

NEW MASSES

JAN. 1933 - 15¢

Technocracy

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Calverton's Marxism

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The Hunger March

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Drawings

Bard.

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CONTRIBUTORS:—Phil Bard, Emjo Basshe, Jacob Burck, Whittaker Chambers, Robert Cruden, Jack Conroy, Adolph Dehn, Robert Dunn, John Dos Passos, Kenneth Fearing, Ed Falkowski, Hugo Gellert, Eugene Gordon, Horace Gregory, William Gropper, Charles Yale Harrison, William Hernandez, Langston Hughes, Joseph Kalar, I. Klein, Melvin P. Levy, Louis Lozowick, H. H. Lewis, Norman Macleod, A. B. Magil, Scott Nearing, Myra Page, Harry Allan Potamkin, Paul Peters, Walter Quirt, Louis Ribak, Anna Rochester, E. Merrill Root, James Rorty, Martin Russak, Esther Shemitz, William Siegel, Upton Sinclair, Agnes Smedley, Otto Soglow, Herman Spector, Bennett Stevens, Joseph Vogel, Mary H. Vorse, Keene Wallis, Jim Waters, Art Young.

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TECHNO-BALLYHOO

The old American legend used to be: from log cabin to Riverside Drive, from the lunchwagon to the Ritz. That was the era of the Success Story. The crisis has reversed this legend into a bitter reality for the middle classes. There is now the Failure Story. From the Ritz to Thompsons.

Such violent changes of fortune are hard on the nerves. They are not very kind to the brain, either. The beneficiaries of the boom period raised their heads from the stock market crash bewildered.

Lenin described the vasculations of the middle classes during the world war as "the petit bourgeoisie gone mad." Some such madness has seized the American middle classes during the present economic crisis. No one has estimated how many businessmen and members of the various professions have been consulting the temple of Evangeline Adams. That is a trade secret. But frantic attempts to find solutions for the crisis which are no better than astrology have been given wide publicity.

Only yesterday the press of the country, from coast to coast, was flooded with articles on economic planning. Economists and businessmen worked out "plans" for saving capitalism. These plans were published, talked about, and completely forgotten. The "plans" of Gerard Swope, Stuart Chase, Professor Beard et. al. are as dead as Rudy Vallee. They died for a simple reason: *capitalism cannot plan.*

But has the bourgeois reading public learned anything from the nationwide ballyhoo which accompanied the plans to make plans? No, as the orators say, a thousand times no. A drowning man, they tell us, clutches at a straw; and only a few months after the planners "solved" the economic crisis, a new ballyhoo, even more fantastic than Swope's plan of having the big capitalists eat up the little capitalists, has swept the country like wildfire or the news of Libby Holman's baby.

The desperate need salvation; if Evangeline Adams, why not Howard Scott? Those who know nothing about science have a mystic faith in it. Babbit responds with the same uncritical fervor to Methodism and mechanics. Prosperity, alas, is not around the corner. I lift mine eyes to the hills whence cometh my help—and lo its name is Technocracy.

To get the full flavor of the religious appeal of Technocracy, its mystical stirring of the hopes of those who have lost their homes, cars, radios, and jobs, the reader should go to the ballyhoo gotten out for it in California. Only the worshippers of Aimee Semple McPherson could do Technocracy real justice. No one can go nuts like the California babbit. In this case, however, the land

of sunshine, oranges and San Quentin has no monopoly. There is not a newspaper or magazine in the country that is not straining its presses to keep up with the astronomic figures, the "scientific" hocus pocus of the technocrats.

If and when the capitalists establish the fascist dictatorship which they plan, they should employ the technocrats not as engineers but as publicity men. George Creel was a piker compared to Technocracy. Even Barnum seems like a feeble provincial beside the tremendous ballyhoo for the Howard Scott circus.

But observe the dialectic. He who lives by ballyhoo shall die by ballyhoo. There are two ways the press has of killing general interest in a subject. One is to ignore the subject; the other is to bore the readers. We venture to predict that in a very short time Technocracy as a movement of general interest will join that huge ashcan of history where may be found the remains of Mah Jong, the Charleston, John Gilbert, the Coué cult, Humanism, miniature golf, liberalism, and Coolidge-Hoover prosperity.

The reason for this is that Technocracy has no basis in reality. Its main advertising point—that the increase of automatic machinery results in technological unemployment—is not new and is not original with Technocracy. Anyone literate in economics knows this obvious fact.

Karl Marx many years ago pointed out with remarkable detail the effect of technology on capitalist society in general and on the working class in particular. But being a genuine scientist and not a word-monger, like the technocrats, he did not analyze technology in a vacuum but studied it in its concrete operations in capitalist society.

Hence he stressed precisely that point which Technocracy completely ignores: the relation of social classes, the struggle between those who own the means of production and those who operate them, the war between the capitalists and the workers. He who cannot understand the laws of this struggle, cannot show the way out of the crisis, cannot possibly see even in faintest outline the new society which will replace capitalism.

Technocracy seeks to evade the central issue of modern society by asserting that as a result of the constant and rapid development of automatic machinery, the working class is disappearing. This indicates perversely a dim awareness of that most important of problems which the Technocrats can neither formulate nor solve. Yet this assertion is contradicted by the facts of present-day American life. The working class continues to exist; more than that, it is becoming conscious of itself as the revolutionary class.

Harlan, Detroit, Washington prove Marx's observation that "along with the constantly diminishing number of magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this grows also the revolt of the working, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very process of capitalist production itself."

And where the Technocrats utterly fail to tell us the way out of the crisis, Marx points out that "the monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production which has sprung up and flourished along with it and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

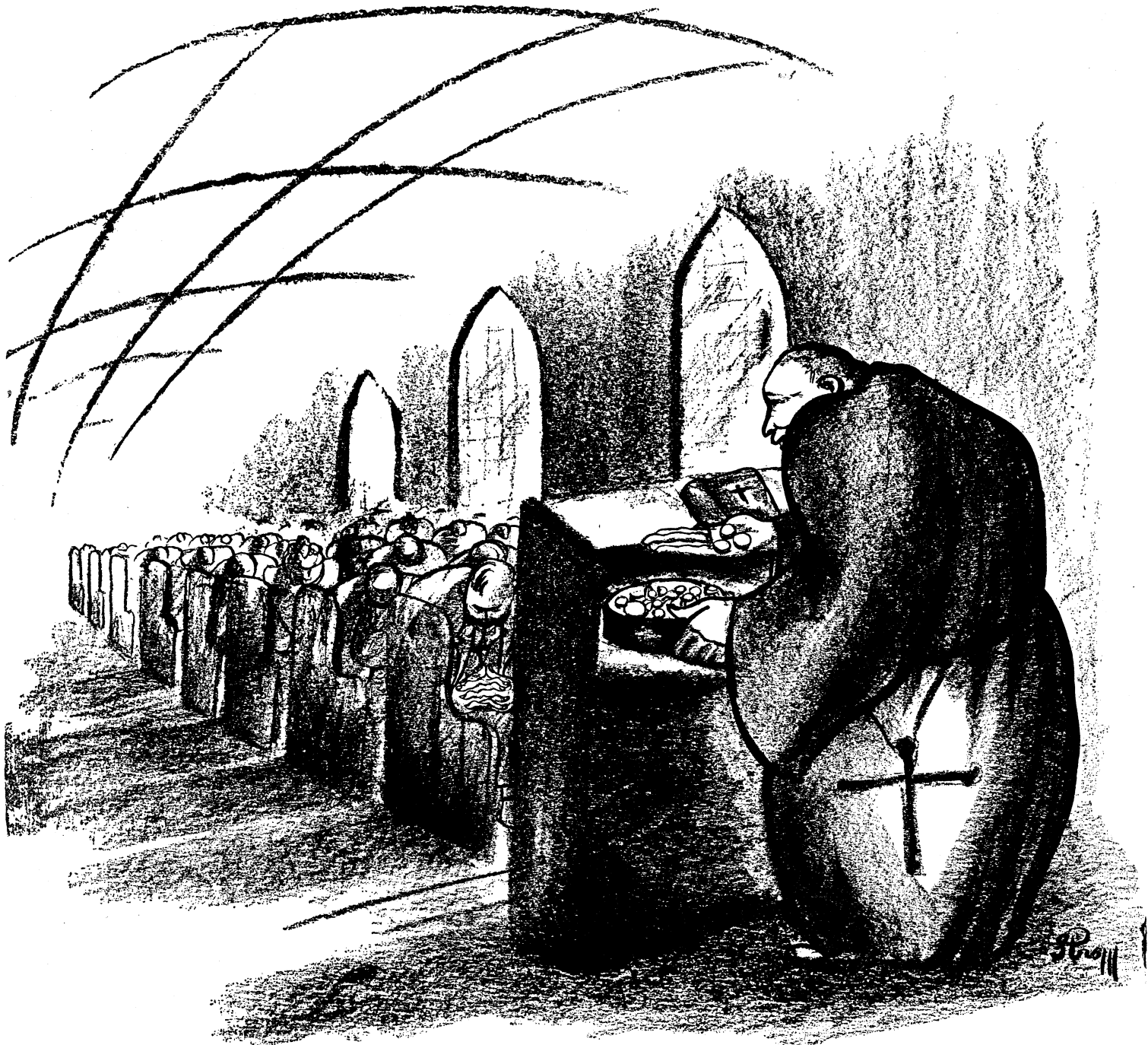
These words were written in 1869, the year before Lenin was born. It was by applying the ideas of Marx and Lenin, that the Russian workers, in alliance with the more farsighted intellec-

tuals, technicians included, were able to find the way out of the dilemmas of capitalism and to lay the foundations for a new society in which machinery, freed from the monopoly of private capital, becomes not the master but the servant of humanity.

In order to solve the crisis here, American workers and technicians will have to seek the way out not in the mystical "energy determinants" of Technocracy, but in the analysis of Marx and Lenin, who saw technology not as some Frankenstein operating by itself but as a social instrument whose *collective ownership* and *use* in a communist society can liberate humanity from the miseries of capitalism.

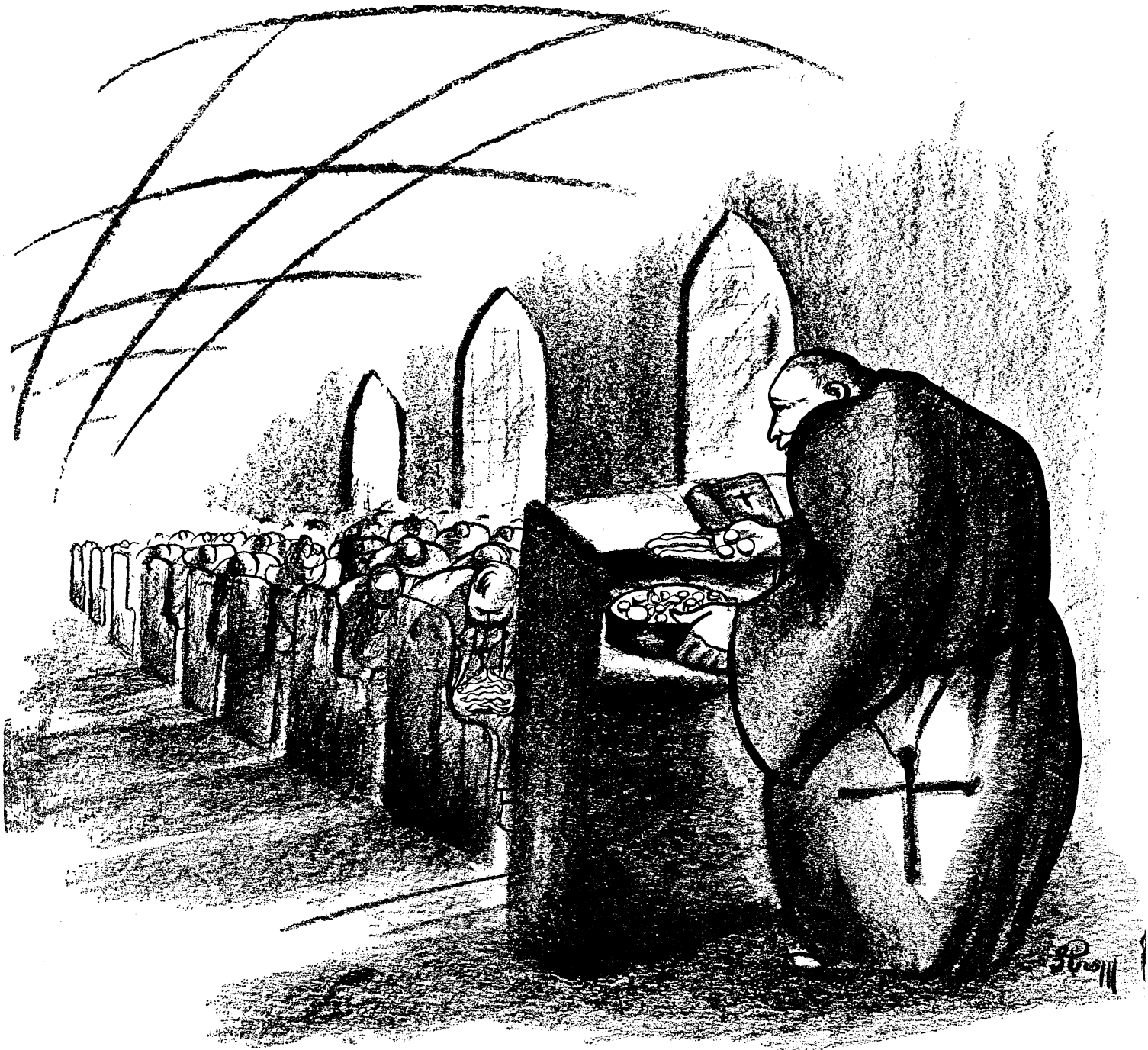
It may be that the fad of Technocracy will leave one healthy residue. It may accustom a greater number of people to read and think about the economic, social and political problems of our times, which are a turning point in history. In that case, many workers and technicians who have never done so before may be impelled to rise from the sensational melodrama of Technocracy to the science of Marx and Lenin, to an understanding of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, out of capitalism.

J. F.



THE PAY-OFF

by Strom



THE PAY-OFF

by Strom

DRESS REHEARSAL

Only a ton of West Point generals could have devised such a fine ambush. The Hunger Marchers were in a trap. Arriving in three columns, their trucks had been shunted into this bull pen.

It was a stretch of new highway running along a bluff above the railroad yards. Hundreds of armed cops stirred restlessly below among the boxcars. Above, in the woods overlooking the bull-pen, other hundreds of Washington cops fingered their high powered rifles, tear gas bombs, and machine guns.

The Hunger Marchers were surrounded on four sides by red-necked, haw-hawing, boozy, lecherous, bribe-taking bootlegger's pals—cops—a world of them, hopped to the eyes with corn liquor and patriotism.

Cops with guns, cops with bombs, cops smoking and liquoring up openly, spitting at women who passed, punching any Hunger Marcher caught by himself, cops tearing down banners, cops slashing tires, cops doing drunken snake dances, and giving the drunken raspberry to their own officers.

The cops ran amuck in Washington at the Hunger March. The press had done its job too well, and these blue-coat cowards were so panicky and nervous they needed bloodshed to relieve them. This mob of hoodlums with guns and bombs tried incessantly to start a riot. But the Hunger March army was told by its leaders to maintain discipline. This it did, with grim, bitter self-control.

They had come to Washington to march to the doors of Congress and lay their demands for unemployment insurance on the doorstep of the rulers.

They must not let foul drunken swines provoke them into premature conflict. They bit their lips, and stood the gaff. There were 3000 men and women in the Hunger March army. Perhaps ten percent were Communist. The rest were non-Communist, also delegates elected by their unemployment councils. They were miners, dishwashers, sailors, share-croppers, housewives, clerks and machinists. Out of jobs, out of luck. Hungry, ragged, casual procession—but in a day or two it became a disciplined army, knowing what it wanted.

Then the cops of Washington put on a show that helped make Communists of most of these Hunger Marchers.

It was a fine trap. The cops had a grand time gloating over and taunting their prisoners. Half of the Hunger Marchers had been on the road for weeks, some for a month. They had lived on sandwiches, slept in cold wintry fields. As one went along the line of trucks one heard coughing, deep racking flu coughs. There were scores of hospital cases. Let it not be forgotten that two Hunger Marchers died of pneumonia. But the cops sneered when attempts were made to take some of the sick out to Washington hospitals.

I saw one bluecoat hero stick his club into the face of a sick man burning with 102 fever: "Here, take a smell of this if you're sick, this'll cure yuh."

The first day in this bull-pen the cops would not allow water to be brought in. No toilet facilities were permitted. The strategy was simple; the cops wanted to terrorize the Hunger Marchers into turning back home. They would be kept on this windswept road until they weakened and asked to be sent home. They would never enter Washington. Yes, it was a masterly piece of strategy, devised by generals, undoubtedly, and executed by bluecoat thugs.

I watched Chief of Police "Duck Legs" Brown inspect the scene that first grey afternoon. The fishy-eyed old cop chewed a Hershey bar calmly. A gleam of pleasure showed on his wooden face.

The best friends the cops had were the bright young reporters. They drank with the cops, egged them on, yelled insults down on the marchers. I saw some twenty-year old kids with reporter's cards in their hatbands. They were drunk and making whoopie, and yelled to the gas-bomb squad: "Give us one of them things to throw. Let's start somethin'. Let's make the rats run." Capital-

ism has its shadings. Let it be said here, among American cities, the police and reporters of Washington are mightily low in the scale of human nature. It is a city of some peculiar degeneracy. Even the *Nation's* correspondent, Mr. Anderson, joined (in print) in taunting the Hunger Marchers. He, the little liberal verbalist, doesn't think Communists are brave.

The deadlock lasted for two days. The Marchers were out on the cold hillside, guarded by the official degenerates. Sleeping at night on concrete pavement, under a December moon, while locomotives hooted in the yards, and every five minutes cops raced up and down on motor bikes, to prevent sleep the Hunger Marchers held on.

They sang *Solidarity* and *Hold the Fort*. They chewed their sandwiches and sat around in groups, talking Lenin, Marx, world history. The Hunger March was a school. They coughed, they burned with fever. They suffered for sleep, but not a man dreamed of deserting.

It was a test of morale between the army of capitalist cops and the proletarian army. The proletarians won. The test came toward nightfall on Tuesday. The Marchers lined up in regular formation, while the Red Front band played the International. Nobody knew what was to happen. Police sirens suddenly began to scream. A dozen trucks poured up to the line, police reserves with rifles.

The band played on. It looked as if the marchers were ready to walk through the police lines, and on to Washington. The cops fingered their clubs nervously. The tear gas squad stood on the hill with guns and bombs ready. One of the brave newspaper photographers put on his gas mask. All reporters were chased from the places where the gas would drift. Sirens screamed.

Then the Hunger March leaders gave the signal. Solemnly, grimly, in the failing scarlet of a winter dusk, the army of the poor fell into step and marched.

It was one of those moments of history—one sees them four or five times in one's own living, or in a Soviet film like *Potemkin*.

There was to be a massacre of thousands on the doorstep of Washington, a Bloody Sunday such as that to which the Czar treated his working class, and for which they repaid him in full.

The band played, the marchers moved solemnly, with white faces, into the walls of armed, savage cops. And then the signal: "Left wheel," just as the first rank reached the police-wall.

The parade doubled on itself, while the thousand armed cops and reporters yelled and screamed, "Yah, yuh cowards! Why didn't yuh try to git through? Yuh yellow bastards, yuh sheeny Nigger cowards, come on up here!"

And so on. (Brave Mr. Anderson of the *Nation* has joined the chorus). The marchers obeyed orders and did not answer. Only one kid couldn't help yelling, "Leave your guns up there and come down and see who's the cowards!"

A thousand beefy cops with machine guns, hickory clubs, tear gas and nauseous gas bombs and guns, with rifles, automatic revolvers, and all the rest of it—calling unarmed men and women, *cowards*.

And Mr. Anderson of the *Nation* agrees. Most liberals think like cops.

The worker's strategy outmatched the capitalist strategy, however. This parade in the concentration camp, called later the "dress rehearsal," was followed by an open air convention of the unemployed councils of America, at which national officers were elected for the coming year, and a program of action outlined.

Three hours later permission came for the Hunger Army to parade through Washington the next morning.

They had won their objectives. They had again plastered over the first pages the fact that 16 million human beings were starving in America. Nothing could stop their protest—neither liberals nor cops.

FELIX MORROW

THE PRESS LIES ABOUT THE HUNGER MARCH

Misrepresentation of the character and conduct of the hunger marchers; twisting of facts; fabrication of "facts" out of whole cloth; suppression of important events, particularly the provocative actions of police in Washington and elsewhere; these are among the crimes committed by the capitalist press in what was nothing less than a deliberate and sustained press campaign against the hunger march. The alliance of the press with the government and the capitalist class, in the attempt to suppress the hunger march and its demands, could scarcely have been closer if the capitalist press were openly a part of the state apparatus.

The very nature of the hunger march was twisted. The marchers were delegates elected by unemployed councils, trade union locals, and other bodies; they were delegates, elected representatives; but the newspapers and the press services suppressed this fact and on numerous occasions referred to the 3,000 delegates as if this number were the entire strength of the organized unemployed and employed in this country fighting for unemployment relief and insurance. Thus, the Associated Press was at pains to point out that the marchers were several thousand less than those in the bonus army, and built up a false picture of a hostile populace by dispatches, as that from Cleveland, November 30, that the marchers "made themselves uninvited guests of more Ohio cities today."

Logic was thrown to the winds as the press, endeavoring to reach two different kinds of prejudices, attempted to portray the marchers as both prosperous (supplied no doubt with Moscow gold) and yet an unkempt, ragged lot. A typical example of this contradiction is the New York Times story of November 20:

"Most of the marchers did not appear either particularly hungry or destitute. They seemed warmly clad, with stout shoes and heavy coats. Many of the women wore fur coats."

Yet the same story refers throughout to the "ragged army"! The ultra-reactionary papers were usually more consistent, contenting themselves with arousing snobbery; the New York Herald-Tribune's references to "unkempt marchers" and their "tatterdemalion leaders" exemplify this tactic.

The stock device of quoting unnamed persons and thus injecting indefensible propaganda into news columns was used regularly. An example is the widely printed United Press dispatch of November 30 which invents the following accusation and the worse denial:

"Members of the radical squad here alleged that the marchers were receiving \$1 a day during the trek. Denying this, a New England delegate insisted:

'Lots of our fellows quit their jobs to go on the hunger march.'

There were even attempts to use the splendid discipline of the marchers as an argument against them: as in the Washington Star of December 5:

"This appears to be an organized rigidly disciplined movement. No man expresses himself. The provost guard stops him if he tries to. It is another touch to the un-Americanism of the whole picture. Americans are babblers. Only in a European pattern will men give up free speech and let a provost guard put clamps on their tongues."

The Star is apparently not averse to acting as a stool-pigeon; its staff correspondent, William W. Chance, got himself elected as a hunger march delegate in Uniontown, Pa. and wrote some particularly incitatory stories; and the Star thought so well of such contemptible tactics that it published a picture of Chance's credentials as a hunger march delegate. The Star's attitude has more than local significance, since its owner, Frank Noyes, is also president of the Associated Press.

First, then, the press built up a false picture of the marchers' character and plight. Then came much more dangerous stuff. As the marchers neared Washington the press carried stories describing them as disorderly and riotous.

The Western column stayed overnight at Cumberland, Maryland, where they were confronted by an enormous crowd of police and armed citizens, including half grown boys armed with guns and clubs. But the marchers had no trouble; they stayed overnight on a sympathizer's farm and left the next morning. The camp at the farm was orderly and quiet. Yet the New York Times carried a story with these headlines: "Ousted Marchers Riot in Maryland." "Herded at Farm by Cumberland Citizen Army, 1300 Start Battle for Release." The Associated Press carried a similar story saying that "the men encamped there were fighting among themselves." On the basis of this story, the New York American ran an eight column streamer, "Hunger Marchers in Riotous Mood as Vanguard Draws Near Washington." The Associated Press' authority for the facts was the Cumberland Chief of Police. None of the Washington papers carried this story: the most even the bourbon Washington Post could do with it was to say that "Cumberland Guns Avert Crisis." The New York Times and Associated Press' stories were complete fabrications.

All the Bunk That's Fit to Print

In Wilmington, Delaware, a group of marchers from the Eastern column attempted to hold an outdoor meeting in front of the church in which they were quartered; the police broke up the meeting, drove the marchers into the church, locked them in then broke the windows and filled the church with tear gas. The New York Herald-Tribune and Associated Press' euphemistic way of referring to this police attack was to say there was "an outbreak at an old church."

By such fabrications a picture was built up in the press of a riotous disorderly mob converging on Washington. The worst offenders in this tactic were the Associated Press and the New York Daily News. An A. P. Washington dispatch of December 3, said:

"A national capital fully prepared for all emergencies listened in tense silence tonight to a threat of 'forcible action' voiced by leaders of demonstrators approaching the city. . . ."

"Herbert Benjamin, one of the sponsors of the march, said such a course would be followed, if necessary, to overcome superior police force." (My emphasis).

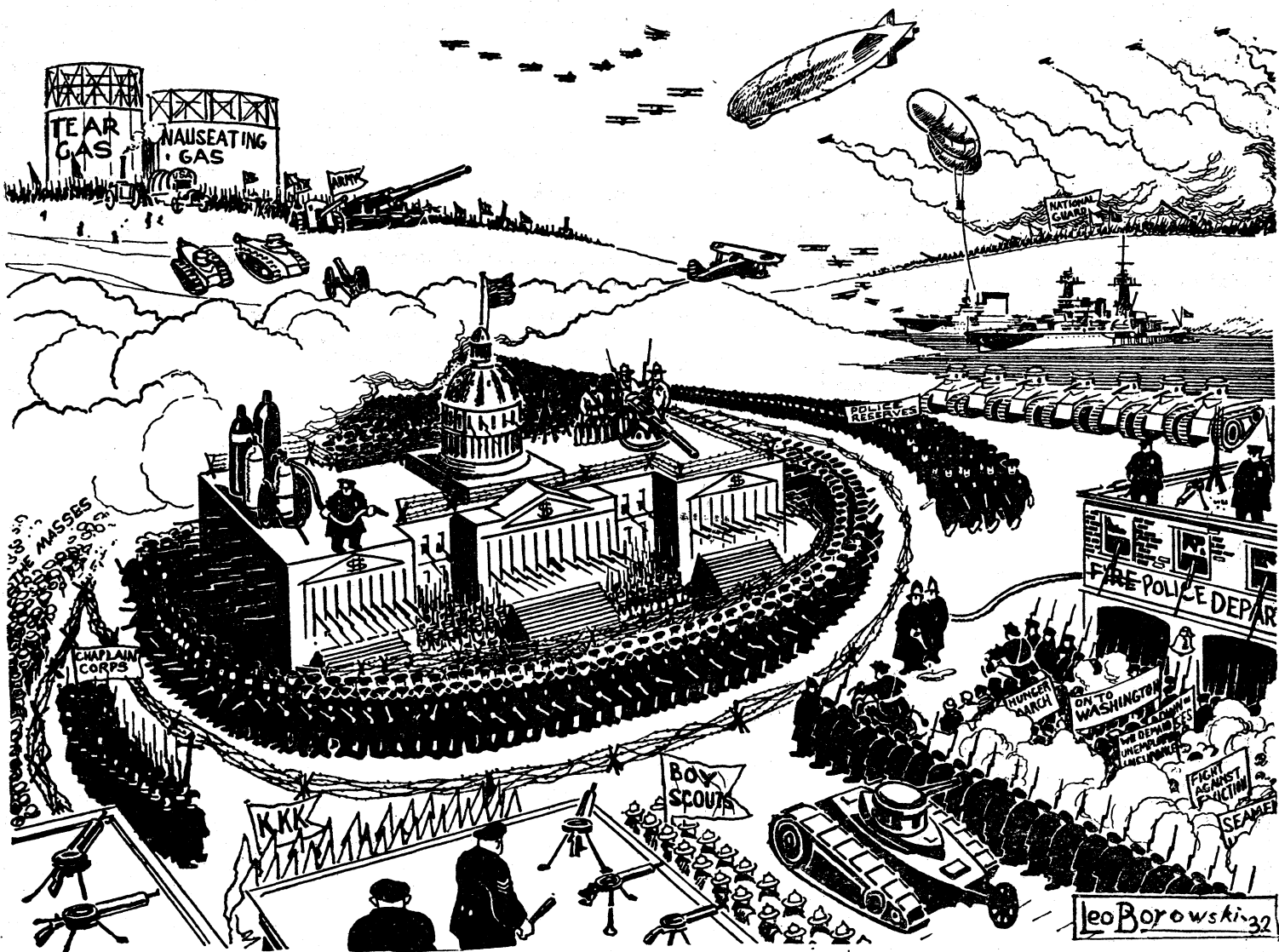
No place and time for this alleged statement is indicated, which makes it more difficult to convict the Associated Press in court for libel.

The New York Sunday News of December 4 actually went so far as to invent a complete speech by Benjamin and report it as having been made in Tom Mooney Hall, Baltimore, the night of December 3. This fabrication appeared under the headline, "Reds Threaten Bloodshed on Capital March." Benjamin was quoted as saying:

"They kept us out last year, but Monday we'll break into the Capitol by brute force! the agitator declared... 'They'll listen to our demands or we'll stage a riot right on the spot!'"

"The cops can't put us out—there aren't enough of them. If Hoover brings in the troops there'll be a massacre. Pennsylvania Ave. will run red with blood."

There was no meeting in Tom Mooney Hall that night. Benjamin spoke at a meeting in the Baltimore Armory and said none of



This satire on the Washington police was drawn by a worker-artist, Leo Borowski, a member of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

the things he is reported to have said, as I can personally testify. He spoke at 11 p. m.; and the *News* which quotes him was already on the streets of New York at that time!

The press as a whole, therefore, had given its help in picturing the marchers as a riotous mob bent on bloodshed; this picture certainly helped prepare the country for bloodshed in Washington.

The Provocations of the Press

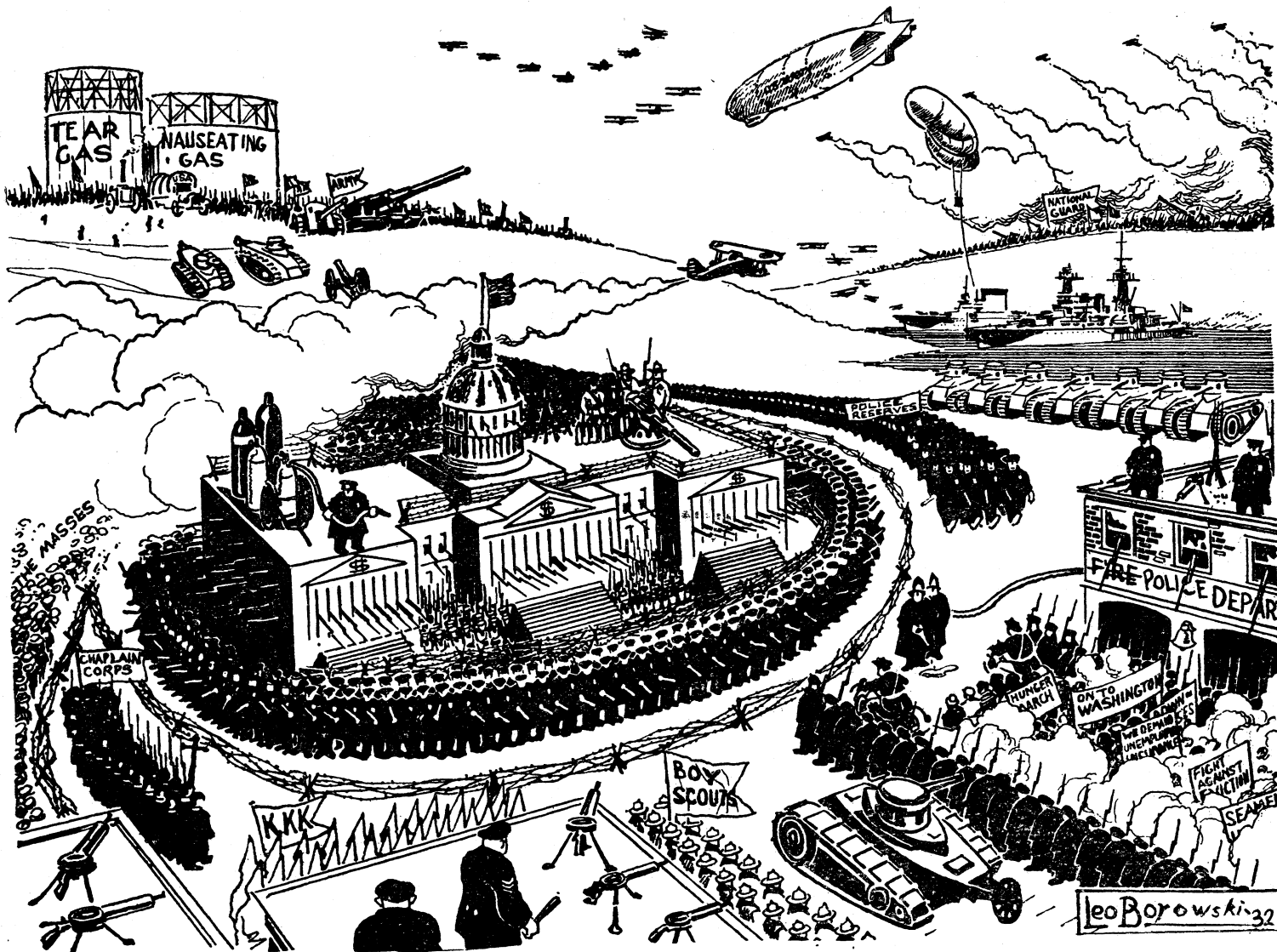
Nor did this campaign of justifying provocation end at the outskirts of Washington. The creation of the detention camp on New York Avenue, isolating the marchers, facilitated the provocation scheme of the government. The flimsy excuse of the authorities for isolating the marchers was that no accommodations were available for them in the city. The city of Washington is full of empty warehouses, halls, buildings; if the Unemployed Councils did not have sufficient funds to rent them, friends of the marchers were ready to put up the money. But, strangely enough, owners of the empty buildings, who are losing their buildings because they cannot pay taxes, refused to rent them to the marchers. Can anyone doubt that this was due to the instigation, the intimidation, of the Federal authorities? Yet the Washington newspapers published the preposterous excuse of the authorities for detaining the marchers, without question, the *Post* and *Star* justifying it editorially; while the New York newspapers either reported the failure of the marchers to secure housing as a simple fact, or took the detention camp as a perfectly justifiable procedure. The newspapers even suppressed the fact that, though there was room for

1,000 marchers in the homes of sympathizers, the marchers were not permitted to go to them.

The campaign of justifying provocation continued, but with a significant difference between what appeared in the Washington newspapers and what was written for the rest of the country. In the Washington press there were general, vague references imputing a disorderly attitude to the marchers; as in the Washington *Post* editorial of December 6th, which spoke of "the ugly temper of the horde of vagrants"; speeches were always referred to as "inflammatory speeches" which "aroused the marchers to fanaticism"; but since the marchers made no overt act which could be misinterpreted as disorderly, the Washington newspapers had to be content with such editorial phraseology for coloring the news columns. The Washington newspapers could not be so completely crude as to invent events which did not take place, since in Washington itself this could be quickly checked up. But the correspondents writing stuff for consumption outside Washington had a freer hand. I shall content myself with two significant examples of fabrication by the press services and the New York newspapers.

As soon as the marchers arrived on Sunday and were penned in on New York Avenue extension, they set up picket lines to keep marchers from straying anywhere near the police. Not even the most reactionary Washington newspaper did more with this situation than refer to the picket line and its cry of "Back, Comrades, Back." What, however, did outside papers do? I quote an A. P. dispatch in the December 5 New York *American* under the heading, "Rush Frustrated."

"An attempt by a number of the demonstrators to rush the



This satire on the Washington police was drawn by a worker-artist, Leo Borowski, a member of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

police lines was frustrated without violence by their leaders."

And the *Herald Tribune*, December 5, reported:

"A column six abreast, swept down suddenly on the police in the dark shouting, 'Get by the lines!'"

This "attempt to break past the guard" happened only in the minds of the *Herald-Tribune* and Associated Press correspondents.

Similarly with Monday afternoon's rehearsal for Tuesday's parade. Vicious as the Washington papers were they could not twist this into an attempt to clash with police. But papers outside of Washington could. The A. P. dispatch said:

"Fretting and fuming under police restraint, the throng at one time drew up in marching order, raised a huge red banner and headed straight for the solid lines of police.

"But when the blue ranks tightened to meet them, the leaders turned aside and jeered the police for their precaution."

And over this story the New York *World-Telegram* put the head, "Hunger Army Moves on Cops, Then Retreats."

Proletarian Discipline

Thus far the capitalist press attempted to picture the marchers as a disorderly mob. But by Monday evening it became clear to the most biased observer that the disorderly mob in Washington was the police. Affidavits from John Herrman, Slater Brown, Mary Heaton Vorse, Malcolm Cowley, Michael Blankfort, Edward Dahlberg and other writers who covered the hunger march, testify to the brazen attempts of the Washington police to provoke disorder. In addition there are the reports of December 5 and 6 in the *Washington Daily News*, the one honorable exception to the dishonorable silence of the press. Particularly on Monday night, December 5, drunken, murderous cops slashed automobile tires, tore banners off trucks, spat at the insulted women, and yelled at the marchers: "Come on you yellow bastards! Try and break through!" Yet, despite the fact that every newspaper and press service had representatives present who saw these events, the *Washington Daily News* was the only newspaper to expose the situation. And though the *Washington News* is a Scripps-Howard newspaper, we may safely assume that it is not the Scripps-Howard organization that is to be thanked for that honorable example; for the New York *World-Telegram* suppressed the story in toto. The only other paper which even referred to police provocation was the New York *Times*—which buried the story on page 46! No other paper in New York or Washington, and none of the press services carried a line.

In other words the press had attempted to picture the marchers as a disorderly mob; but when the disorderly mob turned out to be the Washington police, the press suppressed the whole story.

The provocative tactics of the Federal government failed, thanks

to the most extraordinary exhibition of discipline by the marchers; with no pretext for driving the marchers out and an avalanche of protests against the treatment accorded them, they finally had the pleasure of seeing the Federal authorities back down; they had their parade and petitioned Congress on schedule, Tuesday. The schedule also called for the Eastern columns to leave Tuesday night and the western to leave Wednesday morning; long before this the schedule had been printed by the newspapers themselves. Yet, in a deliberate attempt by the press to minimize the victory of the hunger marchers, the newspaper stories stated that the marchers were permitted to parade in return for their promise to leave Washington. The *Washington Herald* ran a headline "Permission Won by Pledge to Disband and Leave D. C." A United Press dispatch of December 6 in the New York *World-Telegram* read:

"In return for the privilege of marching on the Capitol the leaders of the ragged group agreed to disband tonight and start on the back trail toward home."

An Associated Press dispatch of December 7 in the New York *Herald Tribune*:

"Under persuasion of police all but a few of the self-styled hunger marchers left the capital today."

Some of the attempts to minimize the parade were absurdly crude, such as the *Washington Herald* headline, "Parade a Flop to Big Crowd" over a signed story by James Cullinane which said nothing of the sort. The big point of the New York *Herald-Tribune* and *World-Telegram* stories was that "Curtis Silences Hunger Parade Leaders Slur."

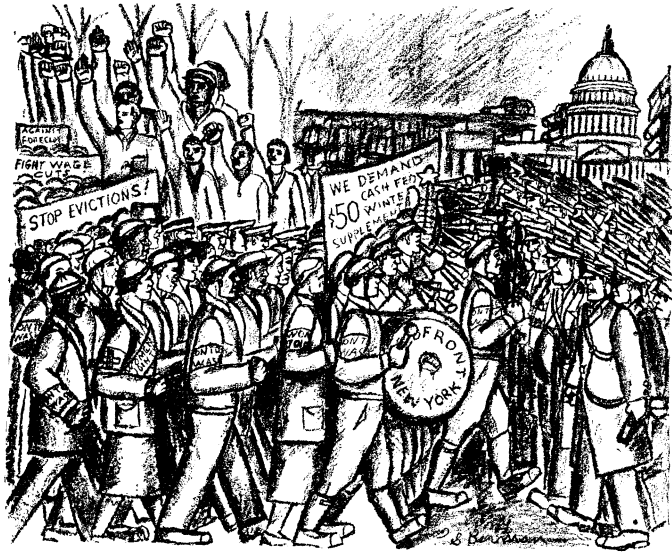
Before the press eagerly dropped the hunger march from its columns, one other story appeared, in Associated Press and United Press dispatches as well as in the Washington press, to the effect that large supplies of food had been left behind by the hunger marchers. John Herrman sends word of the actual facts: This food belonged to a group of veterans who had been penned in with the hunger marchers, but who intended to stay in Washington to demonstrate for the bonus. After the hunger marchers left, the police drove the bonus marchers out of town on foot, giving them no opportunity to take the food along or to store it anywhere. Then the police rolled the food down the embankment and turned it over to the railroad detectives for distribution—first having had the press take some pictures. John writes that he saw this, confronted the United Press and Associated Press correspondents with the facts, and that they promised to write retractions just as long as the original stories. The retractions have not appeared; nor do I expect any retractions of any of the misinterpretations and fabrications indulged in by the press, a few samples of which I have listed. It is, indeed, in the old, vivid phrase, the kept press.



RED FRONT



by Sara Berman



RED FRONT



by Sara Berman

DAVID RAMSEY

and **ALAN CALMER**

THE MARXISM OF V. F. CALVERTON

OF late—due to the revolution in American letters caused by the economic crisis—Marxism has become the ideological base of honest and serious men of letters who are making genuine attempts to find out what the principles of Marxism actually are and to apply them to the American scene. In this process, errors are bound to occur. Nobody is born a Marxist; and when a writer seeks to make the difficult transition from liberal to Marxist ways of thinking, he will naturally pass through a period of trial and error, in which his very anxiety to find something truly Marxian in American letters may lead him to unfounded judgements. It is not surprising therefore that some of the most honest and most intelligent of the writers who have swung to the left in the past two years should have hailed Calverton's book on *The Liberation of American Literature* as the first Marxist study of American culture, and that some of them should even have gone so far as to call it a "cultural event of the first magnitude" and "the pioneer Marxian analysis of our literature." Similarly, the current issue of the *Modern Quarterly* (Vol. VI, No. 3) has evoked considerable comment among "left" intellectuals regarding Calverton's role in the revolutionary movement. The reactions of these intellectuals, and the influence which Calverton appears to be exercising over the least experienced of them, raises the question of Calverton from a personal plane to a social plane where what is involved is not the career of an individual but the viewpoint of a literary movement which accepts him, in all good faith, as a guide.

The Modern Quarterly appeared on the American scene almost a decade ago (March, 1923). The editorial which introduced the initial number stated that "We are Socialists"—but this socialism was of an independent variety, and apparently derived most of its "radicalism" from J. M. Robertson and George Saintsbury. The magazine was the venture of a group of young intellectuals who left *The Modern Quarterly* before the completion of the first volume as its control passed to Calverton. At the outset there was a slight but significant episode. The group which had started the periodical had named it *The Revolutionary Quarterly*, but its present editor changed the title to *The Modern Quarterly* (without consulting any of his associates) just before the first number was published, and some time after the letterheads with the first name had been printed. In this Calverton was consistent, always preferring terms like "challenge", "newest", "modern", "radical" and other fashionable words rather than a term, like "revolutionary." This tendency toward non-committal phrases was accompanied by non-committal action. During the years extending from 1923 to 1927-28 Calverton's articles and reviews appeared indiscriminately in labor journals of the most varied views. He lectured before many labor organizations, and flirted with all parties—the Socialist and Socialist Labor Parties and the Workers (Communist) Party, not to mention the many radical cliques of the day. At the same time, he wrote and lectured for liberal audiences on such topics as monogamy versus polygamy.

After his first book, *The Newer Spirit* (1925), consisting chiefly of his essays in the first seven numbers of *The Modern Quarterly*, appeared in 1925, Calverton was recognized by the bourgeois press as America's leading "Marxist." The book was in general well received. *The Newer Spirit* was soon followed by *Sex Expression in Literature* which was published at the end of 1926. It was described by its author as an at-

tempt "to relate sex expression in literature to its social origins." The book, however, was merely a superficial sketch of moral tendencies in English literature from the time of the Elizabethans to the present day. This book and his lectures for labor organizations hostile to each other increased Calverton's reputation in bourgeois circles as a cultural leader of the American working class, although Calverton has never had any contact with masses of workers. His glib and arbitrary generalizations were thought to be genuine contributions to Marxian theory. It is a fact that with the exception of a satiric sketch by Joseph Freeman in the *New Masses* in 1927 which exposed the mechanical nature of Calverton's "Marxism", and a belated and unnoticed review by H. M. Wicks of *The Newer Spirit* in *The Daily Worker* in 1928—no critic commented adversely upon Calverton's pseudo-Marxism and labor careerism.

Calverton has built up his reputation in bourgeois circles because of his supposed connections with working class organizations. When he began to write, it was as a petty bourgeois intellectual who could not break into either the high-brow "little" magazines or the liberal journals. The labor movement, due to the low ideological level prevailing at that time, was the easiest place for an ambitious young intellectual to get off to a good start. Calverton, with his ability to rattle off dozens of names and scores of titles, could easily achieve standing as a "radical." He has used his magazine and the cluster of names that he has gathered around it, to exploit every temporary intellectual fad. It was very simple for him to write for the papers of all parties since he regarded himself as essentially above all of them.

Although Calverton has been frequently referred to as a Communist, he has, in reality, always assumed the role of a labor conciliator who played with all the left-wing parties. In the summer of 1924, for example, *The Modern Quarterly* contained a symposium *Is America Ripe For A Labor Party?* in which all the left-wing parties participated. The symposium was prefaced by an editorial comment which attempted to assure the reader that the Socialist, Socialist Labor, and Communist parties *all stood for the same thing*. The editorial said:

"For those not versed in the theories and tactics of the existing socialist parties in the United States, it may be said that the division of attitude found in these essays is no reason for serious distress. The goal that each party is aiming for—an industrial state with control of industry in the hands of the workers—is *essentially the same*; the differences are due to the divergent methods they advocate in order to attain this end." (italics ours)

A shift in Calverton's writings from ideas borrowed from J. M. Robertson toward ideas supposedly "Marxian" began in 1924 when he fell under the influence of Haim Kantorovitch, an old social-democratic writer. Kantorovitch became one of the editors of *The Modern Quarterly* at about the same time that Calverton became a regular contributor to the socialist *New Leader*. Calverton published Kantorovitch's article *The Rise and Decline of Neo-Communism*, one of the most vicious attacks ever published in America upon the Soviet Union, the Communist International and Lenin.

"Already at the first congress of the communists' international", Kantorovitch wrote, "it became apparent that what the commu-

nists contemplated was not international unity of the proletariat, but international strife within the movement. Their slogan became, not 'workers of the world unite' but 'socialists of the world exterminate each other'. . . Since March 1921, the communist movement in Germany, as well as everywhere else, has been discredited. The workers view it with distrust and look upon the organization very much as upon a *band of adventurers in Europe*. . . Lenin had published his 'infantile sickness, left communism,' in which he bitterly criticized his followers *for believing and trying to practice what he himself was preaching or endorsing.*" (italics ours).

This counter-revolutionary attack was never answered by Calverton. Instead, he followed it up with the conciliatory remarks quoted above. It was in line with his "objective" attitude toward all the left-wing parties. Toward the end of 1927, he began a series of editorials entitled *The Pulse of Modernity* in which he heralded a "new departure". Completely reversing his position that all "radical" parties were good he now condemned all such parties in unequivocal terms.

"It is (only) by industrial organization" Calverton said, "that we can get at the root of the economic system. . . . No existing political party has begun to scratch at these roots of our system. . . . We must build up an American movement and we cannot do it except by understanding the psychology of the American worker. Our past has been a record of failure. And yet our parties and programs cling to their old forms with a ferocity that is adolescent in character."

In the fall of 1928, Calverton surveyed the qualifications of the candidates of the three "workers" parties. Here he condemned Norman Thomas for his liberalism (this was his first editorial attack upon the Socialist party) and praised Verne L. Reynolds of the S. L. P. (who had attacked the Communist party in the pages of the *Modern Quarterly*) and William Z. Foster. His praise for Foster was of a very decided nature:

"It is only in the case of Wm. Z. Foster that we find a man who combines an actual proletarian background with a contemporary activity in the labor movement. It is only the courageous intelligence of such men as Foster that keeps alive something of the proletarian fight and struggle which must eventually challenge our civilization."

A Conciliator

This, however, was not praise for Communism but for personal character, an "objective" statement similar to George Soule's recent "favorable" article on Foster, for instance. Indeed this eulogy of Foster contained an attack on the Communist Party:

"Yet with all that, Foster, too, is misplaced in the American scene," Calverton said. "His cry is ineffectual, in a sense we may even say beautifully ineffectual. Mistaken tactics, errors in vision, damaging precocities of program, stupid miscalculations of background and psychological motivation *on the part of his party*—all these, unfortunately, allied with the general backwardness of the American proletariat, have tended to isolate Mr. Foster from any power or influence. The American masses are unmoved by his challenge. No one is moved but his own followers." (italics ours).

At some point during this period Calverton practically ended this work among "radical" groups. Having gained entry into bourgeois magazines and made close connections with bourgeois publishers he began to entrench himself in this new field, specializing in sex as a theme.

When Calverton was helping to sell the "sexual revolution" to America from about 1928 to 1930, he was intellectually under the influence of S. D. Schmalhausen, a "psycho-Leninist." In the fall of 1929, Calverton, Schmalhausen and Harry Elmer Barnes in an editorial note to their section of a symposium called *Sex and Civilization*, spoke of—"the psycho-sociological method of analysis—and synthesis which illustrates the newer, more fertile approach to human nature problems in which John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen are our great pioneers." And Calverton added in his article *Sex and Social Struggle* that "we must conjoin our sociological approach with the psychological in order to attain completeness."

This announcement of a method that was obviously to supercede the "Marxian", among others, was the culminating point of this phase of Calverton's development. This period of his career was not his most successful. It ended on a very sad note. He had not, to be sure, made any new contributions to the field, but he

was well on his way to becoming an "authority" when the economic crisis occurred and deprived him of a market.

Malcolm Cowley published a review in the *New Republic*, called the *Sex Boys in A Balloon*. Cowley pointed out that "it (was) not strange that the writers of sex books should have formed what might almost be called a national chamber of commerce. They differ among themselves in specific questions, but they emphatically agree on at least two subjects—the importance of sex and the high value of the books they write about it." At this time Calverton was "trustifying" sexology. There was a literary group under what Schmalhausen called "the proletarian dictatorship of Victor Frobenius Calverton" which practically monopolized sex as a literary theme.

The interlocking controls of the "sex trust" extended to the writing of books and symposiums, rebates to members of the trust in the form of lavish praise, and rigid allocation of markets—sex and the class-struggle to Calverton, and so on. The sex-trust in its effort to make America sex-conscious adopted the high pressure style of advertising agencies. One of the members said that "*sex is the most important of all human activities.*" They discovered that "woman wants sex love as men want it, desperately." The Wall Street crash played havoc with many trusts; and the sex-trust began to break up. Despite public symposiums it soon went into bankruptcy.

Calverton returned to literature—and to expounding contradictory views. In April, 1930 in the *New Masses* he attacked the Humanists as literary fascists. But, in August of the same year he contributed a conciliatory article to the *Bookman*, the official organ of the Humanists. By an ironic twist the issue (in which Calverton's article *The Decade of Convictions* appeared) contained a letter from Rebecca West announcing her resignation as the London correspondent of the *Bookman* because she couldn't stomach Humanism. This English liberal refused to write for a reactionary literary journal, but Calverton, who was called by the editor "the best known American critic whose approach is that of Marxian Communism", wrote for the *Bookman* in the most conciliatory terms. Calverton did not object to being called a Marxian by the Humanists at this time, although much less than a year before he had been a "psycho-sociological" critic "stemming" from Dewey and Veblen. In his *Bookman* article, Calverton used the term revolt in a new sense. He said, "the philosophy of writers who would go back to the country might be called reactionary—it cannot be said that it is without the spirit of revolt. *The revolt may be reactionary, but is revolt none the less. . . . And it is revolt, reactionary and radical that has sounded the dominant note in American literature in the last two decades.*" (italics ours).

Everybody's Friend

This synthesis of "revolutionary" and "reactionary" revolt was one of Calverton's contributions to the clarification of the Humanist controversy. Further in the same article, Calverton said: "Mr. Wilder is interested in finding a new set of values for our age. T. S. Eliot . . . is now convinced that 'the greatest poets have been concerned with moral values'. Mr. Dos Passos and Mr. Gold are (also) interested in values of a different kind—but *they are values just the same.* The values that Mr. Eliot is interested in are religious values; the values that Mr. Dos Passos and Mr. Gold are interested in are radical values. *Both sides (humanists and radicals) know what they are about; both sides have definite convictions.* And this decade has already given every omen of being an age of conviction. Humanists and radicals alike insist upon bringing literature back to life and of interpreting literary values in terms of life values." (italics ours).

A few months back Calverton had said in the *New Masses* that "humanism was reactionary to the core, and makes no effort to deny it" and that "it must be fought as a philosophy of social reaction." His way of fighting Humanism was to praise Humanism for bringing literature "back to life" and to insist that reactionaries and "radicals" both have "values" without distinguishing between the differing sources and implications of these "values."

In the same month, a rewrite of the *Bookman* article appeared in *Current History* called *The Challenge of The New American Literature*. Calverton did not mention the class struggle or a year of economic crisis. Instead, he proudly declared that "since 1914 we have created an American literature." He also made the remarkable discovery that only "an American could have written" Sinclair Lewis' novels.

Since the publication of these articles on American literature Calverton has played the role of an American "Marxist." And with such success that bourgeois critics say of him, since his American "Marxism" is so acceptable to them, that his work is "neither radical propoganda nor fanatic argument, but . . . scholarly documented study by a man who has drawn his evidence from knowledge" and who "looks at America as Marx would have seen it."

With the exception of H. M. Wicks, no one seems to have commented upon a definite characteristic of Calverton's "scholarly documented studies." His early essay *Sociological Criticism of Literature* is regarded as perhaps his most "original" treatise. On page twenty-five of *The Newer Spirit*, Calverton begins "his" illustrations of the social attitude toward tragedy. The complete text of the book, from page twenty-five to page thirty-seven, with the exception of two pages of "theorizing", (pp. 32-33) is taken from an essay by W. H. Hudson on George Lillo, a few pages from Kuno Francke's *History of German Literature*, and an essay by Ernest Crosby entitled, *Shakespeare's Attitude Toward the Working Classes*.

This section begins as follows:

W. H. HUDSON: A QUIET CORNER IN A LIBRARY:

p. 127: . . . the distinction between the higher and lower drama—between tragedy and comedy—was at bottom a distinction of social status. Serious passion and deep emotion were the monopoly of their betters—of the "illustrious" and nobly born.

THE NEWER SPIRIT:

p. 25: The distinction between higher and lower drama, tragedy and comedy . . . was considered by critics as being fundamentally a distinction of social status. Tragedy could be concerned only with noble characters—the illustrious—and to conceive it as being written about a bourgeois protagonist would have been literary sacrilege.

Tragedy, that great supporter of classicism, the French d'Aubignac expressly declared, inheres not in the nature of the catastrophe . . . but in the rank of the persons.

If, for a moment, we consider the writings of that French classicist, Abbe d'Aubignac (1604-76), we shall discover an explicit statement of this attitude. Tragedy, says d'Aubignac, "inheres not in the nature of the catastrophe but in the rank of persons." (Note how Calverton quotes the words of Hudson as if they were a direct quotation from d'Aubignac.)

pp. 128-130: Reference to Pellitier, Ronsard, De Laudun, Vauquelin de la Fresnay, Pelet de la Mesnardiere, Voltaire, Joubert and quotation from the *Encyclopedie*, Italian critics of the Renaissance.

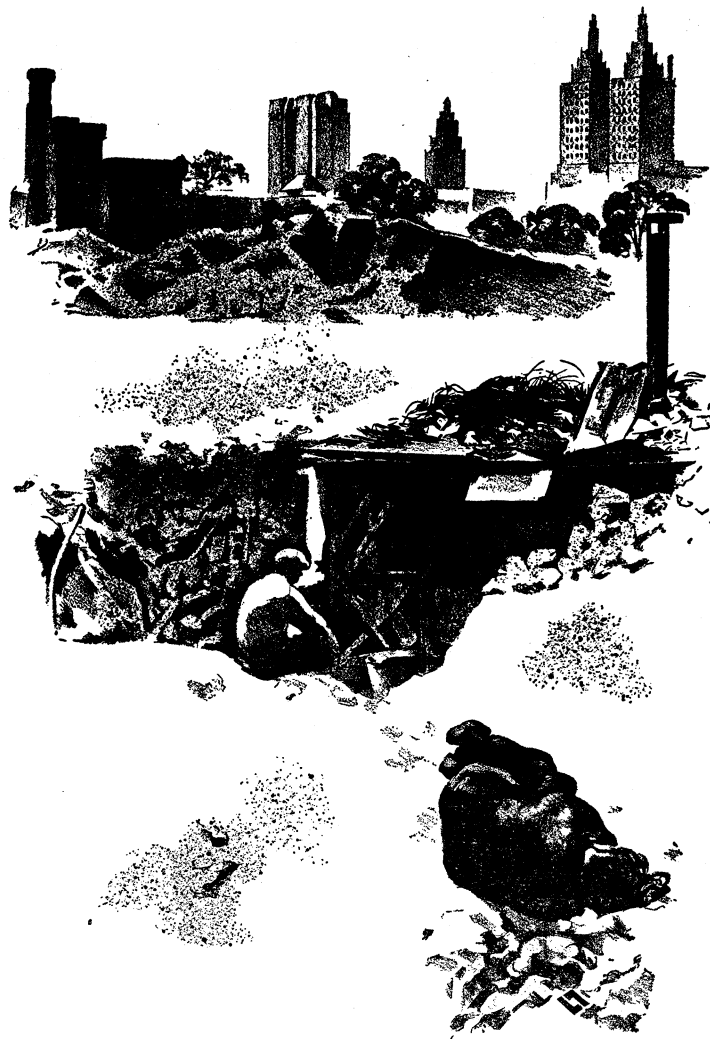
pp. 25-26: References to Pellitier, Ronsard, de Laudun, Vauquelin de la Fresnay, Pelet de la Mesnardiere, Voltaire, Joubert and quotation from the *Encyclopedie*, Italian critics of the Renaissance.

This is followed by passages taken from Kuno Francke's volume.

pp. 179-180: Two men who were the dictators of literary taste in Germany, the one during the larger part of the seventeenth, the other during the first part of the eighteenth century, may be considered as the most complete types and the most trustworthy interpreters of this school of inanity and pretension: Opitz (1597-1639) and Gottsched (1700-66) . . . Opitz laid down the laws of poetry in the little *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, which appeared in 1624. Gottsched propounded his views about the subject

THE NEWER SPIRIT, cont'd.

p. 26: The German pseudo-classicists, Opitz and Gottsched, the directors of literary taste in Germany during a century and a half, the former during the most of the seventeenth and the latter during the first half of the eighteenth, were in avowed agreement with the classicist attitude. In his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624), Opitz gave the aristocratic interpretation of poetry, and later in *Versuch einer Critische Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* in 1730, Gottsched continued the same criticism.



HOOVERVILLE

by Louis Lozowick

chiefly in the voluminous *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen*, which appeared . . . in 1730.

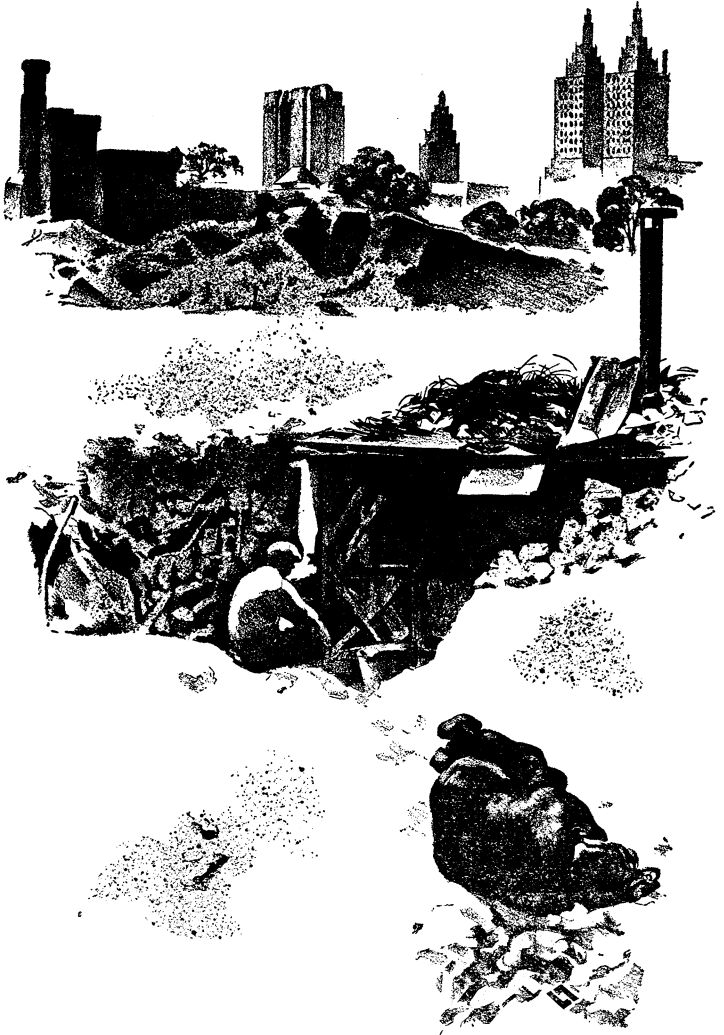
After using a lengthy quotation by Opitz and one by Gottsched taken from Kuno Francke's volume (pp. 183-185), Calverton continues:

p. 185: . . . Bucholz's *Pleasant Romance of the Christian Royal Princes Herculuscus and Herculadisla and their Princely Company* (1659); Ziegler's *The Asiatic Banise, or Bloody but Courageous Pegu, Based on Historic Truth but Covered with a Veil of a Pleasing Story of Heroic Love-Adventure* (1688); Lohenstein's *The Magnanimous General Arminius, with his Illustrious Thusnelda, Held up to the German Nobility as an Honourable Example and for Praise-worthy Emulation* (1689); and a host of others.

pp. 27-28: The very titles of certain of the romances and tragedies of the period are an interesting and significant index to its special trend: Bucholz's *Pleasant Romance of the Christian Royal Princes Herculuscus and Herculadisla and their Princely Company* (1659); Ziegler's *The Asiatic Banise, or Bloody but Courageous Pegu, Based on Historic Truth but Covered with the Veil of a Pleasing Story of Heroic Love-Adventure* (1688); and Lohenstein's *The Magnanimous General Arminius, with his Illustrious Thusnelda, Held up to the German Nobility as an Honourable Example and for Praise-worthy Emulation* (1689).

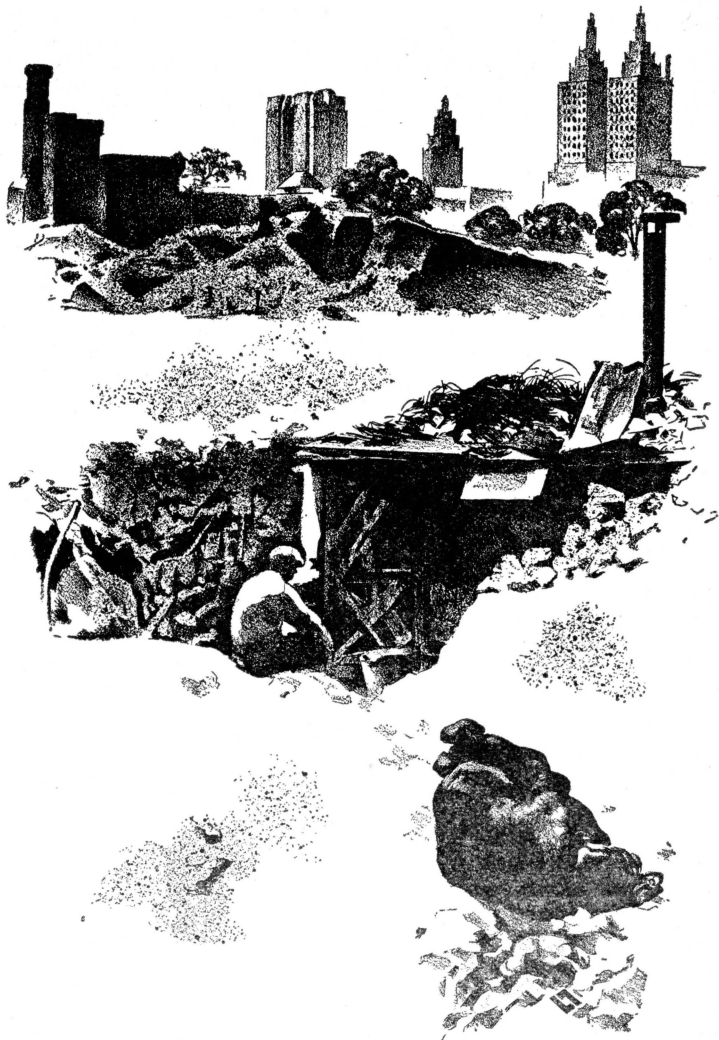
pp. 130-132: References to England, Ben Jonson and quata-

pp. 28-29: References to England, Ben Jonson and quata-



HOOVERVILLE

by Louis Lozowick



tion, Stubbes, Puttenham, Gosson, Webbe, Harrington, Rymer and quotation, Dryden and quotation, Congreve and quotation, Oliver Goldsmith and quotation. (Hudson, op. cit.)

tion, Stubbes, Puttenham, Gosson, Webbe, Harrington, Rymer and quotation, Dryden and quotation, Congreve and quotation, Oliver Goldsmith and quotation.

p. 156: References to *Henry IV*, Wat Tyler, and quotation.

p. 31: References to *Henry IV*, Wat Tyler, and quotation, somewhat mutilated.

pp. 160-161: Quotation from *Pericles*.

p. 31: Quotation from *Pericles*.

p. 161: Quotation from *Henry VI*.

p. 31: Quotation from *Henry VI*.

At this point occurs a lengthy "theoretical" passage, in which we are told by this "Marxian" critic that the "political and judicial liberty for which England, in every history, has been so conspicuously noted, then, was ultimately the result of this geographic factor." (?) This is followed by more "borrowing" from Hudson and from Francke:

pp. 93-95: References to Lillo's *The London Merchant*, Theophilus Cibber, and the protagonist of the play. Also time during which it was performed. (Hudson, op. cit.)

NEWER SPIRIT, cont'd.

pp. 33-34: References to George Lillo's *The London Merchant*, Theophilus Cibber, and the protagonist of the play. Also time during which it was performed.

p. 113: References to editions of the play, Pope, Rousseau, Marmontel, Prevost, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Diderot.

p. 34: References to editions of the play, Pope, Rousseau, Marmontel, Prevost, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Diderot.

E. CROSBY: SHAKESPEARE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WORKING CLASSES:

pp. 130-131: His (Shakespeare's) opinion of them ("the humbler classes") is indicated more or less picturesquely by the names which he selects for them. There are, for example, Bottom, the weaver; Flute, the bellows maker; Snout and Sly, tinkers; Quince, the carpenter; Snug, the joiner; Starveling, the tailor; Smooth, the silkman; Shallow and Silence, country justices; Elbow and Hull, constables; etc. (Crosby lists many more.)

THE NEWER SPIRIT, cont'd.

p. 30: The humbler classes, as they were called appear often under titles themselves ludicrous enough to indicate the nature of their treatment: Quince, the Carpenter; Snug, the Joiner; Starveling, the Tailor; Smooth, the Silkman; Bottom, the weaver; and Flute the Bellows-maker. (Note how Calverton uses six of the first eight illustration—in this order: 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 2—and omits the others.)

pp. 136-138: References to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *Cymbeline*, *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, *A Winter's Tale*, *Antony and Cleopatra*.

p. 30: References to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *Cymbeline*, *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, *A Winter's Tale*, *Antony (sic) and Cleopatra*.

pp. 140-141: References to "hempen home-spuns," "that barren sort," "mechanic slaves, with greasy aprons, rules and hammers."

p. 30: References to "hempen-homespuns," "the barren sort", "mechanic slaves, with greasy aprons, rules and hammers."

pp. 141-146: References to "stinking breaths" of the people, the "mutable, rank-scented many," "breath of garlic-eaters," "multiplying spawn," "worthless peasants," "rude unpolished hinds."

pp. 30-31: References to "stinking breath of the commoner," "the mutable, rank-scented many," "garlic eaters", "multiplying spawn," "worthless peasants," "rude unpolished hinds."

p. 148: References to Shakespeare, Hamlet and quotation.

p. 31: References to Shakespeare, Hamlet and quotation.

pp. 121-122: References to Thomas Skinner Surr, *Memoirs of George Barnwell*, *The History of George Barnwell*, Charles Kemble, Mrs. Siddons, and Sir Henry Irving.

p. 34: References to Thomas Skinner Surr, memoirs of Barnwell and life history, Charles Kemble, Mrs. Siddons, and Sir Henry Irving.

pp. 141-144: References to the Domestic Tragedy, Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Otway's *The Orphan*, Southern's *Fatal Marriage*, Rowe's *Fair Penitent*.

p. 35: References to the Domestic Tragedy, Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Otway's *The Orphan*, Southern's *Fatal Marriage*, Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*.

p. 158: References to *The Gamester*, and *The Mysterious Husband*.

p. 35: References to *The Gamester*, and *The Mysterious Husband*.

p. 278: References to Lessing, *Miss Sara Sampson* and its historical importance. (Francke, op. cit.)

p. 35: References to Lessing, *Miss Sarah Simpson (sic)* and its historical importance.

pp. 277-278: Reference to patriotism of Lessing, with quotation from his works—St. 101; Werke VII, 474.

p. 36: Reference to the patriotism of Lessing. (Here Calverton gives an erudite reference to Lessing's works: St. 101, Works 7, 474," as if he had plowed through Lessing's works in order to obtain the reference.)

p. 278: References to *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galotti*.

p. 36: References to *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galloti*.

p. 278: Reference to the *Sturm und Drang* movement.

p. 36: (At this point a reference to the *Sturm und Drang* movement is graciously attributed to Francke.)

p. 278: References to Nivelle de la Chaussée and Diderot.

p. 36: Reference to Nivelle de la Chaussée and Diderot.

* "Lillo's abortive experiment in the Domestic Drama . . . being indication of the fast-rising influence of the middle class in the early decades of the eighteenth century," (Hudson, op. cit.) is a "hint" which Calverton seems to have found very useful.

In order to show that the section that is given here is by no means an isolated example in Calverton's work, there are references below from another portion of Calverton's writings. This time it is from *Sex Expression in Literature*. This section, which extends from page forty-three to page fifty-five, is also an ex-

cellent illustration of Calverton's scholarship. Not only does he take all of his facts from a Ph. D. thesis, but he transcribes them with such haste and carelessness that he mutilates a number of quotations, attributes an anonymous play to Beaumont and Fletcher simply because it is mentioned in the sentence which follows the mention of the name of these two playwrights (see below), and refers to Gosson's *Ephemerides of Phialo* as being written by "Phialo" and as representing an attack upon its own author.

DR. ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON: THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE PURITANS AND THE STAGE. PH. D. THESIS. (HOLT, 1903):

SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE: CHAPTER II: SEX IN PURITAN ESTHETICS:

pp. 9-18: References to Plato, Plutarch, Agrippa and quotation, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Lactantius, Augustine.

p. 43: References to Plato, Plutarch, Agrippa and quotation, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Lactantius, Augustine.

On page forty-four of Calverton's book there is a very interesting illustration of his careful scholarship. The notes of explanation given in the following text should make the errors apparent:

pp. 32-33: An exhaustive sermon of the same century, the work, apparently, of one of Wyclif's followers, justifies this interpretation Moreover, as acting passed from the clergy into the hands of itinerant companies, the social evils attendant on the profession took genuine English color. Plays [the author, Dr. Thompson, states this] drew people from worship and labor, and wheedled them of their earnings. When this minister [i.e., the follower of Wyclif], therefore, showed his burning hatred of sloth, and of the waste on plays of money which people grudged to spend in paying "ther rente and ther dette," he must have mirrored a growing English sentiment grounded on social and economic needs.

p. 44: The bourgeoisie from the very prevalence of attack, was driven to the defensive. It founded its opposition to the theater, nevertheless, upon sound economic grounds which in reality were the origin of its moral objections. The puritan preacher (that is, any puritan preacher!) declared "that the plays drew people from worship and labor, and wheedled them of their earnings" (the statement represents the words and opinion of the author of the book, Dr. Thompson) and deplored "the waste on plays of money which (they) grudged to spend in paying their rente and ther dette." [Note the garbled quotation.]

p. 34-35. . . the payment of actors either to play in the town hall or to leave town without playing had become a grievous burden to the town of Leicester. Similarly, after the system of individual fees had been established, the city of Norwich requested Parliament that players of interludes who deprived the needy of their earnings, should be excluded from the city.

pp. 44-45: In Leicester payment of the mummers either to play in the town hall or leave town without playing had become a serious financial burden, and the city of Norwich, after the system of individual fees had begun, requested that all players "who deprived the needy of their earnings, should be excluded from the city." (Note here, as in many other instances, how the phrases themselves are so closely paralleled.)

pp. 35-39: References to various attacks upon the theater.

p. 45: References to various attacks upon the theater.

pp. 42-43: References to Latimer, Sandys, Becon, Hutchinson, Tyndal, Ridley.

p. 45: References to Latimer, Sandys, Becon, Hutchinson, Tyndal, Ridley.

pp. 45-46: Then follows the sentence: "Puritan pastors, however, became redundant and vicious in their attacks," with a

footnote which merely mentions Dr. Thompson's study.

p. 45: . . . he (Edward Dering) attacked in his *Brief and necessarie Catechisme or Instruction* the extreme licentiousness of the literature of his age, the romances like *Guy of Warwick* and the lewd songs, the "vnchast fables & tragedies, and such like sorceries"

p. 46: . . . Edward Dering in his *Brief and Necessarie Catechisme or Introduction* led an attack upon "lewd song or unchast fables, and tragedies, and such like sorceries." (Calverton is incapable even of copying correctly, as is evident from the incorrect title and garbled quotation.)

p. 46: Grindal was the archbishop removed by Elizabeth for his Puritan leanings . . .

p. 46: Grindel, the archbishop removed by Elizabeth for his puritan inclinations

p. 47: Harrison, in chronicling for the year 1572 the temporary banishment of plays

p. 47: Harrison, chronicling the year 1572 [?], exclaimed

pp. 48-49: References to interludes in the time of Henry VIII, Bale, Grimald, quotation from Bale, *Lusty Juventus* and quotation.

p. 47: References to interludes in the time of Henry VIII, Bale, Grimald, mutilated quotation from Bale, *Lusty Juventus* and quotation.

pp. 58-68: References to Northbrooke, Gosson with many biographical facts, *Newes from the North, A second and third blast of retrait*, etc.

p. 47-50: References to Northbrooke, Gosson with many biographical facts, *Newes from the North, A Second and Third Blast of Restraint*, (sic) etc.

p. 71: It seems certain from Gosson's words that many replies were made to him. In the *Ephemerides of Phialo*, published in 1759, the preface reads in part, "Sith it hath beene my fortune to bear sayle in a storme, since my first publishing the *Schoole of Abuse*"

pp. 49-50: Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse* represented the same attitude *The School of Abuse*, however, met a counter-blast in the vigorous *Ephemerides of Phialo*. (Through sheer carelessness, Calverton has attributed Gosson's own work to a mythical opponent. Furthermore, in Calverton's "own" bibliography at the end of *Sex Expression in Literature*, the reader is advised to read *Ephemerides* by Phialo (p. 311).

pp. 80-106: References to Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, quotation from Stubbes, Nashe and Furnivall, Munday, Whetstone, Rankins, *Apology for Poetry*, Webbe, Puttenham, Harrington, Rainoldes, Gager, Gentili, Thomas White, Stockwood, Spark, Dyke, Thomas Beard.

pp. 50-52: References to Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, quotation from Stubbes, Nash and Furnivall, Munday, Whetstone, Rankins, *Apology for Poetry*, Webbe, Puttenham, Harrington, Rainholdes (sic), Gager Gentili, Thomas White, Stockwood, Spark, Dyke, Thomas Beard.

p. 111: Greene's *Never too Late*.

p. 52: [Here it becomes] *Greene's Neuer to Hate*.

pp. 112-113: References to *Anthony Babington's Complaint, The Return from Parnassus*, Bear Garden, fall of theater, and earthquake of period.

pp. 52-53: References to *Anthony Babington's Complaint, the Return from Parnassus*, Bear Garden, fall of theater, and earthquake of period.

p. 53: [At this point we find the second and only other mention of Dr. Thompson's name, viz]: "The battle between the players, who, in the words of Dr. Thompson, 'sided almost to a man with the other party....'"

p. 139: *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* by J. G., presumably John Green.

p. 159: Prynne's *Histrio Mastix, the Players' Scourge*.

p. 184: Parliamentary acts against theater.

pp. 161-162: Prynne on Milton; Laud on Prynne.

p. 147: [From Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs*:] Then began murder, incest, adultery, drunkenness, swearing, fornication, and all sorts of ribaldry, to be no concealed but countenanced vices, because they held such conformity with the court example."

pp. 147-205: *Declaration of Lawful Sports, Book of Sports*, Lyly's *The Woman in the Moone* and *Mucedorus*, Chapman's *An Humorous Days Mirth*.

p. 210: In many other plays the city classes were ridiculed, but nowhere so cleverly as in Beaumont and Fletcher. The anonymous play, *The Puritan, or, Widow of Watling Street*—written possibly by Middleton. . . .

pp. 211-230: Authors and plays listed are contained in these pages.

pp. 247-248: Strode, Brome, Cartwright.

Following are further examples of Calverton's scholarship which he has taken this time from an economic historian.

RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM, by R. H. Tawney, *Harcourt, Brace*, 1926:

p. 32, 35: St. Antonio and Gratian.

p. 32: Riches, as St. Antonio says, exist for man, not man for riches.

p. 53: [Calverton copies this as: Greene's *Refutation of the Apology for Actors* thereby attributing it to the previously mentioned Robert Greene.]

p. 53: Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix, the Players' Scourge*.

pp. 53-54: Parliamentary acts against theater.

p. 53: Prynne on Milton; Laud on Prynne.

p. 54: Then began murder, incest, adultery, drunkenness, swearing, fornication and all sorts of ribaldry, to be concealed but countenanced vices. [Note the omission of the word "no" which reverses the meaning of the passage], because they held such conformity with the court example.

pp. 54-55: *The Declaration of Lawful Sports, Book of Sports*, Lyly's *The Woman in the Moone* and *Mucedorus*. Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth*.

p. 55: Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Puritan, or Widow of Watling Street* (sic).

p. 55: Ben Jonson in *The Silent Woman* and *Cynthia's Revels*, Jaspas Mayne in *The City Match*, Dekker in *The Honest Whore*, Shirley in *A Bird in Cage*, Middleton in *Mayor of Quinborough*, and *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Randolph in *Muses Looking Glass*.

p. 55: Strode, Brome, Cartwright.

SEX EXPRESSION: Chapter II: Sex in Puritan Esthetics.

p. 30: [Calverton begins the chapter by tracing the social background of the period. He uses nothing but Tawney in these pages. While he gives credit to Tawney for certain quotations, he uses the latter's examples of St. Antonio and Gratian as if he had obtained them from the original sources].

[Check his example from St. Antonio for example]: In other words, to paraphrase the ethics of St. Antonio, riches exist for man, not man for riches.

p. 36: a Schoolman of the fourteenth century.

p. 294: Footnote, identifying the "Schoolman" as Henry of Langenstein, and acknowledging, in turn, that the quotation was taken from a volume written by Schreiber.

p. 89: Quotation from Columbus.

p. 305: Footnote: Quoted W. Raleigh, *The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century*, 1910, p. 28.

'Scholarship' and 'Analysis'

There are many more instances of Calverton's "scholarship" in *Sex Expression*. Pages 112 to 122 consist of nothing but facts taken from W. H. Hudson's essay on Lillo. Every name, actor, author, title of book, illustration and quotation given by Calverton in his section on Lillo and the bourgeois tragedy was taken from W. H. Hudson. Calverton never acknowledges his "debt", but makes many erudite references to French volumes referred to in Hudson's essay.

Pages 126 to 131 of *Sex Expression* are taken from Floyd Dell's *Intellectual Vagabondage* (page 28-33). This entire section, which discusses Defoe and deals with *Robinson Crusoe*, is taken from Dell's study of the same subject. Calverton not only "borrows" Dell's remarks about the book, but also his historical analysis, including the point of the importance of America to the English bourgeoisie. Calverton also uses Dell's citation of a quotation of Rousseau on *Robinson Crusoe*. Despite his use of Dell's facts and materials, Calverton does not mention Dell's book at all. There is one passage in these pages of Calverton's which is not by Dell. It is an erudite reference to the women of the leisure class of Senegambi; this is taken from a translation of Plechanov's quotation from Berenger-Ferand's *Les Peuplades de la Senegambi* which appeared in the *Modern Quarterly* in the summer of 1924. When Calverton reviewed Dell's book for the *Nation* (May 26, 1926) he accused him of not "coming into direct grip with" his theme, and added that "Mr. Dell is really an essayist and not a critic."

The examples given here are not the result of a careful and exhaustive exploration of Calverton's first two books, but merely the result of a few casual findings. In 1929, in his essay *Sex and Social Struggle* Calverton repeats his "borrowing" from Tawney without any acknowledgment. In 1930, in an essay on *The Problem Evaluation in Criticism*, he "leans" heavily upon Plechanov's essay mentioned before, repeating his scholarly reference to Berenger-Ferand that he had in *Sex Expression*, and "borrows" from Fritche's essay on the *Sociology of Art* and Boas' *Primitive Art*. The *New Ground of Criticism* (1930), a pamphlet marking Calverton's return from sex to the field of "sociological" literary criticism, followed in the tradition of its predecessors. In one section (pp. 25-27) erudite references to Tertullian, Savonarola, Bossuet, Gosson, Prynne, Fulgentius, the *Aeneid*, Petrarch, Tasso, Dante, Strabo and Castelvetro (taken from Spingarn's *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*—without acknowledgment) are hurled at the reader indiscriminately. This is followed by a brief passage (p. 28) in which a quotation from Scaliger—which reads, "the mandates of kings, slaughters, despairs, etc."—is transcribed by Calverton to read—"the mandates of kings, daughters, despairers, etc." All this (plus many misspelled names of Italian critics) is "copied" from Spingarn without acknowledgment.

Despite these literary "habits" of Calverton, it is not entirely impossible that his theoretical analyses may still be sound and significant. For this reason, an examination of his theoretical contributions to Marxism and literary theory are in order. Calver-

p. 30-31: [He also refers familiarly to a "Schoolman of the fourteenth century," and quotes a passage from this scholar's work. This reference is contained in Tawney's volume. There is, however, a footnote at the back of the book which identifies the "Schoolman." But Calverton evidently would not take the time to check the reference in the back of the book].

p. 33: When he does check Tawney's footnotes, Calverton records the original source as if he had discovered it himself. Thus he quotes a passage by Columbus, and adds an erudite footnote: Quoted W. Raleigh—*The English Voyages of the 16th Century*, p. 28 (1910).

ton has had two periods of ideological "development", neither of which can be said to be Marxist. The first period coincided with the Coolidge-Hoover "new era" which bourgeois thinkers announced as the economic millenium. Such objective conditions had a tendency to make petty bourgeois intellectuals go in for critical and sexual "revolutions," since they believed that the capitalist machine needed only a little "tinkering", to make it go on at an accelerated pace, forever.

A "Sociological" Thinker

Calverton was at first a bourgeois "sociological" thinker. It is difficult to say whether any designation accurately describes his philosophic theorizing. His mind works with little regard for the laws of logic, hence his many contradictory shifts in position. He vulgarized the ideas of Buckle, Kantorovitch and others of his masters. To his distortions of their points of view (of mechanistic sociology and revisionist "Marxism") he added his own gift of never being able to think a problem through and of vacillating from one contradictory position to the other.

Calverton has floundered unsuccessfully for years to find a methodological guide for historical events. It is significant that he could never find his way to dialectical materialism. At no time was he a member of that section of the petty bourgeois intellectuals who are being revolutionized. In one or two years many of them have progressed far along the line of Marxism and revolutionary activity, but Calverton despite his head start of some seven years is not going in their direction.

It has been pointed out that from the start of his career Calverton has played the typical liberal role of "conciliator." His failure to draw class lines in his magazine attracted many non-Communists. In the course of time there has crystallized around the *Modern Quarterly* an anti-Communist Party and anti-Marxian ideology. This serves the dual purpose of attempting to undermine Marxian theory by counterfeit "radicalism," and of creating an anti-Party base for undermining the ideological leadership of the Communist Party among workers and among petty bourgeois intellectuals.

All the elements of a new "labor" party have been present in the *Modern Quarterly*. There have been the liberal Dewey, the counter-revolutionary Max Eastman, the psycho-Leninist Schmalhausen, members of the renegade Lovestone faction, socialists, etc. The *Modern Quarterly* from the beginning has been an anti-Marxian center. It has laid the ideological ground-work for a "labor" party with Calverton presumably as its "theoretical" guide. But a third party of capitalism to supplant the present socialist party will have to take on the form of a social-fascist or fascist party, because the present contradictions of capitalism are so acute that they will permit only such political forms at the present stage of capitalism's decay.

Calverton was at first completely under the influence of bourgeois sociologists. Bourgeois sociology first came into prominence with Comte, the founder of positivism. It flourished at the time of the development of capitalist technique and the expansion of the capitalist forces of production during the nineteenth century. As a theory of the inevitable growth and progress of capitalism, it provided the bourgeoisie with an ideological defense of their position. Bourgeois sociology was in turn mechanistic, naturalistic and finally, a variety of social darwinism. The various schools of bourgeois sociology at times did not deny the existence of classes, and often admitted the existence of the class struggle. They denied, however, that modern class relationships arose as the result of the capitalist mode of production. Thus they attributed the class struggle to disorders of the capitalist system which would be remedied in time, and not to inherent contradictions of the system itself. When bourgeois sociology was empirical it never went beyond the description of facts, without attempting in any way to analyze or correlate them. When it became analytical it fell into idealistic synthesis. It was a hodge podge of this bourgeois sociology that Calverton introduced as his own "sociological" method. Even these borrowed principles he employed in an oversimplified and mechanical fashion. In his first essays written in 1923, he "accepted" the position of Buckle. Calverton said:

"Customs for instance, notwithstanding their peculiar and infinitely variable character, are all the results of life-conditions of some kind, at least originally, and still chiefly, climatic and soil."... "In this way climate is the most original determinant of all conditions. Certain schools, narrowly prejudiced, speak of the economic interpretation of history, without taking cognizance of the

fact that economic conditions are determined primarily by climate and soil conditions and that they will continue to be so determined until telluric factors can be effectively controlled to man's advantage." . . . [italics ours].

Calverton's contempt for economic and social factors are so obvious that no comment is necessary. It may be noted, however, that a more intelligent and a more erudite discussion of the geographic position which subordinates the economic to the telluric factor is to be found in E. E. Semple's, *Influence of Geographic Environment* (1911) which Calverton seems to have found very "helpful."

Calverton also adopted the viewpoint of a mechanistic fatalism. A few quotations illustrate this:

"Since it would be stupid to praise or blame the figures on a painting, it is equally stupid to praise or blame the figures on the earth, the artist who painted the figures, or the peasant who grew the wheat, since they too neither create nor control themselves, but are created and controlled by forces as irrevocably determined as the surge and undertow of the tides or the rotation of the planets about the sun."

His inability to distinguish between fatalism and determinism was perhaps the result of Calverton's theory about the complete determination of everything including (strangely enough) himself. Thus he said that the fact that he wrote and thought was "as determined as the coming of daylight on the morrow, and every thought, word and phrase . . ." are likewise determined. Furthermore, he maintained that "man is a limited creature whose every thought and act is affected by, and effects in some way, everything in the world. All that he does is determined by his past and present. As La Mettrie and D'Holbach saw back in the eighteenth century, man is but a machine, operating according to laws as mechanical as the law of gravitation. . . . *what they did not see were all the implications that arise from this fact. There is no more freedom in (man's) reaction than there is in the somersault of a fish,*" or, he might have added, the somersaults of a critic. [italics ours].

Calverton at this time denied any freedom of action to man. A corollary to this is, that any struggle against capitalism, for example, is futile since it is inevitably determined when capitalism will collapse, if ever. Accordingly, Calverton "corrects" Marx on this point in the following fashion:

"It is absurd to speak, as Solovyof and others do, of different kinds of determinism, psychological determinism, economic determinism, mechanical determinism or to differentiate between fatalism and determinism which are one and the same thing! To be a determinist is to be a fatalist. The economic determination of Marx is, as far as it went, accurate but incomplete." [italics ours].

Fatalism and Determinism

Calverton not only failed to distinguish between fatalism and determinism, but did not grasp the Marxian conception of the irreducibility of biological and social laws to physico-chemical laws. Calverton apparently has never been able to understand any of the fundamental principles of Marxism. Indeed it was only under the influence of Kantorovitch that he began to shift to ideas that were vulgarized derivatives of Marxism.

At this time, although Calverton had read some essays of Plechanov and Engels, he defied "the principle of the quantitative measure" into a "philosophy." His naive worship of quantity showed his incorrect mechanical understanding of society. But even his naive mechanism was never definitely adhered to. At one place he would say that objective telluric conditions are primary and at another place that "essentially . . . all knowledge is subjective. . . . The most objective piece of knowledge is none the less personal or subjective in its acceptance by every individual." After putting knowledge on this personal subjective basis Calverton, three pages later, objectivizes knowledge once more in this manner: "The advance of science will be determined by its ability to get all objects down to an objective basis." These dazzling but no doubt "predetermined" somersaults, from objectivism to subjectivism are followed by a flying leap back to the worship of quantity as a basic principle. "Number is the measure of all things. . ." Calverton says. "Number limits and reduces substance to a quantitative basis We can conceive of nothing in nature that cannot be reduced to number." . . . The qualitative is the unmeasurable." [italics ours—somersaults Calverton's].

There is not enough space to go into the Marxian conception of dialectical relation of quantity to quality, and the passing of



"YOU'VE GIVEN HER PLENTY OF GAS, BUT WILL SHE GO?"

quantity into quality. It should be emphasized, however, that a dialectical materialist would never attempt to reduce quality to quantity as Calverton tries to do.

Calverton, at this time was so fascinated by "the principle of the quantitative" that he even applied it to art. He said:

"Yet it is this very application of number that instead of deadening will eventually rejuvenate art." It would seem, therefore, that with the discovery of this "new" principle Calverton for a time would stand by his quantitative concept. However, Calverton having been "predestined" to sudden shifts in opinion, only a few pages later, completely reverses himself and declares that "there is no attempt to state that 'number' solves the problem of reality, that with its application the enigmas of epistemology vanish." With an air of resignation Calverton concludes his metaphysical gropings by agreeing with the idealistic physicist Eddington that "number leaves the *ding-an-sich* unsolved."

Idealist - for a Moment

At the moment when he leans upon Eddington, this "Marxist"—mechanist-fatalist-numerologist becomes an idealist; and, were he at all able to follow any single line of thought to a logical conclusion he would properly at that brief moment have called himself an idealist. As it is, the only consistent principle he has followed is the principle of "number" which apparently "rejuvenates" philosophy as well as art. This principle, as applied by Calverton, is to support the largest possible number of contradictory ideas at one time.

It is obvious that Calverton at the most never did more than skim through some pages of Marx and Engels at this time. His "knowledge" of Marxist theory is revealed by a review of Bukharin's *Historical Materialism* in the *Nation* in 1925. Calverton informs his readers that "Marx and Engels after all announced but did not develop their theory in philosophic detail or with scientific exactitude. It was Plechanov who was the first philosopher of Marxism." Apart from Calverton's modesty in calling Plechanov and not himself the first philosopher of Marxism, it is significant that he does not even mention Lenin, once in this connection. Later in the review Calverton, who respects subtle distinctions in thought attacks Marxians for exercising "a tendency to oversimplification and dogmatism."

In 1926 in an article in *Social Forces*, Calverton brought Marxism "up-to-date." He said: The materialism of Marx was as pragmatic as modern instrumentalism, as free of epistemological trappings and metaphysical casuistry as contemporary behaviorism. It was an entire break with all of the materialisms of previous ages. It created a new social philosophy, a striking *evolutionary* interpretation of historical processes." [Italic ours].

This identification of Marxism with pragmatism and behaviorism is typical of Calverton's generalizations. He also informed his readers that the method which he intended to apply to literature "is the method which has already been applied in economics and sociology by Marx and Plechanov, in philosophy and history by Dewey and Beard." His coupling of Marx and Plechanov with two well known anti-Marxian thinkers like Dewey and Beard is characteristic of Calverton's tendency to reconcile the irreconcilable; as well as of his awkwardness in transcribing ideas from other people, for the comparison of Marx and Plechanov with Dewey and Beard was taken from Kantorovitch; but while Kantorovitch indicated differences as well as similarities among these thinkers, Calverton omits the differences and mentions only the "similarities," in such a way that Dewey and Beard appear to be Marxians in the fields of philosophy and history. Such a comparison is absurd. It is equally absurd to say, as Calverton does, that Marxism is "an entire break with all preceding materialism." This, no doubt, sounds like a very "revolutionary" statement; but it falsifies the facts and reveals Calverton's inability to understand the relations between mechanical and dialectical materialism. Marx and Engels revolutionized the thought of the eighteenth century materialists and Feuerbach, but they acknowledged their indebtedness to them. They revolutionized mechanistic materialism by introducing precisely that dialectic principle which Calverton fails to understand. That is why Calverton vulgarizes Marxism by describing it on the one hand as a methodology, and on the other hand by reducing it to a mechanistic philosophy similar to behaviorism. This vulgarization is due not only to lack of understanding, but to a desire to reconcile Marxism with the fashionable bourgeois philosophies of the day.

In August, 1928 as a "Marxist" Calverton reviewed Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. In this book Lenin more than two decades ago accurately analyzed and predicted the trend of modern bourgeois philosophy. The acuteness and profundity of his analysis has been acclaimed even by bourgeois thinkers. Calverton, however, did not regard Lenin as a significant thinker ("making" Plechanov and not Lenin the great philosopher of Marxism). It is not surprising then that he begins his review by saying condescendingly that "the thesis of (Lenin's) book is simple despite the complexity of materials which it subjects to analysis—perhaps a little too simple." Further on Calverton displays his philosophic erudition by completely "destroying" Lenin as a philosopher. He claims that Lenin "in his zeal to ridicule the psycho-physiology of Mach . . . makes Mach out to be an idealist, which classification Mach definitely denied, and (Lenin) ends by annihilating a fiction rather than a fact." Calverton refutes Lenin by saying that "It is not that there are not many flaws in Mach's logic, but that Lenin in his anxiety to prove Mach a reactionary, failed to answer them" . . . Later Calverton points out "the main weaknesses of (Lenin's) book": Among them is the 'fact' that Lenin "in his attacks upon Bogdanov many of which are cogent, and upon Lunacharsky most of which are well founded, . . . never feels the necessity of defending his own philosophic position or justifying the basis of his own logic." It is interesting that Calverton does finally grant Lenin some degree of "cogency" and "validity." But how "well-founded" Calverton's "philosophic" attack upon Lenin was, is shown by the following curious fact.

Some five months before Calverton's review appeared, Sidney Hook published an article in the *Journal of Philosophy* called *The Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism*. From this article Calverton "borrowed" liberally.

Hook (March 15, 1928)

Lenin's frequent and dangerous failure to distinguish between realism and materialism—between a theory of knowledge and a theory of stuff.

Calverton (August 22, 1928)

Lenin often confused realism as a theory of knowledge with materialism as a theory of "stuff".

According to Lenin sensation is "a copy, photograph, and reflection of a reality existing independently of it." He takes Plechanov to task for regarding sensations as "signs" or "symbols" of what things are, instead of adhering to the crude formula, "(sensations) are copies, photographs, images, mirror reflections of things."

By insisting upon the naive formula that the sensation is "a copy, photograph and reflection of reality existing independently of it" and attacking Plechanov for considering them only as symbols of that reality, his (Lenin's) logic lost itself in embarrassing difficulty.

By now it must be manifest that the reason that the bourgeoisie regard Calverton as an authority on "Marxism" is because he is ideologically "safe" and because his theories give a distorted and misleading account of Marxism-Leninism as a body of knowledge. These distortions are not confined to philosophy. Predestined by the theory of number Calverton has set himself up as an authority in every field, including politics.

In *The Newer Spirit* (1925) he analyzed imperialist capitalism as follows:

"So far these corporations and monopolies are largely nationalistic in organization, but with the growing interdependence of the whole of capitalism upon its countless parts, they will inevitably expand and assume an international character. With this change, of course,—and it is gradually occurring at the present moment—will come a *desire for peace* thruout that part of the world which will be knit into an economic whole, and also, due to the rise of the revolutionary tendency in the labor movement, will follow a more strenuous clamor and demand for a new system of distribution. From these fluctuating economic conditions, already there have arisen hosts of Christian and pagan pacifists, reckless advocates of Leagues of Nations and world courts . . ." This notion that the expansion of imperialism will create a "desire for peace" in exploited colonies is palmed off as "Marxism." This was of course, the notion of the leading theoreticians of the Second International, who also believed that the blessings of serial production and speedups would "inevitably" lead to "peace" and "socialism."

It was to be expected, that Calverton, who attacked Lenin in

1928 would say of Kautsky in a review in the *Nation* in 1926 that he "is one of the most provocative and powerful figures in our generation" Further Calverton added that "while Kautsky's historical analysis of the middle class revolution, adduced to defend his position with reference to contemporary revolution, is limpid and revealing, his attack upon the bolshevik revolution as but an instance in the process of middle class revolution, savors strongly of personal prejudice and rationalization. *That the transition period in Russia may at times have been scarred by hastiness and misjudgment does not justify it being classed as reactionary and ridiculous. The laws of revolution, even the labor revolution have not finally been established.*" [Italics ours].

In this review of Kautsky's "Labor Revolution" Calverton claimed that Kautsky was "limpid and revealing", admitted there was some good in the Soviet Union despite the "scars" of "hastiness and misjudgment," and implied that Calverton would "finally" establish the "law of revolution."

Part of Calverton's "final" solution is to be found in an article written in the Spring of 1929 under the (borrowed) melodramatic title of *Death Takes A Vacation*. Calverton analyzed the war peril as follows:

"While every nation in the Western Hemisphere is aware of this coming catastrophe, take what form it may, the masses sleep on unconscious of its advance. The nations of the world today are more carefully and completely armed than they have ever been . . . France now has an army a time and a half larger than the German army before the World War. The United States, which has just passed its recent Cruiser Bill in direct defiance of England, and as an immediate preparation for the forthcoming war with her rival, spends approximately a million dollars a day on armaments. England, France, Italy, *RUSSIA* and even Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain have all plunged headlong into this same race for more and more armaments." [Italics ours].

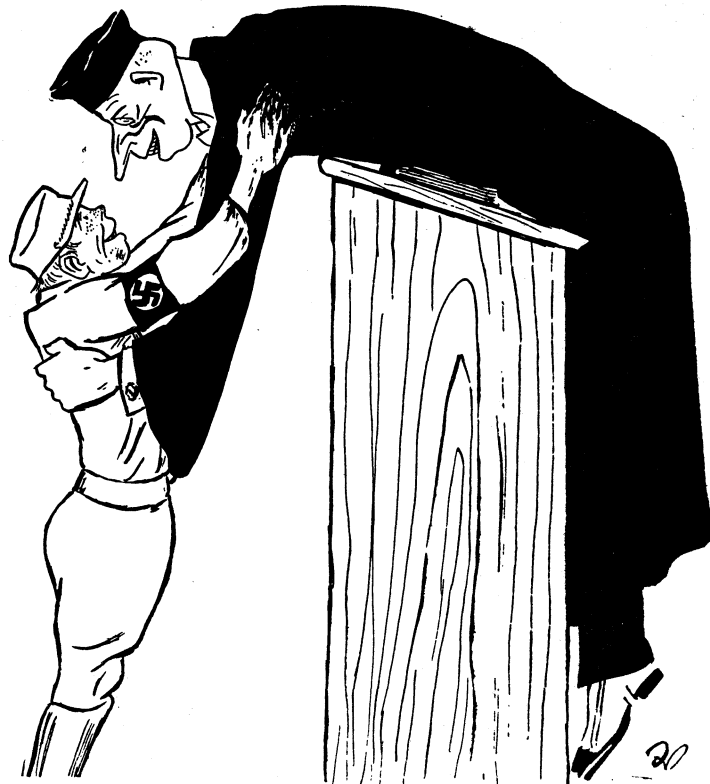
Such statements, Calverton repeatedly declares to be "Marxist" analyses. His declaration that all countries are arming to slaughter the masses, France, England, American and *also the Soviet Union* is similar to the usual socialist statement that the Soviet Union is merely another imperialist predatory power. It will be observed that Calverton makes no mention of the U. S. S. R.'s consistent policy of peace and non-aggression which has been admitted even by bourgeois publicists. He simply lumps the first workers' and peasants' republic in history together with its worst enemies—the imperialist capitalist powers. He makes it appear as though the Soviet Union is also misleading the masses of workers into a new and bloodier imperialist war. It must come as news to the revolutionary proletariat of the world that the Soviet Union, is but another imperialist power.

The Road to Reaction

Immediately after the quotation given above, Calverton paints another "objective" picture of what will follow after the next war:

"Out of it all, no doubt, after cities have been exterminated, and whole nations have been reduced perhaps to a pathetic size, will come the revolt of the remainders, and the revolution that may lead us to a new world beyond the mere prophecy of word and theory. All this, however, we must pass through because men have been mastered by the machine instead of being masters of it all. *All this because the class struggle has driven capitalism to such extremities in its final defense.* All this because men are driven more by gain than goodness, and motivated by impulse rather than by reason." [Italics ours].

His emphasis on machinery and not capitalism as the cause of imperialist wars is similar to the arguments of socialists in Europe and America who now also blame the machine and rationalization of production, as the source of wars and crises. Calverton's way out of the danger of imperialist war, along with the methods of other bourgeois "critics" of capitalism, is one that leads to economic, technical and cultural reaction, to the position of fascism. His theory that the revolt of the masses has driven peaceful imperialist nations to start wars, and that the cause of imperialist wars is due to the fact that all men (of all classes) are guided by impulse instead of reason is but restating the theories of reaction. Furthermore, it should also be noted that when Calverton



"GOD BLESS YOU, MY SON!"

by Kurth Werth

grants the possibility of a social revolution, he claims that it can only take place after civilization has been destroyed and society reduced to a state of barbarism. Thus Calverton agrees with the bourgeois theoreticians who claim that Communism not only makes for barbarism, but can only arise from a low barbaric state.

In the fall of 1929 in the full flush of the Hoover "boom," Calverton threw Marxism overboard for the psycho-sociological method, as was mentioned before. This "method" was a superficial penetration into the relations between the ideological superstructure of society and its material base. It added a "psychological" factor to Calverton's former simple formula that the conditions of the "environment" mechanically affect the level of ideological development. He added a zero to the left side of his former equation, which read that conditions (sociological factors) affect literature or any other ideological activity. This now became conditions (sociological, psychological factors) affect literature, etc. Calverton did not grasp the significance of the Marxian principle that men's actions are determined by social and economic forces, and that in turn men modify these forces, the interacting process to culminate in a classless society. Not only does the process of production determine the nature of an ideology, but an ideology at the same time can affect productive forces.

At this time Calverton also began to stress "synthesis". He used the word in as vague a manner as he used "radical" or "newest". Hence it is difficult to know what he means. He claimed that "it is the task of our new age caught in the crucifying contradictions of our contemporary world, to devise the technique of a new science, which will be known as psycho-sociology. It will be the purpose of this science to integrate rather than separate the individual and society." Calverton here was putting forward a "new" method of "integrating" man and society. It was to be a substitute for another bourgeois luxury—psychoanalysis. In this article Calverton never mentions Marx or Marxism, although a year later he was writing "Marxian" articles. Calverton continued along this line in his pamphlet *The New Ground of Criticism* published a few months later. This brochure also said nothing of the class struggle or the workingclass, although unemployed men were already tramping the streets and the Communist Party was organizing unemployment demonstrations. The "new principle" that Calverton advanced in the pamphlet was that of "synthesis". This is a theory of "our age", a something called

"synthesis", which is the fundamental factor of the day. The economic factor is just an accidental, a foreign element which is introduced. In this pamphlet Calverton declared that this is an "ideal-less" age—a statement which he contradicted in his *Bookman* article a few months later when he declared that this is a "decade of convictions."

Calverton "newest" discovery was wasted. The deepening economic crisis which he first noted at the end of 1930 awakened a great interest among intellectuals in Marxist-Leninist theory and Communism, and left Calverton without an audience for his "synthesis" or his discussion of Humanist values. Accordingly in the winter of 1930, Calverton penned another editorial, this time on the subject of *Democracy versus Dictatorship*. Calverton dispatched a copy to William Z. Foster for comment. The comment appeared in the February 1931 issue of *The Communist*. This was followed by Calverton's eloquent *Open Letter to William Foster* in the Summer issue of the *Modern Quarterly* (1932).

A Lame Reply

One has only to read the original editorial and Foster's comments to see how lame a reply Calverton made. Foster's thesis—which Calverton distorts—is that the editorial in the *Modern Quarterly* "is a strange medley of fascist, social-fascist and communistic conceptions", that certain of Calverton's explicit statements follow "the familiar fascist theses that the basic weakness of present day society is not to be found in the fundamental economic contradiction of the capitalist system but in the bourgeois democracy which . . . permits the existence of the anti-capitalist labor movement," and that "the solution of the capitalist crisis is to be found in the establishment of the fascist dictatorship"; that Calverton does not "raise the true issue of communism vs. capitalism, but the false issue of dictatorship vs. democracy"; and that "if persisted in and logically followed up his views would carry (Calverton) definitely into the camp of fascism." [Italics ours].

The substance of Calverton's reply is to deny that he is a fascist. To substantiate this claim he quotes several passages in his original editorial which distort Communist declarations. In order to do so, however, he has to falsify his original statements. In refutation of Foster's charges Calverton quotes a section from his original editorial which begins as follows:

"The dictatorship can take on two characters (the original reads "one of two characters"): Communist or Fascist—oppose private property and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or defend private property and establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" Significantly, Calverton failed to quote the following passage from his editorial:

"In either case industry can be organized into a scientific unit, the present dissipation of economic energy can be saved, and the friction of democratic struggle be destroyed. Modern nations must be organized upon a basis of efficiency in order to survive at all. Productive units must be subject to social control." It is interesting to note in passing that Calverton attacked Stuart Chase, in a review of the latter's book *A New Deal for expressing similar opinions. Chase and the engineers of Technocracy would agree with Calverton when he says that "Only a dictatorship can so integrate the political and economic factors, and effect the centralization of control, which are necessary to the maintenance of modern life. The very law of efficiency works in the direction of such control. While perfect efficiency could best be achieved by the management of technologists, social controls being as they are the best that can be done is what is being done in both Soviet Russia and Italy today, where technologists are employed by the state to carry out the plans of organization."* [Italics ours].

Calverton makes the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and the fascist dictatorship in Italy similar, thus failing to distinguish, as Foster said, between fascist and proletarian dictatorships.

Although Calverton rejects Foster's accusation that he is a fascist, in the very same number of the *Modern Quarterly* that contained his *Open Letter* he offers more evidence in an article called *Leftward, Ho* that proves that Foster was not incorrect. It is essential for fascism to conceal its reactionary character by the use of "radical" phrases. It presents itself as "true" socialism, but unmask itself by its insistence that the petty-bourgeoisie are far more revolutionary than the "unenlightened" proletariat. This fact illuminates the growing development of Calverton toward fascism.

In the article mentioned above, Calverton advances the theory

that the petty-bourgeoisie as a class in America are being revolutionized faster than the proletariat. He said:

"It is the petty-bourgeoisie which is talking in terms of revolution today while the workers are still beguiled by the prospect of electing new, perhaps a democratic, president. The fact of the matter is the petty-bourgeoisie has been hit ideologically much harder by the present depression than has the workingclass. If a quantitative analysis could be made of the effect of the current economic situation upon American ideologies, it would be found that the depression has tended to make more members of the petty-bourgeoisie than the proletariat turn in a revolutionary direction." This "analysis" of the break-up of the petty-bourgeoisie is followed by Calverton's notion that "it is the collapse of the petty bourgeoisie which is helping to prepare the way for the rise of the proletariat." Marxians no doubt will be surprised to find that the Marxian theory (that the material base for the proletarian revolution is the collapse of capitalism, the sharpening economic crisis aggravated by the general crisis of capitalism, and the rising curve of revolutionary struggles thruout the world) is no longer tenable. Calverton has "destroyed" this theory and substituted his own theory that the revolutionary upsurge of the petty-bourgeoisie is the fundamental factor in the political and economic crisis of capitalism. It is true, however, that Calverton himself is a good example of the breaking up of the petty-bourgeoisie with all of their vacillation. But this is true only in a negative sense, since the radicalization of certain sections of the petty-bourgeoisie has left no trace in him.

In keeping with his policy of making everyone a "Marxist" and being the conciliator of all groups Calverton in the Fall of 1930 had a "Marxist" symposium in the *Modern Quarterly* which included among its contributors Norman Thomas (whom Calverton had attacked two years before). Thomas said that he agreed with Max Eastman's "protest against the fatalism of Marx's inverted Hegelianism", and with Eastman's contention "that the philosophy of dialectic materialism is 'disguised' religion." Thomas added that "the psychological resemblances between Communism and religion are indeed so great as scarcely to be 'disguised.'" There is not enough space to go into either Thomas' or Eastman's false theories. Their revisionist doctrines were not answered by Calverton but by other "Marxists" such as Louis Boudin and Arthur W. Calhoun.

Another Somersault

In 1931 Calverton once more somersaulted from Marxism to a "higher" theoretical position. Again having assimilated the entire body of Marxism-Leninism, to his own satisfaction,—he discovered once again that Marxism-Leninism is incomplete and went "far" beyond it. In his essay *The Compulsive Basis of Social Thought* Calverton advanced what he claimed was an original theory.

"It is at this point that I want to advance a theory that will explain, I believe, what has happened in terms of sociological fact. This theory, in brief, endeavors to elucidate the conflict that has been described (between Westermarck and Morgan), as an expression of those social forces which tend to develop what I shall call "cultural compulsives"—or a vested interest in a cultural complex In conclusion, I should like to add that there is no other way, as far as I know, of explaining idea-sets of fixation of a social character such as are represented in the influence of Westermarck and Morgan than by resort to what I have called the theory of cultural compulsives. [Italics ours].

This theory of Calverton announced modestly is a great advance over Marx.

"The cultural compulsive has had many antecedents in the field of social theory. The Marxians have been the most expert in this analysis. . . . In recent years, in addition to the work of the radicals, a number of liberal sociologists have gone so far as to argue for the presence of class factors in certain ideological mechanics pertaining to such problems as race, neo-Malthusianism, and eugenics. They have seen such mechanisms as part of a rationalization process. What they have not seen—nor many of the radicals either—and what is important, I believe, to an understanding of the nature of social thought, is that their own thought, as well as the thought they have analyzed, is governed just as distinctly



JOURNEY'S END

by William Gropper



JOURNEY'S END

by William Gropper

by the presence and pressure of cultural compulsives; that all social thought is colored by such compulsives, reactionary as well as radical. . . . The radical is just as caught by such cultural compulsives as the reactionary. The radical will point out the compulsive thought on the part of the reactionary but will never discern the same compulsive mechanism, only directed toward a different end, active in its own thought. . . . The existence of cultural compulsives, then, makes objectivity in the social sciences impossible." [Italics ours].

It is evident from the first few sentences in the quotation that Calverton himself practically admits that when he was advancing his "original" theory he was no longer a Marxist. He claims that Marx among others put forward ideas that were approximations to Calverton's "cultural compulsives." A year later, however, he appeared with a volume —*The Liberation of American Literature* in which he announced that he had begun a study of American cultures:

"While I have attempted to do a small part of that spade work it should be obvious at once to anyone intimate with the field that such spade work must be carried on by many hands for more than a few years before materials adequate to the Marxian approach will be at our disposal."

A "Marxist" Once More

Here Calverton has become a "Marxist" once again. He is to be sure, unexcelled as an ideological acrobat, but this somersaulting from "Marxism" to "psycho-sociology" to "sociologic" (as Calverton calls the new logic of the cultural compulsive) and finally back again to "Marxism" puts Calverton at the top of the heap. No other critic has held so many positions, both simultaneously and at different times.

As is usual with any analysis of a theory by Calverton it is first necessary to look into its "originality." In this case, his theory of the "cultural compulsive" is explicitly stated in the pages of the an article by his old friend Kantorovitch in the pages of the *Modern Quarterly* written some seven years before Calverton's pamphlet. Kantorovitch said:

"We are, therefore, justified, in speaking of bourgeois philosophy and of proletarian philosophy (Marxism) as various rationalizations of the interests and aspirations of these classes. . . . Philosophic truths have been abandoned not because of their falsity, but because the new economic conditions have demanded new rationalizations." Even Kantorovitch's use of the psycho-analytic term "rationalization" finds an echo in Calverton's use in his essay of the phrase "wish-fulfillment thought."

Calverton's thesis that the social acceptance of ideas is more important than their objective validity is, therefore, not a new one. Critics who have sought to trace Calverton's idea to more erudite sources among bourgeois philosophers are doing him an injustice. He has not read them.

But of greater importance than the "sources" of Calverton's theory is that the "cultural compulsives" marked another turning point in his theoretical position. He shifted from a crude mechanism (containing elements of a naive materialism) to an undigested subjective idealism. This idealistic position, moreover, contained a concealed kernel of fascist ideology as further examination will show.

It is difficult to follow Calverton when he tries to explain why "the Darwinian doctrine of evolution and the consequences of its logic pre-offered the best justification of the *status quo* of nineteenth century Europe that had appeared in generations." It harmonized perfectly he says "with the philosophy of the ruling class of that day." Here Calverton confuses the Darwinian theory of organic evolution with "social-darwinism." The former is the law of the dialectical process applied to the development of living matter, and subsumed under the laws of the process of universal development as formulated by Marx and Engels. Social-darwinism on the other hand is "scientific" propaganda by bourgeois sociologists, eugenicists, etc., to justify the existence of a decadent capitalist system. What Calverton fails to point out is that the ruling class of Darwin's day did not accept the scientific implications of Darwin's theory. What the ruling class accepted at the end of the nineteenth century was "social-darwinism", a reactionary ideological defense of capitalism and religion.

Similarly confusing is Calverton's absolute bifurcation of the

natural and social sciences. In 1930 in his theory of *synthesis*, he had announced relationships between the natural and social sciences that are commonplace even to bourgeois savants. But in 1931 he claimed that "it is only in the physical sciences, where (the scientist's) method is quantitative and not comparative", that the scientist "can escape something of (the) dilemma" of the cultural compulsive. Calverton grants the physical sciences some degree of objectivity, but his splitting up "scientific method" into the "quantitative" and the "comparative" is not correct. Calverton's use of the term "comparative" is meaningless in scientific method. Calverton also forgets that social scientists, like physical scientists use mathematics and that in economics or social genetics, for example, mathematical analysis plays a very important role. This is not to imply that a dialectical thinker would attempt to reduce all biological relationships to mathematical terms, but that mathematics is used in all the sciences. Furthermore, there are no hard and fast distinctions between the sciences. All the sciences are tending to grow into one unified science of society and nature which will employ the dialectical method and be the concrete expression of the universal laws of development, of the physical, biological and social processes.

The inconsistencies of Calverton's position drive him to declare that "the radicals had not seized upon the doctrines of Morgan because they represented the final word in anthropological science. They adopted them because they fitted in so well with their own doctrine of social evolution, with the triadic theory of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis." He goes on later to say that "Morgan was . . . uncritically accepted by the radical intellectuals" . . . and "Morgan became as inviolable with (the radicals) as Westermarck with the middle class. Anyone who criticized Morgan was denounced as 'bourgeois.'"

This is incorrect. In the first place, no Marxian ever proves anything by means of the "triadic theory". In all cases their proof or acceptance of any theory is based upon facts. In one of his famous theses on Feuerbach, Marx formulated the Marxian principle that "in practice, a man must prove the truth of his thought, that is to say its reality and power, its mundaneness." Secondly, Engels accepted Morgan as the most advanced knowledge of his day and not because Morgan happened to fit into a "formula." Revolutionary thinkers attacked bourgeois critics of Morgan, not because they were "bourgeois" but because in most cases, bourgeois critics were attacking Morgan (to quote Calverton) for the "the uses (he) was put to by diverse revolutionary thinkers of the period." The important point is that no Marxian will defend any theory that is disproved by facts. On this particular question Lenin said: "When orthodox Marxists took issue with some antiquated views of Marx (for instance, Mehring on some historical questions) it was done with such preciseness and thoroughness that no one ever found any ambiguities in it." It is "only the revisionists," Lenin declared, "who gained notoriety by their deviations from the fundamental views of Marxism, and by their fears or inability to 'settle accounts' with those abandoned views, explicitly, determinedly and clearly." This could well be applied to Calverton who always talks of Marxism being only an "approximation" of the truth, without ever stating the "truth" that Marxists are supposed to "approximate."

A Psychologic Approach

It is evident in the essay on "cultural compulsives" that Calverton, instead of relying upon bourgeois sociology, now puts his theory on the basis of bourgeois psychology. His methodological approach is, therefore equivalent to that of the Austrian school of marginal utility, which also employed psychology as a methodological instrument. Both of these theories are basically wrong in their approach and serve the interests of the ruling class as ideological weapons in the bourgeois attack upon the proletariat. The Austrian school denied the validity of Marx's theory of value and the exploitation of the working class which Marx's theory analyzed and explained. Calverton's theory likewise, attacks the body of Marxist-Leninist knowledge by turning the class struggle merely into a subjective expression of the proletariat's class interests.

It should be noticed that both Calverton and bourgeois thinkers agree that Marxism-Leninism is not an objective science of society and revolution. Calverton goes even further by stating categorically that "objectivity is impossible in the social sciences." Here he is distorting the Marxian principle which asserts that the class

bias of the bourgeoisie is partial to theories that defend the existing order of things, and that these bourgeois theories, because they accept capitalism as an eternally enduring system, do not apply to the facts of objective reality. No Marxist denies the class nature of his approach. What he proves is that his stand is objective because it is impartial to facts, and dovetails accurately with reality as such. When the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class, interested in increasing production, its class interests fitted the objective situation. But the objectivity of the bourgeoisie turned to biased subjectivity, when its class interests began to clash with the facts of the historical process.

It is to the interests of the proletariat, the only revolutionary class of capitalist society, to have objective knowledge. Each new fact furnishes the proletariat with a new weapon in its ideological, political and economic struggles. At one time bourgeois ideologues admitted the existence of the class struggle, and were openly materialistic. Then as the proletariat began to grow in strength, from the point of view of a "shame-faced" materialism, the bourgeoisie denied the existence of the class struggle claiming that the bourgeois revolution had liberated mankind. Finally bourgeois thought once again admits the existence of the class struggle, but claims that it rests upon a purely subjective basis.

It has been pointed out by Marx and Lenin that the most useful ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the revolutionary theory of the working class is subjectivism in all its many varieties. Bourgeois ideologues seek to prove that the class struggle has its causal factors not in reality, but in the subjective elements of the working class' existence. At this point in capitalism's decay when even certain capitalists admit that the predictions of Marx and Lenin have turned out to be true, it is nothing less than counter-revolutionary to deny as Calverton does that these predictions are not based on objective knowledge. The growing proletarian revolution throughout the entire world depends upon an objective analysis and prediction of historical events. In Marxism-Leninism the proletariat has forged in action a science of revolution and society which enabled it to predict the last imperialist war, to carry through a successful revolution in the Soviet Union, to engage in the building of a socialist society there, and to prepare for the new epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. If Marxism-Leninism were but a frame of mind, or a subjective interpretation of events, in what way would it differ from religion which also claims to give a picture of reality?

The reactionary nature of Calverton's theory and its fascist implications, reveal not only the confusion of his mind, but his role

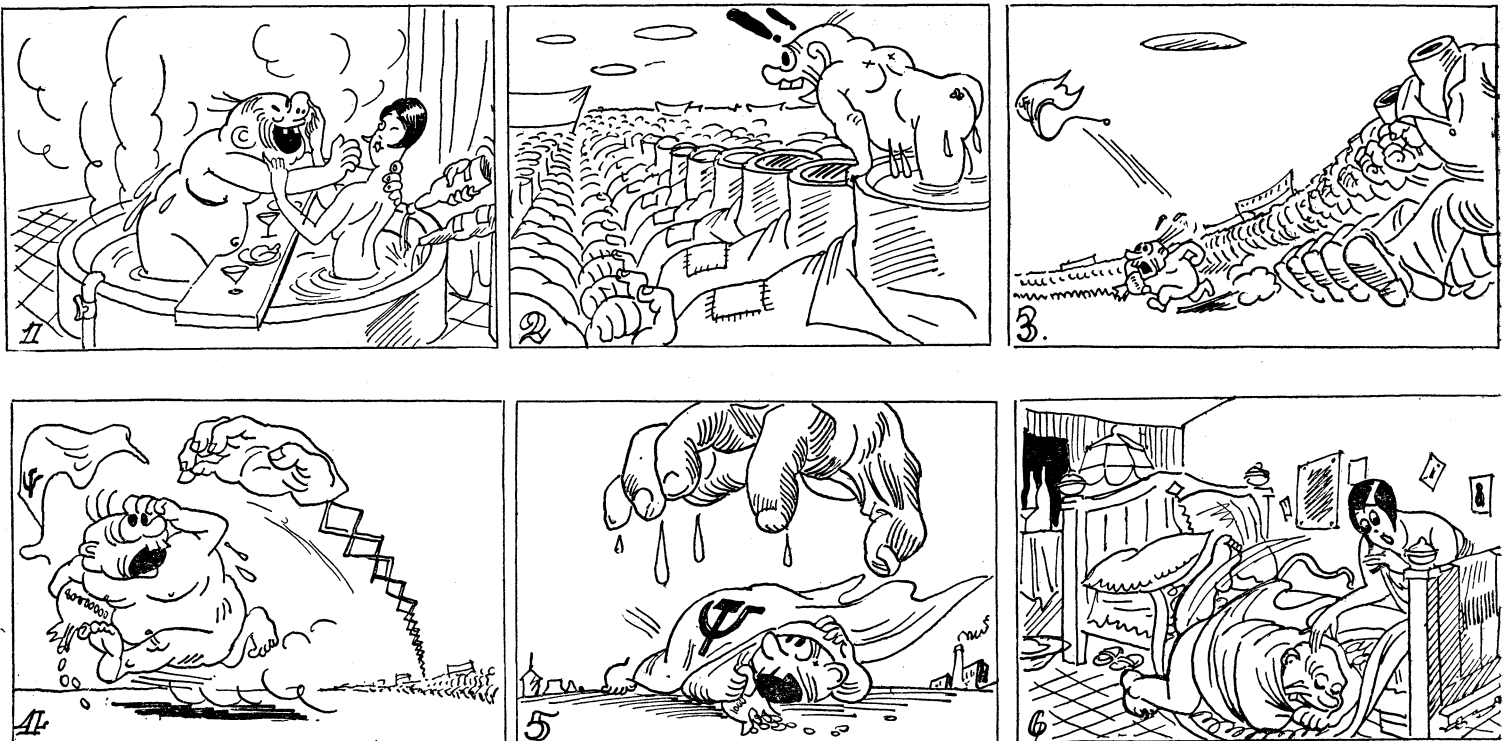
as a disseminator of anti-Marxian ideas. On the one hand he makes a show of "left" phrases and professes revolutionary Marxian opinions; on the other, he denies the objective existence of the class struggle thus playing directly into the hands of the bourgeois defenders of the *status quo*. His attempted refutation of the Marxian dialectic of social change is an ideological attack upon the revolutionary movement. If through his talk of "revolution" he endeavors to remain in ideological contact with the proletariat, it is only in order the more effectively to attack its revolutionary ideology.

In passing it should be observed that Calverton's "subjectivism" is an inverted species of his former "objective fatalism." The implications and conclusions of both points of view lead to the notion that everything is inevitably determined: that the working class plays no active role in the process of history, and possesses no objective knowledge to guide it in its struggle against capitalism.

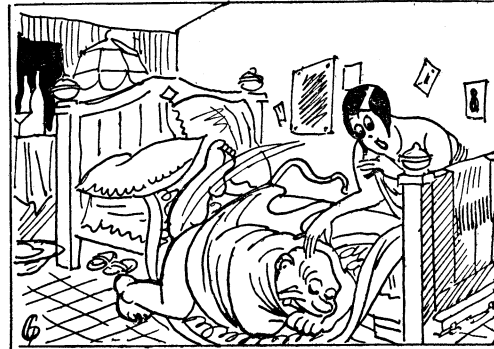
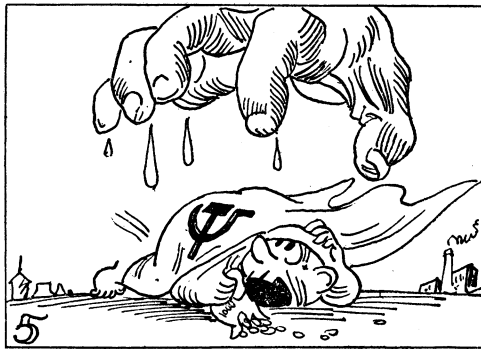
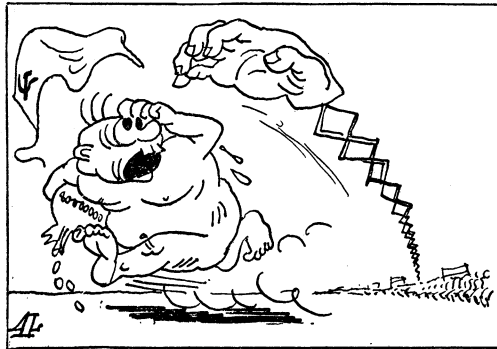
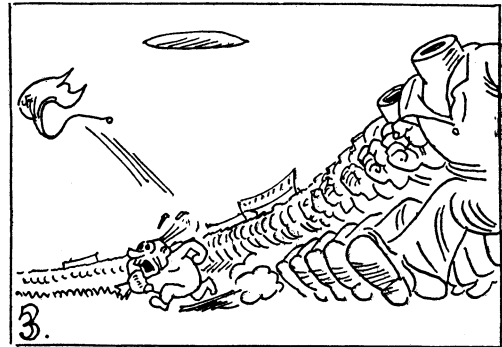
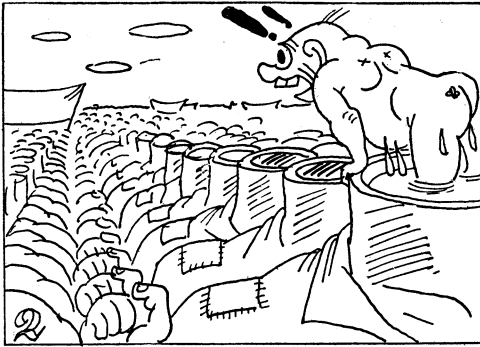
In the summer of 1932 Calverton proclaimed himself one of the "pure propogandists for a workers' state." His way of propogandizing the workers by advancing his theory of the dominant role of the petty bourgeoisie in the proletarian revolution has already been discussed. It should be noted that Calverton's overemphasis of the petty bourgeoisie as a revolutionary factor is accompanied by a snobbish reverence for aristocrats. At one time Calverton held the view that the aristocracy was a creative artistic class while the bourgeoisie was merely a receptive leisure class. But even today he claims that the aristocracy "was more forthright and infinitely less deceptive than middle class society." Calverton is anxious that power pass to a "forthright" aristocracy of "brains" which would "lead" the workers to a utopia.

In the fall of 1932, Calverton put out a pamphlet called *For Revolution*. Again his bourgeois publishers were correct in picking him to present the "revolutionary" point of view. He gives a safe, harmless picture that appeals to the disgruntled petty bourgeoisie, and is pleasing to the ruling class. Again he repeats fascist theories this time with a chauvinist flavor. He drags out the worn-out dogma that America is a special problem for the revolutionary, and that the American middle-class presents unusual aspects that do not fit in with the Marxist-Leninist analysis. This dogma was advanced by German and Russian revisionists in regard to their respective countries.

Calverton's "revolution" is a fantasy that has no relation to any real movement. He talks of revolution without once mentioning the revolutionary activities of the Communist Party of the United States. In his anxiety to be "American", he completely dissociates



THE NIGHTMARE



THE NIGHTMARE

himself from the international revolutionary movement of the world. His "revolution" is a verbal one, designed to attack the real revolutionary movement in America.

Calverton's development toward fascism and his "leftist" phraseology were never better illustrated than in this pamphlet. In the first paragraph Calverton proclaims that "the American people are thinking seriously today, but in the wrong direction. They are devoting their energies to the common task of averting revolution when what they should be doing is thinking in terms of revolution . . ." This "Marxist" talk of "the people" without any mention of classes is continued in his statement that "the American people as a whole are all thinking about the same thing today—namely how to get out of the present depression before society collapses into chaos." This class-collaboration theory must have made "President Hoover, Speaker Garner, J. P. Morgan Jr., Owen D. Young, Charles Schwab, William Green, Nicholas Murray Butler, Charles Beard, Stuart Chase, Gerald Swope and Gilbert Seldes"—Calverton's list of those who "are all opposed to (his) revolution" tremble at their oncoming doom.

In this pamphlet Calverton reveals himself as the open collaborator of the ruling class. He warns them that "if we attempt to avert or delay that revolution, we shall only be plunged into a worse state of chaos when it comes." Rather they should put the "revolution" in his hands Calverton urges so that "we (can) endeavor to hasten it and in so doing consciously prepare for it." In that happy event "we may manage to hasten it and in so doing consciously prepare for it." That is, Calverton will endeavor to sabotage the real revolution in order that "we may manage to save ourselves from much of that chaos which otherwise cannot be escaped."

In this pamphlet Calverton elaborates his theory that the petty bourgeoisie possesses a more revolutionary character than the proletariat. His pamphlet again says: "It is the collapse of the lower middle class which is helping to prepare the way for the rise of the proletariat." He once more makes the ideological factor the primary one by saying that "along with the breakdown of the petty-bourgeois ideology will disappear, slowly perhaps, but steadily, the petty bourgeois minded outlook of the American proletariat." Calverton then deduces that it is only under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie that his "revolution" can take place.

It would be wrong, as some socialist theoreticians like Kautsky claim, to consider fascism as solely a petty bourgeois movement. However, it must be recognized that the petty bourgeoisie (as in Germany and Italy) form one of the important elements in the social basis of fascism. But it is a gross misunderstanding of the whole question to consider them as revolutionizing themselves faster than the proletariat. To do so is to misunderstand the historical role of the petty bourgeoisie. It will be shown that this overemphasis of the petty bourgeoisie is, moreover, an important part of fascist ideology.

The Vacillating Middle Class

Marx and Lenin have both shown the vacillating character of the petty bourgeois. They are both revolutionary and reactionary. Their connections with capitalism tie them to the forces of reaction. Their steady disintegration under the forces of finance capital make them sympathetic to the aims of the proletariat. Historically, however it is obvious that the tie of the petty bourgeoisie to capital is far stronger than their inclination to revolt. This historical fact cannot be omitted in a discussion of the role of the petty bourgeoisie. Even the unemployed members of the middle class, such as the technicians, the management experts, the bankrupt shopkeepers, etc., are bound by economic, political and social ties to the ruling class. Sections of the petty bourgeoisie can be won over to the side of the proletariat, only by tireless agitation and propaganda on the part of the proletariat. The development of fascism in Germany and other countries proves that the petty bourgeoisie even when bankrupt do not turn to proletarian revolution automatically. Despite a deepening economic crisis and the growing strength of the Communist Party in Germany, Hitler and Hugenberg polled over 14 million votes in the last German election.

The strength and persistence of fascist ideology has constantly to be fought by the proletariat. The working class must expose fascist theories and at the same time, point out that the automatic revolutionization of the petty bourgeoisie as a class is a fascist concept designed to cover up the counter-revolutionary aims of fascism. It must be emphasized that the petty bourgeoisie are not revolutionizing themselves faster than the proletariat as is claimed

by Calverton. On the contrary, some sections of the petty bourgeoisie are more likely to turn fascist than become revolutionary. The Marxist Leninist principle of the fundamental importance of the proletariat in the social revolution must continually be driven home as against the fascist theory of the predominant importance of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Mythical "Public"

The overestimation of the role of the petty-bourgeoisie in the United States by Calverton is not borne out even by bourgeois statistics. The census figures of 1930 revealed that the class relations of the United States are pretty much the same as those of the other advanced capitalist countries. There were listed over 48 million gainfully employed. Of these, about 34 million were workers, both clerical and wage. The petty-bourgeoisie numbered over 14 millions including some 6 million farmers. The big bourgeoisie numbered some 400,000 and were essentially financial capitalists.

The farmers who constituted some 50 percent of the gainfully employed in 1870 now numbered only 13 percent of the total of gainfully employed, and were no longer an independent propertied class. A heavy increase in mortgages, a great rise in tenancy, the fall in farm prices, etc. has converted more than half of the American farmers into poor owners and tenants, who are rapidly being pauperized. The rest of the middle class composed of managers, officials, professionals, storekeepers, etc. constituted some 16 percent of the gainfully employed.

The petty-bourgeoisie are not a homogeneous class. The poor and tenant farmers are potentially a revolutionary group. The lower middle class (those who formerly had incomes under \$4,000) comprises about three-quarters of the rest of the petty-bourgeoisie that is, about 6 million who are going through a process of pauperization which will drive many of them into the ranks of the proletariat.

The big bourgeoisie comprising less than one percent of the total population have become too small to uphold their rule alone. They require for their rule, outside of the ultimate weapon of open force, strata of population (which serve them economically and politically) to fasten their rule upon the working class. Their best class ally is the upper brackets of the petty-bourgeoisie who numbered about 2 million of the gainfully employed. Of course in the final fascist line up there will also be groups of the lower middle class, deluded workers and farmers, etc. What is being indicated here is merely the rough outlines of the opposing camps.

On the other hand, the workingclass is by far the largest class. It constituted about 70 percent of the gainfully employed, but earned only about 40 percent of the national income. It will be the proletariat, the most homogeneous and important class which will lead the way toward the overthrow of capitalism. The consciousness of this fact will put the workingclass on guard against intellectuals like Calverton who shout about the predominant role of the petty-bourgeoisie, a class whose present disintegration Marx correctly analyzed and predicted decades ago.

A petty-bourgeois "revolt" from the right therefore, can only take place within the orbit of fascism, but it is to the interests of the ruling class, since its allies are so small in number, to push on the one hand the "revolutionary" slogans of the petty-bourgeoisie; and on the other, in the form of fascist ideology, to present itself as a non-class, non-group ideology—the "public" or "classless state" as opposed to all privileged classes (?).

Thus Calverton in his constant overemphasis of the role of the petty-bourgeoisie, in his addressing a mythical "public", and in his subjectivizing of the class struggle turns out to be a fascist ideologue. For it is to the interests of the ruling class to attempt to eliminate the class struggle, to attack the theory that fascism is a last defense of the bourgeoisie. This Calverton has attempted to accomplish by denying that the proletariat could be objective in its understanding of history, and by his claim that the proletarian position was the result of selfish subjective interests.

The appeals of Calverton to the petty-bourgeoisie, his failure (as Foster pointed out) to distinguish between a proletarian and a fascist dictatorship is not an accidental confusion on his part, but the necessary conclusion of his own theories. Fascism has pushed the idea of the predominant revolutionary role of the petty-bourgeoisie. It appeals to that class and is an essential part of fascist ideology. So that it is correct for Calverton as a maturing fascist to imply that the proletariat has outlived its

historic role, that it is now the task of the non-proletarian groups to "lead" the proletariat in a struggle against capitalism. In Calverton's own words the proletariat are only thinking of their new Democratic president while the petty bourgeoisie are turning to "revolution." This again is not a fortuitous slip, but indicates the appearance of fascist ideology among sections of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The growth of both revolutionary and reactionary ideology among petty-bourgeois intellectuals has witnessed a tendency to stamp everybody immediately with some label. However, (as has been seen in Calverton's case) the verbal acceptance of Communism does not make a revolutionary. Nor does every reactionary intellectual bear the same stamp of fascism. There are different ideological shades of fascism as a Marxist-Leninist understanding would indicate. Fascist ideology grows up under various forms and in many schools of thought. The ideological structure of fascism does not arise as a unified whole. It develops irregularly, taking its ideas from various sources as does Calverton. The fascist camp includes the open fascism of Hamilton Fish, the "demagogic" fascism of Father Cox, the "liberal" fascism of Stuart Chase, the "radical" fascism of Calverton and so on. These varieties of fascism extend the bourgeois field of maneuvering, from open force to attempts to split the revolutionary ranks. In turn there arise "left" opposition groups who proclaim themselves really "revolutionary" as opposed to the more hardened forms of social fascism and fascism.

Fascist Types

At an early stage in fascist development these groups jockey primarily for ruling class favors. At a later stage historical causes tend to split up the fascist ranks. This is due to the contradictory position of the ruling class which compels it at times to "democratic" paths, and at other times to overt force. These contradictions in policy reflect themselves in the varying positions of social fascism and fascism.

The "milder" forms of fascism, like the potential fascism of Stuart Chase, Beard, etc. are easier to detect. In fact, Calverton himself attacks them, although he shares some of Chase's views. But the concealed form of fascism such as Calverton's contribution to the defense of the bourgeoisie is more dangerous.

For example, Calverton distorts the whole Marxist-Leninist concept of dictatorship. He claims that "the bankers and industrialists in order to preserve their power will unhesitatingly discard democracy and establish a financial dictatorship." This notion has two aspects. On the one hand, Calverton denies the present "hidden" dictatorship of finance capital. On the other hand he implies that the petty-bourgeoisie might dispute this "potential" financial dictatorship by a revolt of their own. It is not surprising, therefore, that Calverton continues with the statement that: "In the event that such power should be seized through a movement of the lower middle class, as in Italy, an open fascist dictatorship would result. In that connection, of course, it is the Father Coxes and not the Owen D. Youngs who are most dangerous, for it is of such types that the American fascist leadership will be born." Calverton further reminds the reader that "It is important that we bear that distinction in mind, for otherwise, the word fascism is robbed of its intrinsic meaning."

He is correct. It is important to keep this statement clearly in mind. It shows Calverton's maturing fascist ideology. To say as he did that Mussolini's seizure of power was solely the result of a middle class revolt directed against a potential worker or banker dictatorship is just the sort of statement that Mussolini himself used to make. The fact, however, is that Mussolini was subsidized by the bankers and industrialists to forestall a proletarian revolution. Mussolini's march to Rome took place with the full connivance of the military and financial powers of Italy. That Owen D. Young is less dangerous to the proletariat than Father Cox may seem plausible to Calverton as an "American Marxist". The realization, however, that Young represents perhaps better than anyone else, the massed power of tens of billions of capital makes Calverton's reasoning disingenuous to say the least, if it were not so misleading, for it is Young who employs the Coxes, Waters and also the Hoovers and Roosevelts.

Calverton here is warning the workers against puppets, and trying to conceal from them the real leaders of the master class. Thus later in his pamphlet he disguises the present dictatorship of finance capital by claiming that it is only in the next decade that

"Big business will undoubtedly develop dictatorial tendencies in the control of the state."

Calverton's analysis of Father Cox indicated that the latter's demagogic threats of violence against the bankers struck a sympathetic chord. Calverton possesses another ingredient of fascism—a delight in violence as an end in itself. This comes out in his false declaration that "proletarianism" is "a philosophy of violence as applied to revolution." Calverton becomes chauvinistic on the point and declares that "we cannot deny that the spirit of physical fight is in our blood" . . . and that "the American tradition, then, has not been founded upon any theory of quiescence. On the contrary, it has been inspired by the realization of the importance and necessity of force in the social process."

Calverton works himself up to oratorical heights by declaring that "Hate and not love is the emotion which (the American workers) must nurture . . ." It is "the gospel of hate (that) belongs to the proletariat, for it is only by such hate that the energy necessary for its struggle can be engendered." All of this translated into ordinary speech is a rough equivalent of Hitlerism. The Hitlerites also teach their followers that "the spirit of physical fight is in 'their German blood,' and that the German tradition is one founded on 'the importance and necessity of force.'" And Calverton's gospel of hate as one of the prerequisites of social change is also to be found among Hitler's followers. Only the Hitlerites are taught to hate certain class institutions and class enemies, while Calverton with his usual nebulosity merely urges general hatred as a principle. His apostrophe to hate, his fetishism of violence show Calverton's complete lack of understanding of the revolutionary movement. He does not understand that it is not based merely on hate, but upon objective knowledge, that it does not eulogize force as an end in itself, but in a world where capitalism rules by force, employs force as a means to a successful proletarian revolution.

The mixed fascist and "communist" statements in Calverton's pamphlet would require a thick book to answer completely. There is his statement that there was "a revolution within the state, . . . in Russia and Germany after the last war." This identification of the social-democratic betrayal of the revolution in Germany with the successful October Revolution is typical of Calverton's many misstatements.

There is also his effort to subjectivize Lenin's statement to the effect that "a high development of the productive forces and the preparedness of the proletariat" are necessary for a successful social revolution. Calverton graciously grants the existence of the first prerequisite. But then he goes on to say that "the second, the subjective or psychological, is further from realization in this country (America) than in any other industrialized nation in the world. In brief, we are admirably prepared physically for a revolution but miserably unprepared psychologically." This conclusion he draws from his premise that "The American workers even at the present time are on the whole ideologically less advanced than they were some decades ago." To be sure, Calverton a few pages back had said "the violence" of the past "had no ideological direction," but by now the reader must realize that internal contradictions are the essence of Calverton.

The "Subjective" Class Struggle

It will be noticed that this simple splitting of the class struggle into objective conditions, and "subjective psychological ones" is a consequence of Calverton's attempt to put the class struggle upon a subjective basis. According to Calverton "technology" is objective but "ideology" is subjective. He does not understand that the revolutionary ideology of the working class while a reflection of the struggle of the proletariat against the ruling class, is at the same time an objective weapon which directs and guides its struggle. The result of Calverton's false theory concerning the subjective nature of the class struggle is to lead him to the concept that a social revolution can take place only at the moment when the working class is ideologically well equipped. This doctrine is a dilution of Sorel's theory of the "social myth." The workers are indoctrinated with ideology; and when they are "psychologically equipped", as Calverton would say, the social revolution comes about of its own accord. Calverton thinks of ideologies in terms of little tablets that are administered to the workers. These work slowly, but at the psychological moment give birth to an ideology, which in turn makes a revolution.

To speak, then, as Calverton does that "America is faced today with an objective situation which is potentially revolutionary, but with a working class which is ideologically unequipped to take

revolutionary action," or to say as he does that "we have not built up a working class which has learned as yet the advantage of co-operation or the wisdom of communism," is but to reveal Calverton's shortcomings. The objective situation which is potentially revolutionary is setting in motion masses of workers who while they may not know of the "wisdom" of Calverton, will eventually under the leadership of the Communist Party bring about the American October. They do not need Calverton's "intelligence" and "program", for in their daily struggles which Calverton calls "spending their violence in unrewarding protest and self-defeating struggle" they are creating the weapons which will overthrow capitalism in the United States.

A "Spontaneous" Revolt

Calverton has called himself a "Marxist" many times. It is interesting therefore that in a pamphlet of many pages he never mentions the struggles of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party during the last decade. Nor for that matter does he even mention the name of the Communist Party, the only revolutionary party in the country. Calverton as a "Marxist" urges the indoctrination of the workers so that in the dim future when they are "ideologically equipped" they will revolt. Calverton quotes Lenin several times during the course of his pamphlet but he never mentions the primary importance in Marxist-Leninist theory of a *revolutionary party, which is the vanguard of the working class*. The Communist Party is part of the American working class, and as part of it, does not follow the proletariat "by the tail" filling it with "psychology", but helps to guide it by analyzing and correctly predicting historical events. Calverton's failure to mention the Communist Party is emphasized by his insistence at one point that what is needed is a "revolutionary organization, expressing the spirit of that working class, disciplined for swift and certain action." This no doubt will surprise those revolutionaries in this country who for more than a decade have been working within the ranks of the Communist Party.*

The appeal of Calverton for a new "revolutionary" party was followed by an action that by now must be expected by the reader. It has been pointed out that on the one hand he indulges in "leftist" phrases and on the other in reactionary actions. Thus Calverton's plea for "a revolution" was followed by an issue of the *Modern Quarterly* in which there appeared Diego Rivera who was expelled from the Mexican Communist Party for counter-revolutionary activities, and who was recently involved in a scheme which will deport thousands of Mexican workers from Detroit. In his article Rivera, who is now painting murals for Rockefeller Center defended himself by saying that as "a guerilla fighter" he takes his "munitions from the hands of the bourgeoisie." To this blatant piece of chicanery Calverton did not reply. As a "guerilla fighter" he also has "taken" his munitions from the bourgeoisie, and therefore, does not think it necessary to draw class lines in his "revolutionary" magazine. His "radical open forum" is open to anyone. In the same issue he printed an attack on Hoover by Walter Liggett who by a curious coincidence, had another article at the same time in the "open forum" of another "radical"—Alfred E. Smith's *Outlook*. Liggett in this article called *Our Machine-Tilled Acres* delivered a bitter attack against the Soviet Union and the success of socialized farming. An editorial note to Liggett's article declared:

"Nineteen members have been expelled from the ruling party of the U.S.S.R. for protesting against mechanized state farms. Walter W. Liggett explains the breakdown of the great machinery-run farms operated on a theory which failed in this country, and is failing again in Russia."

The gist of Liggett's article is sympathy for the poor exploited *kulak* for whom Al Smith and V. F. Calverton both no doubt must have great sympathy, Smith because of his love for humanity, and Calverton because the petty bourgeoisie really should "lead" the proletariat to revolution. Liggett repeats the worn-out stories about the Soviet government which "ruthlessly liquidated" the wealthy *kulaks* by military might, and thus compelled the establishment of collective farms." He also speaks of "the poorer peasants, forcibly in many instances,—gathered on collective farms." He even uses the "forced-labor" myth: "The war against the

kulaks was carried out with extreme cruelty in 1930." . . . "Thousands of competent farmers were driven to forced labor in the mines or lumber camps."

This is not the place to refute Liggett's tearful defense of the kulaks who were "the superior farmers." Statements similar to his have been exposed by experts. But it is significant that this petty bourgeois reformer who attacks the Soviet Union should have found a haven with the "revolutionary" Calverton. Liggett wrote with an "open mind" for both Al Smith and V. F. Calverton. The contribution of Calverton to this issue of his magazine consists of his saying that "the next political step to be undertaken in this country, in all likelihood the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, will only leave the small man still further behind, for such a party will be driven to develop inevitably along class lines instead of individual ones." This, as Calverton would phrase it, is an expression of "wish-fulfilment" on his part. His dream all along has been such a party, under his theoretical leadership, which would take communism away from the Communist Party, and direct a "revolution" under Calverton's political guidance.

It must be manifest by now that Calverton is a type that reflects the attitude and ethics of a decadent, racketeering capitalist civilization. Calverton, with but few opportunities at the beginning of his career to storm the literary world, used the labor movement as a lever to muscle into the literary sex rackets. His methods as have been indicated had all the unscrupulous aspects of a real racketeer. When the crisis ended his sex racket for the time being, Calverton returned to his old racket. He became a "Marxist and a revolutionist." His attitude here again bears resemblance to that of a racketeer. Calverton is all for straightening out the difficulties between rivals in the racket. Marxism, he contends, is a legitimate business now, so there is nothing to



WILLIAM SIEGEL

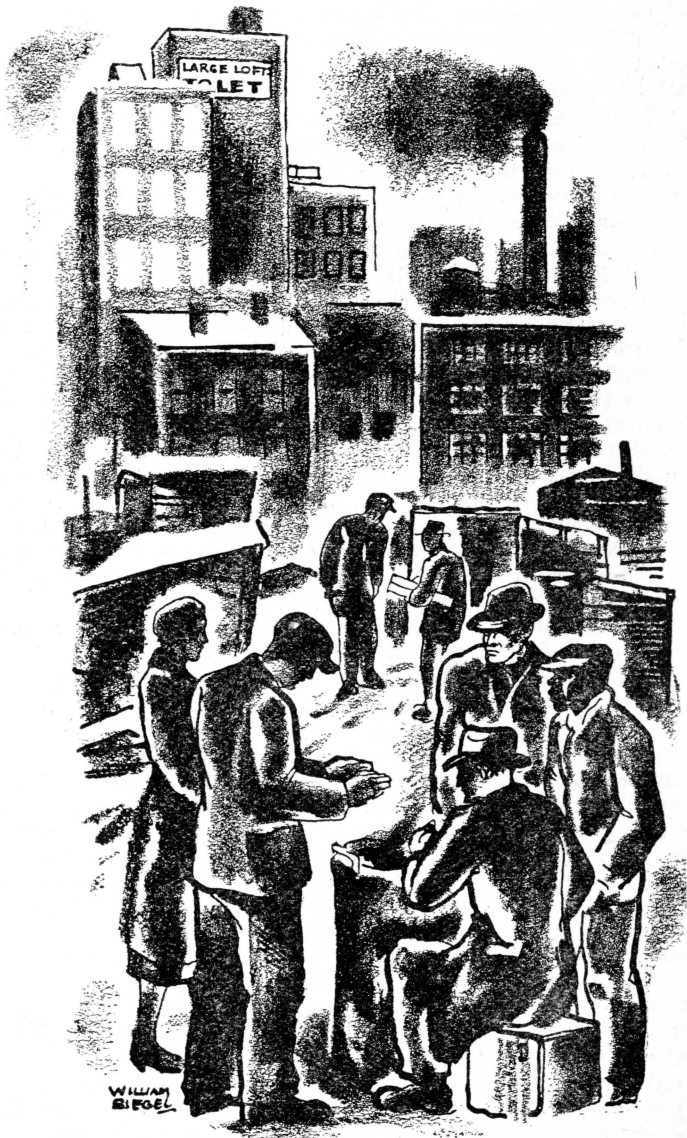
* The renegade Workers Age hailed Calverton's pamphlet as "a Marxian defense that roots itself in the American language and tradition."



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gain from fighting one another. All that has to be done is to properly divide distribution centers and supply an ever increasing market with "Marxism." Calverton is very annoyed with those people who won't come into his trust. He declares that they do not belong to the "main stream" of American thought, which he automatically reserves for Calverton and Company (purveyors of the best collection of newer and finer Marxisms.) Calverton is anxious to centralize control of Marxism and build up an intellectual trust under his direction.

A good picture of Calverton is given in a piece he wrote for *The National Spotlight* in August, 1932, called *Ivar Kreuger, Twentieth Century Napoleon*. Calverton calls *Kreuger* "a genius of the age, towering over men and nations"... He speaks of *Kreuger's* death giving "a sudden impetus to the Communist movement." He tells of the fact (?) that "unlike most capitalists in our day *Kreuger* was less interested in acquiring a personal fortune than in building up a financial influence which was omnipotent." *Kreuger*, it seems, said, "We are, in my opinion, coming around to a new age of trusts and something like the internationalization of business." Calverton comments: "*Kreuger* realized that there was only one way to make his industry fulfill the task of the new age, as he envisioned it, and that was to make it into a world trust. Business had become international; national boundaries had been dissolved by the technical boundaries of our civilization...." In defense of *Kreuger's* crookedness Calverton declares that "as in all wars, virtue is an anachronism and honesty a vice"... [Italics ours].

Calverton mentions that "*Kreuger* was a genuine devotee of music, a lover of literature, and though the time at his disposal for the cultivation of other arts was entirely limited, he seldom failed to patronize them whenever he had the opportunity... Beauty was one of the demands that *Ivar Kreuger* made of places, since he could not very well make it of people—or of himself." It is worthwhile pointing out that while Calverton was eulogizing *Kreuger* the *Spotlight*—a bourgeois publication, showed its superiority to Calverton when it said that "*Ivar Kreuger* can certainly be described as the greatest con-man of history."

Whether or not Calverton's maturing fascism may be excused as the result of his ignorance of the principles of Communism, or of muddle-headedness or lack of scruples, such a defense cannot be made for the innumerable attacks which Calverton has made upon the Communist Party in many of his lectures in Baltimore. In that city Calverton lectures weekly under the auspices of the Baltimore Labor College, an institution conducted by the local Federation of Labor. Here he decants upon a bewildering diversity of topics: American culture, the frontier, England, Christianity, the

nature of social laws, current events, private property, communism, power, sex, etc. In these lectures and discussions he manages to drag in the Communist Party. He has condemned every tactic of the Party as being stupid and ridiculous: its activities in the bonus-march, its nomination of James W. Ford, a leading Negro Communist, for Vice-President, and so on. He has carried to Baltimore many of the tall tales disseminated by renegade communists—he continually talks of many mysterious splits in the American Communist Party and he "confirmed" Heywood Broun's recent lie regarding the illness of Foster in the election campaign.

At the present time Calverton is lecturing at the renegade Lovestone school in New York. For some 20 months now Calverton has announced at intervals that Stalin would reappoint Lovestone as leader of the American Party. Apparently Lovestone must have convinced Calverton that this millenium was at hand. Calverton, true to his policy of having his fingers in as many pies as possible, has not openly joined the Lovestone faction. He is still waiting for Stalin's edict. Perhaps in a few months Calverton may find it profitable to become a Trotskyite.* One can never tell in these uncertain days.

A great deal of space has been devoted here to examining Calverton's real position only because of the importance of ideological clarity. Today the revolutionary movement in this country is confronted with "guerilla" bands of spurious communists who attempt to prey on the Communist movement in this country and who endeavor to bar the path of those intellectuals who are drifting leftward. The extravagant praise which Calverton has received for his work as "a pioneer Marxist" from sympathetic intellectuals, is evidence of two disturbing factors. The first is that these men have as yet not been able to see through Calverton's pretenses to learning and Marxism. The second is that these intellectuals by contributing to Calverton's magazine give Calverton a prestige which enables him to operate the *Modern Quarterly* (soon to become the *Modern Monthly*) as an anti-Communist Party and anti-Marxist center.

Their alliance with Calverton helps to strengthen him. And inasmuch as it is the duty of all revolutionary workers and honest intellectuals to guard and struggle against the development of fascism, it is necessary to point out that to trail along with Calverton is to follow not the path of revolution, but of counter-revolution. A revolutionary intellectual realizes above all things that the road to revolution does not lie in Calverton's road of the "leftist" phrase, but along the road of revolutionary action.

* In an open letter to Calverton published in the *Militant*, Trotsky recently invited him, in effect, to align himself with the Trotskyist group in New York.

TIME IS MONEY

Tick-tock. Time is Money.
Tick-tock. Safety First.
and Haste is Waste
and all the mangled limbs of Time,
charred bodies, slag in white-hot steel,
the rotting teeth, the T.B.-faces,
the yellow-green decaying skins of Time!

Time is Money!

Tick-tock.
Skeleton crews in speed-up shifts
clang their iron deaths,
and spin a wealth of misery.

Whose bones are clacking in the wind?
Whose grinding laughter whirls about?

A billboard bears the braggart sign.
A ragged suicide turns and twists.
A young woman weeps.

Tick-tock. Scabshops of starvation... Fears
in the gloom and dusty corners... Lean years
cutting:

Time! Time! Time!—

the skin to bone of workers, wives and kids.

Oh we work, work, work,
time, time, and overtime,
until dawn is feverish in our faces
like the flush of a consumptive;
and our thin fingers ache with needles stitching pain.

Tick-tock: for increased dividends.
Time is Money and tailors' shears become the whirring
cutters' gears of efficiency engineers.

Tick-tock. Time is Money and financiers!

SLOW DEATH

All day we had been sitting in the piano box waiting for the rain to stop. Below us, twenty feet away, the muddy Savannah River oozed past, carrying to the sea the dead pines and rotted mule collars of the uplands.

Overhead, the newly completed Fifth Street Bridge kept us dry. We had stacked piles of brick-bats under the corners of the piano box to keep the floor of it dry, and the water that drained from the bridge and red clay embankment passed under us on its way to the swollen river.

Every once in a while Dave got up on his hands and knees and turned the straw over. It was banana straw, and it was soggy and foul-smelling. There was just enough room for the two of us in the crate, and if the straw were not evenly strewn, it made lumps under our backs and sides that felt as hard as bricks.

Just behind us was a family of four living in a cluster of dry goods boxes. The boxes had been joined together by means of holes cut in the sides, like those of dog houses, and the mass of packing cases provided four or five rooms. The woman had two Dominique hens. These she kept in the box with her all the time, day and night, stroking their feathers so they would lay eggs for her. There were a dozen or more other crates under the South Carolina side of the bridge; when old men and women, starved and yellow, died in one of them, their bodies were carried down to the river and lowered into the muddy water; when babies were born, people leaned over the railings above and listened to the screams of birth and threw peanut shells over the side.

At dark, the rain stopped. The sky looked as if it would not clear before morning, and we knew it would drizzle all night. Dave was restless, and he could not stay in the box any longer.

"Come on, Mike," he said. "Let's get out of here and get something to eat."

I followed him through the red mud up the side of the embankment to the pavement above. We walked through puddles of water, washing the sticky red clay from our feet.

Dave had fifty cents in his pocket and I was determined not to let him buy me anything to eat. He had baled waste paper in a basement factory off and on for two weeks; and when he worked, he made fifty cents a day. He had worked the day before in the factory, and the money had been kept all that time.

When we had crossed the river into Georgia, I turned sharply to the right and started running up the levee away from Dave. I had gone fifty yards when he caught me by the sweater and made me stop. Then he took the fist out of his pocket and showed me the fifty-cent piece.

"Don't worry about me, Dave," I told him, catching his wrist and forcing his hand back into his pocket. "I'll get by till tomorrow. I've got the promise of a half-day job, and that ought to be good for a dollar—a half, anyway. Go on and buy yourself a good meal."

"No," Dave said, jerking the fist out of his pocket. "We'll split it."

He pulled me along with him towards the city. We broke through the levee grass and went down the embankment to the pavement. There was a dull orange glow in the low sky ahead of us, and the traffic in the streets sounded like an angry mob fighting for their lives.

We walked along together, splashing through the shallow puddles of water on the pavement, going towards the city. Suddenly Dave stopped squarely in the middle of a sheet of rainwater that had not drained off.

"You're young, Mike," he said, catching my sweater and shaking it as a dog does a pillow. "I'm old, but you're young. You can find out what to do, and come back and tell me, and we'll do it."

"It'll take more than the two of us, Dave. We'll have to get a lot more on our side first."

"Don't worry about that," he said. "As soon as the people know what to do, and how to do it, we can go up and run the hell out of those fat bastards who won't give us our jobs back."

"Maybe it's not time yet, Dave."

"Not time yet! Haven't I been out of my job two years now? How much time do you want? Now's the time, before all of us starve to death and get carried feet first down to that mud-slough of a river."

Before I could say anything, he had turned around and started up the street again. I ran and caught up with him. We splashed through the puddles, dodging the deepest ones.

Dave had had a good job in a fertilizer plant in South Augusta two years before. But they turned him out one day, and they wouldn't take him back. There were seventy men in the crowd that was laid off that time. Dave would never tell me what had happened to the rest of them, but I knew what had happened to him. After Dave had run behind in house-rent for six or seven months, the landlord told him to move out. Dave wouldn't do it. He said he was going to stay there until he got back his job in the fertilizer plant in South Augusta. Dave stayed.

Dave stayed in the house for another four months, but long before then the window-sashes and doors of the building had been taken out and carried off by the owner. When winter came, the rain soaked the house until it was as soggy as a log of punk-wood. After that, the cold winds of January drove through the dwelling, whistling through the long wide slits like an angry man breathing through his clenched teeth. There was no wood or coal to burn in the fireplaces. There were only two quilts and a blanket for Dave and his wife and the three children. Two of the children died before January was over. In February his wife went. In March there was a special prayer service in one of the churches for Dave and his eleven-year-old daughter, but Dave said all he got out of it was a pair of khaki pants with two holes the size of dinner plates in the seat.

Dave did not know whether his daughter had died, or whether she was being taken care of by charity. The last time he had seen her was when a policeman came and took her away one morning, leaving Dave sitting in a corner of the windowless house wrapped in the two quilts and blanket.

We had reached Seventh Street by that time. The Plaza was hidden in fog, and all around it the tall buildings rose like century-old tombstones damp and gray.

"Go on and eat, Dave," I told him again. "When you get through, I'll meet you here, and we'll walk back to the river and get in out of the cold."

"I'm not going a step till you come with me."

"But I'm not hungry, Dave. I'm going to get half a day's work tomorrow, and I'll be all right until I get paid off."

"Then I won't eat, either."

"Don't be a fool, Dave. I wouldn't lie to you. I'm not hungry."

"I'm not going to eat, then," he said again.

The night was getting colder and more raw all the time. Some drain water in the gutter at our feet lay in a long snake-like stream, and it looked as if it would freeze behind us, stinging our backs; a moment later it had shifted its course and was striking our faces.

"Hurry up, Dave," I begged him. "There's no sense in our standing here and freezing. I'll meet you in half an hour."

Dave caught my sweater and pulled me back. The roar of speeding automobiles and the crashing rumble of motor trucks made such a din in the street we had to shout to make ourselves heard.

Just as I was about to try again to make him get something to eat, I turned around and saw a black sedan coming around the corner behind us. It was coming fast, more than forty miles an hour, and it was on the inside, cutting the corner.

I pulled at Dave to get him out of the way, because his back was turned to the sedan and he could not see it.

He evidently thought I was trying to make him go to the restaurant alone, because he pulled away from me and stepped backward out of my reach. It was too late then to try to grab him and get him out of the way, and all I could do was to shout at him as loud as I could above the roar in the street. Dave must have thought that I was trying to make him go to the restaurant alone, because he stepped backward again. As he stepped backward the second time, the bumper and right front mudguard on the sedan struck him. He was knocked to the sidewalk like a duck-pin.

The man who was driving the big sedan had cut the corner by at least three feet, because the wheels had jumped the curb.

There was a queer-looking expression on Dave's face.

The driver had stopped, and he walked back to where we were. By that time people had begun to gather from all directions, and we were surrounded on all sides.

"Are you hurt, Dave?" I asked him, getting down on the sidewalk with him.

The driver had pushed through the crowd, and when I looked up, he was standing at Dave's feet looking down at us.

"Mike," Dave said, turning his face towards me, "Mike, the half is in my right-hand pants pocket."

His fingers were clutching my hand, and he held me tightly, as though afraid he would fall.

"Forget the half, Dave," I begged him. "Tell me if you're hurt. If you are, I'll get a doctor right away."

Dave opened his eyes, looking straight up at me. His shoulders moved slightly, and he held me tighter.

"There's nothing wrong with him," the driver of the sedan said, pushing the crowd away from him with his elbows. "There's nothing the matter with him. He's faking."

The man stood erect above us, looking down at Dave. His mouth was partly open, and his lips were rounded, appearing to be swollen. When he spoke, there was no motion on his lips; they looked like a bloodless growth on his mouth, curling outward.

"Mike," Dave said, "I guess I'll have to give up trying to get my job back. It's too late now; I won't have time."

The man above us was talking to several people in the crowd. His lips seemed to be too stiff to move when he spoke; they looked by that time like rolls of hardened dough.

"He's faking," he said again. "He thinks he can get some money out of me, but I'm wise to the tricks of these bums. There's nothing wrong with him. He's not hurt no more than I am."

I could hear people all around us talking. There was one fellow in the crowd behind me talking loud enough for everyone to hear. I could not see his face, but no one could have failed to hear every word he said.

"Sure; he's a bum. That's why they don't take him to the hospital. What in hell do they care about a bum? They wouldn't give him a ride to the hospital, because it might cost them something. They might get the goddam sedan bloody. They don't want bum's blood on the goddam pretty upholstery."

I unbuttoned Dave's sweater and put my hand under his shirt, trying to find out if there were any bones broken in his shoulder. Dave had closed his eyes again, but his fingers were still gripped tightly around my wrist.

"He's faking," the driver said. "These bums try all kinds of tricks to get money. There's nothing wrong with him. He's not hurt; he's faking."

The fellow behind us in the crowd was talking again.

"Why don't you take him to the hospital in your sedan, Dough-Face?"

The man looked the crowd over, but he made no reply.

I drew my hand out from under Dave's shirt and saw blood on my fingers. It had not come from his shoulder. It came from the left side of his chest where he had struck the pavement when the sedan knocked him down and rolled over him. I put my hand inside again, feeling for broken bones. Dave's body on that side

was soft and wet, and I had felt his heart beating as though I had held it in the palm of my hand.

"How about taking him to the hospital?" I said to the driver looking down at us. "He's been hurt."

"That's the way these bums fake," the driver said, looking from face to face in the crowd. "There's nothing wrong with him. He's not hurt. If he was hurt, he'd yell about it. You don't hear him groaning, do you? He's just waiting for me to throw him a ten or twenty. If I did that and drove off, he'd jump up and beat it around the block before I could get out of sight. I know these bums; all they want is money. That one down there is faking just like all the rest of them do. He's no more hurt than I am."

I got up and tried to lift Dave in my arms. We could carry him to the hospital, even if the driver wouldn't take him in the sedan.

The driver was facing the crowd again, trying to convince the people that Dave was attempting to hold him up for some money.

"He's faking!" he said, shouting between his dead lips. "These bums think they can get money by jumping in front of an automobile and then yelling that they're hurt. It's a good lesson for them; maybe they'll stop it now. I'm wise to them; I know they're faking."

Dave opened his eyes and looked at me.

"Wait a minute, Mike," he said; "put me down. I want to tell you something."

I laid him on the sidewalk as carefully as I could. He lay there looking up at me, his hand gripping my wrist.

"I just want to make sure you know where the half is, Mike," he said. "The half is in my right-hand pocket, Mike."

I was about to tell him again that it was all right about the fifty cents, and to forget it, when suddenly his grip on my wrist loosened and his eyes clouded.

During all the time I knelt there holding him in my arms I was trying to think of something to say to Dave before it was too late. Before I could think of anything to tell him, the driver of the sedan elbowed closer and looked down at us.

"He's faking," he said. "The dirty bum's faking."

He elbowed his way out of the crowd and went towards his sedan. When he reached it, he shouted back over the heads of the people:

"There's nothing wrong with him. He can't put nothing over on me. I'm wise to these dirty bums. All they want is some money, and they get well quick enough."

"Sure; he's a bum," the fellow behind me said, his voice ringing clear like a bell. "He might get some bum's blood on your goddam pretty upholstery."

Just then a policeman came running up. He pushed the crowd away and poked me with his nightstick and asked what the trouble was. Before I could tell him, he struck me on the back of the neck with the billy.

"What the hell you guys blocking the street for?"

I told him Dave was dead.

He turned around and walked half a block to a call-box and rang up the city hospital for an ambulance. By the time he had come back, the man who was driving the sedan had left.

"Why didn't you take him to the hospital in the car that knocked him down?" the policeman said, whirling his nightstick and looking down the street at a woman in front of a show-window.

"Hell, can't you see he's a bum?" the fellow behind me said. "We didn't want to get bum's blood all over the goddam pretty upholstery."

The policeman stopped and looked at the fellow and me. He took a step forward.

"On your way, bums," he said, striking us on the heads with the billy. "Clear out of here before I run you both in."

I ran back beside Dave and stood over him. The policeman jumped at me, swinging his billy and cursing. His mouth was hanging open, and his face in anger looked like an overflowing sewer.

All at once the street lights went completely black, and when I first regained consciousness, the fellow who had stayed with me was dragging me down the street towards the freight yards. As we passed under the last street light, I looked at him and saw the policeman's nightstick protruding from his coat pocket.

A SOVIET TRAVELOGUE

ONE-SIXTH OF THE WORLD'S SURFACE, by Russel Wright, Published by the Author, Hammond, Indiana. (145 pp). \$1.25.

Russell Wright went to the U.S.S.R. because he could not believe "All he read in the papers" about those Republics. A young American from Indiana, with a healthy curiosity about the new form of society, he jotted down his impressions in a colloquial, conversational style. And he had a lot of impressions!

While the book does not pretend to be a serious study of social conditions in the U.S.S.R., it touches most of the phases of the everyday life of the people. The important social institutions are described clearly and simply. The illustrations are photographs taken by the author, and his choice of subjects is excellent. The picture of the warden of the Moscow prison and his two assistants bears the caption "Their youthfulness and happy expressions are quite the contrast to that of our 'hard boiled' and aged prison officials." Quite the contrast, indeed, for they look like any three intelligent good natured youths!

The story goes forward with no special continuity of thought. The author ranges from description to exposition and back again—a city; an institution; an idea about it; what a Russian worker said; what an American engineer thought; plans; work; sacrifice; knowledge acquired—but through it all the evidence piles up until finally the reader becomes conscious with the author of the gradual emergence of a new and better society for the workers.

In closing, Russell Wright attacks the press propaganda in this country in regard to the success of the Five-Year Plan and adds: "Suppose that it is a failure? What difference would it make? The Russians, taking their country into consideration as a whole, have more now than they ever had. Communism is too deep rooted to depend on the success or failure of any initial plan now. The Five-Year Plan whether or not it succeeds is to date, the biggest human undertaking ever attempted in the world. And scientific history itself should have taught us that everything new or untried is always condemned by the status quo."

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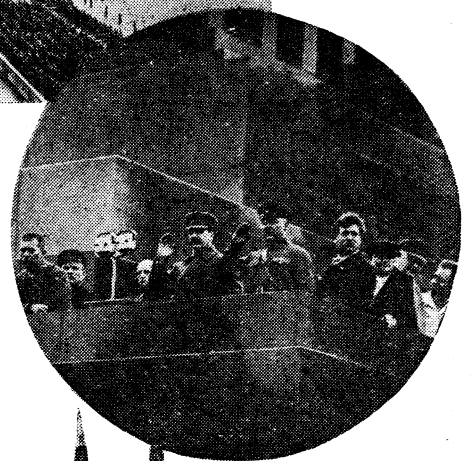
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