionate and intelligent devotion to our American way of life." Attaboy, Jensen! You sure are gonna save that "American way of life" — even if you have to destroy the Constitution to do it!

* * *

Mr. Westbrook Pegler has given us a brand new phrase. Commiserating with those poor, poor fur industries, who are "dominated" by the "Communist" Furriers' Union, he declared, "Once we had company unions, but now we have *union companies*!"

* * *

"Much of the gold now buried at Fort Knox was actually mined in the secret goldfields of Dalstroy (Soviet Union) and sold to the U. S." (Article by Vladimir Petrov in *Catholic Digest*) Horrors, subversive! It's even underground!

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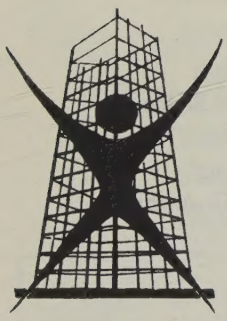

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