New World REVIEW

50 YEARS OF THE USSR

November 7, 1917 — November 7, 1967

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Vol. 35, No. 9, Fall, 1967

Second class postage paid at New York,, N. Y. Subscription $3.50 per year; $1.00 a copy. (Canadian and foreign $4.50 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York.) Published quarterly by the N.W.R. Publications, Inc., Suite 308, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: CHelsea 3-0666.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A. 209

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

1-year sub—$3.50 Single copy—$1.00

Canadian and Foreign

1-year sub—$4.50 Single copy—$1.25

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To The USSR With Love On Its Fiftieth Birthday

WITH LOVE and gratitude we dedicate this issue of our magazine to the USSR and the Soviet people on the 50th anniversary of their great October* Socialist Revolution.

Nothing can be more important at the present troubled moment in world affairs than the recognition of the full scope and grandeur of this great turning point in human history and its lessons for today. The Russian Revolution inaugurated the building of a whole society on new foundations, affecting thereby the lives and the future of all mankind. The experience and the example of the Soviet Union have opened the way for the revolutionary transformation of society everywhere from capitalism to socialism.

The Russian Revolution gave back the land and its rich resources to those who inhabit it and work it, placed possession of the means of production in the hands of society itself, ended exploitation of man by man, initiated new governmental forms providing ever-increasing opportunities for the multi-national Soviet people to determine their own destinies, to participate in decisions affecting their daily lives. With Lenin's Decree on Peace as its first Act, the new Soviet Government opened a new era in world relations, in which ever-growing numbers of mankind would seek to end forever the crime of war as a means of settling differences among nations.

For the first time in history, a Revolution celebrates its half-century mark with all its banners flying. Challenging problems and difficulties of course remain, but the great blazing truth of today is that the Soviet Union has conquered the enemies outside and in who have sought to turn back the clock of history and restore capitalism. Twenty of its fifty years were spent in fighting external aggression and recovering from its wounds. For another period almost as long, while progress never ceased, it was slowed up by the repressions of the Stalin era. Today, these obstacles overcome, the Soviet Union emerges as a great, unconquerable, stable and mature socialist power, its original aims achieved or on the way to achievement, preparing in the next half century of its existence for the transition from the socialist principle of "to everyone according to his needs" to the communist principle of "to everyone according to his deeds."

* The Russian Revolution took place on October 25 according to the old calendar, November 7 according to the new.

AT THE TIME of the Revolution, the big press of our country poured out a stream of lies and distortions to support the efforts of our Government and its World War I allies to crush socialism, to "strangle it in its cradle," in Churchill's blunt and ugly words.

But the truth broke through in many ways, as recounted elsewhere in this issue. In the months and years following the Revolution a great deal of honest and brilliant reporting was published in the Socialist and workers' press and in liberal and progressive publications. From the beginning there were also a number of publications which concentrated on news of the new socialist society. Among these was *Soviet Russia* and later the *Soviet Russia Pictorial.*

In February 1932, *Soviet Russia Today* was established, and for many years was the main American publication devoted to promotion of a better understanding of the Soviet Union and to improved American-Soviet relations, In March 1951 the name of the magazine was changed to *New World Review,* reflecting an expanded coverage, including other countries of the socialist world, while still concentrating on the Soviet Union as the leading socialist country. *New World Review* thus has behind it an unbroken publishing record of 35 years. For the editor, who has been with the magazine 32 of those years, and for her associates on the staff, it has been a rich and deeply rewarding experience to follow and report on the progress of building a socialist society.

We have seen this new society emerge from a dark, primitive past to become the first industrial power in Europe and the second in the world, with a production today seventy times that of prerevolutionary Russia. We have seen how its hundred different nationalities, many almost completely illiterate before, have become fully literate, enjoying the same advanced industry and science and culture as great Russia which formerly oppressed them. We have followed the Soviet peoples' long struggle for peaceful coexistence, their magnificent resistance to Hitler which saved the world from fascism. We have watched their growing world influence in the postwar years, despite the cold war onslaught of the United States, their unswerving stand for peace and support for national liberation movements. Today we see the Soviet Union as the main world power challenging aggressive US imperialism as it lashes out in Vietnam and elsewhere in frantic, murderous attempts to prevent the progress of the peoples toward a new world of peace, democracy and socialism.

"A Great Breakthrough of Hope"

AT HALF-CENTURY, friend and foe alike recognize that the Russian Revolution was the foremost political event of the Twentieth Century.

LOOK magazine, in its *Russia Today* issue, is compelled to acknowledge that it works. "Ponderously, fitfully, unevenly," it goes

on to say, "but 50 years after the Revolution that changed the world forever, the system it fostered wheezes with life. . . . Implausible as it may seem to us, most Soviet citizens think they have a good thing going for them. They feel safe. They don't worry about hunger or loneliness or calamity. . . . Most of them now feel free. . . . The indices by which men everywhere gauge progress are rising . . ."

George Kennan, one of the most implacable enemies of communism, in *Foreign Affairs* for October 1967, speaks of the Revolution as a "noble dream," "a great breakthrough of hope," of its "boldness, grandeur of concept and elevation of purpose." And finally, he declares, even those who question the soundness of Marxist ideology

> . . . are obliged to acknowledge, at this half century mark, the impressive body of flesh with which the dream of the Russian Revolution has now been clothed; and we must extend to the present bearers of the Russian Revolutionary traditions, even while we deny them ideological sympathy, a respectful recognition of the great part they have played in the authorship of the realities of our time. Their Revolution has now entered, irrevocably, into the fabric of history.

In the 50th anniversary series running (at this writing) in the *New York Times,* the authors, despite many hostile statements, pay tribute to unequalled Soviet accomplishments in many areas. All this does not mean that anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda has decreased. It does mean that, especially since the first Sputnik ten years ago, it is no longer possible to conceal the mighty Soviet achievements in education, industry, modern science and technique and many other fields. The crude anti-Soviet propaganda of the past can no longer be believed; it has to be clothed in far more subtle and sophisticated forms.

For many years we had to fight the outlandish image of the Soviet people presented by all the media of communication. It was necessary to show that the Soviet people were human, that they were "just like Americans," that we had much in common. We felt we had to stress similarities rather than differences between our societies.

That stage has passed. In fact one of the forms anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda is taking today is the spreading of the myth that the Soviet Union is coming closer and closer to a capitalist society. This is the greatest slander of all. It is refuted by the picture of Soviet society we present in this magazine. It is refuted by the picture of our own society found in the pages of our daily press; by the shame of our Black Ghettos, to which our Government's only answer is violence; by the horror of the atrocious war in Vietnam, to which our Government's only answer is more killing.

For a Deeper Study of Socialism

THIS ISSUE of *New World Review* has required three times as much space as an ordinary issue, and more and longer articles than we usually publish. To join in this 50th anniversary tribute,

we have turned to a number of people best equipped by years of study and firsthand observation to assess for our readers the great gains socialism has brought to the people living under it and its meaning for the rest of us. All of this cannot possibly be encompassed in one issue; the process of preparing it, however, has opened up for us a vista of far greater future usefulness for the magazine.

We are convinced that these times demand a much deeper and more fundamental knowledge of socialist society and how it works than provided in the past. We feel that this knowledge is required by all sectors of our society. By the growing peace forces, who must see that the Soviet Union is their greatest ally in the fight to end the war in Vietnam and all threats of thermonuclear war. By the Negro people, so that they may acquaint themselves with the socialist solution to racist oppression and inequality. By the workers, who should know about the powerful role of the trade unions in a socialist society, their decisive voice in determining conditions of life and work, their creative part in actually running industry jointly with management, their unending opportunities for education and increasing skills to ever higher levels. And above all by the youth, now so militantly on the march against the inhumanity of our own society and the useless slaughter in Vietnam.

We do not mean that Soviet socialism has all the answers for our American problems. We do mean that the Soviet Union has now accumulated fifty years of experience in solving similar problems, has learned many lessons from tragic errors as well as scoring many brilliant achievements. Americans can no more afford to miss studying this experience and discovering what it has to offer to meet our own needs in charting our course to a future and better society than those who are exploring the way to outer space today can afford to ignore the experience of those who have gone before in seeking the road to the stars. And for all the romance of this space age we have entered, the greatest adventure, the greatest need of all is still to find our way forward to a better society here on earth, a world of peace and brotherhood.

We invite you to share this adventure with us. We plan, with this issue, to become a quarterly magazine, so that by combining several issues in one, we may have the space we need to take whole segments of socialist society and examine them more deeply and from all sides.

This is the task we have set ourselves as the world enters the second half century of socialism.

"Everything for the Sake of Man"

DECISIONS MADE at the final session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR preceding the 50th anniversary celebration gave a living example of the policy enunciated in the Program of the Communist Party, "Everything for the sake of man."

At the opening session on October 10, Deputy Premier Nikolay Baibakov, chairman of the State Planning Committee, proposed that in the economic plan for 1968 (later accepted) production of consumer goods would rise by 8.6 per cent, compared with a 7.9 per cent increase in the production of heavy industry. He noted that overall production in 1967 would be ten per cent above 1966, as against a planned 7.3 per cent increase. He reported on wage raises for certain groups of workers in the past two years, and a 20 per cent rise in the incomes of collective farmers, who now receive guaranteed wages.

At the session, the transition to a five-day working week, with two free days, was acclaimed as a measure further easing working conditions, and increasing opportunities for education, culture and leisure. Welcomed, too, were new measures for raising living standards decided on by joint resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee:

As of January 1968, there is to be a rise of minimum wages for industrial and office workers to 60 and 70 rubles, and an increase of pay to machine tool operators. Wages will be raised and more privileges than hitherto will be granted to workers in the Far East and Far North. Duration of minimum paid holidays for industrial and office workers is to be prolonged. Taxes on wages are to be further reduced and in some cases abolished, sick pay is to be raised and pension payments are to be increased.

In reports in the US press of the 1968 budget introduced by Minister of Finance V. F. Garbuzov, much was made of the increase of the Soviet defense budget, but no mention was made of the increased budgets for education and social welfare. The increase of 2.2 billion rubles (14.5 billion rubles in 1967, 16.7 in 1968) in the defense budget was attributed to the sharp increase in aid to Vietnam and new expenditures for the Arab countries. There was also a more than two billion ruble increase in the 1968 budget as against 1967 for education, science, culture; health and physical culture; State social insurance and social maintenance.

The USSR and National Liberation

AN International Scientific Conference, devoted to the 50th anniversary and the effect of the Socialist Revolution on the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and attended by some 40 representatives from these and the socialist countries, was held at the end of October in Baku, capital of Azerbaidzhan.

Leading figures from the countries of the Soviet East, Transcaucasia and Kazakhstan reported on the profound changes the October Revolution had brought about for the oppressed peoples of the former Tsarist empire. Foreign guests told of the importance of these changes in their own struggles for national liberation.

Dang Quang Minh, head of the South Vietnamese Liberation Front mission in the USSR, stressed the great significance of the October Revolution for liberation movements throughout the world, and expressed "thanks to the Great October that the Vietnamese people are receiving big, concrete and valuable aid and support" from the Soviet Government and people. He declared the NLF had benefited greatly from the example of the USSR.

Ali Yati, First Secretary of the Moroccan Communist Party, declared "there is not a single independent African state that has not received from the Soviet Union unconditional support and assistance in its anti-imperialist struggle." Hailing the influence of the Russian Revolution in all liberation struggles, he urged that "the revolutionaries of Asia, Africa and Latin America work tirelessly to strengthen solidarity between the world socialist system, the national liberation and the international working class movements."

Halid Mohi ed-Din, General Secretary of the UAR National Peace Council, stressed the gratitude of the Arab people for Soviet assistance in the difficult period following the Israeli-Arab war. Zahir Abdel Sammos of the Syrian Communist Party spoke of the impetus given by the October Revolution to Arab liberation movements. C. Lodoidamba, Chairman of the Mongolian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee declared that it was due to October and the help of the Soviet people that the Mongolian People's Republic was able to gain independence and go over to socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalism.

Two representatives from Israel, Emil Habibi, M.P., member of the Communist Party of Israel, and Yosef El-Gazi, editor of the Party's main newspaper, *Zu Holereh,* took part in the conference. Emil Habibi, in an interview with *Novosti* (*Pravda,* October 7), stated: "We are inspired in our difficult struggle by the principled, peaceful policy of the great country of the October Revolution—the Soviet Union—and of other socialist countries."

Dr. Victor Volsky, head of the USSR Institute of Latin America, said that the victory of the Cuban Revolution in the Western hemisphere, showed the powerful influence of socialism on the development of all social and political processes in the world today.

"Cuba has chosen socialism itself, and found this the best reply to all those who are shouting about the export of revolution. We do not export revolution," Volsky said. "But not because we are afraid of marring relations with capitalist countries. We simply believe that a revolution can be victorious and its results stable only when the ideas of the revolution mature within the country and in the final count win the minds of the majority of the people. At the same time, the Soviet Union is always ready to act in defense of the right of the peoples to self-determination, to the free choice of their own way of development and against any export of counterrevolution."

The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War

THE SECOND anniversary of November, the 34th anniversary, on November 16, of the establishment of American-Soviet diplomatic relations, is darkened by the Vietnam war. The Soviet Union has made clear that, while keeping open certain avenues of exchange for the sake of peace, there can be no hope of closer US-USSR ties until the war in Vietnam is brought to an end. Elsewhere in this issue (pp. 184-189), we report the Soviet stand in the United Nations in opposition to US aggression and US support of aggression, and the strong Soviet support and constantly increasing aid to the people of Vietnam in their heroic fight for independence.

President Johnson has so far been impervious to the growing opposition his insane course is arousing among all circles of the American people, in the United Nations, everywhere in the world. Yet we must remember that there is no way out of this war but all-out, crushing, absolutely irrepressible pressure from the American people to compel him to understand that he faces sure defeat in 1968 if he doesn't end the war.

Mr. Johnson has vainly tried to improve relations with the Soviet Union during this period, trying to give an appearance of moderation. But it is clear that to him the war in Vietnam is part of a global war to the finish against communism with its spearpoint at this time directed against China. The tragic split between the two great socialist nations, which Johnson has sought to exploit and widen, has been one of the greatest assets to US aggression. Unity and cooperation between the Soviet Union and China, which the USSR has consistently sought, would doom Johnson's war.

Our greatest hope for peace, as the second half century of socialism begins, is in the restoration of unity among the socialist nations. Soviet-Chinese unity would be the surest way to defeat US imperialist aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere, the soundest guarantee for new advances by national liberation movements throughout the world.

Meantime, we must trust to the good sense and wisdom and strength of the people of the United States to demonstrate unceasingly for peace, to use the vote, draft resistance and every other means in their power to dump Johnson, stop the bombing, force withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam and bring an end to our national shame. The historic confrontation of the US peace forces with the military forces of the Pentagon on October 21-22 marks a new and higher stage of the people's resistance to the war in Vietnam.

And we continue to look to the Soviet Union to remain on guard for peace, as it has been now through fifty dangerous years, giving every possible help to the victims of aggression and at the same time working with unflagging vigilance to avert the ultimate disaster of world thermonuclear war.

A Black Man's Salute

by **OSSIE DAVIS**

IF ALL THE great and bragged-about benefits of the capitalist system were true beyond cavil, it would, from the viewpoint of us who are its historic victims, still stand condemned. It is a system to which we, the black people of the United States, have never belonged save as the degraded means to somebody else's end. First as slaves, then as a source of cheap labor. Now as a seemingly endless supply of cannon-fodder for the needs of that system in its attempt to swallow up the world as it is now trying to do in Vietnam.

To the black man capitalism has always been something not to be enjoyed—because we have always known that its benefits were not meant for us—but something somehow to be survived. It did not destroy us—no thanks to it—but it most certainly did not set us free. *Because it cannot.*

The black man's mightiest expectations have always been in the alternative which, though nowhere present, he dreamed about as a part of the future. A future he frequently placed beyond the bounds of this world, where he would surely receive his reward, not down here on the earth—but up there in heaven. But the dream of heaven is real only to the degree to which it can be made to come true on earth. And since our religion counciled us always to look both ways—"Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."—we searched each passing day for signs and portents.

Thus fifty years ago when the good news came out of Russia that men there had decided to abandon capitalism and attempt to construct, here, "on earth," a system in which no man would be the hereditary victim of other men because of the color of his skin, a system of true equality ultimately to be formulated as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," it was only natural that black men should associate their own hopes and their own expectations with the promises of socialism.

And so it is natural that today black men should salute that country and that people who fifty years ago turned their backs on the past and struck out boldly to build a wholly different kind of society. Just as it is natural for us to find in the example of the Russian people enduring solace for all of our struggles ahead, and a constant reminder that *"what men have done, men can do."*

OSSIE DAVIS is one of the most distinguished American actors. He and his wife Ruby Dee are known to millions from their many appearances on films, stage, and TV. Mr. Davis's play *Purlie Victorious*, in which both he and his wife appeared, enjoyed great popularity on stage and screen.

A Good Time to Be Born

by **MURRAY YOUNG**

If there is any period one would desire to be born in, is it not the age of revolution; when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and hope; when the historic glories of the old can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era? This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

TEN YEARS ago—on October 4, 1957—the Soviet Union placed an artificial satellite in orbit around the earth and the space age began. The word "sputnik," the friendly name given to the satellite, immediately became part of the proliferating international language of modern science.

In the decade that followed, the USSR and the USA both went on to achieve notable successes in the exploration of space. The USSR marked up a whole series of "firsts": Yuri Gagarin the first human being to fly beyond earth's atmosphere, Valentina Tereshkova the first and so far only woman to enter space, *Voskhod I* the first three-man satellite, Alexey Leonov the first man to "walk" in space; the first photographs of the hidden side of the moon were Soviet, as was the first soft-land upon that body.

The world responded to the orbiting of Sputnik I with extraordinary excitement and pride that man had liberated himself from the law of gravity and stood poised on the threshold of discoveries limitless as the cosmos into which it was at last possible to penetrate.

The dramatic appearance of Sputnik, with its faint "beep-beep" that could be heard as it circled our old, familiar globe, occurred on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution. After the initial high excitement had spent itself, the world began to take a new look at the country able to bring off so brilliant a feat. How in only four decades had this backward land, torn by foreign intervention in its early years, profoundly scarred by the Stalinist suppressions, and, above all, set back by the horrors and overwhelming casualties of World War II, been able to take the lead in space?

It was in part to answer such questions that the negotiations for an official US-USSR Cultural and Scientific Exchange program, under consideration since the Geneva Summit Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Power in 1955, were concluded and a pact signed.

The first two-year program started as of January 1958. The fifth two-year program ends this year.

There have been in the course of the past ten years fruitful exchanges in many areas: in the arts through concerts, ballet performances, exhibitions of paintings, books, architecture; in industry and agriculture through exhibits and visits. On the university level students have been exchanged as well as research workers in various intellectual and scientific fields. The participation by scientists from the two countries in common projects and the frequent conferences on such matters as weather control, cancer research, and heart surgery have been especially valuable.

If the appearance of personable and highly gifted young Soviet poets like Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Andrey Voznesensky reading their poetry to enraptured American audiences has been widely publicized, at the same time there has been a swiftly expanding number of translations from Russian in many fields. On page 121 of this issue you will find a list of translations of Soviet novels, short stories and plays, many of them in paperbacks.

Similarly, translations of Hemingway, Faulkner, Salinger, Arthur Miller, to mention only a few, enjoy wide popularity throughout the Soviet Union. Exchange visits between the creative writers of each country have been more frequent than is generally known, and the discussions that have taken place on these visits mutually stimulating.

Scholarly studies—historical, philosophical, literary—in the cultural background of the two countries have very much expanded in this past period, both in depth of content and objectivity of presentation. Particularly ambitious and enlightening for example, has been Professor James H. Billington's *The Icon and the Axe* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1966). This immensely detailed study considers the whole development of Russian culture from the earliest times through the Soviet period. Experts will, of course, question much of the material chosen, the interpretations given, the parallels drawn between the Russian past and the Soviet present; it is nevertheless an impressive accomplishment, full of illuminating facts and thoughtful suggestions.

AT THE present time, athwart this expanding communication of creative ideas, has fallen President Johnson's imperial dream of a defeated and subject Asia in which US military power must "contain communism." Exchanges have become rarer and important interchanges and joint projects cut off, just as domestically the poor, the Negro people, the schools, the medical services, the decaying US cities are at present suffering most bitterly—and most dangerously—because of the vast sums necessary to support Johnson's monstrous war of aggression in Vietnam.

But thwarted, cut down, thinned out, communication all the same does continue between our two peoples, just as the American people more rapidly than appears on the surface are organizing themselves to bring into existence the kind of society they know that science and technology have now made possible for all men.

It was in 1957 also, on the initiative of Cyrus S. Eaton, that the first meeting of what came to be known as the Pugwash movement for peace and disarmament was held in Mr. Eaton's hometown, Pugwash, Canada. Twenty-two scientists from ten countries, including the Soviet Union, attended this first meeting. The 17th conference, held in September in Ronneby, Sweden, was attended by 300 scientists and scholars from 77 countries.

For all the increasing scientific discoveries that offer a happy future for mankind, there still looms over the whole human race the threat of nuclear war. Against great political opposition, delegates at the Pugwash conferences have always insisted that in so dangerous a world it is absolutely necessary to work out new approaches to disarmament. The Ronneby meeting discussed all the world's troubled areas, and made specific proposals for solutions, particularly for ending the US war against the people of Vietnam.

Delegates at Ronneby were encouraged by the fact that in August identical draft treaties to ban the spread of nuclear weapons were tabled in the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee by the United States and the Soviet Union.

FROM THE beginning of space exploration it has been clear that both the amount of creative thinking and the financing necessary to achieve real success far exceed the potential in terms of scientists and money available to any one country. Recently on several occasions, Prof. Leonid Sedov, leading Soviet space scientist, has spoken of the importance of international cooperation for what he calls "the great interplanetary explorations of the future."

The whole significance of cooperation came sharply into focus with the announcement in October of a ten-year international weather research program. If the plan is realized, for the first time in his history man will have an up-to-the-minute, three-dimensional picture of the entire world's weather. The consequences of having such information are, of course, limitless.

Looking back over the ten years since Sputnik, it is clear that the effect on US education was of the first importance. The educational editor of *The New York Times*, Fred M. Hechinger, wrote an article for the October 1967 issue of *McCall's* magazine, entitled "What Sputnik Did to Our Schools." He concludes:

> . . . there can be little question that the general state of American education, ten years after Sputnik set off the alarm clock, is infinitely sounder than it was before the great awakening. While it may have been naive to think that the more rigorous curriculum in response to Sputnik can affect the short-

term national contest between the United States and the Soviet Union, the transfusion of vigor ought to lead to an intellectually more exhilarating national life in twenty-five years. . . . To the pursuit of happiness was added the pursuit of excellence as a national goal. In the ten years since, teachers and parents have taken the message to heart, and millions of children are reaping the benefit.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has a new book by Elizabeth Moos entitled *Soviet Education: Achievements and Goals*. Mrs. Moos covers every aspect of the Soviet educational process. This 125-page survey will make it clear to the reader why it was possible for the Soviet Union in terms of educational training to thrust Sputnik into space and startle the world ten short years ago.

For an all-over picture of Soviet life as it enters its sixth decade William J. Pomeroy's *Half a Century of Socialism* (International, 1967), just published, supplies a wealth of informative details. The important changes in the USSR in the last 15 years are described in vivid and lively style.

"MARXISM," Professor Geoffrey Barraclough of Cambridge University writes, "was less the cause than a product of a new world situation." He continues:

> But it was no accident that the period which saw the sudden revolutionary advance of industrial technology, the spread of the new concepts of the state and its functions, and the rise of mass society, also produced a new social philosophy; and we shall hardly be wrong if we describe the emergence of a new ideology as the last component of the new world situation that was coming into existence during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. It was the final proof that a new period of history was beginning, . . . It was an expression of the new forces which social and economic change had released, a doctrine defined to meet the needs of a new age (*An Introduction to Contemporary History*, by Geoffrey Barraclough. Pelican Books, 1966).

One hundred years ago—in September of 1867—the first volume of *Capital* came off the presses in Hamburg, Germany. The first translation into any language appeared in Russian in 1872. The first English edition, carefully edited by Frederick Engels, appeared in 1886. It is this translation, including the other two volumes, that International Publishers has just published in a handsome paperback edition.

In this year of its centenary there are few, if any, of the major languages of the world into which Karl Marx's great book has not been translated. Indeed, one third of the world's population now live in countries whose economic systems have been reorganized according to the precepts of Marxian socialism. And from the presses of the non-socialist countries an ever-increasing stream of studies, articles, books pour forth treating Marxism from every

possible aspect—politically, historically, philosophically. In honor of its hundredth year of publication symposia, lectures, discussions on every level are being held on a worldwide scale. Roger Garaudy, leading French Marxist philosopher who lectured last year in various US universities on Christianity and Marxism, writes in his book *From Anathema to Dialogue* (Herder and Herder, 1966): "Dialogue is an objective necessity of the age." He continues:

> In this second half of the twentieth century, with the present stockpiles of atomic and thermonuclear bombs, it has become technically possible to annihilate all civilized life on earth. We have come to the tragic and exalting moment in the history of mankind when the human epic which began a million years ago can crumble. If the human race survives, the reason for its survival will not be the simple force of inertia of biological evolution.

Survival of the race, Garaudy continues, means that the hundreds of millions of people who believe in a religious interpretation of the world and the hundreds of millions of other people who are communists must find a way to come together "on this ship which sails in space with three billion men aboard and which can at any moment be scuttled by the dissensions of the crew."

The worldwide examination of the experience of a half-century of socialism in the Soviet Union has, of course, driven to frenzy those who believe that men should remain forever divided from each other. Not by chance were the memoirs of Stalin's daughter touted throughout the world on the eve of celebrations. And certainly not by chance was the fight of the Soviet delegates for the territorial rights of nations in the UN General Assembly, as a consequence of the Israeli aggression against the Arabs this summer, distorted beyond recognition in the press, on radio and TV. Nor is it by chance that the old breed of professional anti-Sovieteers are being led out to repeat their weary performances on this momentous eve.

As Americans it should be of the greatest interest to us with our own revolutionary background that two of the most important accounts of October 1917—fifty years after the publication of the first volume of *Capital*—were written by our fellow-countrymen.

Through the Russian Revolution, by Albert Rhys Williams, whose splendid speech made in Chicago in 1919 begins on page 26 of this issue, was first published in 1921 with its eyewitness descriptions and its remarkable photographs. A fine facsimile of this edition has just been published by Monthly Review Press.

Ten Days That Shook the World by John Reed was recognized at once as a classic account of those tremendous days that saw for the first time the establishment of socialist power. International Publishers has brought out a new paperback edition with a thoughtful and informative introduction by John Howard Lawson.

In a book especially prepared for the anniversary, *The Bolshevik*

Revolution, Its Impact on American Radicals, Liberals and Labor (International, 1967) the editor, Philip S. Foner, has brought together many contemporary documents—speeches, news stories, magazine articles, editorials, trade union resolutions—that demonstrate the powerful support given to the Revolution by many groups in this country in the early years.

PROF. Pitirim A. Sorokin founded the first department of sociology in Leningrad University before the Revolution, and since leaving his native Russia as a consequence of the Revolution has held many important posts, including many years at Harvard. In the March 1967 issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Prof. Sorokin praises the cultural growth of the Soviet Union as second to none among existing nations and peoples. The striking decline of criminality of the Soviet people, Prof. Sorokin writes, makes clear the influence of the new communist ethic:

> Further signs are a notable development of a free mutual aid in relationship to the Soviet individuals and groups; a revival and growth of the distinction between "the right" and "the wrong" actions and relationships, with the ensuing decline of moral cynicism, excessive moral relativism, and degradation of the moral values; and a tangible development of the ethos and pathos and conduct of the free collective "we" united into one vast community by mutual aid, sympathy, aspirations for common great objectives, and responsibilities.

Professor Sorokin, after pointing out that the Soviet Union has "one of the lowest rates of intergroup conflicts in the form of strikes, violent encounters and internal disturbances among all nations," goes on to express his admiration for its "earnest efforts to prevent a new world war or lesser wars and to establish peace in the human universe."

The Soviet Union, Prof. Sorokin concludes, "has successfully overcome 'the abominations of desolation' wrought by the world wars and the civil war, has already become a constructive leader among nations, and is likely to continue its leadership in the decades, even centuries to come."

THE mood of exhilaration in our country following victory in the revolutionary war against the British towards the end of the 18th century lasted well into the century following. Ralph Waldo Emerson, giving the Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Harvard in 1837, spoke the proud, revolutionary sentiments quoted at the beginning of this article.

Emerson's eloquent and exultant words seem a fitting American salute to the tumultuous historical period we celebrate this year.

Our Debt to the USSR

by **D. N. PRITT**

SO MUCH of what the world owes to the Soviet Union as the pioneer country of Socialism has been concealed from the general public of most capitalist countries by the misstatements and suppressions of press and other propagandists that, when one comes to work out the answer to the question: how much do we owe? it presents itself as almost a new question, instead of one that has been answering itself day by day for 18,263 days. I am old enough to have a clear memory of the world as it was before the October Revolution. I have spent much of the last fifty years in following the development of the socialist world. I have spent a good deal of my time in various socialist countries and in the so-called undeveloped countries (although of course much longer in the capitalist countries). But I still find the question as new as it is fascinating.

It is of course easy to understand—although not to forgive—the efforts of the rulers of the capitalist world, ever since November 1917, to prevent their peoples from learning about the socialist world too well or too quickly. The Revolution hit them a terrible blow, destroying every assumption on which their—to them very pleasant—world was based. And their immediate reaction must have been: "Let us kill this new world as swiftly as we can; and let us meanwhile do all we can to prevent its lessons and example reaching the minds of the hundreds of millions over whom we rule!" The remark attributed, probably wrongly, to that arch-enemy of socialism, Winston Churchill: "Let us kill the old hen before there are too many chickens running round," summed up their first reaction pretty well. They certainly did their best, happily in vain, for the new state has remained in being to put the world year by year more in her debt; and there are some pretty good chickens, too.

What do we owe her for what she has done for the lives and destinies, and for the minds, of men? I must start my answer by recalling the main features of the world into which the October Revolution burst, the world before 1917.

D. N. PRITT, Q. C. is one of England's most eminent lawyers, with an international reputation for defense of civil rights, political independence and peace. He served in Parliament for 15 years. His books on the Soviet Union and activities on behalf of international understanding are well-known contributions to peace. He is a member of the British-Soviet Society and the World Peace Council.

The third volume of D. N. Pritt's autobiography, entitled *The Defense Accuses,* was published recently in England.

I remember it well; I lived in it for thirty years, as a moderately fortunate if insignificant member of that fortunate tiny majority of the total population of the world which did not live in colonial subjection. The whole world, remember, except for most of the people of Western Europe, Britain, the USA, Canada and Australia, then lived in colonial subjection. Even in the favored countries the great majority of the inhabitants were in complete economic subjection as industrial wage slaves or poor (often landless) peasants, factory fodder or plough fodder. It was accepted as natural by those who were above fodder status—and even, alas, by too many of the victims too—that the latter should have no more than that bare minimum, slightly eased by trade union struggle and occasional revolts, of rights, possessions, education and leisure without which they could not go on living and serving the minority who profited from them, should obediently "do what they were told" by their "betters" or the hard law of necessity, and in particular that they should take part in such wars as their rulers might carry on (which wars, they were told, were caused by the wickedness of those who ruled other victims like themselves).

The tiny minority of "betters"—members or dependents of the ruling class—took it for granted as right and just that they themselves should have more than their share of rights, possessions, education, culture and leisure, and should, in order to have and keep their position, batten both on the mass of their fellow-countrymen and on the millions of colonial peoples whom they bled but did not see. And they thought, too, that their system would endure!

The Revolution burst through all that, exposed—to those who could see through the hostile propaganda—the fallacies, injustices and defects of the old system, and both foretold and prepared its disappearance. And in spite of every obstacle—interventions, famines, boycotts, and the Second World War—the Soviet State has survived to work, from the day of its birth and all the time, infinite good for the lives and minds and destinies of people everywhere. Much of the work has been done, as it were, catalytically, not by active and direct intervention, but by her existence and example. This was especially the case in the early years when, however fully her leaders understood the international importance of her work and desired that other nations and people should follow her example—as the Belgian cartoonist Frans Masereel wrote in a caption as early as November 1917: "She's Russian, but all peoples understand her language"—she had to expend all her efforts in keeping her enemies at bay and overcoming the problems left to her by the broken-down Tsarist economy. But what she was doing was even then having its effect, as it still has, every day and everywhere.

When, for example, President Wilson put forward his "Fourteen Points" as a basis for the peace which was supposed to emerge from

the First World War, he did not say—and many of us were not acute enough to realize—that he had been forced to take this step by the existence and policy of the new state, and above all by Lenin's Decree on Peace; but there can be no doubt that the "Points" were a direct result of the Revolution and an attempt to head off demands which it had begun to form in the minds of hundreds of millions as expressions of the sort of peace, and the sort of world, which they wanted. And if much that was done at Versailles and afterwards in the capitalist world was pretty wicked, one sees, if one pauses to think, how much worse it would have been if the new society had not been present in the world (if not at Versailles itself!).

Other early effects of the Revolution are worth notice. It did much to bring the First World War to an end, not of course by removing Tsarist Russia from the "war effort" of the "winning" side, but by planting in the war-weary troops of many countries the idea that there are various ways of putting an end to wars, and in their rulers that if they went on much longer with the war there would be several socialist countries and lots of exiled royal families. As it was, the German Empire only escaped by the narrowest margin, and by treachery on the Left, from becoming a Soviet Republic.

I have perhaps written enough about the effects of the Revolution on those who did not in the least want to be changed by it—the rulers and beneficiaries of the capitalist system—and can turn to those, infinitely more numerous, who were the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the capitalist rulers, the wage slaves of Lancashire and Pittsburgh, the serfs of Alabama and Tennessee, of Brazil and the Argentine, the peasants of Africa, India, and China. For them, the Revolution was in reality the most wonderful thing that had ever happened, and thus something that their rulers would do everything possible to hide from them, and their friends should tell them as soon and fully as they could. Sometimes, it may be thought that the message travelled slowly; but when one looks at the differences already brought about in the lives of the colonial peoples—more than three quarters of the world—and the fundamental change in the whole colonial situation, one has to realize that the effects of the Revolution are very great, and have moved very swiftly indeed in terms of historical time-reckoning.

The effects for non-colonial peoples—the workers and peasants of the favored countries—are very great too, although it may be more difficult to judge how far the existence of the Soviet state is responsible for their advances, i.e., how far they might by now have progressed in their struggle if there had been no October. But it is certainly clear that they have made more advances in the last fifty years than they made in the previous two hundred, and that millions of them who were no more than factory and cannon fodder have now a good deal of economic independence, possessions, and

rights to social services and to safeguards of their employment. And at every moment of every industrial struggle their rulers must reflect anxiously how far they dare resist in the service of their self-interest without suddenly finding that they have gone just too far, and have lost everything.

LET me turn to consider the main longer-term effects of the Revolution, as one can see them today. I leave aside, lest I make this article far too long, the effect of the Soviet Union in winning the Second World War; without going into the field of controversy to judge exactly how great a part she played in the achievement of victory, one can at least assert that, but for her, the war would have been lost.

Taking first the concrete effects, leaving for later the effect on men's minds, I can start with the outstanding fact that, in spite of every obstacle that a group of still formidable capitalist countries can erect, two-fifths of the world has actually gone over into the new world of socialism. I have not space to study these varied and various countries, nor even to see by what roads they reached their socialist goal; but it needs few words to emphasize what a change there has been in fifty years, how largely the Soviet Union has contributed to their journey and their futures, and how much longer they would have taken but for her. One can indeed happily speculate on: "Who's next?"

Of the other very varied effects one which appeals particularly to me is the practical proof that the Soviet peoples have given us since the Revolution that there is no physical or intellectual limit to the potentialities of the so-called backward peoples, and of women. We now know from the experience they have given us that there are no "inferior" people (nor an inferior sex); that if people of any and every race are given the same educational opportunities as have been monopolized in the capitalist world by a tiny few, all are capable of benefiting by it, and that the only difference that will appear are those of minor degrees of "brightness" as between individuals. This is not only a happy message for the alleged "inferior" peoples but is a "tiding of great joy" for all of us, for it tells us that we need no longer waste the capacities of 80 per cent of mankind by classifying them as "inferior," by downgrading them because they are women, or just by barring their way to the best education we can give them. On the contrary, we all, thanks to the Revolution, can have the maximum benefit for all of us from all of us. We are like men who have suddenly learned that gold is to be found in every hill, and not just here and there—except that gold falls in value if you find more of it, and that is not the case with human beings!

This is a world-shaking lesson, with far-reaching results; "Jack's as good as his master" has come true; and Jack's master can no longer

be the master of any of Jack's activities unless in a society of equal opportunities he shows by his merits that he is good enough to hold a controlling position. (I remember that thirty-one years ago, in the Crimean health resort of Yalta, I watched dozens of young Soviet men and women walking proudly along the seafront, and said to myself: "They walk about as if they owned the world"; and then I suddenly realized that I was in a socialist country, and that these youngsters, children of downtrodden factory workers or of illiterate peasants, did indeed own their world.)

Another example—for our debt is so vast that we can only cite examples—lies in the troubled field of peace; the Soviet peoples have shown that there can be peace, that it can be imposed and maintained by the will of the people. This is now so much part of the common currency of thought that international law already treats the use of war or the threat of war as an instrument of policy as criminal, and that no war is lawful unless it be waged in pure self-defense against aggression. The whole world attitude to war, and the understanding of its causes, have so improved that the latter can now be observed and controlled, and war is no longer inevitable or "accidental." All this I can honestly assert even while at the moment wars and the dangers of wars seem as widespread and serious as they have been in the past; for if it were not for the enlightenment that the Soviet Union has brought us we can be sure that the conflicts engendered by the general breakdown of capitalism would have brought about by now far more wars than they have, and indeed might have destroyed the world. One has only to think of Suez, Cuba, Vietnam, and a few other countries to realize what the Soviet Union has already done directly to halt wars, to prevent them spreading, or to bring them to an early end.

THERE is another example in the field, in the growth and decline of that sinister capitalist malady, Fascism. The Soviet Union, to begin with, has helped the world to understand Fascism's true nature and causes, and thus to be vigilant to see that it shall not recur. And, as I have mentioned, it did much in the Second World War to destroy it. One aspect of that is that it saw and understood its rise, and prepared for it. When one looks back, say to 1935 or 1936, and contrasts the way in which the British Government of those days fostered and appeased Fascism, while the Soviet Union saw the danger so clearly that it altered its Five-Year Plan in order to have such vital heavy industrial centers as Magnitogorsk ready years ahead of schedule in order to last out the invasion which it knew was coming, one can really rank among our debts to the socialist state the fact that we do not live as colonies of a Fascist Germany.

On a broader scale, one can count the achievement of the lesson given to all peoples that they can get rid of their rulers, take the

destinies of their countries into their own hands, and rule them for the benefit of all who live in them, thus creating a majority ruling class (eliminating the unjust phenomenon of a minority class dominating the majority in its own selfish interests). It sounds simple to have an economy which serves the interests of the whole community instead of those of a few, but it had never happened before in history. The founders of the new state were indeed told that they were "dreamers"; one could answer that their dreams came true, but it is more accurate to say that their dreams were not dreams but realities which they made good, ending the exploitation of man by man and giving themselves for their own advantage and joy the fullest education, culture, and all-round development.

And they have already, both in the USSR and in several of the new socialist countries, proved that they can make a much better job of running an economy than is possible under capitalism. In scientific development, in medicine, in general research, in atomic power, in the exploration of outer space, and in such almost "routine" activities as the discovery of new sources of oil, coal, and other vital raw materials, their systematic and planned work makes most of what is done even in the most developed capitalist countries look like halfblind blundering into the gamble of success or failure. They have shown in short—a lesson most valuable for the "developing" countries—that their way is best.

THE effect of the Revolution on the minds of men, and the debt which we owe for this, is as definite and valuable as the more directly economic, political, and industrial achievements. They have shown that the pursuit of private profit at all costs in production, and the consequent elevation of "beggar my neighbor" into a principle in all fields of life, is not only a bad way to run production but is, in human terms, degrading and immoral, and that when this sort of rat race is replaced by the pursuit of public profit, i.e., the advantage of the whole community, not only can a country increase its production but the whole morale of man is better, is indeed, if one may make such a remark in the teeth of those who equate "Western Christianity" with capitalism, more Christian!

Equally important in the field of the mind is that the new society makes a reality of equality by eliminating discrimination based on race, color, or origin. Perhaps only those who belong or have belonged to "discriminee" sections of a community can fully understand how wonderful a blessing is freedom from discrimination, but we can all appreciate that it must be a blessing for all sections of a community, for a ghetto harms the minds of men outside its walls as well as inside.

Again, the moral improvement involved in the fact that no citizen is rich because his father was rich, or because he manufactures poison gas, or because he finds oil under his dwelling, is very great. A community in which no one has better pay or advantages except on the basis of his greater value to the community—while they are on the way to a more mature community in which no one has greater advantages "period"—is a better, more moral, more pleasant and more satisfactory community to live in. And I would add, as I have already hinted, that a community in which the general improvement in life and in education means that everyone can enjoy the finest cultural developments is a good one. It is quite common in the USSR that, if you want to see a first-class ballet on any particular evening, you are told that it is to be seen this week only in the theater of the club of some particular factory, and that they will ask if there is a seat vacant for you.

Yes, we are debtors. And the way to pay our debts is one not understood by bankers, namely to copy the "way of life" of our creditors!

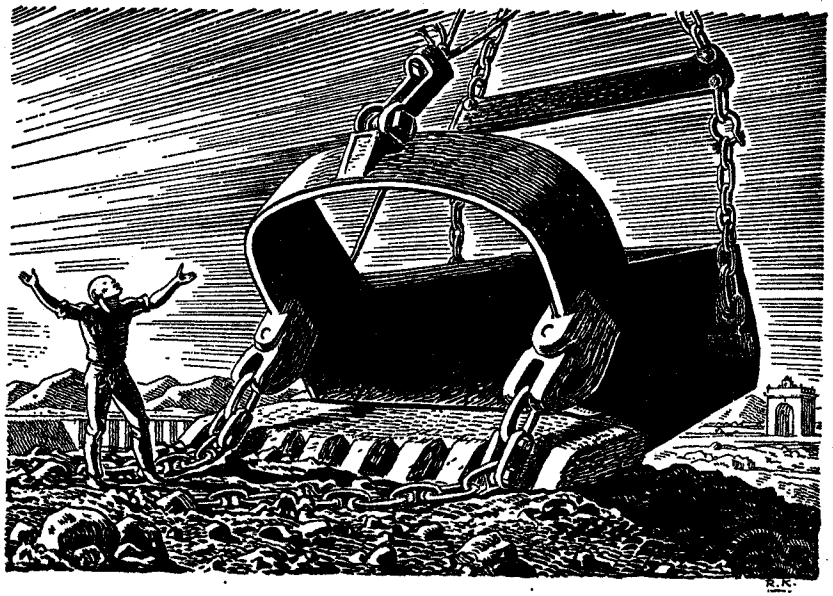
A BIRTHDAY MESSAGE TO THE USSR

Warmest greetings to the Soviet people on the Fiftieth Birthday of the Soviet Union. This birthday has a great personal significance for me. It was as a young boy going to school in the USSR that I experienced your great warmth and learned of your ideals, hopes and dreams. That experience—above all your deeply human values and your unbending determination to defend and extend them—has helped to give me an inner strength that has served me well throughout life.

Thirty years ago I came to your country as a young Negro boy to experience for the first time a society that was free of racial prejudice. Today I see the vast freedom movements of the colored peoples of the world and the many former colonial countries that have won their independence. And I cannot help thinking of the vast sacrifices of the Soviet Union, and indeed of its very existence, that have been a decisive factor in making these struggles and advances possible. In the broadest sense the freedom movements of today, from Asia to Latin America and from South Africa to Mississippi, are in part the children of October.

It is with the deepest affection that I wish the Soviet Union a happy fiftieth birthday—and many more!

PAUL ROBESON, JR.



For Lasting Friendship!

by **ROCKWELL KENT**

THE fiftieth anniversary of their nation's birth which the Soviet people will this year be celebrating marks the most momentous half-century's achievement of mankind throughout the ages. Born of the chronic, widespread misery of a degenerated, medieval tyranny, tortured at the outset by internal strife and bloody foreign interventions, invaded, ravished, sacked and burned by the most powerful and murderous of foreign enemies, enduring throughout the years the often bitter enmity of alien powers, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stands today as a united nation second to none of the world's powers in industrial, scientific and cultural accomplishment, and first in the equality, security and peace that all enjoy. This celebration is in fitting tribute to the infinitely much the Soviet people owe their nearer forebears and themselves.

Yet even as I write these words, there comes to me, an American, the realization of how infinitely much *my* people, and the whole world's peoples, owe the Soviet nation! We owe, all Europe owes, its freedom from the Nazi yoke, a freedom purchased at the cost of such untold many million lives and of such widespread, all embracing devastation as has not since time began been visited upon mankind. And we owe the Soviet people—those of the world's peoples who will

choose to heed it—the example of how a great and powerful nation can live and thrive at peace with all mankind.

How much in the general development of science and the exploration of space—and it is already all but infinitely much—the Soviet people will contribute to the knowledge and eventual happiness of mankind only history can in time record. But of the enormous role the Soviet people are destined to play in the utilization of the inexhaustible resources of our universe for the promotion of the happiness, at last, of everyone on earth their present status in the world can leave no doubt. But all of this depends on Peace—not Peace just here or there or for a time, but worldwide lasting Peace secured by the destruction and outlawing of all means of waging war.

On final, lasting Peace!—and as I write this (and my heart and mind and conscience prompt the words)—I realize with poignant shame that my own America, boasting of a government "of, by and for the people" is today the one deliberately and purposefully imperialistic and warlike country in the world, now waging, and with a cruelty unmatched in history, an unprovoked war of extermination on a far-away, life-loving, dark-skinned people. Would one be human who did not in agony of soul cry out for Peace?

To my dear Soviet friends I say: May our country, pledged as it was by our great Declaration to respect the equality of all men and "the inalienable Rights" of all to "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" come by all its acts at home and in the world abroad to so honor those pledges as to deserve, at last, your people's lasting friendship! For in that friendship lies the whole world's surest prospect of enduring Peace.

ROCKWELL KENT, distinguished artist and writer, is chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1967.

THE LAND OF HOPE

TO SUM UP, the Soviet Union, on its Twentieth Anniversary, stands out among the nations of the world as the Land of Hope. What is working out is definitely a New Civilization. More than in any other country is there in the USSR an essential unity between economics and ethics. The citizen acts in his factory or his farm according to the same scale of values as he does in his family, in his sports, or in his voting at elections. The secular and the religious are one. The only Good Life at which he seeks to aim is a life that is good, not only for himself but for all his fellow men, irrespective of age or sex, religion or race.

Sidney Webb, the great British socialist, co-author with his wife Beatrice of the classic Soviet Communism a New Civilization, *in an article in* Soviet Russia Today, *November,* 1937.

The Russian Revolution

by ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

In a yellowed, crumbling pamphlet in our library we came across this speech delivered by Albert Williams at Chicago's Ashland Auditorium, February 19, 1919. *Mrs. Lucita Williams, his widow, was good enough to let us have a better preserved copy of her own, from which these extracts are taken. With his great colleague, John Reed, an eyewitness to the events of November* 1917, *Albert Williams was for many years, through his lectures, articles and books, one of the foremost interpreters to Americans of the events of the Russian Revolution and the building of the Socialist society. Up until the year of his death in* 1962, New World Review *and its predecessor* Soviet Russia Today *were privileged to publish many articles by him. Williams' classic* Through the Russian Revolution, *with a new introductory biography of the author by Joshua Kunitz, has just been published by Monthly Review Press.*

A MEMBER of the Root Mission* has said that to the last syllable of recorded history, mankind will have cause to regret that the people of America and the people of Russia did not understand one another during the great revolution.

Anyone who attempts to tell the truth about Russia has a big job to tackle. I am going to give you simply an explanatory talk of what I saw there. I am not asking any good American here to approve what happened in Russia. I am merely trying to make him understand why it happened.

So this address is not particularly meant for those of you who know about the revolution; but it is meant for those who do not.

Now, first of all, we must remember that in any revolution there are losers and winners. In Russia those who have lost out are the Tsarists, the Black Hundreds, the Monarchists, and the great landholders. Those represent five per cent of the people.

We have heard nothing at all of the joy and satisfaction of the great masses of the peasants and workers who have won out in the revolution. But I, because I have spent my time largely with those masses, with the soldiers in the army, with the workmen in the factory, and with the peasants on the land, think I can reflect this.

Once I made a trip to a little Ukrainian village, and in that little village I talked with about 300 women, about 40 old men and boys, and a dozen crippled soldiers. When I asked how many of them had lost anyone in the war, there swept over that crowd a sobbing moan. Then I realized what Russia had suffered. And that was only one of thousands of such towns and villages that lay scattered over the Ukrainian Steppes, and along the Volga, and through the Siberian

* The Root Mission was an American diplomatic mission headed by Republican ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root, sent to Russia by President Woodrow Wilson in June 1917.

steppes, to which never would return those millions and millions of men who lay out there in the greatest graveyard in all the world. I refer to the former Russian front, that ran from Riga to the Black Sea, where those peasants went out, with nothing but clubs in their hands, and were mown down by the machine guns of the Germans as grain is mown by the sickle.

In Moscow life was very pleasant, and in the trenches life was very bloody; but in those tens of thousands of villages life was a dark and fearsome thing, because those millions of men were never to return.

All governments are based upon this long-suffering patience of the poor; but you know, there is an end to it, and in Russia the end came when finally the people could stand it no longer; when they began to realize that a more cruel and vicious despotism than even the Kaiser's was their own despotism at home.

Then they moved out from the session held in the Viborg section of Petrograd, those thousands of working men, carrying the message to the people. When Milyukov, the Cadet leader, saw them with their red flag, he said, "There goes the Russian Revolution. It will be crushed in 15 minutes." But those men came out of the Workmen's Session, despite the Cossack patrols upon the Nevsky, despite the drum fire of the machine guns, until the streets were littered with their bodies.

Still they came on, and on, singing, pleading with the Cossacks and soldiers; until finally the Tsar tumbled from his throne, and the revolution was accomplished—accomplished as it always is accomplished, by the blood of the working men.

Then after the revolution had been safely made, there came before the people the lawyers and the politicians, and the men in high places; and they turned to the Russian people and said:

"Noble people, you have done a great thing. You have accomplished a vast thing for humanity. But it is also a vast thing to run a government, so we, who are the wise, educated and intelligent, will take that tremendous undertaking upon our own shoulders, and let the noble working men go back to the machines, and the peasants go back to the land, and the soldiers go back to the trenches."

Now, the Russian people are a very tractable and kindly people, so they went back. But the Russian people are also a very intelligent people. Fifty per cent of them cannot read nor write, but they can think; and before they went back, they gathered together in little groups.

In every munitions works, for example, in Petrograd, they appointed a delegate, one for every 500 workers. The same thing was done in the shoe factories, in the brick yards, in the glass works, and everywhere. They asked the teachers' union to send teachers, and the engineers' organization to send engineers, and then they called this organization a Soviet.

THESE Soviets were organized in every mine, on every ship, in every little hamlet and village, as well as in the big towns and cities, all over that vast country. Then each one of them sent a delegate to Petrograd, where they formed the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

When those Soviets opened up, the restrained speech of ages burst loose. As Root said, Russia became a nation of one hundred million orators. They discussed every conceivable subject. They were just like the old New England town meetings.

One of the things they discussed, of course, was the land. The peasants over in Russia never recognized the right of the old landlords to the land. There was always the cry, "The land belongs to God and the people"; and that old cry re-echoed over the land, and so, when the Soviet was first formulated, its first demand was that the land should go to the peasants.

The workmen also began to talk their problems out, and they said, "After all, the object of a man is to live a free man, and a free man has control over his own life. Most of our lives we spend in the factories. Therefore, we want control over the factories." And there was the second demand of the Soviet, "The factories to the workers."

In the third place, the soldiers began to talk about war. It is one thing to talk about war when your stomach is full, and you are thousands of miles away from the battle front. But it is another thing to talk about war to those soldiers, whom I have seen so hungry that they fell upon a field of turnips and devoured them raw; whom I have seen with my own eyes walking through the freezing mud barefooted.

When the politicians came to those men and said, "Brave soldiers, for the noble cause of old Russia, fight on until we take Constantinople," they replied, "We do not want Constantinople. We want peace." The soldiers said, "We do not want other people to take away our land, and neither do we want to take other people's land away from them." And so their third demand was peace.

Then those stupid men began in their minds to reason this way: "If our government is imperialistic and land-grabbing, it may be that not only is Germany imperialistic and land-grabbing, but that some of the allies are land-grabbers and imperialists. We will ask them to state whether they are or not."

There was only one fortunate thing about the situation, and that was, that there was in Russia at that particular time a group of men who understood the people, and they understood how to take this great elemental force that was moving among them, and direct it into proper channels.

That group of men had the confidence of the people, and therefore they were eminently fitted to direct the activities of the people into the right channels. Those men made up the party which I believe prevented Russia from going actually over the precipice into

chaos and night. By that I mean the party of the Bolsheviki, led by Lenin.

This party of the Bolsheviki could see the situation in Russia, because they came from the people, nineteen out of twenty of them, right from the heart of the people themselves. Their solution of the problem was very simple.

They said, "Now, this Kerensky Government"—which was being hypodermically kept alive by promises from the allies, which was in the midst of a situation that called for the strength of a giant, and it was as weak as a baby—"It cannot do anything at all. It has lost all power and lost its authority"; and the whole situation pointed to the exercise of power and authority by the Soviets, which by the end of the summer of 1917 had gathered to themselves all of the vital revolutionary forces that there were in Russia.

These revolutionary forces in Petrograd walked down one morning in November to the Maryinsky Palace, where the self-appointed men who called themselves the government of Russia were seated, doing nothing but talking, talking, talking, while the country was going to the dogs, to the devil; and they told those people to go home and do something useful. And they went home.

They surrounded the Winter Palace, where the Kerensky cabinet sat. You can always tell the vitality of any institution by the forces which rally to its support.

All the Kerensky Government had was a few junkers and the women's battalion; and after one junker had been wounded, and one woman had fainted in the women's battalion, that government passed over into the hands of the Soviet, and the most tremendous revolution in all human history was accomplished without the killing of one in one thousand of the population.

SOME day there will appear before the bar of history the workmen and peasants of Russia, charged with the Red Terror of the revolution, and on the other side will appear the Tsarists, Monarchists, and Black Hundreds, charged with the White Terror of the counter-revolution; and when they are asked to raise hands, I know that the gnarled, calloused and toil-worn hands of the workmen and peasants of Russia will be white, compared with the crimson-stained hands of the gentlemen and ladies of leisure upon the other side.

I could tell you many queer things that happened over there. I could tell you, although I did not see them myself, some of the insane things that naturally follow in a revolution because there is this fringe of lunacy that always touches the edge of a new movement.

We should not clutter our minds with that sort of thing, so as not to see the real Russian Revolution, and the wonder and glory of it, seeing 150 millions of people breaking the fetters of the past, and staggering out into the light, blinded a while by the suddenness of it,

but at last growing conscious of their power and clear as to their purpose, and seeing those 150 million people reaching out and taking power in their own hands, and for the first time in human history founding a government of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers.

Now, let me tell you, briefly, a few of the things that they have done. First of all, Americans ought to sympathize with the first task that the Soviet Government had to perform.

We are staggered at the job of demobilizing four millions of soldiers, but under the new state apparatus of the Soviet, there were twelve millions of soldiers; and their demobilization was accomplished without any more than the shooting up of two railway stations, I believe. Someone may say: "Well, the Soviet did not demobilize them. They demobilized themselves."

That is just exactly true. The Soviet is an organization which brings automatically out of the people the inherent forces which lie dormant there, unutilized, as a usual thing; and so they demobilized this great Tsar's army, which came back clogging all the way. And while they were demobilizing that army of twelve million men, they had to organize a new Red Army. They made many mistakes, and they made many blunders, but finally they forged out of it all this great new army, with its "Iron Battalions of the Proletariat" as Lenin calls them.

The second great thing that Russia has done is the creation of a new cultural life. We find that even in Russia the truth will make men free; it liberates new forces and new energies.

So the Slavic soul, so long cribbed, cabined, and confined, has shown a wonderful flowering forth; and all over Russia today there are thousands of new schools, thousands of theaters, thousands of recreation centers, all organized to satisfy the hunger and thirst of the people for a new higher life.

THEN I want to show you a little bit of the economic reorganization that has been effected by the Soviets. They did some of the most wild things, just exactly what they would be expected to do. But when the factories really passed over under Soviet control, and there came a change in ownership, there also came a change in their minds. Instead of putting in men who would give easy discipline, they began to put in men who would turn out a big product.

A great psychological change came about in the minds of the workers, and at the end of June, in six factories, where they had put in new ownerships and new methods, they were actually making a larger production than they did under the old regime.

I stood on the hill up there at Vladivostok, over the so-called American works, which was then run by a Soviet committee, and as the clanging of machinery and the sound of hammers came ringing up

from the valley, I said to my friend Sukhanov: "This seems to be sweet music to your ears." He said: "Yes, it is. The noise of the old revolutionists was made by bombs and such things; but this is the noise that is made by the new revolutionists, who are hammering out a new social order."

At the present time, it is true that while the masses of people believe that the Soviets have made good, it is not a millenium over there by any means. Things are not all beautiful and fine. The people are suffering. But the Soviet gives the people certain things to the satisfaction of their souls.

The Soviet is an organization like a great family, in which the people can understand each other, in which the lowest man feels his human worth, in which all men may share power. That is one reason why the people feel that with this organization, for the first time, they have power; and they do not want to give up that power, once they have tasted it.

All men crave adventure, and through the Soviets these vast masses of workmen and peasants are united in one of the greatest adventures of social life, the building of a new world order, the building of new economics and new justice in the world, so that all men may have a spiritual purpose in life.

They crave the satisfaction of it; and over in Russia now those peasants and workers, blundering, stolid, stupid, if you please, still, after all, are conscripts of a mighty dream. They have the dream that they are going to build, out of their tears, blood and suffering, a new order of society in Russia, which shall be an example for and an inspiration to all the suffering people of the whole world.

But what I want to bring home to you is this: this thing is in the hearts of the people. It is the greatest upheaval that has ever happened in human history, and it came with dramatic spontaneity. The iron has entered into their blood, and it is there to stay; and out of all their mistakes and blunders, which any fool can point to, there is coming a new social order which is based upon the two fundamental principles of the Soviet Republic.

The first is: "If a man shall not work, neither shall he eat"; and the second is: "No man shall have cake until everybody has bread."

To live on in this exciting "springtime of humanity," and to note the further headway the Revolution is making toward that age-old dream of mankind—the conquest by man of space and his further journeying to the moon, the planets and the stars! To live on and note his progress in that not less daring and difficult enterprise—the conquest of man by himself—his advance on the road toward the good society in which everyone will receive according to his needs, and from the Kingdom of Necessity pass into the Kingdom of Freedom.

Albert Rhys Williams, writing on the 44th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, NWR, November, 1961.

The Russian Revolution and Colonial Freedom

by **CHEDDI JAGAN**

FIFTY years ago the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers, headed by their Leninist Party, broke the bonds of oppression and set the stage for a new era for mankind.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was man's greatest and most significant achievement in the age-old struggle for liberation and human dignity.

The *Aurora's* guns signalled the birth of a bright new era and hope for toiling mankind. October cast its light in every corner of the globe bringing a new hope to countless millions. It was an inspiration and example.

The influence of the first Socialist Revolution was particularly felt among colonial and semi-colonial peoples who longed for the real freedom the Soviet people had achieved. They cheered with every success of the revolution and socialism.

And when during the Second World War, Soviet arms destroyed in mortal combat the most powerful and ruthless aggressor the world had ever seen, the prestige of the USSR was tremendously increased. Increasingly, the colonial and oppressed peoples turned their attention to the Soviet Union and to the socialist socioeconomic system which had made the victory possible. The achievements of the mighty socialist land could not be hidden any longer from countless millions.

Here was a land where exploitation had been ended, where colonialism was abolished, where racial discrimination and national oppression were things of the past, where man was truly free.

Furthermore, many eyes began to open, to see the way to freedom and development for their own countries which as colonies and semi-colonies were and are kept as sources of cheap raw materials and labor, as markets for foreign goods and capital, and for super-profits. The Soviet people, through their workers' state, had shown the way forward, how it was possible with a socialist planned economy to leap in 50 years from a backward country to one of the two most powerful states in the world.

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN was Premier of British Guiana during the years 1961-1964. As head of the People's Progressive Party, Dr. Jagan continues to lead the struggle for complete realization of the political independence gained by his country, now Guyana, in May 1966.

The colonial and semi-colonial peoples have not failed to note that the rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union is more than twice as fast as that of the developed imperialist states. And more important, they have witnessed the transformation of the former "colonies" of tsarist Greater Russia, and observed the vast difference between, say, Uzbekistan on the one hand, and Iran and Afghanistan on the other, all of which had a more or less similar socioeconomic and cultural background. Today Uzbekistan, thanks to the Soviet socialist system, is modern and forward-looking with a developed industrial and agricultural economy, while Iran and Afghanistan are still backward and rooted to the past.

THE working class movement in Guyana was profoundly influenced by the Russian Revolution.

Before the First World War, our labor movement underwent a trying period in two attempts to find organizational form to carry on the struggle for improving the lot of the workers.

Ruthless employers used economic and political pressures to bludgeon the workers' struggle for better conditions and the right to organize. Bloody reprisals against strikes were the order of the day. In this situation, Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, a dock worker, the father of trade unionism in Guyana, valiantly struggled at the head of his fellow workers to bring about unity and organization in the face of employer-state repression and maneuvers.

Soon after the 1917 Revolution, Critchlow organized the first trade union in Guyana in 1919, and by 1922 his union—the British Guiana Labor Union—won legal recognition with the passage by the Colonial administration of the Trades Union Ordinance.

Led by Critchlow, the Guyanese workers fought bitter class battles during this period and won for themselves not only the right to form trade unions, but other concessions as well, such as the law placing restrictions on rentals of working class dwellings.

Critchlow visited the Soviet Union in 1925 on a trade union delegation. He was deeply impressed by what he saw and experienced in the Land of Soviets. The reactionary-owned *Daily Chronicle,* on hearing Critchlow's favorable remarks about the Soviet Union, editorialized: "We are very interested in the accounts Mr. Critchlow has brought back to the West Indies of his activities in the Soviet Union. We believe all he said of his experiences and wish to assure him that if and when it suits him, we will accommodate him in a cell."

BUT in Guyana the struggle for working class rights and for national independence intensified.

The Political Affairs Committee, founded in 1946, comprised a handful of socialists. It brought for the first time the application of Marxist theory to the practical problems of Guyana and consciously

prepared the way for the founding of a mass political party of the working people—the People's Progressive Party—in 1950.

The struggle in Guyana, in common with many other territories, continues for genuine independence and social progress, against a background of desperate efforts by imperialism to stem the tide of national and social liberation. But the growth of the socialist community—of which the Soviet land remains the bastion—contributes in many ways to the liberation struggle.

The USSR stands guard over the right of the people to make deep-going social transformations. The moral, political and material aid the USSR and the other socialist countries render the national liberation movements greatly facilitate their task.

Life itself increasingly points to the fact that the guarantee of the success of national liberation lies in close association with the Soviet Union and the socialist world as a whole. More and more, leaders and movements in the Third World are learning from bitter experience that this is a fundamental truth of our times.

AT THE TABLE OF LIFE

by **Martin Anderson Nexö**

TWENTY YEARS IS A SHORT span of time. In the history of mankind it is a drop in the ocean. But sometimes it may be of vital importance—the drop that makes the bucket run over. Twenty years of the USSR marks the end of one epoch in the history of the world and the beginning of a new one. . . .

The plan of the Soviet Union is to seat everybody at the table of life. At first people had to sit very close and were terribly crowded. Gradually, by mutual aid, the table has been made large enough so that now everybody has elbow room. And there is no doubt that the spiritual and material fare, equally divided among all, is today better in the Soviet Union than in any other country.

The Russian people may be said to have triumphed both at home and abroad. Twenty years do not seem to have mattered very much in the history of the world, but in the twenty years of its existence, the Soviet Union has created solidarity and progress, where all the other countries have confusion and retrogression. A favorable breeze speeds the ship that follows where evolution leads!

And abroad? Is there any victory to be noted outside Soviet Russia? For a long time the Soviet Union could be compared to an ice-breaker, which clears the way for a flotilla, and then, when it reaches the open water, finds that it is alone, that no ship has followed it. But the ice has not closed behind it; the other ships are cruising in its wake! They cannot make up their minds to go ahead, but they have to make a pretense of it—and thus keep the road open.

For the people of Soviet Russia their twentieth anniversary will be a rare festival!

From an article by Nexö, the great Danish proletarian novelist, in Soviet Russia Today, November, 1937.

Unity of Soviet Nations

by **HENRY WINSTON**

DAWN had arrived for the working class, the peasantry and oppressed nations of Russia when in October 1917 the Communist Party under the leadership of Lenin led the people of that vast country to victory over capitalism.

Scientific socialism, now victorious, put an end to exploitation of man by man, to national oppression and the causes of war. This achievement represented an enormous advance in social progress. For more than 160 millions of people had wrested power from capitalism and begun the march out of "the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom."

Let me cite only one aspect of this epoch-making achievement which has many lessons for the people fighting for their independence from imperialism.

Russia, under tsarism, had been known as "the prison-house of nations." Pogroms against the Jewish people were an expression of national oppression and the fanning of hatred between peoples and nations. Many of the national minorities, like the Buryats, suffered from a genocidal policy under tsarism. This and more was an inevitable product of capitalism compounded by the remnants of feudalism.

Thus, among the great achievements of the October Revolution was the liberation of the nations oppressed by the Tsar. Lenin taught that the strongest bond between the working class and the oppressed nations was needed to guarantee the victory over capitalism. This is the essence of proletarian internationalism which became the cornerstone of Leninist policy and played the decisive role in crushing the most powerful machine the world had ever known—the German Wehrmacht—and destroyed with it Hitler's dream of "a thousand-year reign of Aryanism in the world."

Proletarian internationalism became a law of life under socialism. That is why on the morrow of victory one of the first acts of the young Soviet Republic was the granting of the right of self-determination to all the nations of the land. This meant that they had the right to secede from the young Soviet Republic. What happened instead was that these nations decided to remain a part of the Union, except for Finland.

The fraternal aid of the working class in the Russian Republic with respect to the liberated nations within the multinational Soviet

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HENRY WINSTON is National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA. Imprisoned under the Smith Act, he lost his eyesight because of failure to receive proper treatment for a brain tumor.

Union is a saga unparalleled in the history of man. The strength and unity of the Soviet Union is but a testimony to the aid given by the Russian working class to the all-around development of the formerly oppressed nations within tsarist Russia.

That is why they gained strength despite the fact that for nearly half of its existence the Soviet Union had to fight against the invasion of 14 armies, the Japanese imperialists, civil war within the country and economic blockade by many countries, including the United States for more than 16 years, and then World War II.

Take the status of the 15 national republics in the Soviet Union, the 28 autonomous republics and regions, and compare it to that of any oppressed people throughout the globe, and the superiority of socialism over capitalism is clearly demonstrated.

The solving of the national problems of the Soviet Union is a helpful example to mankind everywhere in terms of their own national problems. The growth and development of the Soviet Union have provided support to all humanity struggling against capitalism and imperialism.

It was this growing strength which grew out of Lenin's policy of internationalism as applied within the USSR, that explains the unparalleled sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union in fighting to victory over that most powerful of military machines, the German Wehrmacht. This was the precondition for the continuing forward-march of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and at the same time it created conditions which help people everywhere in their fight for democracy, national independence and socialism. By their sacrifices, the Russian workers and peasants made a lasting contribution to the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa struggling to be free of the imperialist yoke.

George Kennan, chief US ideologist of the Cold War, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* October 1967 issue, was obliged to state:

> . . . In creating a new order out of the chaos of 1918-1919; in clinging to power successfully for half a century in a great and variegated country where the exertion of political power has never been easy; in retaining its own discipline and vitality as a political instrument in the face of the corrupting influence that the exercise of power invariably exerts; in realizing many of its far-reaching social objectives; in carrying to the present level the industrialization of the country and the development of new technology; in giving firm, determined and in many ways inspired leadership in the struggle against the armies of German fascism; in providing political inspiration and guidance to many of the radical-socialist forces of the world over most of this period, and to some of them over all of this period: in these achievements, *the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not only stamped itself as the greatest political organization of the century in vigor and in will, but has remained faithful to the quality of the Russian Revolution as the century's greatest political event.* (My emphasis—H. W.)

This powerful state now celebrating its 50th Anniversary is al-

(*Continued on p. 57*)

Lenin and the Americans

by **ALEXANDER GAK**

AT THE beginning of 1920, after the Red Army had routed the White Guard forces headed by Kolchak and Denikin, interest in the West about Soviet Russia rose to a high pitch.

The question began to be asked in financial and industrial circles how it happened that the hungry, ragged, uncivilized masses in the Land of Soviets, despite incredibly difficult conditions, not only managed to hold out against the combined forces of the Whites and their foreign allies, but actually to defeat them. Like pilgrims to Mecca, political figures and newspaper correspondents followed one another to Moscow, anxious to see the "Russian miracle" with their own eyes, to determine how stable Soviet power was, and, if possible, to interview the leader of the Bolsheviks, V. I. Lenin.

One of the first to obtain an interview with Lenin was the Berlin correspondent of the *American Universal Service* news agency, Karl H. von Wiegand. Unable to gain entrance into Russia, he sent his questions to Lenin from Berlin by a messenger. On February 18 the head of the Soviet Government replied to the questions in great detail. The answers were radioed to Berlin, and on February 21 the *New York Evening Journal* was able to give its readers Lenin's views on the most burning issues of the day.

Asked how he conceived of peaceful relations between Russia and America, Lenin replied:

"Let the American capitalists leave us alone and we shall leave them alone. We are even prepared to pay them gold for machines, implements, etc., which may be of use to us in transport and production. And not only gold but raw materials as well."

"Is Russia prepared to enter into business relations with America?" the correspondent asked.

"Of course she is, as with all other countries," Lenin replied.

Lincoln Ayre, a special correspondent of *The New York World,* came to Russia about that time. He obtained a personal interview with Lenin, which began at Lenin's office in the Kremlin and continued in his little apartment. It has only recently been brought to light that the interview was filmed by Victor Cubes, an American who accompanied Ayre at the interview.

ALEXANDER GAK is a senior scientific worker in the Museum of the Revolution in Moscow. This article was prepared exclusively for *New World Review* through the Novosti Press Agency.

Lenin's interview with Ayre was published by *The World,* February 21, 1920, and later reprinted by many other papers in America and Europe. "Some American observers are apparently beginning to realize," Lenin told Ayre, "that it is wiser to do profitable business with Russia than to make war on her, and this is a good sign. We shall require American goods—locomotives, automobiles, etc.—more than those of any other country." Lenin explained that mutual business contacts were in the interests not only of Russia but of other countries as well. "Without Russia," he told Ayre, "Europe won't be able to get on her feet. And when Europe is enfeebled America's position becomes critical."

In the first half of April 1922, Lenin received a representative of *The New York Herald.* Lenin told him that "Russia is in need of trade with the bourgeois states. On the other hand," he continued, "the European bourgeois governments well know that European economic life cannot be regulated without Russia."

The American correspondent wanted to know how the Soviet delegation to Genoa would act. Would Soviet Russia make concessions to the detriment of her own interests? Would Russia pay the old tsarist debts? Would she open her domestic market to foreign monopolies? "Those are profoundly mistaken who think of putting humiliating conditions to the Russian delegation in Genoa," Lenin answered. "Russia will not allow herself to be treated like a defeated country. Should the bourgeois governments adopt such a tone in relation to Russia they would commit the greatest folly."

This interview given by Lenin to an American correspondent was published in the Soviet press only in brief outline, without mentioning the name of the correspondent. It is quite possible that the American press of that time gave a fuller version.

LENIN'S proposals to the United States Government to establish business contacts were not of a conjunctural character. Nor were they a sign of weakness, as some writers in the West regarded them. The Soviet system had stood the test of maturity in the fire of the civil war and in the fight against the interventionists. The "Down with the War" slogan inscribed on the banner of those who stormed the Winter Palace in the fall of 1917 remained their program after the October Revolution as well.

A few hours after Soviet power was established in Petrograd, the radio station of the cruiser *Aurora,* whose shot had heralded the opening of the era of communism, began to broadcast the Soviet Government's peace appeal written by Lenin. It was repeated several times in German, French and English. Peace without annexations and indemnities. Peace on terms of equality, justice and democracy. This was Soviet Russia's first move in the world arena.

The Soviet Government made 14 peace proposals to the Entente and America during the civil war years. The invariable reply was open military intervention. It offered to exchange its surplus national product with America and other nations. They responded by a blockade and, trying to take advantage of the Soviet officials' inexperience, resorted to cheating.

In August 1918, the cities of Kazan, Samara (now Kuibyshev), Simbirsk (Lenin's home town, since renamed Ulyanovsk) fell under the blows of the White Guards and interventionists. The biggest industrial centers of the country were in imminent danger. At this grave moment Lenin addressed a letter to the American workers explaining the aims and objects of the Soviet state. The American press at that time was busy fanning up an anti-Soviet campaign. Attorney General Mitchell Palmer never tired of warning about the "Red menace." The newspapers were full of cartoons depicting the Bolsheviks as ferocious savages with bushy hair and whiskers and long knives in their mouths.

Lenin wrote in his letter that the British, French and American press was spreading lies and slander about Russia and justifying the predatory crusade against it by the desire to "defend" Russia against the Germans.

Lenin naturally saw in the American workers allies of the Russian Revolution. But being a realist, he wrote: "We know that help from you, comrade American workers, will not come very soon perhaps, for the development of the revolution in different countries proceeds in different forms and at a different pace (and cannot proceed otherwise)."

The Old Bolshevik Mikhail Borodin, who had participated in the Russian revolution of 1905 and subsequently spent many years in the United States (during the 1920's he acted, on Lenin's recommendation, as Sun Yat-sen's political adviser in China), undertook to deliver Lenin's letter to America.

Borodin was accompanied on his trip by another Russian Communist, Pyotr Travin, who had also lived many years in the United States. Apart from the letter, they took with them a copy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, Lenin's Decree on Peace and a number of Soviet newspapers. Borodin was forced to return home from Copenhagen as the local authorities refused to give him a visa to the United States. As for Pyotr Travin, he had a membership card in the America seamen's union which enabled him to get a job as a carpenter on a ship bound for New York. On arriving there he met John Reed and told him of his mission. As a result, Lenin's message to the American workers appeared in the American press in December 1918.

Originally the letter was published by *The Class Struggle,* a magazine issued in New York. It was then reprinted by *The Revolutionary Age,* a weekly journal published in Boston with John Reed as one

of its editors. And finally it came out as a separate pamphlet. The truth about Russia as told by Lenin did not, seemingly, pass unnoticed and stimulated the protest movement against the intervention in Russia.

The two Americans who contributed most to the knowledge of their countrymen about Soviet Russia, both of them eyewitnesses to the Revolution, were John Reed and Albert Rhys Williams. Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* and Williams' *Through the Russian Revolution* are classics of the period. Both wrote and spoke widely about their experiences and gave vivid accounts of their association with Lenin.

Lenin was a very busy man but, as the prominent American Communist, Robert Minor, wrote in his memoirs, he took a keen interest in all visitors from America. An artist and newspaper correspondent, Robert Minor often met and talked with Lenin. A unique role in Lenin's dialogue with Americans was played by Col. Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross in Russia in the early days of the Revolution, who also had the rare opportunity of numerous conferences with Lenin. In sympathy with the aims of the Revolution, although a capitalist, Col. Robins acted as an unofficial emissary between his government and the Soviet leaders. He early saw the importance of US diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government and was unremitting in his fight for them.

We recall the names of many other Americans who visited Lenin after the October Revolution. Among them were the American journalist Bessie Beatty, author of the book *The Red Heart of Russia,* received by Lenin in December 1921; *Associated Press* correspondent G. Yarros, who interviewed Lenin on November 28, 1917; trade union leader Sidney Hillman, who made several trips to Soviet Russia in 1921-1922 and met Lenin on more than one occasion; the Rutgers group, consisting of the Dutch engineer S. Rutgers, William Haywood, leader of the I.W.W., and various others, all of whom Lenin met with frequently and helped to organize the Autonomous Industrial Colony in Kuzbass, which was directly controlled by the Labor and Defense Council of which Lenin was chairman. Among them also were Julius Hammer, the American millionaire, who in 1921 was given the America asbestos concession in the Urals which proved to be profitable to both him and Soviet Russia; Armand Hammer, who was also given a concession in the Urals and who continued for many years to cooperate with Soviet trading organizations.

There were a good many of these Americans, some of whom sympathized with the Soviet Government while others disliked it. But on meeting Lenin all of them left convinced that Soviet power was there to stay.

On the eve of the 9th Congress of Soviets, held in Moscow at the end of December, 1921, a visit to Lenin was paid by P. P. Christensen, the presidential nominee of the Farmer-Labor Party of America. At Christensen's request Lenin was photographed with him during their conversation, which, unfortunately, was not reported in the Soviet press. Nor has any trace been found of it in America, and it is not known whether Christensen left any notes or reminiscences of his trip to Soviet Russia and interview with Lenin.

IN 1921 Soviet Russia adopted the New Economic Policy, permitting private capital to participate in the rehabilitation of the war-ruined economy under the control of the Soviet authorities. But no sooner had this Lenin-sponsored policy begun to operate than Soviet Russia was afflicted by a new terrible calamity in the form of drought and famine in the Volga regions. Over 30 million people were on the verge of extinction. Russia's industrial recovery was held up.

On August 2, 1921, Lenin addressed an appeal for help to the workers and farmers abroad. On December 6, 1921, he wrote to Maxim Gorky asking him to try to enlist the assistance of Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells to save the starving people in Russia.

The American Relief Administration (ARA), headed by Herbert Hoover (then US Secretary of Commerce), shipped almost a million tons of food. Hoover's implacable hostility to the Soviet regime was well known, but under the type of agreement worked out there was no opportunity to carry out his policy of using food as a weapon against Bolshevism. The food sent from the United States saved many lives and the Soviet Government and people have always been grateful for this help. The American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) also made an important contribution at that time.

Some Americans who expressed the desire to participate personally in the rebuilding of the new Russia were assisted in this by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia in May 1919, and by the Friends of Soviet Russia Society, which was organized in June 1921 with more than 200 local branches.

The first congress of the Technical Aid Society was convened in New York at the beginning of July, 1921. A photograph of its delegates may be seen in the Moscow Museum of the Revolution. By 1923 this society had more than 75 branches in various parts of the United States and Canada with a membership of over 20,000, testifying to the fact that Soviet Russia had been recognized by the American people long before this was done by the US Government.

In May 1922, the Friends of Soviet Russia Society, together with the Technical Aid Society, sent a tractor detachment to Soviet Russia. It was assigned to the Toikino State Farm in Perm Gubernia (Bolshe-Sosnovsky District of Perm Region now). A group of Americans, with Harold Ware at their head, started working there, demonstrating the advantages of large-scale machine farming. Their good work was noted not only in the local but also in the national press.

On August 25, 1922, *Izvestia* carried an article describing the work. On October 20, Lenin sent a special letter to the Friends of Soviet Russia expressing the Soviet Government's "deep gratitude" for the "quite exceptional" successes of Harold Ware's tractor detachment. "Please bear in mind that no other kind of help is so timely and so important to us as your help," he said. This letter was printed on November 15, 1922, by the *Soviet Russia Pictorial* in New York.

At the same time Lenin sent a letter to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, in which he praised the other groups of repatriates from America who worked on Soviet farms in the Tambov and Odessa regions and in Donbass coal mines. Accounts of their work in the Soviet press had attracted Lenin's attention. He regarded the joint work of Russian repatriates and American workers in Russia as a vivid display of proletarian internationalism, fraternal solidarity of the working people, and provided special help.

It was due to this encouragement received from Lenin that Ware conceived and carried out in 1925-28 another cooperative project, known in the United States as Russian Reconstruction Farms. The Soviet Government allocated a large tract of land, formerly a landlord's estate, at Maslov Kut, in the North Caucasus, and an American-Russian Mixed Company was set up to operate it as a model experimental grain farm. Ware brought with him a group of forty Americans—experts in different aspects of farming, mechanics, tractor drivers and so on—and their families. He also brought tractors, harvester combines and other farm machinery, purchased with funds donated by Americans. Operating the farm on modern, mechanized lines, the group, both by example and by teaching groups of young peasants each summer, made an important contribution to the development of methods of modern large-scale farming later to be applied in the collective and state farms throughout the USSR.

IN FEBRUARY 1922, Professor Charles Steinmetz of Schenectady Union College and the General Electric Company, a leading American electrical engineer, wrote to Lenin expressing his admiration of the tremendous work of social and industrial rejuvenation being carried on in Soviet Russia. "If in technical matters, in electrical development in particular, I can be of any help to Soviet Russia by giving some advice, proposals or instructions, I should always be glad to do anything in my power," Steinmetz wrote.

Steinmetz sent his letter through B. V. Losev, secretary of the New York branch of the Russian Technical Aid Society, who was returning to Russia. Steinmetz told him: "It is a pity I cannot go with you, a very great pity. . . . Let them know in Russia that I and many others sympathize with their aims, that we are with them with all our hearts and minds."

Lenin received the letter March 31, 1922. Learning through Gleb

Krzhizhanovsky, a close associate who headed the government commission on the electrification plan, that Steinmetz was a world authority, Lenin decided to reply at once, thanking Steinmetz for his friendly message and offer of practical assistance. Steinmetz's letter and Lenin's reply were published by the Soviet press on April 19, 1922.

In December of that year, taking advantage of Harold Ware's return home, Lenin asked him to take an autographed photograph and another letter to Steinmetz. Lenin wrote of his gratitude for Steinmetz's sympathy with the socialist system and his desire to give practical help to the Soviet Republic.

Ware reported later that he took the letter directly to the main office of the General Electric Company in Schenectady. There he was told by a secretary that Steinmetz could not see him since he was at a Board meeting. Ware then tore a page from his notebook and wrote: "I have just come from Moscow, with a personal message for you from Lenin." He told the secretary, "If you value your job, I advise you to deliver this to Steinmetz at once!"

Almost immediately a door was flung open and Steinmetz rushed out, hustled Ware into his private office, ordering his startled secretary over his shoulder, "Don't let anyone in."

Standing the photograph of Lenin on his desk, he said to Ware, "Now the three of us will have a talk!" He bombarded Ware with questions about Lenin, about education, about science, about the electrification program, about industry and agriculture. He declared: "Young man, do you realize what Russia has been doing? In this short time they have developed a standardized, planned electrification program for the whole country. There's nothing like it anywhere. I would give anything to go over there myself and work with them."

Losev's family (B. V. Losev himself is no longer alive) in Moscow keeps a number of thick American electrical reference volumes received from Steinmetz in 1922-1923 in reply to Lenin's letters. Steinmetz's contribution was a drop in the ocean, since he was unable to carry out his desire to visit Moscow and give advice on the spot. But Soviet people prize it as a token of sympathy towards their country.

IT IS almost 50 years since Lenin started his dialogue with America. His letters and talks with representatives of the American public prepared the ground for Soviet Russia's recognition by the USA.

The Soviet Union has covered a very long road since then. It has been a road of struggle for the building of socialism, for peace. The prestige of the Soviet state in those years has grown immensely. Faithful to the principles of Leninism, it continues its policy of peace and good-neighborly relations with all countries of the globe.

Lenin's dialogue with America is still continuing.

Translated by M. PEVZNER

BALLAD OF LENIN

by LANGSTON HUGHES

Comrade Lenin of Russia,
High in a marble tomb,
Move over, Comrade Lenin,
And give me room.

I am Ivan, the peasant,
Boots all muddy with soil.
I fought for you, Comrade Lenin.
Now I finish my toil.

Comrade Lenin of Russia,
Alive in a marble tomb,
Move over, Comrade Lenin,
And give me room.

I am Chico, the Negro,
Cutting cane in the sun.
I lived for you, Comrade Lenin.
Now my work is done.

Comrade Lenin of Russia,
Honored in a marble tomb,
Move over, Comrade Lenin,
And give me room.

I am Chang from the foundries
On strike in the streets of Shanghai.
For the sake of the Revolution
I fight, I starve, I die.

Comrade Lenin of Russia
Rises in the marble tomb:
On guard with the fighters forever—
The world is our room!

LANGSTON HUGHES' poem is reprinted from *Proletarian Literature in the United States*, an anthology of poems, plays, short stories, criticism, published by International Publishers in 1935. Mr. Hughes, one of the most distinguished American Negro poets, died in May of this year.

The Western Interventions

by D. F. FLEMING

IN RECENT years the American and Soviet peoples and governments have discovered that they have much in common. Each conquered a great continental empire. Both are developing runaway technological civilizations which produce essentially the same kinds of technocrats and managers. Both are developing the ultimate weapons of destruction and can go on doing so indefinitely—at huge expense—until the day when the gadgets of doom destroy man himself. Knowing that this can already happen at any time, they are even united in wishing to stop the spread of these nation-killers into the hands of lesser men, some of whom may have highly explosive emotions. But for Vietnam, a détente between the two super powers would now be very far advanced.

Of course the abysmal difference remains between them as to who shall get the profits of business and industry, though even this chasm seems to narrow somewhat. What does not narrow is the gap in their experiences during the two world wars. In each case they fought on the same side, but both times Russia was terribly devastated, almost mortally wounded, while the United States suffered no damage on its continental territory. To us the wars were unpleasant but victorious and highly prosperous periods; to the Soviet peoples they are agonies still felt in their souls. Moreover, this almost unbridgeable difference in experience grows because we naturally tend to forget what the Russians suffered and think they should forget it too.

This is not as much true of World War II, when the vast struggles and sieges in Russia meant much to us too, as it is of World War I and the Western Interventions which followed it. Most Americans knew little about the interventions at the time and it has been a minor episode in history to later generations, especially since the Cold War began promptly after the end of World War II.

DR. D. F. FLEMING is Emeritus Professor of International Relations at Vanderbilt University and the author of a two-volume history of *The Cold War and Its Origins*, 1917-1960, which is now in its fourth printing by Doubleday. He has also published five books dealing with the events after World War I. Two of these are to be republished in 1968 by Russell and Russell, each with an additional chapter surveying the relevant events in recent decades. They are: *The United States and the World Court, 1920-1966* and *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920.*

Indeed one reviewer of my book about the Cold War stamped as utter "historical nonsense" my statement that the interventions had "resulted in the death of 7,500,000 Russians—as many as died in World War I, but in more horrible ways."

Yet the fact remains that the new Soviet Union was invaded from all four sides by armies either sent by Russia's recent allies or equipped by them. Let us sketch some of the actions involved.

In the East

THE presence in Siberia of 45,000 to 60,000 Czechoslovak deserters from the Austrian armies, who had been fighting alongside the Russians, proved to be the circumstance which precipitated large-scale Allied intervention. The Czechoslovak National Council wanted to bring these troops out to reinforce the Western front in France in 1918, but friction between them and the Soviets led to the seizure of the Trans-Siberian railway by the Czech forces, and under their protection two relatively democratic anti-Soviet governments were set up which were soon succeeded by a monarchist dictatorship at Omsk under Admiral Kolchak.

These events led the British Ministry of War, as early as April 1, 1918, to decide that the Czech troops should not be brought out, but remain to oppose the Bolsheviks. The French Government was at first opposed, wanting reinforcements in the West, but it agreed by mid-June, and on July 12 the Czechoslovaks who had captured Vladivostok began moving West, back into Siberia.[1]

These developments greatly heartened all of the elements of the old regime and gave substance to the civil war, the struggle of the "Whites" against the Reds. The British did all that they could to equip Kolchak's forces. On one occasion Prime Minister Lloyd George declared in the House of Commons that Great Britain had sent "one hundred million pounds sterling' worth ($500,000,000) of material and support in every form" and on November 17, 1919 he said that no country had "spent more in supporting the anti-revolutionary elements in Russia." Naming France, Japan and America, he said: "Britain has contributed more than all these powers put together." On May 29, Churchill had said in the House of the Kolchak forces: "In the main these armies are equipped by British munitions and rifles, and a certain portion of the troops are actually wearing British uniforms."[2] Some 79 shiploads of equipment were sent.

Yet Kolchak's forces were defeated and they fled east along the Trans-Siberian railway toward Vladivostok, in the dead of winter,

[1] Louis Fischer, *The Soviets in World Affairs*, New York, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 114-15.
[2] *The United States and the Soviet Union*, New York, The American Foundation, 1933, pp. 253, 319, 321; *Hansard*, November 17, 1919, Col. 721; W. T. Goode, *Is Intervention in Russia a Myth?*, London, 1931, p. 17.

accompanied by hordes of Whites along the roads. One landowner had a train of 60 wagons containing his possessions and people.

In *The White Armies of Russia* (Macmillan, 1933), George Stewart has left an unforgettable picture of this tragic retreat. In one city alone 60,000 died of typhus and on the 1500 mile trek from the River Tobol to Lake Baikal alone, 1,000,000 men, women and children perished.

It did not help either that President Wilson had reluctantly sent 7,000 American troops to Vladivostok, largely to checkmate the Japanese, who sent 72,000 troops anyway and stayed in the region until the winters and the Reds drove them out in 1922.

Earlier two White bandit leaders, protected by the Japanese, had massacred great numbers of people. After some initial skirmishes with the Reds our General Graves held rigidly to his instructions not to aid either side and he wrote that "I am well on the side of safety when I say that the anti-Bolsheviks killed 100 people in Eastern Siberia, to every one killed by the Bolsheviks."[3]

In Japan, the struggle between the moderates and the military expansionists was "not fully resolved until the greater cataclysm of the Second World War."[4]

On December 23, 1917, Britain and France had made an agreement dividing European Russia into zones of influence and exploitation. By its terms the British zone was to include North Russia, the Baltic States, the Caucasus and its great oil fields, the Kuban, Armenia, Georgia and Kurdistan. The French zone comprised the Ukraine, Crimea and east to the Don River. A dispatch from the Ukraine to the Foreign Office in Paris stated that the Ukraine would become "la plus belle colonie de France."[5]

In the South

GENERAL Denikin, the White leader in the South, was informed on April 4, 1919 that the French would control everything in their zone, including "operations against the Bolsheviks," but the French troops who had fought on the Western Front had no desire to die in Russia. They succumbed to Red propaganda so fast that they had to be evacuated in haste from Odessa and Sevastopol in April 1919. The British tried to keep a hold on the Russian oil region, where they had investments, but unrest in Ireland and India compelled them gradually to relax their grip, though they clung to Batum until July 1920. The presence of British troops there did not prevent the capture of the city in September 1918 by a force of Turks and Tatars, who mas-

[3] William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure*, New York, 1941, pp. 49-50, 354.
[4] James M. Morley, *The Japanese Thrust into Siberia*, Columbia University Press, 1957, pp. 286-7, 312-3.
[5] Fischer, *supra*, pp. 154-55; Goode, *supra*, p. 21. The text of the Anglo-French agreement is carried in Fischer as an Appendix.

sacred 30,000 Armenians and indulged in a wholesale orgy of murder, rape, arson and pillage.[6]

The number of Allied troops used in South Russia may never be known accurately. On March 28, 1919 Stephen Pichon, French Foreign Minister, listed a total of 850,000 men as employed in South Russia, including: French, 140,000; Rumanian, 190,000; British, 140,000; Italian, 40,000; Serbs, 140,000; and Greeks, 200,000.[7] Louis Fischer speaks of "some 12,000 troops including Algerians, Senegalians, Poles and Greeks" occupying the Ukrainian coast of the Black Sea, backed by a big Anglo-French fleet, and a force of similar composition in the Crimea.[8]

The main effort to defeat the Reds in South Russia was made by equipping and advising the White Armies led by General Denikin. Churchill later summarized the British contributions as follows: "A quarter million rifles, two hundred guns, thirty tanks and large masses of munitions and equipment were sent through the Dardanelles and the Black Sea to the port of Novorossiisk; and several hundred British officers and non-commissioned officers, as advisers, instructors, storekeepers, and even a few aviators furthered the organization of his armies."[9]

The French material contribution to Denikin, while less than the British, was also large. In Washington Ambassador Bakhmetev was permitted to use considerable credits granted to the Kerensky Government just before its fall.[10]

All this aid enabled Denikin's forces to win large battles and to take Odessa, Kharkov, Kiev, Kursk and Orel (places made tragically famous again in World War II) before their 1,000 mile front collapsed, only 200 miles from Moscow, and disaster ensued.

> Another long tragic retreat began, in which thousands of refugees from every city joined. Before the desperate savage multitude reached Novorossiisk more than 200,000 people had died of typhus and exposure. Whole trains on the railroad became silent, with every person aboard dead, including the crews. When the survivors reached the port, in March 1920, a raging "Borah" wind covered the sidewalks with blue bodies, largely stripped by the survivors. Typhus and smallpox continued their deadly work, while at Odessa, people fought for places on the transports. Some 50,000 embarked, but many more were left behind.
>
> In the Crimea, General Wrangel brought some order out of chaos and in May and June 1920 his 40,000 fit troops defeated the Reds in Taurida, just north of the Isthmus, in a series of sanguinary battles, but after the Russo-Polish war was ended, on October 12, 1920, the Red Army swept the White forces into the sea. Some 126 ships carried 146,000 people away from the Crimea to exile and penury abroad. Behind them their native land lay filled with ruined cities, wrecked railroads, hungry, plague-stricken people and unburied corpses—fit soil for the apocalyptical famine of 1921-2.[11]

[6] F. L. Schuman, *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*, New York, 1946, p. 153.
[7] Stephen Pichon, "Allied Policy in Russia," *Current History*, Vol. 10, Pt. 1, No. 2, May 1919, pp. 280-1.
[8] Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
[9] Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis: The Aftermath*, New York, 1931, pp. 246-50.
[10] William Henry Chamberlain, *The Russian Revolution*, 1917-1921, New York, 1935, Vol. II, p. 170.

In the West

THE POLISH INVASION. The debacle of the White armies in the South opened the way for a full-scale invasion by the Poles, aimed at "the permanent weakening of Russia" by seizing the vast areas between the Baltic and Black Sea, cutting her off from both and seizing most of her agricultural and mineral wealth.[12]

Striking swiftly, the Poles captured Kiev, capital of the Ukraine on May 8, 1920, before being hurled back by the Red Army to the gates of Warsaw. This major war could not have taken place had the Poles not been well armed by the British and French, both of which had now to pour munitions and 400 French officers through Danzig to reorganize the Poles who then drove the Red armies back, enabling Poland to retain a broad strip of Ukrainian and White Russian territory. It was this area, inhabited by alien peoples under Polish landlords, which prevented any Polish-Russian accord to oppose Hitler.

In the Baltic, the White General Yudenich was armed and supplied for a dash to Petrograd in the late summer of 1919. The British supplied the munitions and the American Relief Administration, which was saving hundreds of thousands of lives in the area from famine, supplied the gasoline and food for the thrust. It was agreed that a part of the food could be sold at high prices to finance the expedition, which almost reached Petrograd before it was thrown back in October, with a loss of 14,000 men from typhus during the retreat and a train of 21,000 starving refugees.[13]

In North Russia

THE Allied operations in this area began with the consent of the Soviet Government in the Spring of 1918, to avert a threat of German capture of Murmansk, with its great military stores sent there by the Allies.

Murmansk was occupied and a break with the Soviets soon occurred. Archangel was seized by British troops at the beginning of August and 5,500 American troops arrived the next day, sent by President Wilson with great reluctance. After the war with Germany ended, on November 11, 1918, various excuses for remaining were found by the Allies. Offensive action against the Reds, fanning out in five directions, continued through the bitter winter along with much corruption and troop dissatisfaction in the two ports, and with mounting protests at home.

The evacuation of the Americans began late in May 1919, but the

[11] D. F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, 1917-1960, New York, 1961, Vol. I, p. 23.
[12] Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 301.
[13] Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 226; E. A. Ross, *The Russian Soviet Republic*, New York, 1923, p. 258.

British stayed on and under Churchill's orders an offensive was prepared in the direction of Kotlas in the hope of making a junction with Kolchak's forces and putting a real stranglehold on Moscow. Some 37,000 splendidly equipped troops were accumulated, but Kolchak's collapse ended all hopes of a strategic union with him. Then more troops had to be sent to help extricate the British Army from Archangel, which was done on September 27, 1919, after hard fighting all summer. The allies left Murmansk on October 12, after several near disasters, advising the puppet General Miller not to try to hold both ports, but he did so and lost both in February 1920.[14]

The Immediate Results

WHY THE SOVIETS WON. Anyone who delves only a little into the history of the Civil War and Western Interventions is soon compelled to wonder why the Soviets won. Louis Fischer aptly described their situation when the great struggle began:

> Intervention found the Soviets standing alone on a small piece of territory faced by a combination of Russia's *bourgeoisie* and a group of foreign countries. They had little money, an imperfect organization, a weak army, limited experience, and insufficient military equipment. The enemy disposed of huge financial resources, expert military leadership, boundless supplies of arms, munitions and stores, great stretches of territory (Siberia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the North, etc.), and the richest agricultural, raw-material producing and industrial sections of the country.[15]

As the Tsarist forces, powered by the West, got underway with their assaults on the small center of Russia held by the Reds the situation of the Soviets worsened. At one time they were compressed into a small area around Leningrad and Moscow. As Fischer describes it,

> the encirclement of Soviet Russia which Clemenceau had planned was now complete. On the west, Russia was cut off from the outside world by the Baltic buffers, the Germans, the British fleet and by Poland; on the north, by British, French, American, Italian and Serbian troops; on the south by the French in the Ukraine, Denikin in the Kuban, and the British in Caucasia and Transcaspia; on the east, finally by the Japanese and their faithful atamans in Eastern Serbia, and by the Czechs and Kolchak in Western Serbia.[16]

With all hope of making terms with the outside world ended, after urgent and repeated attempts to do so, the Soviet leaders had no choice but to start from scratch and raise a great army. Tsarist officers were cajoled and coerced into serving again and in the later stages many joined voluntarily, notably General Brusilov who became Commander-in-Chief against the Poles. Conscription and discipline were enforced and communist fervor and teaching fired enough

[14] L. I. Strakhovsky, *The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia*, 1918, Princeton, 1937, pp. 6, 16. 98; Konni Zilliacus, *Mirror of the Past*, New York, 1946, pp. 273-3; Saewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-95, 195-204.
[15] Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

recruits to win the war, under the generally acknowledged heroic leadership of War Commissar Leon Trotsky. The army was almost doubled in August 1918 and reached 800,000 men by the end of the year. By 1920 the figure was 3,000,000 and during that year it nearly doubled again, though there were never arms for more than 500,000 troops.

The Soviets were greatly aided, too, by the conduct of the aristocrats and landlords who officered the White armies. They treated the peasants like dirt, tried to recover control of the land and roused them into a great force on the side of the Reds. Thus the interventions gained great loyalty for the Red regime, stirred it to forge a powerful state machine by harsh draconian methods and to create a great army much quicker than it could or would have done otherwise.

These results comprised the true defeat of the interventions. As W. P. and Zelda Coates put it in their fine book, *Armed Interventions in Russia, 1918-1920, 1918-1922,* the interventions worked "to give strength and cohesion to the Soviet Government, and, by so doing, achieved exactly the opposite effect of what was intended."[17]

This is a quotation from the report of the distinguished Committee of Inquiry headed by Lord Emmott appointed by the British Coalition Government (1918-1922) which had led in waging the interventions. In the light of the fact that "at least 90 per cent of the Russian people were opposed to the blockade, armed intervention and support of the rebel 'White' Generals," the authors conclude that it "is indisputable that there was not the slightest moral warrant for the policy pursued by the British and other Allied governments." The Coates add that the Russian Whites never had any loyalty to the Allies. They were concerned only in recovering their own properties and privileges.

A further reason for the failure of the interventions is to be found in the inability of the Western governments to go all-out to restore the Whites. Deep war-weariness at the end of World War I made it impossible to lead or drive the Allied peoples to the necessary efforts. The troops sent had no heart in the undertaking. They were recurrently in a state of mutiny or nearly so and the people back home would not support the interventions. The relatives of the American troops sent called for their return and in Britain the Labor Party Conference in June 1919 demanded an end of the interventions and called for "the unreserved use of both political and industrial power." There were great street demonstrations to enforce the demand and in May 1920 dock workers' strikes stopped the sending of munitions to Poland.[18]

Another basic consideration to keep in mind is the near certainty that the Civil War would not have amounted to much in the absence

[17] London, 1935, pp. 366-7.
[18] Zilliacus, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-82; Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

of the great supplies poured into Russia by the Allies, along with finances, encouragement and aid in organization.[19]

The Costs to the Soviet Peoples

IN 1960 George F. Kennan wrote that the interventions "did not resemble in any way the major concerted effort to overthrow the Soviet Government which Soviet historiography today depicts. . . ." It was merely "a series of confused and uncoordinated military efforts." More serious damage was probably done, he adds, "by the support given by the Allies to the Russian Whites in supplies and munitions. . . ."

This of course is the giant iceberg concealed beneath the protruding tips of the Western interventions which Western scholars now barely perceive. It was this massive and tenacious support in the sinews of war which made the interventions into calamity for Russia equivalent to World War I, if not exceeding it. As Kennan himself said on an earlier page: "By November 1918 it was already evident that without extensive foreign military support, the White (anti-Bolshevik) cause would fail. . . ." In 1967 it is impossible to estimate exactly how many millions of Russian lives were ruined or ended as a result of the interventions. One of the best studies is certain that "not thousands but millions of Soviet citizens lost their lives."[20]

It could not be otherwise, for Russia was already exhausted and thoroughly disorganized by her heroic but pathetic efforts for four years during World War I, when so many millions of her best men had been mobilized and hurled almost unarmed and unsupplied against the superbly equipped German and Austrian war machines. Then in 1918 the chaos of three years of intervention and civil war descended on her and when it was all over in 1921 the Soviet Union was devastated throughout her vast expanses, from Poland to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Caucasus. Millions of poor civilians had died of abuse, hunger and famine, which was soon to claim millions more. Everything was in a far worse state than at the time of the March 1917 revolution, bad as that was. Hatred and degradation filled the land. The upper classes in whose behalf the war had been fought had been humiliated and broken in labor battalions, killed and scattered abroad to live in bitter exile.

The results of the Allied interventions have been tellingly summarized by Bruce Lockhart, who was the British Agent to the Soviets after formal diplomatic intercourse was interrupted. His conclusions are that by June 1918 there was no danger of Russia being overrun

[19] Goode, *Is Intervention in Russia a Myth?* p. 33. When the first important gathering of Russian monarchists occurred in Rostov in South Russia during December 1917, its leaders were at once offered $100,000,000 by the British Government and 100,000,000 rubles by the French to make war on the Soviet Government. Schuman, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-4.

[20] The Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 369; George F. Kennan, *Soviet Foreign Policy*, 1917-1941, New York, 1960, pp. 29-30, 23 (An Anvil paperback by Van Nostrand).

by Germany, that it was a mistake to intervene at all, that the consequences were "disastrous both to our prestige and to the fortunes of those Russians who supported us" and that they regarded the intervention "as an attempt to overthrow Bolshevism."[21]

Some of the horrors accompanying the interventions were scarcely heard of in Britain, let alone the United States. In South Russia from 300,000 to 500,000 Jews were massacred by the Whites. In 1923 Dr. J. H. Hertz, the Chief Rabbi of London, published a pamphlet in which he described the wholesale slaughter, "drownings, burnings and burials alive" along with diabolic torture, and the most bestial violations of young girls before their parents' eyes. In many populous Jewish communities no survivors were left to bury the dead. Adding those who perished indirectly from hunger, cold and disease, he estimated that "the dread total will be very nearly half a million human beings." Yet all this continued for nearly two years "without any protest by the civilized Powers, with hardly any notice in the English press of this systematic extermination." W. T. Goode concludes that "even the horrors committed directly by the Whites can be laid largely at the door of foreign intervention," since the Allies organized and equipped them and kept them on the march for many months.[22]

The Reasons for the Interventions

WHAT were the reasons for the interventions which condemned millions of people to death, directly or indirectly, by exposure, plagues and famine?

After the Russians left the war in 1917 the French yearned for the reconstitution of some kind of second front to keep the Germans from transferring millions of troops to the Western Front. They did not foresee that Ludendorff would later testify that the troops he got transferred to the French front were of little use when they arrived. But after the end of the war Clemenceau soon concluded that the victory would have to be reinforced by the encirclement and ultimate overthrow of Bolshevism, and plans were made accordingly.[23]

In the case of the Japanese and the Poles the motives were strongly imperialistic and the same urges animated the British and French in lesser degrees. But the authors quoted above agree that the suppression of Bolshevism rapidly became the dominant aim. One says that after the Armistice the object was "purely to destroy the Bolsheviks." Another finds that after November 1918 "the civil war in Russia became a clear-cut struggle between Red revolution and black reaction" and that the Allies sided with the latter. He adds, however, that "the weakening of Russia was the motive which united all types of interventionists in England." The ancient rivalry would not down. "There

[21] R. H. Bruce Lockhart, *Memoirs of a British Agent*, New York, 1932, pp. 311-12.

[22] W. T. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-3, 102-3.

[23] A. E. C. Quainton, "The French in South Russia, 1918 and After," *St. Antony's Papers in Soviet Affairs*, St. Antony's College, Oxford, February 2, 1959.

could be little doubt that the main underlying motive actuating the protagonists of armed intervention was hostility to the Soviet regime; the fear of a successful workers' Government in any country."[24]

A very perceptive doctoral dissertation at Stanford University concluded that the essence of the interventions was an attempt to overthrow Bolshevism, but that the reluctant and restrained American participation "helped to restrain the Japanese, British and French and to prevent the detachment of the Russian Far East."[25]

Legality

WHILE the Allied Governments sent their troops into the Soviet Union, from all four sides, and powered a disastrous civil war throughout the immense reaches of the Russian realm, no one seems to have bothered about the question of legality, any more than our Government has concerned itself lately while violating all the great charters—Nuremberg, UN and OAS—as well as its own laws and Constitution in trying to control Cuba, Santo Domingo and Vietnam.

After the event, in 1921, the British Court of Appeal held that from the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly on December 30, 1917 "it must be accepted that the Soviet assumed the position of a sovereign Government and purported to act as such." Under this judgment the Soviet Government was "an independent sovereign Government" all during the period of the Western interventions and the White Russian forces were rebels and not belligerents.[26]

The Long Term Consequences

I HAVE indicated above that the interventions not only failed to suppress communism but entrenched it instead. In another place I have explained more fully the extent to which this occurred:

> Within the limits of the exhaustion and chaos which lay all around them the Reds waged the first total war. They had to do so in order to survive. In the fires of this grim testing time they also hammered out the machinery of the totalitarian state—organized terror by the secret police, the planned use of all national resources, nationalization of all industry, class war in the villages in order to feed the starving cities (which later ended in the forced collectivization of the land), a monolithic, highly disciplined Party controlling and unifying all activity, military or civil, and a powerful army, taught and schooled with every means at command.
>
> These pillars of totalitarian state power might well have been erected under the Soviet State in the course of time, without the compelling whip of the Civil Wars. They may all have been implicit in Marxism, but it is altogether unlikely that they would have been built as quickly and strongly. Evolution in the Soviet Union would have proceeded much more slowly and, in all probability, with much greater moderation, without the scourging compulsion of Western intervention.[27]

[24] Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Fischer, pp. 138-9; Coates, p. 359.
[25] Benjamin J. Bock, *The Origins of the Interallied Occupation in Eastern Asia*, 1918-1920, p. 33. Unpublished.
[26] Coates, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-9.
[27] Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, 1918-1920, Vol. I, p. 32.

It is doubtful that all this was even dimly understood at the time, or that it is yet. The passion against communism was so strong that even the *New York Times* gave its readers no indication that the West was defeating itself. On August 10, 1920 the *New Republic* published a now famous study by Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz of the coverage of Russian news by our leading newspaper from March 1917 to March 1920. This long and revealing document shows that after the Soviets accepted the German dictated Treaty of Brest-Litovsk "organized propaganda for intervention penetrates the news" and after the Armistice in November 1918 the Red peril took the lead. Thereafter the study found "passionate argument masquerading as news," in headlines as well as articles, especially in predicting the doom of the Soviets. Thus in the two years after November 1917 it was predicted no less than 91 times that "the Soviets were nearing their rope's end or had actually reached it" and their collapse was reported 19 times. Even the deep Polish invasion of Russia was made to seem somehow defensive.[28]

Accordingly, for the American people the cosmic tragedy of the interventions in Russia does not exist, or it was an unimportant incident long forgotten. But for the Soviet peoples and their leaders the period was a time of endless killing, of looting and rapine, of plague and famine, of measureless suffering for scores of millions—an experience burned into the very soul of a nation, not to be forgotten for many generations, if ever. Also for many years the harsh Soviet regimentations could all be justified by fear that the capitalist powers would be back to finish the job. It is not strange that in his address in New York, September 17, 1959, Premier Khrushchev should remind us of the interventions, "the time you sent your troops to quell the revolution," as he put it.[29]

This was not fair to the restrained American role in the period, but it should remind us of the futility of trying to suppress deep-seated revolutions, especially after cataclysmic wars. The distinguished sociologist E. A. Ross wrote as early as 1921 that "under the pitiless pelting of facts" he had had to give up the idea that the Russian Revolution was the work of a handful of extremists. "If the train bearing Lenin and 18 other Bolsheviks back to Russia had fallen through a bridge," he says, "the peasants would have seized the estates and the soldiers would have quit fighting. The robbed and oppressed masses—a hundred millions of men and women—would have moved toward the goal of their long unfilled desires like a flow of molten lava that no human force can dam or turn aside."[30]

[28] Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz, "A Test of the News," *New Republic*, August 4, 1920, Vol. II, after p. 288.
[29] *The Times*, London, September 18, 1959.
[30] Ross, *The Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, New York, 1921.

Containment — Vietnam

AFTER World War II, which again brought almost limitless agonies and losses to the Soviet Union, once more through a great German invasion, there was no question of invading her to stamp out communism. But her Western allies did move promptly, after Roosevelt, to forbid any further expansion of Russian power or of communism.

This "containment" policy, enshrined in the Truman Doctrine, plainly forbade any more popular revolutions, lest they turn Red. This has been our great *leitmotiv* since 1947. In pursuit of it we have led the world in spending a trillion and a half dollars on armaments, while the great underdeveloped southern part of the world moved toward revolution through population explosion and poverty, and our own cities became vast smoldering ghettos for our Negro people.

Then as Russia consolidated her position in power and grew more conservative, the American military industrial complex turned its main attention to the containment and encirclement of China, by every known means, and to policing the rest of East Asia.

After the Korean War our chief attention centered on Vietnam, where we poured arms into the hands of the French up to 1954, to aid their reconquest of Vietnam. Then Washington took over the job itself and for another dozen years has been using every known military technique, including many measures with genocidal effects, to subdue the Vietnamese and crush a deepseated revolution against an ancient landlord-oligarchical system. Endless quantities of bombs of many kinds, crop killers, paralyzing gases, artillery, tanks, troops, etc., have been applied year after year—and yet the little brown people still fight on—aided finally by powerful Soviet weapons which reduce somewhat the almost complete inequality of weapons in the struggle.

The Future?

AND now on August 8, 1967, R. W. Apple of the *New York Times* cables from Saigon an analysis of our plight there which concludes: (1) that though we have counted the bodies of 200,000 Vietnamese fighters in the past ten years, the enemy now has a record total of 297,000 men in the field; (2) that he has been equipped with many powerful weapons, in spite of our perpetual bombing; (3) that we are reaching the bottom of our ready manpower pool, while the North Vietnamese have committed only a fifth of their Regular Army; and (4) that if both the North Vietnamese and ourselves withdrew, the South Vietnamese regime "would almost certainly crumble in months, so little have the root problems been touched." He finds the Saigon troops "poorly motivated" and led by corrupt, incompetent officers who work a 4½ day week, leaving their troops at Friday noon for long weekends in Saigon. This report is corrected entitled in the Manchester *Guardian* "A Stalemate in Vietnam—'and No Way Out.'"

After half a dozen great campaigns over the past decade to herd the peasants into concentration camps by various names, they will not be "pacified." They, and a large majority of the other Vietnamese still insist on controlling their own affairs and on having the same kind of social revolution that has been carried through in Russia and in China.

It is utterly and absolutely incredible that our galaxy of fire powers applied to them, beyond the scale of World War II, should not produce compliance with our wishes that there be no revolution. Yet the struggle goes on. A million of them have been killed and another million made wretched refugees, but our will does not prevail.

Once again it would seem that the deep devotion, patience and heroism, the burning determination of men to defend their country and have a better way of life—in short the aroused human spirit—can defeat any intervention that stops short of crushing genocide, even in a small country.

Are our leaders capable of learning this recurring lesson of history? Or must they continue their efforts to enforce a conservative *Pax Americana* around the world?

UNITY OF SOVIET NATIONS

(*Continued from page 36*)

ready in the process of communist construction. What joy it is to see that the nations of the Soviet Union, all its 100 peoples, are growing in every way—economically, culturally, and morally!

The fight of the working class and peasantry against capitalism in many nations with different histories, different economic levels and varied cultures, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, has drawn inspiration from the application of that science in the Soviet Union. Now a third of mankind lives under socialist state systems. The bulk of the peoples in the colonies have thrown off the yoke of imperialist bondage. They are finding that imperialist-colonial relationships preclude the kind of relationship existing between the nations in the Soviet Union.

It is not accidental that the majority of peoples greet the Soviet Union on this historic occasion. For it becomes crystal clear that the union of the powerful socialist states with the movement for national independence and the democratic movements within the imperialist countries is the guarantor of victory over capitalism and imperialism.

The forward march of events during the past 50 years in the Soviet Union will be recalled, not only by the generations of yesterday and today, but by those of tomorrow as the beginning of the end of human oppression.

The Soviet People
in the Second World War

by ALEXANDER WERTH

On the occasion of this fiftieth anniversary, it is fitting to recall the agony of the German invasion during World War II, the depth of the Soviet sacrifice, and the debt incurred by the rest of the world to the Soviet effort. Alexander Werth was a correspondent in Moscow from 1941 to 1948, and is uniquely qualified to tell the story of the Soviets in wartime. Mr. Werth's book,* Russia at War, 1941-1945, *(Dutton, 1964) has been called "the best book we probably shall ever have in English on Russia at War."

THE OTHER day I saw the film *Is Paris Burning?* which I found at first greatly enjoyable. At the beginning it showed a maniacal Hitler giving orders to his generals that if Paris could not be held, then it should be burned down and razed to the ground—just as Warsaw was to be very soon afterwards.

Thanks to General von Choltitz, the German commander in Paris, this order was not, in the end, carried out. Choltitz was "a good German," or, at any rate, one with sufficient common sense to realize that the Germans had lost the war by August 1944, and that it was no use antagonizing more than necessary the Western Allies by destroying Paris. So the fat, jovial and, on the whole, rather sensitive German decided to disobey the Führer, and hand Paris over intact to the French people, and himself capitulate to General Leclerc whose famous Armored Division was the first to break into Paris and so to come to the rescue of the hard-pressed Paris Insurrection.

But even this "good German" says on one occasion: "If I thought I would do Germany any good by burning down Paris, I wouldn't hesitate for a moment; but now it's too late. If the Führer gives such an order *now*, it shows that the man is simply mad."

Between Hitler's order of August 10 to burn down Paris and the "happy ending" on August 25 when Leclerc's tanks break into Paris, all sorts of exciting things happen. We see the French Resistance at work; we see some of the French resisters massacred by the SS and hundreds of others deported to Buchenwald; we see them fighting the Germans in the streets of Paris; then we see the more "moderate" members of the Resistance negotiating a short truce with General von Choltitz through the good offices of Mr. Nordling, the Swedish Consul-General; but, as the street fighting is resumed, largely on the initiative of the French Communists, the American generals are persuaded to allow the Leclerc Division to break into Paris, where the French tank

crews rapidly overcome the resistance still coming from some German units and from their French collaborators. And it all ends with a glorious apotheosis, with millions of Parisians dancing and singing and welcoming General de Gaulle, the Liberator, as he walks down the Champs Elysées towards Notre Dame. All the church bells are ringing, and Paris, unburnt and almost undamaged, is as beautiful as ever. A very exciting and most enjoyable film.

And yet, as I watched it, I could not help feeling more and more irritated. For in this drama of the Liberation of Paris there was one of the *dramatis personae* who was never once mentioned—as though he did not exist at all. I mean the Soviet people. And yet it was the Soviet people—and the Red Army—who had made the Allies' war in the West, including the Liberation of Paris, a relatively easy one.

It was not very difficult for Eisenhower, and Bradley and Patton to win great victories in the West, and to sweep across France and Belgium—and later into Germany—almost without a hitch.

For, by August 1944—and even before that—the German army had already been hopelessly weakened by the three years of war it had had to wage in the Soviet Union. But for the Russians, even the "good German" General von Choltitz would not have "hesitated" to burn down Paris, as he had been ordered by the Führer to do. But for the Russians, the German general would have told the Swedish Consul-General to go to hell; in fact, one can only guess what the fate of Paris, occupied by the Germans in 1940, would have ultimately been but for the Russians.

In short, the whole story of the almost painless liberation of Paris, as told in the film, would not have been possible except in the conditions that had been created by the invisible and unmentioned "actor" in the drama of Paris—the Soviet people. But for this invisible *dramatis persona* it is doubtful that the French Resistance could have been so optimistic, and the French and American generals so full of self-confidence and self-assurance.

WHY DID those who made the film have to take the story of the liberation of Paris out of its real historical and military context —namely, the strategic situation in Europe in August 1944? One can guess why; but having spent all the war years in the Soviet Union, I found this historical falseness highly irritating, all the more so as the young people in the West who do not remember the war will probably find nothing wrong with the film. And even many older people may have forgotten that even Churchill—who never much liked the Russians—had to admit in 1944 that it was the Russians who had "torn the guts out of the German army." As for de Gaulle, he was fully aware of one thing at the beginning of 1941: that Britain and the Free French were in an impasse; it was not until the Soviet

Union entered the war in June 1941 that he heaved an immense sigh of relief. Now, he said, our victory is as good as certain.

But the war in the West and the war in the Soviet Union were two very different things. France, in one way or another, lost about half a million people; Britain and the United States each lost about 300,000 people; the Soviet Union lost 20 million. The very nature of the war in the East was different from the war in the West. I remember France in 1940. Paris was declared an open city. The capitulating French generals and politicians took the easy and simple view that if, in 1918, it was France's turn to win the war, in 1940 it was the Germans' turn to win it; an armistice was negotiated, and the Vichy regime was set up.

This kind of shortsighted calculation never entered—and could not enter—the head of any Russian after June 22, 1941. No "deal" with the invaders was possible. It was literally a choice between life and death, between victory and death.

For a time, many Frenchmen somehow assumed that Hitler might not destroy France; in the East, every Soviet citizen knew that Hitler was determined to destroy Russia, and, indeed, in the long run, every individual Russian—as the example of the war prisoners who fell into the Germans' hands was to show almost immediately.

It was the very nature of Hitler's war against Russia which made a tragic epic like the siege of Leningrad possible. According to A. V. Karasev's book, *Leningradtsy v Gody Blokady*, some letters forged by German military intelligence appeared suggesting that Leningrad be declared, like Paris in 1940, an "open city." But the people of Leningrad knew there was no alternative. The knowledge that it was literally a life-and-death struggle characterized the entire behavior of the Soviet people throughout the years of the Great Patriotic War.

IT WAS A fearfully hard struggle; and the most difficult of all were the first two years—until the victory of Stalingrad. But, unlike France in 1940, there was never any defeatism. Even at the most difficult moments, the "practical" possibility of defeat was never admitted by any Russian—except, in my experience, by some lachrymose old women, who expected to die soon anyway.

Outside Russia, on the contrary, the defeat of Russia was considered as a very "practical" possibility. Before I left London for Moscow on July 2, 1941, official British military "experts" thought a German victory inevitable in a few months.

This was not what people in Russia thought, not even during the truly catastrophic summer and autumn of 1941, which I spent mostly in Moscow. That people were puzzled and even bewildered is, of course, true enough, for the initial German successes were on a scale which nobody had foreseen. By October 1941 the Germans had encircled Leningrad, were attacking Moscow, and had overrun

nearly the whole of the Ukraine. Privately, many people wondered *why* all this had happened; *who* was to blame; had not some fearful mistakes and miscalculations been made somewhere? But it was no time for such questions and recriminations; the situation was too serious; everybody had to make the necessary effort to save the country.

This is what was most typical of the mood in Russia in 1941. The inquiries into the question of who was to blame had to be left for more peaceful times. And in 1941 this primary concern of saving the country found its fullest expression, on the military side, in the Battle of Moscow, and, on the civilian side, in the evacuation of industry to the East from the threatened areas—a mass effort with nothing to equal it in the whole history of the Second World War. And this evacuation of industry was followed by the build-up of the war industries in the East in the unbelievably difficult conditions of the winter of 1941-42.

On the strength of Soviet sources I describe in *Russia at War* the gigantic mass effort made by Soviet people to build up these war industries in the Urals, Siberia and Kazakhstan. This was a feat of physical endurance and self-sacrifice which was equalled only by the Red Army on the field of battle. People built new war factories at the height of winter, working for 12, 14, 15 hours a day, often having to walk many miles to work, and with very little to eat. Not least remarkable throughout the war was the work done by women in practically every field of industry, agriculture and transport; in many branches of industry more than half the workers were women, and agriculture was almost entirely dependent on women's labor.

It was thanks to this gigantic mass effort, in which many people ruined their health and even died, that Soviet war industries began to turn out vast quantities of equipment and munitions by the autumn of 1942. But at the time of the Battle of Moscow, with hundreds of war plants on the way to the East, the production of war equipment was at its lowest, and the Soviet counter-offensive of January-April 1942 was disappointing, while the serious setbacks suffered by the Red Army in the grim summer of 1942 were also largely due to the insufficient output of tanks and aircraft. Even so, by September 1942 the industrial output of equipment had radically improved, and this was a precondition for the decisive Stalingrad offensive of November 1942, which ended in the capitulation of the German forces trapped inside the Stalingrad bag in February 1943.

After Stalingrad the Red Army was, professionally, every bit as efficient as the German army, and, before long, more so, as the decisive Battle of Kursk of July 1943 was to show.

One of the most remarkable phenomena of the Soviet war effort was the coordination of the work done by the soldiers and by the rear: significantly, the number of men in the fighting forces increased by only about 12 per cent between Stalingrad and the end of the

war, but the increase of tanks, artillery and aircraft was three- or four-fold. Equally remarkable was the improvement in the quality of the army leadership; the hard battles of 1941 and 1942 more or less eliminated the incompetents and brought forward a team of war leaders, who have often been compared with the Napoleonic marshals, who acquired most of their qualities of leadership through direct military experience.

THE QUESTION of Allied aid to the Soviet Union is one of the sorest subjects. During the grim autumn of 1942, when the Soviet Union was in as great a danger as in the autumn of 1941, there was very strong feeling in Russia about the Allies doing little or nothing to help. The North Africa landing was welcomed, and this, together with the victory of Stalingrad, reduced the impatience for the Second Front—that is, the "real" Second Front.

It is also certain that the important help given to the Soviet Union under Lend-Lease *after* (though not *before*) Stalingrad had a good effect on the Soviet people's attitude to the Allies, and particularly the USA. Nevertheless, there continued to be a strong feeling in the country, and particularly in the army, that, useful though Lend-Lease was, it did not abolish the enormous difference between the amount of blood shed by the Russians and that shed by the Allies.

This "inequality of sacrifice" was to affect the Russian attitude to the West for many years after the war. It is also certain that, although this help was useful, it constituted only a small proportion of what was actually being used by the Red Army (about 10 per cent of tanks and aircraft, though a much higher proportion of motor vehicles). Also, some of the petroleum products, raw materials and foodstuffs were good to have; but there is absolutely no evidence to support President Truman's argument that, without American help, the Russians would have been "ignominiously defeated." For one thing, the bulk of this help, as already said, came *after* Stalingrad.

A sense of proportion should also be kept in assessing the importance of Lend-Lease to the Soviet Union: out of the 600,000 million dollars the USA spent on World War II, only 10,000 million dollars' worth went to the Soviet Union as Lend-Lease, i.e., less than two per cent.

It is perhaps an exaggeration to say, as a Chinese leader said at the time, that the "real" Second Front in Normandy opened only after "the tiger had been killed" by the Russians; it is true, nevertheless, that, by June 1944, most of the work of destroying the Wehrmacht had already been accomplished by the Soviet forces; and, after that, the German resistance was much heavier in the East than in the West.

For even during the last year of the war, as the Soviet armed forces approached Germany and then entered German territory, the human losses continued to be very heavy; scarcely anywhere were

the Soviet armies doing a walkover and some of the fiercest fighting took place during the last year of the war—notably at Budapest, Königsberg, Poznan and finally Berlin. I remember only too well many Russian friends who lost their sons (sometimes all their sons) during the last months of the war.

"All for the Front, all for Victory" had been throughout the war the Soviet people's great slogan, and it was carried out almost literally. If, in the First World War—which I remember from my school days—the Russian tsarist army was short—often catastrophically short—of weapons, ammunition, clothing and food, the Red Army, thanks to Soviet organization, had nearly always everything it needed, particularly after Stalingrad. And even if, in 1941-42, there was a shortage of armaments, the soldiers were seldom short of clothing and food. Every man and woman in industry and agriculture was conscious of the absolute top priority that had to be given to the front. It was therefore inevitable that the civilian population should suffer from very serious shortages.

It is scarcely surprising that, after four years of war, the Soviet people were tired, and that the war had undermined the health of millions. Living conditions had been hard throughout the war, both in the cities and the villages. Nothing, to my mind, was more disgusting than the contemptuous articles some American visitors wrote towards the end of the war on the "wretched, underfed, shabby look" of the Moscow crowds they had seen: this "shabbiness" was, in reality, the price that the rear had had to pay for victory at the front. And "shabbiness" in Moscow was a small matter compared with the countless deaths at the front.

AND THEN, in May 1945, came Victory. Shabby or not, I had never seen the people of Moscow so exuberantly happy as on that 9th of May. Soldiers were embraced and thrown up in the air; many people wept—some out of sheer joy, others remembering those who would never return. There were even friendly demonstrations outside the American Embassy, and people shouted "Long live America!" and "Long live Roosevelt!" even though Roosevelt had died a month before. But there was a peculiar logic in these tributes.

Many historians tell us that there is something unscientific in attaching too much importance to individual persons. Yet it is now recognized by many serious American historians—notably D. F. Fleming in his monumental work, *The Cold War and Its Origins*—that the cold war began in earnest the day Roosevelt died. The Soviet people, by some curious instinct, were very conscious of it. I remember many Russian women in Moscow who wept bitterly on April 13, when it was learned that Roosevelt had died the day before. Fleming shows convincingly that although Roosevelt expected various disagreements and frictions with the Soviet Union, he was sure that there were no

insuperable obstacles to friendly coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union after the war. The Russian women who mourned Roosevelt knew only too well that, with his death, the world had entered an era of uncertainty. Sure enough, it did not take long to discover that Harry Truman, the new President, was profoundly hostile to the Soviet Union, and hastened to interpret its more than understandable desire for security and its determination not to have hostile governments in the neighboring countries as "Russian expansionism and imperialism."

Then there came the atom bomb which enormously increased Truman's truculence and his desire to enforce an "Open Door" policy on the Soviet Union's Western neighbors, and to set up there anti-Soviet governments of a kind that had existed in these countries in the *cordon sanitaire* days between the two world wars.

"I'm tired of babying the Soviets," he wrote at the end of 1945 in a famous letter to Byrnes. And soon after that came Churchill's Fulton speech, delivered in the presence and with the full approval of Harry Truman. There followed years of threats and intimidation, complete with "doctrines" like "containment," "roll-back," and even proposals to "drop an atom bomb on Moscow."

Projects like that for a 7 billion dollar reconstruction loan to the Soviet Union were, with the blessing of Ambassador Harriman, conveniently "lost" in the archives of the State Department, and the screaming about Russian "expansionism and imperialism" went together with malicious rejoicing over the 1946 drought in the USSR.

THE immediate postwar years were almost unbelievably hard for the Soviet people. Food was short—above all in 1946-47—but, at the same time, a gigantic task of reconstruction had been laid down under the first postwar five-year plan. The results of the postwar reconstruction that was carried out in a small number of years by a nation which was physically tired if not downright exhausted by the four years of war that had preceded this reconstruction period, were, in their own way, as remarkable as the results of the People's War of 1941-45.

Equally remarkable is the fact that the Soviet people did not panic or lose their heads at the height of the cold war, though it is true enough (as I could observe in 1947-48) that there was, among the people, a feeling of real anger against the Trumans, the Churchills, the Achesons and the Dulleses. I remember little boys in the streets of Moscow in 1948 cutting with their penknives and tearing to shreds posters showing Uncle Sam with an atom bomb sticking out of his pocket. And at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow in 1947—that conference which foreshadowed the partition of Germany into two unequal halves—some of the American delegates openly talked of "preventive war" against the USSR.

Today all this may be ancient history, and more and more American scholars and historians are coming to the conclusion—among them Fleming, Horowitz, Shulman and Warburg—that the cold war was unnecessary, a view which the Russians had tried in vain to impress upon the world as long ago as 1945!

The cold war was a serious ordeal for the Soviet people. Many ugly and painful things happened during those years in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe generally, which would not have happened but for the cold war. This cold war was, indeed, unnecessary, as is now widely admitted; but some of its results are still with us. The Soviet Government tried in vain in 1947-48 to prevent the division of Germany in two and the constitution of a potentially aggressive West German state. But this, a child of the cold war, has come to stay. How dangerous and explosive a force it will be, planted as it is in the middle of Europe, only the future can show.

ONE OF the best safeguards of peace in Europe continues to be the Soviet Union. It is both peaceful and powerful; but its economic and military power was achieved only as a result of a stupendous effort of the entire Soviet people. Today it is, economically, many times more powerful than in 1941. After the People's War came the People's Peace, which has now continued for over a quarter of a century. If the Soviet people had become discouraged and demoralized during the cold war years—as many another nation might have done in similar conditions—and had failed to create the mighty country we see today, the criminal American war against the people of Vietnam might today constitute an even greater danger to world peace than it does now.

This is not to say that we can calmly "accept" that war. Besides being a monstrous crime against the long-suffering people of Vietnam, it still represents a menace to the peace of the world, and, to say the least, threatens to create new international tensions which might well result in a new, even more serious cold war. If the last cold war petered out after years of tensions and threats, it does not follow that *every* cold war will necessarily come to a peaceful end. For if, with West Germany, there are potentially explosive forces present in Europe, there may prove to be some even more explosive material accumulating in Asia today.

Crude and muddled thinking in Washington in the Truman era very nearly brought the world to the brink of disaster; today the same kind of crude and muddled thinking has been resumed. This time it may be even more dangerous; for not all countries—least of all in Asia—have the Soviet Union's capacity, which it showed in the last cold war, of sticking it out and not losing its head.

Courtesy *New Times,* May 10, 1967

Bulwark of Peace

by CORLISS LAMONT

ON ITS fiftieth anniversary, the Soviet Union stands out more than ever as a great bulwark and beacon in mankind's long march toward peace, economic security and the equality of peoples. The USSR, set back enormously by the Nazi invasion and World War II, rapidly recovered and today steadily advances in all aspects of human living. The entire world must now admit that Soviet socialism, with its nationwide socioeconomic planning, has established a viable and successful economy.

Leonard Gross of *Look,* one of the most widely read capitalist periodicals in America, makes this grudging acknowledgment in the magazine's special issue of October 3 on 50 years of Soviet Russia: "It works. Ponderously, fitfully, unevenly. But 50 years after the revolution that changed the world forever, the system it fostered wheezes with life. We strain to hear the sounds of discord and seize on every setback; but it's time to ponder some disconcerting realities. Grumps there are, and struggles—bitter struggles fought by angry, frustrated men. Yet, implausible as it seems to us, most Soviet citizens think they have a good thing going for them. They feel safe. They don't worry about hunger or loneliness or calamity."

The present Soviet Government, while its continued exploration of outer space is impressive, does not on the whole go in for big spectacular happenings. Premier Kosygin and his associates give the impression of being cool, calm and firm in their handling of Soviet affairs.

On the international front they face with equanimity the provocative actions of the United States and serious trouble with China. While trying to calm the wild men of Washington, from President Johnson down, the Soviet Union sends substantial assistance in arms and other material goods to the beleaguered North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The Soviet leaders presumably hope that if they can avoid a military confrontation with the United States for another year or so, there is a good chance that the 1968 Presidential election in America will lead to a more peaceful United States foreign policy.

CORLISS LAMONT, philosopher, writer, lecturer, has for many years been a leader in the fight for civil liberties, international understanding and peace. He is chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Among his books on the USSR are *You Might Like Socialism, Soviet Civilization* and *The Peoples of the Soviet Union.* His latest book is *Freedom of Choice Affirmed.*

Johnson's horrible war of aggression in Vietnam, with its cruel bombings and civilian massacres, contrasts dramatically with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. That peace policy was initiated by Lenin in 1917 and has been a cornerstone of Soviet international relations ever since. It is sometimes said that Western Europe can relax now, because the USSR has given up its aggressive designs upon it. But the Soviet Union never at any time had the aim of invading Western Europe.

Important to remember is that in the USSR there are no individuals, groups or economic interests that stand to gain financially in the slightest degree from a war in which the Soviet Union may be involved. Nor does the planned Soviet system, with its absence of large-scale unemployment, need or benefit from massive war production. In the capitalist countries, however, and notably in the United States, war creates an economic stimulus that brings boom to the economy and billions in profits. The US expenditure of $30 billion a year on the Vietnam conflict helps to explain why even American labor has on the whole supported Johnson's bloody adventure.

Meanwhile, we must not exaggerate and claim that the Soviet Union has brought into being the long-sought Utopia of which men have dreamed since time immemorial. The tyrannical aspects of the Stalin regime have left a deep imprint; and the USSR still has a long way to go for the complete actualization of the guarantees on civil liberties in the Constitution of 1936. We should be realistic, however, in understanding that it takes a long time for a socialist country, emerging from a backward Tsarist dictatorship and continually facing the danger of war, to evolve into a full-fledged political democracy. A major reason for the military pressures from the United States is precisely to *prevent* democratic development in the USSR. For the capitalist nations would lose their most effective argument against Soviet socialism if it instituted full freedom of speech.

"HUMAN DREAMS CAN COME TRUE"

by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

HUMAN MINDS DREAM and human dreams come true. Not all dreams, but some. Some day there will be on earth Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood. Some day but not yet. No Christian nation today pretends to follow even afar the ethics of Jesus Christ. But one dream, old and long-pursued, was started toward reality forty-two years ago, and today no one in the world denies that socialism is a reality in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is the reason for world rejoicing that human dreams can come true. . . .

This is the world in which we fight for Peace and Freedom. And in this world we rejoice that a great socialist state has been born, lives and expands in deed and influence and bears in its hands the hopes of mankind.

From an article on the 42nd *Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, NWR, November,* 1959

US-USSR Relations
and the War in Vietnam

by **FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN**

Professor Schuman has kindly given us permission to publish the following excerpt from The Cold War: Retrospect and Prospect, *out this Fall, an amplified edition of an earlier work. In a new postscript, Professor Schuman deals with the fluctuations in American-Soviet relations in recent years. We take up his account at the point of new hopes raised for improved relations, after the confrontation over Cuba, by John F. Kennedy's American University speech and the Test Ban Treaty, only to be dashed by President Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam. US aggression has achieved new frightfulness since the postscript was written, remaining the single greatest barrier to ending the cold war.*

KENNEDY, now master of his official household, sought a détente with Moscow. At the American University, June 10, 1963, he spoke eloquently for peace.

New American-Soviet cultural exchanges were negotiated. A "hot line" was arranged for direct communication between the two capitals. On July 25, 1963, an Anglo-American-Soviet accord (spurned by Paris and Peking) was signed for the banning of test explosions of nuclear weapons in the air, under water, and in outer space. The war lords of Washington were no longer making policy. Other agreements loomed. . .

The light of hope dimmed once more with death in Dallas, November 22, 1963. President Johnson espoused caution and concord until his massive electoral victory over Goldwater in November, 1964 —after which he embraced the Goldwater foreign policy and made himself the leader of America's militarists. The new objectives, which were to prove incompatible, were the "Great Society" at home and counterrevolution abroad.

When self-appointed "world leaders" seek hegemony by force, fraud, and favors, many among the led are not slow to respond in kind. Johnson's propensity to shoot first and reflect later found eager emulators elsewhere. Pentagon, in alliance with Big Business, was selling billions of dollars worth of weapons all over the globe in the name of "defense against communism." India and Pakistan, heavily armed by

DR. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN has long been Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College and has taught on many other campuses and lectured widely. His many books include *The Nazi Dictatorship, Russia Since 1917, The Commonwealth of Man, Government in the Soviet Union, International Politics* (6 editions). The revised edition of *The Cold War: Retrospect and Prospect,* has just been published by the Louisiana State Press.

the USA against Russia and China, used the arms against one another in the abortive Kashmir war of September 1965. Paradoxically, Moscow and Washington here discovered a shared purpose. Both sponsored a cease-fire at the UN. The Kremlin offered mediation. The result was a conference in Tashkent where, January 11, 1966, President Mohammed Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri (who succumbed to a heart attack a few hours later) signed pledges for withdrawal of troops and restoration of the status quo.

In other areas, America's voices of violence prevailed. When liberal rebels sought to overthrow a reactionary military *junta* in the Dominican Republic in April, 1965, LBJ & Co. dispatched 22,000 troops to occupy the unhappy land on the pretext of "protecting American lives" and "saving the Dominicans from Communism." Despite subsequent withdrawal in the wake of the defeat of the rebels, this action was a repudiation of the "Good Neighbor" policy and a flagrant violation of numerous treaty obligations of nonintervention.

In a remote region, Washington's new reliance on war as an instrument of national policy revived the Cold War in all its old intensity and in a context again threatening Armageddon. In violation of the Geneva accords of 1954, the UN Charter, and many other bases of international law, the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations had embarked upon military intervention in South Vietnam in support of a corrupt and brutal oligarchy of landlords and generals, subsidized by the USA, against the rebelling patriots of the National Liberation Front.

The Johnson Administration escalated the conflict into a major campaign to crush the rebels, with the ultimate objective of establishing an American neo-colonial enclave and military bastion in South Vietnam, as in Thailand, to complete the ring of US bases around China. This enterprise has proved to be tragic, futile, and highly hazardous for the peace of the world. It was rationalized in the name of honoring a "commitment" which had never been made, defending a "freedom" which was nonexistent, championing a "self-determination" which was spurious, resisting an "aggression" from Hanoi and Peking which was fictitious, and "protecting" a far country by laying it waste and slaughtering its people.

On February 7, 1965, while Kosygin was in Hanoi, Johnson ordered the daily aerial bombardment of Communist-ruled North Vietnam—in the hope that the National Liberation Front, asserted to be a tool of Hanoi, could be annihilated in the South by American arms and that Ho Chi Minh and his countrymen in the North could be forced by bombs to the "conference table" to accept American terms. Seldom have so many miscalculations been made by so few at the price of agony for so many. Pleas for peace by President de Gaulle, U Thant, Pope Paul VI, neutralist governments, church groups, and many outraged Americans all fell on deaf ears in Washington.

In deference to worldwide condemnation and mounting denunciation at home, Johnson, Rusk and Goldberg indulged in lavishly publicized "peace offensives" with no alteration of purpose. In Honolulu, February 5-7, 1966, the American President warmly embraced as a champion of liberty, Nguyen Cao Ky ("My only hero is Hitler. . . . Let us invade the North and attack China now!"). After touring "Free Asia" and being hailed by subsidized "allies," LBJ sponsored soaring rhetoric at Manila, October 24-25, 1966, envisaging the imposition of the "Great Society" on the Orient. Walter Lippmann vainly warned: "We can coexist peaceably only if we forego the messianic megalomania of the Manila madness."

American folly here confronted the men of Moscow with a painful dilemma. America's "dirty" and "barbarous" war, as much of the world described it, seemed to vindicate Peking's contention that "peaceful coexistence" with "imperialism" was impossible, that a global war of revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries was inevitable, and that guerrilla "wars of national liberation" could thwart even the mightiest power on earth. The Kremlin condemned US aggression, resisted blandishments designed to evoke Soviet assent to American purposes, and extended aid to Hanoi—all the while striving to avoid an open confrontation with the USA.

The new danger of World War III was clear to all. American bullets and bombs were daily killing so-called "Communists." The powers ruled by Communists were left with no option but to support Hanoi and the Vietcong against the American attack. Peking could no more permit US control of North Vietnam than it could permit US control of North Korea in 1950. The prospect of a Sino-American war, ardently urged by some of Washington's "hawks," would open the door, despite the Sino-Soviet quarrel, to a possible Soviet-American war which, if waged with nuclear weapons, might well put an end to the human adventure.

"Soup," says an old Russian proverb, "is never eaten as hot as it is cooked." Fortunately—at least for the moment—the danger of global disaster was somewhat diminished at the outset of the USSR's semicentennial year by sober second thoughts in Washington. After two years of effort, involving half a million American fighters, the 7th Fleet, B-52's, napalm, defoliation of forests, destruction of villages, devastation of the countryside, and an annual expenditure approaching $25,000,000,000, the greatest of Great Powers was unable to destroy the Vietcong or induce Hanoi to surrender—thus vindicating the forgotten wisdom of JFK and even LBJ who had earlier warned against involvement by the USA in warfare on the Asian mainland. To invade North Vietnam was to risk war with China. To bomb or blockade Haiphong was to risk war with Russia. LBJ & Co., trapped in a blind alley of their own making, hesitated—and sought to end the Cold War by conciliatory gestures toward Moscow.

This ironic posture of attempted "bridge-building" was inspired by a mixture of motives in a muddle of confusion and frustration. World War III was, if possible, to be averted. Moscow was to be induced, if possible, to put pressure on Hanoi to yield to the USA via diplomacy the fruits of victory which remained unobtainable by American weapons. Moscow, above all, was to be persuaded to accept American aims in Southeast Asia. The men of Moscow were wholly unlikely to be induced or persuaded. Hence, the redoubling of efforts from Washington.

Thus, LBJ & Co. sought *inter alia* to secure Senate ratification of the American-Soviet consular treaty of June, 1964; to obtain Congressional assent to a relaxation of restrictions on trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe; to negotiate a Soviet-American accord for reciprocal abstention from enormously costly installation of anti-missile "defense" systems; and to obtain Senatorial approval of the treaty signed in Washington, January 27, 1967, by agents of sixty-two governments (including the USA and the USSR) for the neutralization, demilitarization, and denuclearization of outer space, the moon, and the planets, on the model of the Antarctica Treaty of December, 1959.

In the early months of A.D. 1967, the results of these endeavors in Washington were still unclear, but in Moscow, the results were quite clear. Kosygin, Brezhnev, and Gromyko welcomed all efforts at reduction of tensions. They concurred in the view of U Thant, De Gaulle, and many others over the world that no negotiations over Vietnam would be possible until the USA unconditionally and permanently ceased its bombing of the North. They were prepared to escalate their aid to Hanoi in proportion to Washington's constant escalation of the war. They were quite willing, as were their intramural foes in Peking, to contemplate the neutralization of Vietnam and of all of Southeast Asia under international guarantees. They were wholly unwilling, despite Chinese accusations, to connive in the purposes to which American policy-makers were committed.

WHAT then of things to come? The answer was to be decided not in Saigon or Hanoi or Peking or Moscow but in Washington, capital of the mightiest of the Super-Powers. If policy-makers as spokesmen for the American "power elite" were to remain irrevocably dedicated to counterrevolution everywhere, to a US role of global gendarme against change, to the pursuit of profit and power through American hegemony by armed force over all the mansions of men, the future was plainly predictable. America would fail in the enterprise.

Such ambitions are beyond American capacities. If persisted in, they will quite inevitably, as has always happened in the long past of the modern State System, beget a grand coalition of enemies to put down the aspirant to world rule. Mankind in the mass will no

more accept American mastery than it has been willing to accept Russian or Chinese or Japanese or German or French or British control. If resistance means war, so be it. And if World War III means the thermonuclear suicide of mankind, so much the worse for America and for all the family of man. This ultimate outcome of the Cold War is quite possible.

Conversely, if Americans can transcend the arrogance of power, display the humility and magnanimity befitting the wealthy and the mighty, cure themselves of the illusion of omnipotence, and strive in peaceful competition to promote the welfare of themselves and of all God's children, the Cold War and the arms race need not end in universal death but may well end in a more abundant life for all. Given the imperatives of national patriotism, the age-old directives of power politics, and the stereotypes of decades of conflict, the learning of new ways is hard and cruel, even when new learning is the price of survival. Russians have learned. Chinese will learn. Americans can learn.

What must be learned is an ancient truth—namely, that problems of power among sovereignties can be resolved in only one of two ways: by violence or by bargaining. The former is the way of war and is now the road to doomsday. The latter way is the way of diplomacy and can be the way toward new frontiers and a truly great society for all peoples in a world at peace. The tragic mistakes of the generation now passing have yet left open a choice and an opportunity for the generation still to come.

May we all remember the words of *Ecclesiastes,* often attributed to King Solomon: "All things come alike to all. . . . This is an evil among all things that are done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea, also the heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead. . . . The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all. . . . Yet wisdom is better than strength."

FIGURES OF GROWTH

BETWEEN 1913 and 1966 industrial production in the Soviet Union increased 66-fold. The figure for 1967 is expected to be 71-fold as compared with 1913, the year of Tsarist Russia's highest industrial output.

Between 1918 and 1967, the sum of 650 billion rubles was invested in the Soviet national economy; 600 billion rubles in fixed assets were put into operation; 40,000 big industrial enterprises were built or rebuilt, and put into operation; 140,000 kilometers of new railroad track was laid. Electric power has grown from 2 billion kwh in 1913 to 545 billion kwh in 1966.

Real incomes of industrial and building workers increased 6.6 times in 1966 as against 1913, and of peasants, 8.5 times.

After Fifty Years

by JEROME DAVIS

I HAVE lived and traveled in Russia now for over 51 years. I was sent there first in 1916 by the American Y.M.C.A. to serve the German and Austrian prisoners of war. My first assignment was in Turkestan, six days by train from Leningrad. I was watched constantly by the Tsar's secret service and all my mail was read before it was delivered to me. In the camp where I worked some seventy-five soldiers died every day.

Illiteracy was high at that time in Turkestan; about 92 per cent of the people could neither read nor write. The land was owned by a few great landlords and the peasants were penniless. In the cities people slept in the streets and drank the water from streams into which the sewers were dumped. I never dared eat or drink anything that had not been thoroughly cooked or boiled.

I started my first work for Russian soldiers by organizing a club for them. I had to keep a man on duty in the club all day long to write letters for the soldiers, many of whom were illiterate. When I gave them a football—the first they had ever seen—I had to teach them how to play. After the Bolsheviks took power at the end of 1917 I was permitted to organize clubs for soldiers all over the country.

Today the situation in the Soviet Union has changed profoundly. Some 92 per cent of persons above the age of eight can read and write. Eight years of schooling is at present compulsory; by 1970 this will be raised to ten years. The USSR has as many students in college as Britain, France, Italy and West Germany combined. When I first went there in 1916 there were very few public libraries; today there is a public library for every 1800 people.

Under tsarism people died like flies as they did in the first prisoner of war camp I served; today the Soviet Union has the lowest mortality rate in the world. Child mortality has been reduced by over 90 per cent.

DR. JEROME DAVIS headed the Y.M.C.A. prisoner of war work in Russia in 1916. He is one of the few Americans now living who was in Russia at the time of the Revolution. He has taught at Dartmouth College, Yale University, and the University of Colorado, and is a past president of the American Federation of Teachers. Dr. Davis' books have sold over a million copies. His autobiography, *A Life Adventure for Peace,* has just been published by Citadel Press.

Following the Revolution the country was invaded by British, US, French, Japanese and other troops. This war of intervention was immensely destructive as was the Hitlerite invasion of World War II. Such experiences explain in part why today the Soviet people believe in peace more than any other people in the world. Their historic proposal of complete and total disarmament to be carried through in four stages was, unfortunately, turned down by the United States.

Since 1916 industrial production in the Soviet Union has increased 65 times and production in agriculture has increased by 2.7 times. Since 1955 the incomes of collective farmers have increased more than 2.5 times and the average wage in the factories has trebled since 1940. In 1916 the output per person in industry was only about one fourteenth of what it is now. Workers' wages have continued to increase steadily, the hours reduced and unemployment abolished. For everyone in the country there is a free medical service, free education and a comprehensive social security system.

When I travel in the Soviet Union I make it a practice of going into homes at random and talking to the people about the amount of their rent, the salaries and other pertinent questions. I have found that radio and television sets are very low in price and that their rents are fantastically below ours.

The amount of new housing is astonishing. From 1957 to 1966 about half the population moved into new homes or apartments or very much improved their old dwellings. Between now and 1970 better housing facilities are expected to be available for 65 million more people. During the same period some 2.5 million homes will be built by the farmers.

The life expectancy of the people has almost doubled since 1916 and now averages 70 years.

On a recent visit I found to my surprise that some teenage boys owned their own automobiles. I asked one of these youngsters how in the world he was able to buy his car. His answer was, "It is easy. My work day in the factory is only seven hours. When I finish there I go to another job and save every cent of the money I am paid for this second job. When I have enough money to buy a car I give up the second job."

Americans often have the impression that there is not much freedom of election in the USSR. Actually there is much more than we think. All citizens have the right to vote at eighteen and the representation in the higher bodies of government are much broader than with us. In the Supreme Soviet of the USSR women have 425 seats, as well as 3,000 seats in the All-Union Supreme Soviet. Workers and farmers have 46 per cent of the total in the Supreme Soviet and 61 per cent of the representation in the local Soviets. After each election two-thirds of the delegates are replaced. Both Party

and non-Party people are on the ballot, but individual qualifications are considered more important in winning a seat than Party affiliation.

In 1916 most of the land in Turkestan was barren. Today as a result of extensive irrigation, grapes, melons, and other fruit now grow profusely on the previously desert land. Similarly, the life today that one sees in the villages represents a tremendous change for the people—movies, recreational centers, stores, hospitals, crèches, schools.

The dreadful devastation of World War II has for the most part been eliminated and a rich and increasingly abundant life for all the people is evident wherever the traveler goes. What a change since my first experience in 1916!

Certainly the Soviet people have every reason to celebrate their Fiftieth Anniversary with pride and joy.

END U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM!

APPEAL TO THE WORLD

THE AMERICAN ESCALATION in Vietnam has become nothing less than genocide. This is why it is the duty of every man and woman to stand up in conscience against it. Ending this aggression, while insuring the independence and liberty of the Vietnamese people, has become a worldwide demand.

It is only on the following basis that a settlement can be expected:

1. The definitive and unconditional cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2. A genuine, durable solution can be obtained in the South only by the cessation of the US aggression, the unconditional, total and permanent withdrawal of American and allied forces and their equipment, and the dismantling of their military bases.

3. It is up to the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs, on the basis of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, that is to say, according to the principles of the Geneva Agreements and the program of the NLF which represents the fundamental aspirations of the people of South Vietnam.

To support the cause of the Vietnamese people is to defend the right of all peoples to independence and peace. That is why we, men and women from many different places, with many different opinions and beliefs, undertake to work together and to intensify our efforts in every country and internationally to promote more and more action on an ever-increasing scale against the American war of aggression against Vietnam, for peace, freedom and independence for the people of Vietnam, for peace in the world, for the future of mankind.

Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, July 9, 1967

Fifty Years' Achievement

The First Socialist Economy

by MAURICE DOBB

We are especially privileged to present to our readers this article by Maurice Dobb, the Marxist economist and scholar, leading expert outside the Soviet Union itself on the economy of the USSR. A frequent contributor to our pages over the years, he has written this article especially for this Fiftieth Anniversary issue.

Professor Dobb retired this summer from his post of Reader in Economics at Cambridge University, where he spent most of his academic life. He was for a time Visiting Professor at the School of Economics in New Delhi and during the war visiting lecturer at the School of Slavonic Studies. He has been honored by many foreign universities and has lectured in many countries; his books and articles have been published in many languages.

Colleagues in the Cambridge Economic Faculty produced a volume of essays in honor of Professor Dobb, on his retirement, to which writers from eleven different countries, of varying political views, contributed. The greater part of the August issue of the British journal Marxism Today *is devoted to tributes to the life and work of Professor Dobb, long a member of its editorial board. J. R. Campbell, writing of his academic and other achievements, declares:*

> It would be entirely wrong however to regard him as mainly an academic, who, sheltered behind the defenses of an ancient university, happens to have a scholar's interest in communism. On the contrary, Dobb has always played a major part, as an open dedicated Communist, in all the major political struggles in Britain in the last forty years. The student body at Cambridge played a part in all the major struggles of the period, the anti-war struggles of the early 1930s, aid for the unemployed marches, the great movements against Fascism and against the Fascist danger, and in the post Second World War period the great struggle for nuclear disarmament. Above all throughout the period Dobb helped to show many students the relevance of Marxism to an understanding of the major events of the time.

The problems of building socialism in the Soviet Union have been one of the major studies of Professor Dobb. He first went to the Soviet Union in 1925 *and has been there frequently since. Among his numerous books, his first major work on the Soviet Union was* Russian Economic Development since 1917, *published in* 1928. *His* Political Economy and Capitalism, *published in* 1937, *established his reputation as a major figure in the development of Marxist economic theory. Other works of importance are* Economic Growth and Planning, Economic Growth and Underdeveloped Countries, *and* Argument on Socialism. *An up-to-date edition of his* Soviet Economic Development Since 1917 *was published recently by International Publishers, and ranks as a classic in the field. His latest work is* Papers on Capitalism, Development and Planning, *a collection of recent essays and articles.*

Personal tributes to Maurice Dobb emphasize that he is "a stickler for scientific accuracy, an opponent of dogmatism," and that he possesses above all, "a

profound and disarming modesty." Marxism Today *says of Dobb editorially:*

"There can rarely have been one knowing so much who proffered his opinions with such humility, who was so patient with those who could not or would not understand, nor so helpful and encouraging to those who were just beginning. His work was internationally recognized. If he had not been so firm in his principles, he would certainly be retiring from much more senior positions."

FIFTY years may seem a long enough time for a country that has been building socialism to show some impressive results. Impressive indeed have been the economic achievements that the Soviet Union has to show, as we shall see in a moment in terms of actual details of output, employment, social composition and the like: so much so that the country could scarcely be recognized, for the major part, as the same country as it was in the 1920's (and as some of us knew it then).

Yet what one has to remember, and what makes these changes even more remarkable than might appear at first sight when measured simply against the time-scale, is that the country has within that half century seen two devastating wars waged on her territory: the first of these the civil war and war of intervention waged between 1918 and 1920 on four or five fronts, to a large extent simultaneously, against the armed forces of the main Western powers (Germany, France, Japan, USA) as well as the White armies, together with various bandits and armed adventurers; the second of them the furiously destructive and prolonged German invasion of 1941, lasting through four agonizing winters and extending to the river Volga, and leaving its trail of 20 million dead, 25 million rendered homeless, some 2,000 towns and 70,000 villages and factories employing four million persons wholly or partially destroyed.

Moreover, apart from the war years themselves, accounting for three-quarters of a decade, we have to allow for the years of postwar reconstruction. The whole of the first half of the decade of the 'twenties was occupied in getting industry and agriculture restarted, restored and working again on something like a normal scale after the destruction and chaos of civil war and famine. It took nearly the whole of the second half of the decade of the 'forties before production was fully restored in the devastated western part of the Soviet Union that had been German-occupied and systematically devastated in the course of German retreat. Thus nearly two-fifths of the whole period since 1917 was occupied with actual warfare or with reconstruction and recovery from the effects of war. If we add also years, such as the later years of the 'thirties, when rearmament was a major preoccupation of economic policy, we are left with little more than a half of the total as being completely free and available for normal, peaceful growth and development. This is something that needs to be remembered but is commonly forgotten. It must be borne in mind if we are to place actual achievement in proper perspective.

Another thing that needs to be appreciated is the comparative backwardness—over most of the country backwardness bordering on the primitive—of prerevolutionary Russia, from which development in a socialist direction had to start. The amount of economic and social development was considerable that was needed merely to lay the basis for a *start* of the *transition* towards a socialist society, let alone lay the basis of a developed socialist society itself.

THERE have been attempts recently, especially by some American writers, to belittle this contrast between present achievement and the prerevolutionary situation by emphasizing the pace and extent of Russian industrial expansion at the end of the 19th century and in the decade before the First World War. It is true that industrial growth in the 'eighties and 'nineties was quite rapid (especially the 'nineties); and, though halted in the early years of this century and then resumed at a slower tempo, was by no means insignificant between 1904 and 1914. Between 1885 and 1898, for example, the output of pig iron increased fourfold and doubled again between 1898 and 1914.

Most of this industrial growth, however, was either stimulated and financed by the influx of foreign capital or was a by-product of the railway investment of the period (e.g., the growth of the iron industry under the impetus of demand for railway iron), especially in the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. But such industry as had developed (chiefly iron, some engineering and textiles) remained in 1917 as little more than islands amid a surrounding sea of economic backwardness. Less than 15 per cent of the population lived in towns and less than 10 per cent of the occupied population were connected with industry; while twice as many persons were employed in handicrafts (mainly in the village) as in factory industry. Thus over four-fifths of the population were rural, not urban, and most of these were peasant farmers, cultivating small (often diminutive) holdings in a primitive manner, ill equipped and without adequate rotation or manuring. With low levels of productivity it is not surprising that the masses of the population had a standard of life lower than almost anywhere in Europe and in some regions not far above the Asiatic. Despite the ambitious railway building of the 'eighties and 'nineties, railway development was low by any European standard, and other means of communication (e.g., roads) were even more backward.

But in November 1917 (called the "October Revolution" according to the old Tsarist calendar of the time) it was this relatively small factory proletariat (a small minority but highly developed in political consciousness) that, in alliance with the peasant masses hungry for land, seized political power through the Soviets and started building the new-type Soviet State and Soviet society. November 1917 thus became an even greater landmark in the history of the 20th century than was the storming of the Bastille of 1789 in the history of the

19th: even greater because it was the first time in history that an exploited propertyless class had seized (and held) the helm of state and in doing so sounded the knell of private ownership of the means of production. No previous event in history had been quite like it, or in this respect had equalled it in daring and in crucial importance.

FOR the first few years after this revolutionary event there was a confident expectation that this would be the beacon-light for similar events in other countries to the West. Europe at the time was war-weary and sickened by the carnage of four years of World War I. Germany, in particular, and the old and effete Austro-Hungarian Empire were showing signs of cracking under the strain. Revolution did indeed come to Germany (as also for a brief space in Hungary) and Workers' Councils were set up. But the revolutionary wave receded (partly owing to the treachery of right-wing Social Democracy), and instead of a Soviet Germany the Weimar Republic triumphed.

This receding of the revolutionary wave in the West confronted the new rulers of Soviet Russia with the stark alternative: either socialism must be built in Russia alone, in isolation, despite the weakness of its industry and its proletarian base, or not at all—with a drift back to capitalism as the inevitable result. In other words, this historical situation in which the first country of working class power found itself, with the failure of proletarian revolution in Central Europe, imposed upon it the crucial and heroic decision to "build socialism in one country." The decision to do so was at the time, and has remained ever since, a subject of acute controversy. Some among the Bolsheviks themselves declared it "objectively impossible" to do so.

The fact that the decision had to be taken—that history imposed the necessity of doing it alone—could not fail to enhance the economic cost and the human cost of carrying through the necessary industrialization (and combined with it a radical transformation of agriculture): a cost that was increased again by the need to do it "against the clock" and in company with a rearmament effort in face of the gathering war-clouds following Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

The cost was not only economic: it included certain "distortions," as we can now see, which, while they are regretted, must be seen in their historical perspective and understood. Socialism was built, however, just as Hitler-Fascism was beaten back and vanquished (at enormous cost and sacrifice). And the heritage of October 1917 remains, and remains stronger than before to dominate the world historical stage of the closing third of the 20th century.

Stages of Soviet Economic Growth

LEAVING aside the years of war and of postwar reconstruction, the half-century interval between 1917 and today can be conveniently divided into three periods. To distinguish between them is illuminat-

ing as to what problems have been faced, what has been achieved, and how the country and its situation have been transformed in the interim.

Firstly, there was the period of the so-called New Economic Policy of the 'twenties, during which socialized industry (together with finance and transport and most of wholesale trade) coexisted with individualist peasant agriculture, consisting of between 20 and 25 million small peasant farms. The relations between socialist industry—the "commanding heights of the economy"—and small-scale peasant agriculture was a market relationship; and industrial "trusts" (as they were called at the time) bought their requirements and sold their products on commercial principles. Planning was in its early stages and was as yet neither rigorous nor complete in what it covered. It was frankly regarded by Lenin as a "transitional mixed system," to endure for a time while productive power was restored, particularly the productive powers of industry, in preparation for the next stage: that of actually building a fully socialist economy from out of this transitional system (which implied, of course, an enormous enlargement of industry combined with a transformation of agriculture onto some form of collective basis).

The second half of this period witnessed those animated and prolonged debates about the way forward—how to make the further transition to socialism in a backward country, alone amid "capitalist encirclement"—which on looking back on them today can be seen to have anticipated so many of what are now regarded as the crucial growth problems of underdeveloped countries.

Secondly, there was the period of twelve years between 1928, the starting year of the First Five-Year Plan, and the outbreak of war, with Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. This was the decade (or dozen years) of rapid growth and great endeavor in the expansion of the industrial basis of the economy, combined with the transformation of agriculture onto the basis of collective and state farms. Within the space of ten years alone (from 1928 to 1937) the production of basic metals, fuel and power increased more than four times, thus laying the foundations of a heavy and machine-making industry sufficient both for rapid industrial development on a broad front and also to provide the sinews of war production during the Second World War.

Simultaneously a whole series of new industries was established: motors, aircraft, aluminum and other non-ferrous metals, heavy chemicals, etc., together with the building-up of an armaments industry suitable to modern mechanized warfare.

It goes without saying that consumer goods production (textiles, leather, etc.), while it grew at this period, expanded much more slowly than did metals and engineering and heavy industry generally. This was also the period when whole new industrial bases in the Urals and farther east, in western and central Siberia, were established: industrial centers that were to play such a crucial role as centers of war production during the war years. Mushroom cities developed in these Asian regions within the space of a few years, like Novosibirsk, formerly a small provincial town (or overgrown village) of 5,000 which by 1939 had become a city of nearly half a million, or Stalinsk (now Novokuznetsk), the steel center which had grown from 4,000 in the early 'thirties to nearly 200,000 by the end of the decade.

THIRDLY, we have the latest period (to which it is difficult to give any simple descriptive name), subsequent to 1950, when war wounds had been substantially healed, so far as the economy was concerned, and production restored to the prewar level even in the consumer goods industries which had been largely located in the occupied and devastated west.

One way of describing this third period might be to say that it was to witness, not merely a disappearance of acute wartime and postwar shortages, but a *maturing* of Soviet economy as an industrialized socialist system. One can speak of maturing in the sense that not only all industry and trade but almost 100 per cent of agriculture was collectively owned and operated. One can speak of it also in the sense that the *main* tasks of development, in the form of "the great push" to expand the heavy industrial base, had been achieved, and attention could now be more largely devoted to expanding the consumer goods sector of industry at a comparable rate and raising living standards: using the greatly increased output capacity in steel, non-ferrous metals and machine-making to expand the capacity of textiles, clothing and light industry generally, catering for the retail market.

One can speak of maturity again in the sense that greater attention could now be paid (and in a sense needed to be paid) to questions of efficiency and qualitative improvement and innovation both in products and in technical methods. To a large extent this was a necessary consequence of the onset of labor shortage, shifting emphasis from merely quantitative expansion (both of output and employment) to continually higher productivity (of labor and equipment).

True, the aim of "catching up and overtaking" USA production-levels and stardards remained a task for the future, so that there could still be no "resting on the oars"—or talk of immediate transition to communism. But economic backwardness was now a thing of the past and as an industrial power the USSR stood out as preeminent in Europe.

As regards industrial management and administration, this was also a period of growing experimentation with more decentralized forms and increasing emphasis on the strengthening of direct market links between industrial producing units and the consumer of their products. (Again, this was a tendency that was most marked, and came earliest, in the production of consumers' goods, but it is now apparent

in heavy industry also where the consumer is another industrial enterprise, using the product of the former as an input.) These changes have culminated in the economic reforms announced in September 1965, giving greater autonomy to industrial enterprises, an emphasis on firmer market links to adapt production to demand, and the coupling of this with a remodeled incentive system in which bonuses depend on the financial results achieved by the enterprise.

THIS new phase of greater decentralization is, in one sense, a consequence and corollary of "maturing." With the growth in *complexity* of the whole system, the ability to control and administer things from the center obviously becomes rapidly less; increasingly more decisions have to be made at lower levels, leaving the central planning bodies and the various industrial ministries to concentrate upon *major* decisions affecting the main shape and structure of development and the main relations and links between sectors and industries.

In another sense it is a reaction against the *over*-centralization of the preceding period. To a large extent centralization was necessary and justified in the earlier (our "second") phase of development and of rapid growth, when the main economic decisions were of a "strategic" kind and major structural changes in the economy at large needed to be engineered and coordinated. But there can be no doubt that it reached a stage where it represented a serious degree of distortion. The habit of getting things done, and remedying anything that goes wrong, by issuing administrative orders from above, instead of using economic instruments and inducements, can harden into a vice, and can have the result of drying up initiative at lower levels. This to a large extent became the case in the postwar period. At any rate, the defects of the older system and methods, product of the second period of which we have spoken, became increasingly apparent in the new circumstances of the 'fifties and in face of the new problems of this third period.

As examples of the much increased complexity of the economy, and hence of planning, one may quote the following summary figures. By the middle 'fifties the number of separate industrial enterprises to be planned for and administered had grown to more than 200,000. The number of product items included in the official list of industrial nomenclature in 1960 reached 15,000; while the bodies that handle supply and sale of the products of various industries on a wholesale basis handled more than 10,000 items. (These figures do not even include *all* industrial products; and if one counted all the various lines, styles, models, etc., as separate products, the total would, of course, come out many times larger.) At the same time, the number of individual "balances" handled by Gosplan in connection with the so-called system of material balances for products, whereby their supply is matched with the demand for them, had more than doubled in the postwar period compared with prewar.

NOT surprisingly the industrial growth rates of this third, postwar period have been at a more modest level than in the initial decade of the prewar industrialization "drive." Nonetheless they preserved throughout the decade of the 'fifties the markedly high figure of 10 per cent annually as the average for the decade as a whole. At the same time there was a marked increase in agricultural output, especially in grain and in livestock (which had reached a stagnating condition in the closing years of the Stalin period).

In the first half of the 'sixties there was some slackening of the growth rate, which so far as industry is concerned dropped to an annual figure of around eight per cent (in 1964, a poor harvest year, it was only seven per cent). Since 1965, however, there have been some signs of an upturn again; 1966 showing an increase of 8.6 per cent over the previous year and the first half of the present year registering a 10.6 per cent increase over the corresponding period of last year.

The much greater attention paid to increasing consumption in this latest period can be seen from the following figures of comparative output increases of the two main sectors of industry producing respectively capital goods or means of production and consumers' goods, and officially entitled Group A and Group B. Even so, the increase in the latter group up to 1965 lagged behind the planned target (while at the same time the former increased ahead of its plan). As a result plans for last year and this (as well as for the five-year period as a whole) have stipulated a still closer approximation of the growth rates of the two sectors to one another.

Over the whole ten-year period from 1956 to 1965 Group A industries expanded at an average growth rate of about 10.3 per cent, Group B by 7.5 per cent (in the second half of this period, from 1961 to 1965, the equivalent figures were 9.3 and 6.7). In 1965 alone the two growth rates were almost identical at 8.7 and 8.5 per cent respectively; in 1966 they were 9 per cent and 7 per cent. The new plan for 1968 (announced October 10) provides for a growth rate of 7.9 per cent for Group A and of 8.6 per cent for Group B.

Achievements of the First Socialist System

HOW can one sum up shortly the overall results of this impressive, at times stormy and heroic, and quite unprecedented half-century of socialist development—of transforming a previously backward and semi-industrialized country into a modern one? One can only do so in terms of summary figures of changes in social composition or occupation of her 235 million population and of output of key products like steel and coal and oil and electricity, which are generally regarded as quantitative indices of the level and pace of a country's industrial development.

The urban population that formerly composed under a sixth of the whole has risen to nearly a half. Workers and employees (i.e., wage

and salary earners) in the national economy already pass the 80 million mark and represent something approaching two-thirds of the occupied population, compared with no more than 12 to 13 million in prerevolutionary days. Collective farmers together with other types of cooperative producers, which immediately before the war still accounted for a half of the occupied population, today comprise no more than a fifth; while the old individual peasant or artisan has dwindled to .1 per cent.

As an indication of the transformation of public health conditions and medical provision: the mortality rate in prerevolutionary Russia was greater than in West European countries by two to two and one-half times, whereas today it is almost the lowest in the world; while, as regards child mortality, of every 100 newly-born infants in 1913 more than 26 died before they were one year old, today the equivalent figure is under four.

It is when we look at figures of leading industrial products that we see some quite staggering comparative results. Take steel: the annual output of this has just passed 100 million tons (placing the Soviet Union a close second to the USA), compared with under five million in 1928 and in 1913. Oil has grown from under 10 million tons in 1913 to 270 million today; electricity from two billion kilowatt-hours to over 550 billion, coal production from 29 million tons to some 600 million. Whereas in the late 'twenties, on the eve of the First Five-Year Plan, about two thousand metal-cutting machine tools were turned out, the equivalent figure today approaches 200,000 and well surpasses the USA, as does also the production of diesel and electric locomotives, tractors (measured according to horsepower) and combine harvesters.

According to a recent Soviet estimate, total industrial production in 1966 was slightly more than 65 per cent of the US level, compared with just under a half ten years ago. Total agricultural production in 1966 (a year with a record harvest) was as much as 85 per cent of the US figure.

IN FACE of such achievements and such a transformation of the face of a whole vast country, it is hard for the severest critic to say that any alternative policy, however much to his personal liking, could have done more: many critics would be frank enough to admit that the canvassed alternatives could at best have achieved only much less. That the socialist base of the system remains, and remains extended and greatly strengthened since the 1920's, can only be denied by romantic critics who define socialism in terms of some utopian image and deny that a social system and an historical period derive their essential character from the system of ownership of means of production that constitutes the economic basis of that system and of that historical period.

Transition to socialism will be much easier (at least, for many countries) after this pioneering historical breakthrough, and after the spread of socialism and of working class power to so large an area of the world; also it may well be different in the future in a number of respects, even in some major respects. Mistakes, it is hoped, can be avoided as well as lessons learned; and socialism will no longer have to be built in isolation in one country alone.

But this does not mean that the "October Revolution" will not continue to shine out as an historical beacon-light for another half-century more—and this despite all the controversy that has surrounded both this event and its complex sequel. It does not mean that the so-called "Lessons of October" and its sequel will not continue to be studied assiduously, not only by historians, but also by the labor and progressive movements of five continents in their search for enlightenment and in their strivings for human betterment and for a new and more civilized life for the suffering masses of mankind.

G.B.S. ON LENIN

ALTHOUGH HE WAS A MAN among other men, men of exceptional intelligence, remarkable energy and political skill, some of whom surpassed him in one respect or another and to whom he owed a great part of his work —yet he towered in the midst of this group of eminent men as a unique personality. I cannot explain this. I only know that in England where nothing was known of him he seemed as great as in Russia where much was known of him.

But we must not think that the importance of Lenin is a thing of the past because Lenin is dead. We must consider the future. What does Lenin mean for the future? Only this: If the experiment in social organization of which he was the leader and which his personality represents for us fails, then our civilization must disappear as so many civilizations have disappeared before it.

We know from modern historical research that the history of those civilizations was exactly like ours, and that having reached the point which Western capitalist civilization has now attained, they rapidly degenerated and were followed by utter chaos and the relapse of the human race into semi-barbarism. Time and time again humanity has tried to round the cape, but never with success.

But Lenin found a way to round this cape. If his experiment is successful, if other countries follow his example and his teaching, if this gigantic Communist experiment spreads over the rest of the world, history will enter upon a new era. We will not see the failure and collapse of our civilization, we will not see humanity begin all over again to travel the same road toward the same miserable end; history will enter upon a new era which we cannot even imagine.

This is what Lenin means for us. If the future is as Lenin envisaged it, we may smile and face it without fear.

From an impromptu speech made by George Bernard Shaw on a visit to Moscow, reported in Soviet Russia Today, *May,* 1935.

The Soviet Trade Unions
and the Economic Reform

by CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

PERHAPS the most realistic perspective on the economic reform which has been undergoing implementation in the Soviet Union over the past two years may be gained through an analysis and appreciation of the role played by the trade unions of the USSR. It must be understood clearly from the outset that the trade union's role—obviously a major if not indeed *the* pivotal one in this new, vital and far-reaching development—was not delegated from out of the blue, so to speak, by the Government or Party; but that the unions' role has been a public, co-equal and determining one in initially conceiving, formulating and, most important, in implementing "The Statute on the Socialist State Production Enterprise" of October 4, 1965.

One may conservatively infer from the thinking and planning which have gone into the management reform programs that the entire development presages monumental qualitative changes in the Soviet economy, indeed in Soviet life itself. After what General Secretary Brezhnev has characterized as "twenty years of wasted and lost time" (when the USSR suffered the ravages of World War II and the Cold War up to the early 1960's), the Soviet Union, apparently, is about to enter on a new and qualitatively different plane of development, unlike anything which has gone before. It is quite obvious from the increased powers and concerns of the trade unions that the economy and the society are evidently about to shift gears; that such once visionary notions as mass, extensive automation of basic industry and the wholesale application of precisely controlled cybernetics are to be introduced on a far-ranging and intense scale; that in this exciting process, entirely novel concepts of labor and work will be advanced, tested, found wanting or sound, discarded, adopted, modified, used.

Indeed it becomes manifestly clear that a climacteric of some kind has been reached. Aside from the doctrinal proclamations of official sources, the evidence is persuasive that a qualitatively novel stage in the transition from an established socialist economy and state has been achieved in the USSR; and that rather than mere economic reforms, we are dealing with nothing less than a key step on the long road toward

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR., has had two of his published works translated and issued in the Soviet Union in this 50th Anniversary Year. Progress Publishers has issued *Heusinger of the Fourth Reich* and Profizdat recently imprinted *Journey to the Soviet Trade Unions*, both in Russian. He is presently completing a large work on the Soviet working people based upon his unique trips throughout the USSR.

the conscious, formal establishment of a communist society in the USSR.

Such an inference is inevitable once one considers the role which the Soviet trade unions have already undertaken; particularly, when one starts from the premise of the strengthening of more individual initiative and responsibility in the running of local enterprises, factories, plants and offices where total worker participation in the management processes has already been markedly increased.

In the first place, it is necessary to point out that starting in the fall of 1962, the Soviet trade unions—along with Party and government bodies as well as other organizations—participated fully and equally in the discussions, conferences, debates and considerations which culminated in the October 4th Statute. The trade union's participation has, quite naturally, increased in scope and importance as the reforms proceed. At the 9th Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, the debates "emphasized that under present conditions Lenin's instructions concerning the tasks and the role of the trade unions in communist construction are of particularly vital importance (*Trud,* May 4, 1966). The AUCCTU noted that its "supreme task" was to "mobilize all forces and the creative energy of factory and office workers . . . in working out and implementing the measures for introducing new conditions of economic management at industrial enterprises and explain to the broad masses . . . the significance of this matter."

At first, admittedly, the reception given the new proposals was distinctly "cool." *Pravda,* for July 5, 1967 reported: "Although this is a thing of the past, one cannot but recall the very cool attitude to the economic reform taken in the early stages even by the managing directors of our leading [instrument] works who doubted whether, in view of the advances already made, it was worth the risk of taking a new line."

Figures alone tell of the enthusiasm which developed relatively rapidly, however, because of the massive debates, discussions, programs and considerations carried out by 80 million trade unionists now comprising the USSR labor movement. Writing in the American quarterly *Foreign Affairs* for October 1967, Soviet guest contributor Prof. Yevsei Liberman, economist of Kharkov University and generally credited as the principal exponent of the economic reforms, stated that from 704 enterprises employing more than two million workers (about 10 per cent of the industrial work force) who switched over to the new programs in 1966, there was at the time of writing a total of more than 2,200 individual light-industry mills and steel plants presently operating under the new, more flexible and individualized program. The full potential of the change-over has still to be felt, Prof. Liberman reported, yet plant profits, sales and productivity now show dramatic gains.

When the Soviets announced the new program, Western critics predictably responded—along with the nonsense about a "return to capitalism"—with the glib assertion that management now could fire workers "at will" with no restraints from the trade unions.

Of course nothing of the sort obtains regarding either firing or hiring. The abysmal ignorance behind such statements is shown in the simple fact that the very first decree of the revolutionary Bolsheviks in 1917 provided that no worker could be fired except with the approval of the trade unions. For any society to rescind such a cardinal law would be suicidal. Even the official publication of the US Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review,* in a fascinating article by Edmund Nash in its June 1966 issue, stated that not only has worker participation in the total economic, social and cultural affairs of the Soviet enterprise increased but so have worker protections along with the expansion of management initiatives. Mr. Nash observed, in passing, that while management "in cooperation with the trade unions" may approach the use and allocation of labor more flexibly within the single enterprise, "a worker may be dismissed, however, only if the trade union consents."

In an interview I recently had with the *Trud* correspondent in America, Mr. G. Guevorgyan, it was pointed out to me that in addition to the former safeguards against firing which have been maintained, management must secure trade union approval for any dismissal *only* after three successive reprimands have been approved by the enterprise's trade union committee under the terms of the new management program.

"The workers' participation and responsibilities have not only increased," said Mr. Guevorgyan, "but so have his protections."

In the article by Edmund Nash, it was noted that the long-established trade union rights, covered by labor law and the collective agreements, are firmly established within the context of the new situation. The trade union still establishes local work rules, organizes production competitions, ("socialist competition" and "emulation") allocates housing and runs production conferences. It maintains as always strict check over the polytechnical schools and training courses of the enterprise. The union is wholly responsible for administering all social insurance funds under which the workers receive free medical care through clinics and hospitals and free or reduced rates in sanitariums and prophylaxis or rest homes, and a wide range of social insurance payments and pensions. It administers the cultural and sports programs of the enterprise. In addition, the union controls, jointly with management, the distribution of the three factory funds that have been established under the economic reform. The only difference is that today the individual enterprise assumes greatly expanded initiative and responsibilities based upon local responsibilities and consumer demands, pegged to the national plans.

"The new statute," wrote Mr. Nash, "gives the enterprise the right to prepare, *with the broad participation of its workers,* its own long-term (5-year) and annual plans relating to production, capital investment, and worker welfare." (Emphasis added.) Imagine, if you will, the 10,000 electrical workers in Philadelphia Westinghouse doing such a thing for the next five years. In the Soviet Union the individual enterprise under the aegis of management (managers are members of the unions) and the trade union now enters into additional contracts with other enterprises and organizations *outside* of the minimal program laid down from the new ministries.

One intended effect of the economic reform will be to reduce the bottleneck on spare parts and new equipment which has constantly bedeviled the Soviet economy. Mr. Guevorgyan of *Trud* laughingly told me: "It's not like what it was the last time you were in the USSR. A manager now can't use Gosplan as an excuse for not getting spare parts. The workers yell: 'Dammit, we want to make more wages, higher production! Go to any supplier and get those parts!' "

While the announcement of the 5-day week will no doubt be one of the high points of the 50th Anniversary celebrations, it must be remembered that this represents not only a special triumph of the USSR trade unions but—under the new reforms—the trade unions will, in conjunction with management, administer the whole program of the change-over. Already the AUCCTU has indicated it will conduct a special drive against "needless overtime" upon adoption of the 5-day week. Shorter hours, the AUCCTU has declared, represent additional time for the development of "communist man"—again another certain sign of the conscious drive toward formal communism.

There are other new and intriguing changes. *"The enterprise is to determine its own organizational structure and number of workers (including their training) . . ."* on the basis of local needs, Mr. Nash wrote in the *Monthly Labor Review* article already mentioned. *"For the first time, the enterprise is permitted to specify whether a worker is to be paid according to time rate, piece rate or job rate. The enterprise will also determine its own system—again based on (precedent) models—of wage and salary rates, premiums and bonuses. The premiums and bonuses will be paid both when the production plan is fulfilled and when profits are made. In order to increase the efficiency of workers, the enterprise is to see to it that for every increase in labor productivity there will be a corresponding increase in average wage payments."* (Emphasis added.)

I have stressed these points because they do indeed represent a substantial expansion of workers' rights in these vital areas. Before the October 4th Statute, the trade unions perforce operated within the limits of centrally determined plans on industry-allocated wage

(*Continued on page* 105)

New Stage in Agriculture

by **LEMENT HARRIS**

UNTIL THE end of the Khrushchev regime, agriculture was the most baffling sector of the Soviet economy. Industry had made consistent strides, making the Soviet Union second only to the United States in total production. There was irony in the situation, because Khrushchev was deeply concerned with agriculture and tried all kinds of administrative and other actions to remedy matters.

His enthusiasm for corn went awry because it overlooked the climatic differences between the Ukraine and Iowa. One major campaign did pay off; the plowing up of millions of acres of the virgin lands of Kazakhstan increased the grain harvest by many millions of acres each year. But the total harvests each year fell far below the planned increases.

In 1965, the new regime of Brezhnev and Kosygin called into session the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party to debate the farm problem. Three major points were agreed upon:

1) Agriculture was languishing for lack of capital investment. It was decided to step up greatly the production of tractors, combine harvesters, trucks, and all implements. Also the chemical industry was called upon to increase the manufacture of fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides. Irrigation projects were also to be vastly expanded.

2) Collective farmers were to be given bigger incentives for higher production. One incentive was the decision for the state to pay 50 per cent higher prices for all deliveries above a farm's plan. Another important step was the announcement that during the five year period 1965-1970 the delivery quotas for each farm would not be changed. This removed the prevalent fear that if a collective farm overfulfilled its plan and made good money because of the 50 per cent bonus offer, the following year the farm would find its quota increased.

Also it was agreed that all collective farms should pay their members a minimum monthly wage each month, replacing the old system of distributing a year's income after the harvest. Local branches of the State Bank were instructed to make loans where necessary to collective farms to enable them to meet their payrolls.

3) It was agreed to limit strictly the degree of supervision of central and regional organs over the management decisions of each farm. No more were farm directors to be pressured into planting

LEMENT HARRIS, a specialist in agricultural economics, writes frequently for NWR on agricultural developments in the socialist countries.

favored crops against their better judgment. Each farm would continue to submit its crop and rotation plan to regional authorities—but the crop plan would originate locally.

Of course this third point did not mean a return to anything like laissez-faire. The central organs still control the general planning of agricultural production; however, the method of control is no longer by issuing decrees concerning what crops to plant, but by fixing prices for farm commodities. Such commodity price levels are published in advance of sowing and of course influence the decisions of directors. Naturally, collective farm directors select those crops most adapted to local conditions and most profitable to specific farms.

Another area of concern to the Twenty-Third Party Congress was that the cost of operating the system of state farms (*sovkhozi*) ran consistently higher than the income from deliveries. The need to subsidize the state farms was no small item in the national budget since the state farms operate 47 per cent of the nation's sown area. Collective farms (*kolkhozi*) operate 50 per cent, and the remaining 3 per cent are individual peasant plots and gardens around cities.

The attitude under Stalin, and continued by Khrushchev, had been that state enterprises, both industrial and agricultural, were required by the socialist economy and therefore profit or loss in these enterprises was not important. In the earlier years of building socialism, there was no other choice. Steel mills had to be built, farm equipment industry started from scratch, etc. The Soviet people tightened their belts, lived modestly, and built a powerful economy which withstood the mechanized attack of Hitler's blitzkrieg. Not only was heavy industry able to meet the war demands, but the whole collective and state farm system by incredible exertion kept the armed forces well fed throughout the war.

But under postwar conditions it became evident that extensive waste was occurring. With more emphasis on higher living standards, improved cultural facilities, shorter work hours and higher wages, it was becoming evident that extensive waste in industry and agriculture was slowing down these improvements for which everyone hungered. There was no thought of reducing other heavy drains on the national budget, such as national defense, aid to underdeveloped countries and other socialist countries, the space program, etc. All these served a purpose, but it was time to reform the internal economy.

To this end, it was announced this year that as a starter 390 of the 12,200 state farms would be subject to strict cost accounting as a detailed check on their true cost of operation. The aim is that each of these farms show a profit for the year's operation.

It is hoped that this will put an end to a number of wasteful practices which the Soviet press has frequently reported. One common practice was the ordering of new machinery when an adequate

supply of used machinery was on hand. Another was the practice of pirating spare parts from new machines rather than organizing an adequate supply of spare parts. Still another was the old practice of awarding state farm directors with bonuses for shipping more than a certain amount of grain to the state. This often led to a bad rotation plan under which every last hectare (one hectare = 2.47 acres) would be put into grain instead of using a fallow system which over the long run would produce more grain. The directors under the bonus system were frequently motivated to make a big showing one year, not worrying about subsequent seasons.

THE RESULT of these basic reforms has been immediate and impressive. The crop of 1966, in spite of only moderately favorable weather, was the largest on record. The all-important grain crop (wheat, rye, barley) was 6¼ billion bushels. The best previous crop was 5½ billion bushels in 1964.*

Other major crops did well; some of them also broke previous Soviet records: Cotton was the largest crop on record, as were milk, meat and eggs; potatoes were the fourth largest on record; sugar-beets were the second largest.

There is every reason to anticipate that with the continued pouring in of capital investments, rising incentives and the cutting down of waste, Soviet agriculture can easily meet its current five-year plan of a general rise in productivity of 25 per cent.

Always fascinating are the progress papers issued by Soviet engineers and scientists in the field of agriculture. For example, P. Kolomiitsev, writing in *Kommunist,* No. 4, 1967, complained that tractor plows manufactured in different plants did not have interchangeable parts. Both were five furrow plows, but why, he complained, should they have different frames, wheels? Though the two factories are far apart, one in Central Asia and the other in Odessa on the Black Sea, they should agree on a common design.

Kolomiitsev reports that the farm implement industry is now producing about 450 types of machines, 120 more are in the development stage, and many more in the early experimental stage. The agreed objective is to mechanize as fully as possible every type of crop.

A great amount of study is being directed to the field of irrigation with the intent of extending it beyond parched areas to more humid areas where a guaranteed water supply can insure a bumper crop every year. High power sprayers are coming into common use. Most promising, too, are experiments with subsoil irrigating devices. Some are hooked up with subsoil cultivators, so water can be injected at the root level. Since but a small amount of water is needed compared with surface irrigating, it is possible to insert plant nutrients into

* *Vestnik Statistiki* (Statistical Journal), No. 7, 1967, p. 89.

the tank and thus stimulate rapid growth. At the Moldavian Research Institute this method tripled the production of tomatoes per acre.

Interesting work is reported in the area of new types of fertilizers. Recognizing that most of the nutrient values of ordinary fertilizers are dissolved, washed away and never become available to plant roots, the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences has developed a porous resin containing all necessary plant nutrients. This material does not dissolve or release its nutrients except under the effect of mild carbonic acid which plant roots exude. So there is an exchange, ion for ion, between the roots and this substance, whence it derives its name, ionites. With no other fertilizers added, plain soils and sufficient moisture have produced cabbages six times the normal weight per square meter. Laboratory analysis of the food value of these cabbages showed no deviation from standard in lignine, cellulose, sugars or vitamins.

In the field of genetics, a marked turn for the better is evident. With the termination of the dominating influence of Lysenko, Western progress in this field has been absorbed and is playing its role in plant and animal selection. For example, much is being done in the area of inducing mutations by radiation and chemical means. The Soviet Union is just one of many countries where geneticists are working intensively on developing a hybrid wheat with exceptional productive qualities, as has been accomplished with corn.

A NATURAL concomitant of a more scientific, more mechanized, more productive agriculture is a marked rise in living standards and conditions in the countryside. Just fifty years ago, peasants under the Tsar existed with practically no cash income; about three-quarters of their meager earnings went for taxes and imposts. At that time, the peasantry made up about 82 per cent of the population.

The contrast with today is enormous. To begin with, the Soviet Union has become an urban nation: only 46 per cent rural in 1966. (The United States in 1960 was 43 per cent rural.) Beginning with the death of Stalin, collective farmers' incomes, which had remained at low levels, began a steady rise. By 1966, their wages went up three times, and then in 1966 they went up another 16 per cent. In addition, peasants have the products and income from their private plots, which adds about another one-third to their earnings.

Unlike the experience of workers in the USA, the rise in real income has been greater than the rise in wages. This has come about in a number of ways:

First, taxes have been kept low, being some three per cent of collective farmers' income.

Second, retail prices for industrial goods on sale in the village have been reduced. Since January 1, 1966, all goods are sold in the country-

side at the same price as in the cities. This has meant a jump in total retail sales in villages from 9 billion in 1950, to 19 billion in 1960, to 24 billion in 1965. Today, village sales account for 15 per cent of the refrigerators; 25 per cent of the TV's; 30 per cent of the radios and radiolas; 40 per cent of the sewing machines; and 50 per cent of motorcycles and bicycles. These figures do not include purchases by farmers when they come to the cities.

Third, in addition to their incomes, the collective farmers as a whole have been greatly benefited by the public consumption funds allocated by the state for improved living conditions. These funds have been and will continue to be of increasing importance as the Soviet economy advances toward communism. Today a disproportionate share of these funds is allocated to benefit the rural population as a planned measure to bridge the cultural and social gap that used to exist between the city and country. Of over five billion rubles allotted to the farm population, more than one-third goes for supplementary education and training in new skills and disciplines. Illiteracy among the peasantry has been completely wiped out, as shown by the 1959 national census.

Farmers' income is thus rising more rapidly than that of city workers. This is in accord with the planned objective of bringing the living standards of dwellers of town and country closer together, considered one of the prerequisites of the transition from a socialist to a communist society. It is expected that real income for the population as a whole will increase 30 per cent by 1970. Because of the more rapid growth of farmers' incomes, rated today as four-fifths the incomes of city workers, by 1970 farmers' incomes should closely approximate city incomes.*

* This and previous figures on income are from an article by N. Lagutin, in the journal *Farm Economics*, No. 3, 1967.

GOOD HARVEST PROSPECTS

Nikolay Baibakov, a deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, told the October 10 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that good harvest results were expected this year. He declared:

"Despite unfavorable weather conditions in a number of areas of the country in 1967, the total volume of agricultural production is expected to be on the level of 1966, which is known to have been a year of record harvest."

The record grain harvest of 1966 was 171,000,000 tons and records were set in other products.

Soviet Democracy Expands

by **WILLIAM J. POMEROY**

LATE last year, I visited the "Bolshevik" sovkhoz, near the town of Serpukhov, south of Moscow. My host was the farm's Communist Party secretary, a blond, personable young man who had quite recently been the head of the local Komsomol (Young Communist League) organization. He was also a member of the Soviet-Indonesian Friendship Society, and I had been invited to the state farm after being introduced to him by a mutual friend, a Russian colleague engaged in Asian studies. There was, therefore, a certain informality in the visit.

In addition to the farm's 8,500 acres of vegetable crops, it had a dairy sizeable enough to have modern mechanized milking techniques. While we were touring the milking sheds, one of the workers called the Party secretary to one side and there was a long animated discussion. When he rejoined me, he explained the cause of the interruption.

Party Tutelage Being Eliminated

"THAT man," he said, "feels that he has not been given a job to match his qualifications, and he waited until he had the chance to bring the matter to me. It is actually not my immediate concern, but should have been taken up with the dairy administrative unit, and I was trying to make him understand that that is what he should do.

"You ought to know that this is a problem we are still in the process of overcoming. At the 23rd Party Congress a lot of attention was given to broadening democratic participation in all the affairs of our country. On this farm, for example, for a long time it was the custom for everything to be brought to the Party organization. Elected administrators, and the unions as well, would be bypassed. We have been trying to change this. There is a new chairman here in the dairy section. He is a trained technician who knows his job

(*Turn to page* 98)

WILLIAM J. POMEROY served ten years of a life sentence in the Philippines for his activities with the Huk guerrilla movement there. He is the author of *The Forest*, a book about his life with the Huks, and is working on a full-length study of U.S.-Philippine relations. Mr. Pomeroy spent six months this year in the Soviet Union, gathering material for his book, *Half a Century of Socialism: Soviet Life in the Sixties*, published recently by International Publishers.

How beautiful is the number 50! How lovely it is to write the figure 1 - 9 - 6 - 7. How much history, toil, hardship and sacrifice they contain. How much of the magnificent achievement in the creation of a better life — the eradication of dark bigotry, superstition and brutality. One nine one seven. Fifty years ago in one country of the world when people were hungry, tortured by the years of a brutal war and fascist-like oppression, they rose up and said: "Enough! No more!" An idea—a liberating force—taking man on a marvelous journey to a new life. Today we celebrate the USSR and its great achievements. Today we are singing of tomorrow!

Anton Refregier

Turn to page 103 *for further information on poster.*

and knows how to allocate labor. I was telling this man that his problem should be taken up with the dairy chairman. After all this time they still want to bring their problems to the Party. Of course I can't ignore them, but I'm trying to change these habits."

This episode led me to go over the proceedings of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, held in March-April, 1966. In the report of Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary, there is a section that has relevance to the milk-shed problem.

"The Party," said Brezhnev, "sees its duty in strengthening ties with the masses, developing socialist democracy, and improving the work of state and mass organizations. . . . The improvement of the work of the Soviets must be based on their further democratization. . . . local Soviets must be given a larger measure of independence in dealing with economic, financial and land questions, in guiding local industrial establishments, in providing services and entertainments for the people. . . . Party bodies must completely eliminate petty tutelage of the government bodies and the practice of overriding them, which begets irresponsibility and inertness on the part of the officials." (And, it could be added, inertness on the part of the people.)

These recommendations, later embodied in Congress resolutions, did not really introduce any new trend in the Soviet Union but had to do with pushing further the process set in motion over a decade previously with the de-Stalinization policy. The way in which this process has worked out is one of the most impressive aspects of a mature socialist country celebrating its 50th anniversary.

TO THE Soviet people, de-Stalinization has been a question of the restoration of socialist legality, i.e., restoring the functioning of the democratic rights and processes that exist and have always existed in the laws of the Soviet state. In addition, the Soviet people have been much concerned over the moral aspects of the excesses that took place during the period of the personality cult of Stalin with its extreme centralization of authority.

Stalinism was possible, and has even been described by some as a necessary means of mobilizing the energies of the people, in a period when the socialist state was insecure, when it was in the midst of critical stages in its development, or when it was threatened by grave dangers to its existence. Once these conditions were overcome, however, the continuation of extreme authoritarianism could only hold back the energies of the people.

The incident that I encountered on the "Bolshevik" sovkhoz was only a small instance of the working out of this process, which is going on everywhere in Soviet society. While the Western press was focusing attention on changes in the presidium of the CPSU, which were interpreted as "power struggles," far-reaching developments were

going on at all levels of the state structure. One of the first of these was the reinvigoration of the Soviets, which had suffered an overriding neglect in the Stalin years. Since this process was described in detail by NWR editor Jessica Smith, in a series of articles running from January through July, 1967, I shall deal with non-governmental forms of the expansion of democracy, which were to me even more fascinating.

Volunteer Work of People Growing

RECENT years have seen a great emphasis on the participation of large numbers of people in voluntary work connected with state functions. One form that this takes is the "volunteer people's militia," known as "druzhina." In 1959 the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision "On the Participation of the Working People in the Maintenance of Law and Order," which encouraged the setting up of such bodies. The "volunteer people's militia" can now be found everywhere, identifiable by the red arm band they wear, bearing the word "Druzhinnik."

In Moscow I visited the headquarters of one of these volunteer units, in the Kuibyshev district in the northwest part of the city. Four people were in the headquarters, in the early evening, on duty to supervise patrols that went in pairs to the railroad stations, to nearby Sokolniki Park, to the shopping centers, and along neighborhood streets. One of those on duty was a woman worker who was the Party secretary in a local candy factory, another was a middle-aged man who was an engineer in a metalworking plant, a third was elderly and retired on pension, and the fourth a young member of the Komsomol.

"Our work is independent of the regular militia," the elderly man told me, "but we cooperate with them. What we do is to keep an eye on people's behavior, especially in public places and in the streets. We try to intercept anyone who might be offensive to others. Such offenses might be very small in your opinion, like cursing or insulting someone in the street, or being drunk and disorderly, or not paying the fare on a bus [on Moscow buses people buy their own tickets on the honor system], but we can also intercept criminal acts, and sometimes prevent them. Actually we do not have the right of arrest, but we can escort offenders to the militia or report them, we do have the right to ask to see identification papers, and to reason with them about bad behavior. In the latter case our role is educational. We find that in most cases our mere accosting of offenders has a beneficial result."

The woman worker from the candy factory explained another feature of the volunteer work: "In all factories we also have our volunteer units. They watch out for cases of drunkenness or for quarrels that might endanger machinery and other equipment. When

there are workers' social affairs the "druzhini" are there to observe behavior. This is not done conspicuously; we are also workers who go to social affairs to enjoy ourselves. It is just that we take that extra responsibility in case of misbehavior that interferes with the enjoyment of others. Offenders of any kind are reported to the trade union and if the case is serious enough a comradely court might be held to establish guilt or fault and to recommend some kind of educational supervision to correct the misbehavior before it can develop into a harmful attitude."

It must be mentioned that the question of leisure and spare time is a very important factor in the evolvement of voluntary activity in the functions of democracy. An effort is being made to draw pensioners (there were 32 million in 1966), who very often lose regular contact with the trade union, Party, sports or other organizations to which they belonged in their most active years, into voluntary community work or auxiliary roles in the Soviets.

FUNCTIONS once centrally handled by government agencies are being increasingly turned over to public (or mass) organizations for administration. Among the activities and institutions affected so far are sports, health resorts, cinemas, libraries, educational establishments. Trade unions and cooperatives have taken over many functions that have to do with labor relations and wage questions (managers of enterprises, for instance, can now be fined by trade union inspectors for violating labor laws).

The operation of "comradely courts" in factories, in big housing units and in neighborhoods has put part of the process of justice in the hands of the people and acts as a deterrent to serious misbehavior. Many people felt that the erring writers, Sinyavsky and Daniel, should have been tried in such a court rather than in the regular courts.

"Comradely courts" are extra-judicial bodies of an essentially voluntary character that play a disciplinary and educational role rather than a penalizing one. They handle cases involving rather minor acts of social disorder. In neighborhoods they could be concerned with quarrelsomeness, abusiveness, drunkenness or acts of petty destructiveness, while in factories questions of work discipline and responsibility are likely to be referred to such "courts." In the first week of December, 1966, while I was in Moscow, the Supreme Court of the USSR held a plenary session to discuss the implementation of measures adopted by the Supreme Soviet to eradicate crime. As *Izvestia* reported, it drew attention to "the underestimation by some judges of the role of the public in re-educating and correcting the persons who had committed small crimes." This was a criticism of the judiciary for not giving enough encouragement or cooperation to such bodies as the "comradely courts," and judges were told "to devote more attention to the work of preventing crimes, to extending contacts

with public organizations, with the heads and employees of enterprises, construction projects, establishments, state farms and collective farms."

Trade Union Initiative Increased

TO A considerable extent, the same principle of expanding democracy has played a part in the economic reform policy initiated on a large scale in 1966, one of the main features of which is to leave much of the responsibility for planning and production with the individual enterprise, with the measure of its efficiency determined by its own profitability. The previous highly centralized system of planning and of production quotas for factories and farms had a long-run effect of stifling initiative from below.

The impression I gained in several of the factories that I visited, where the economic reform policies were in operation, is that the material incentive factor, in which the workers share out profits in the form of bonuses, is intimately linked with collective participation in management. With enterprises now able to retain a large share of profits, bonuses are determined within the enterprise, and workers more than ever can feel a personal stake in improving techniques, output and quality in the whole plant. Here, more than ever, the interests of the individual and of the collective have become interdependent.

In the main, it is through the trade union in a plant that incentives and worker participation are increased. It is the trade union that negotiates with the plant management on the extent of the incentives and bonus funds that are to be taken out of the enterprise's profits. Individual worker initiative may bring the introduction of technological improvements, but most often the trade union sets up committees on the shop floor to look into suggestions on labor-saving or raw material-saving methods.

The economic reform has brought a considerable increase in this type of activity. One of the features of the reform is that plant profit is dependent on the quantity of the product actually sold. This has greatly augmented interest not only in the quality of the article produced but in the tastes and demands of its consumers. Trade union committees and workers in general now have a much greater range of concern in the whole production-distribution process. This is exercised through the permanent production conferences, whose decisions are obligatory on management, and through an increasing number of shop meetings. Contrary to reports in the American press, there is no change in the previous law that management cannot fire any individual worker or curtail the number of workers without trade union consent, and the workers can get the "boss" fired as on occasion happens. Workers, now benefiting directly from their own productivity, are likely to be impatient with bureau-

cratic and inefficient leaders and to make their dissatisfaction felt.

These various aspects of increasing mass participation in the affairs of government and of enterprises are coupled with an enlarged freedom of criticism and of expressing opinion. On September 17, 1967 the Central Committee of the CPSU, for example, issued a directive that all institutions and newspapers must give the closest attention to letters of criticism, of protest and of appeal received from the public. Organizations, it was stated, must regard such letters as one of the most important features of their work, and all must be dealt with or answered within one month. The *London Times,* in commenting on this (September 18, 1967), said: "Political developments over the past decade have removed people's fears about expressing themselves and the flow of letters has increased enormously." Stern measures, declared the directive, would be taken against anyone who did not give close and prompt attention to letters received.

Upsurge of Freedom of Expression

A PARALLEL phenomenon to the transformation of political and economic democracy is, of course, the upsurge of freedom of expression in the arts, among writers, dramatists, painters, cinema makers. Abroad, this has received most attention, to the point where one would have the impression that intellectuals of this kind were alone and in the vanguard of bringing change. They have, in fact, been stimulated by the broadening of democracy and by the enhancement of people's rights going on around them.

This emerged in a fascinating talk that I had with Rimma Kazakova, who ranks with Bella Akhmadulina as a woman poet, and who became popular in the outburst of expression that has occurred in the past decade. (See NWR, October and November 1966, for translations of Rimma Kazakova's poems.)

"It would be easy for me to say that our poetry is popular because we are talented and because our people are emotional and readily respond to poetry," she said, "but I will try to be analytical and unemotional. The 20th Congress played a tremendous role in this. It made intellectual life much healthier, in every possible respect. The younger poets especially were not afraid of telling the truth, and after the 20th Congress they took upon themselves the task of doing so.

"For us it was an exciting time of innovation. We inscribed on our banner fresh, sharp words. In my own experience it was only after I helped lift the banner that I realized that our banner did not belong to us alone. People were coming to poetry recitations expecting to hear something new and sincere. We were writing what they already wanted to hear, and if it was in talented form it was received all the more enthusiastically."

The experience of poets like Rimma Kazakova has been shared

by novelists, dramatists, critics. At the editorial office of *Yunost* magazine, the editor, Boris Polevoi, who gives great encouragement to young writers who have something new and fresh to say, acknowledged that the existence and vigor of the magazine can be traced to the spirit unleashed by the 20th Congress and its aftermath.

This growth of what can be termed cultural democracy is not nourished merely by what is in the air of the society. It must be associated with the tremendous emphasis on education, on the availability of the printed word, and on general access to cultural opportunities. In all societies it is axiomatic that education and broad cultural opportunities are avenues to freedom and especially to liberated minds. In the past decade in the Soviet Union these have been enormously accentuated.

Figures on higher education alone indicate this. In 1959 there were 2,150,000 students enrolled in higher schools. By 1965 this had increased to 3,830,000. At the end of the current Five-Year Plan enrollment is to go up to 5,000,000.

The publication of printed materials has gone up at a much faster rate, as chronic Soviet paper shortages are being gradually overcome. Friends in Moscow took a delight in showing me the number of periodicals they now subscribe to. Until two years ago, paper shortages limited each person to only one newspaper and one magazine subscription annually. These restrictions have now been lifted, and one can subscribe to any number of periodicals. One of the results of this has been a competitiveness among periodicals and a consequent improvement in quality of appearance and of contents.

Finally, there deserves to be mentioned a unique Society that contributes much to a fermentation of ideas and discussion. This is the All-Union "Znanie" (or Knowledge) Society, originally set up through the Academy of Sciences in 1947 to disseminate political and scientific knowledge. This has been broadened to cover all aspects of culture and of social relationships. Most of "Znanie's" activity is the giving of lectures, by specialists and people prominent in their fields, and also in handling regular courses for "People's Universities" for adults. In 1966 alone "Znanie" delivered 15,500,000 lectures to audiences totalling 775 million men and women.

Statistics like these, which can be quoted almost endlessly, are the indispensable corollary to the numbers involved in administrative and productive processes. It is the society that is in motion, not merely a force within the society.

We are happy to reproduce the beautiful poster by Anton Refregier, "The Hand of Lenin" prepared in honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary. The poster is in five colors, hand printed by the silk screen process 26 x 20, and is available through the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N.Y. 10010) at $2.00 each.

It Did Last!

by SCOTT NEARING

SOVIET RUSSIA'S fiftieth birthday is a triumphal event for those of us who have watched this momentous experiment from its brainchild stage in 1916 through its many twists, turns and zig-zags, to its present post of eminence as one of the two top-ranking world powers.

In 1916 Tsarist Russia was politically, technically and economically backward by comparison with the half-dozen other Great Powers of that day. On November 7, 1917, this huge land, with the third largest population among the nations, broke away from the war-waging pattern of its fellow capitalist nations and empires, and began following the road to socialism.

At that time I was still tolerated in the USA academic family and could therefore listen in on the family conversations. Among the issues debated in academic circles, the new Bolshevik Government quickly moved into first place. One question was before the academic house: Is this a fly-by-night affair, or will the Lenin-Trotsky experiment survive? Generally speaking, the discussion was short. The answer was brief: "It can't last."

There was a story going the rounds at the time of the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Otto H. Kahn of the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company was in his Paris office along about noon, about to take off for a luncheon appointment, when his secretary stopped him: "Excuse me, Mr. Kahn," said the secretary, "but if you will wait twenty minutes I think that I will be able to give you the details of the complete overthrow of the Russian Bolshevik Government." If Mr. Kahn had followed his secretary's advice he would have missed lunch and some other meals.

A decade later, in 1927, I spent several days in Harbin, Manchuria, waiting for a "hard" reservation on the eight-day Trans-Siberian Express. My destination was Moscow. At the time, Harbin, like many other far-Asian cities, had a large population of Russian refugees who had fled the Revolution and were eking out a precarious existence while they waited for the overthrow of Bolshevism and their return to

DR. SCOTT NEARING, in his 84 years of life, has written over fifty books and numerous articles, taught and lectured in many parts of the world, visited the Soviet Union seven times, and travelled extensively in China, Eastern Europe, Cuba and Latin America. With his wife, Helen Nearing, he is a frequent contributor to NWR.

secure positions under a restored and reformed Russian monarchy.

Many Russian restaurants catered to the emigré trade. I ate lunch in one of them and watched the comings and goings with great interest. In the course of these visits I became acquainted with a Russian of about my age. He had done well in Russian business circles under the Tsar. At the moment he was driving a taxi and glad to make a slender living against the strong competition of rival emigré taximen. One day he took me into his confidence. "Do you realize," he said, "that the day is very near when we Russians will return to the Motherland and take our places in business and politics, the sciences and the arts? If I were permitted to do so I could tell you the day and the hour of this restoration. When the day arrives, I will let you know."

I left Harbin on the Trans-Siberian Express before my taxi-driving friend had a chance to announce the overthrow of Bolshevism and the restoration of the old order.

Many nations have been born and have died or been torn to pieces during the half century since November 7, 1917. Despite assured predictions to the contrary, the Soviet Union has not only survived but has moved up to its summit position as one of the two top-ranking world powers. Today Soviet internal stability seems to be matched by its external strength.

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

(*Continued from page 89*)

funds. Now—depending upon *socialist* profits and productivity—*the trade unions and management of an enterprise make these crucial decisions on their own.* "Lenin's principle of encouraging the material self-interest of the workers in the results of their labor—that is, of rewarding workers for their success in production—is now an integral part of Soviet economic reform." Thus wrote Edmund Nash in the official US Government publication, *Monthly Labor Review.*

The trade union publication, *Trud,* seemed to sum up the general tone of the new context for the trade unions by stating on February 2, 1966: "Only by means of a conscientious, enterprising and creative approach of every individual worker to his labor, and by a thrifty economical attitude of everyone to national property can we fight for the construction of a Communist society."

The Soviets and US Culture

by **JOHN HOWARD LAWSON**

IT IS an easy generalization to say that Soviet culture has exerted a world influence. But there has been no systematic study, and almost no acknowledgment, of American responses to Soviet ideas and creative activities. For the past twenty years, the climate of the Cold War has frozen American attitudes; the majority of American writers and scholars are unwilling to admit that any meaningful intellectual challenge can come from the Soviet Union.

The challenge goes back to the first days of the Bolshevik Revolution. I have written an introduction to an anniversary edition of *Ten Days That Shook the World.** I found John Reed's work more exciting, and more contemporary, than when I first encountered it. Our world, our modern situation with all its possibilities and dangers, was born in those ten days. Reed's understanding of the scope and meaning of the Revolution, his ability to identify himself with the Russian people, are astonishing. Yet it is not astonishing, it is appropriate and historically important, that an American gave the first report-in-depth of the Russian events.

As Reed watched the delegates gather in the hall of Smolny Institute for the Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, on the night of November 6, 1917, he realized that the question of power, of the right of people to decide whether they lived or died and whether their children were starved or fed, was raised in a new way. "The depths of Russia," Reed wrote, "had been stirred and it was the bottom which was uppermost now."

The authenticity of Reed's account lies not only in his accurate observation and his use of documents. He saw that the course of history had been changed. It is not my purpose here to defend idealized accounts of Soviet development which distort the truth and discredit Marxist scholarship. It is essential to understand the birth of the

* International Publishers, 1967. 460 pp., cloth, $5.95, paperback, $1.95.

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON has written many plays, movie scripts and books, and has spent considerable time in the Soviet Union writing and observing cultural developments. A past President of the Screen Writers Guild and one of the famous "Hollywood Ten," he has numerous Hollywood productions to his credit. Among his books are *Our Hidden Heritage, Theory and Technique of Playwriting,* and *Film: The Creative Process* (the last two are Hill and Wang paperbacks).

Soviet Union in order to make sense out of the world events during the next fifty years. Reed was right in his basic premise: socialism was established. Capitalist statesmen knew what it was (even though some of their leading intellectuals were mystified), and the capitalist powers declared their enmity and their determination to wipe out the socialist regime. They have persisted in this purpose, from the first assistance to Kerensky to the anti-Communism which at present guides and corrupts American policy.

Reed knew the democratic traditions of the United States, and he had seen the heritage betrayed. The United States had entered the war for a redivision of the world's markets, spheres of influence and areas of exploitation. The Russian peasants and workers were sick of the war, sick of dying for the profits of a few businessmen. Reed understood the class relationships in Petrograd and Moscow, because he was aware of a different but equally dangerous structure of power in New York and Washington.

In 1917, American participation in the First World War brought additional strength to the alliance of Wall Street and the military leaders and politicians, and introduced the modern phase of American capitalism, characterized by an unprecedented concentration of power, and aggressive expansion abroad. Our culture and thought have become institutionalized, rewarded by rich grants and subsidies, and subjected to careful manipulation and control.

This has had a double effect on cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the United States: on the one hand, there is a welcome increase in these contacts; on the other hand, American writers and scholars have absorbed the prejudices of the Cold War, so that even those who have the most friendly intentions tend to take a one-sided view. These American intellectuals simply assume that they have everything to teach and nothing to learn, that open-mindedness and "free inquiry" are all on their side, and that they can bring the blessings of the West to people living in darkness. This is, to put it mildly, childishly naive. Its serious effect is to negate the role that Soviet culture has played in the art and intellectual life of our times. (The art and thought of capitalist countries, and especially of the United States, have had manifold effects on Soviet culture.)

The influences emanating from the Soviet Union are complicated and cover many fields of creativity and scholarship. The most pervasive influence, which is also the most difficult to trace, arises from the existence of a socialist country and its adherence to the views of history and society originated by Marx and Engels in the nineteenth century and developed by Lenin and others. Even those American intellectuals who have almost no knowledge of socialism or Marxist thought are affected, in all that they do or think, by the fact that *their* world is the world in which millions of people are building socialist societies.

A VAST amount of effort and research is needed to make even a preliminary survey of the American responses to Soviet culture, past and present. I believe work along these lines is essential from an American point of view, as a means of understanding what has happened to our modes of thought and feeling during these years. The world changes, and our American earth trembles.

I shall restrict myself to some notes and observations, designed to suggest the scope of the problem, and drawn largely from my own experience. I was seven years younger than John Reed. My generation had less opportunity than Reed's to examine the American capitalism that was current in the first years of the twentieth century. I graduated from college into the shattering devastation of the First World War. Like Hemingway and Dos Passos and Cummings, my adventures in the ambulance service in France and Italy convinced me that our society was sick, immoral, and senselessly destructive. We did not talk or write about *alienation,* but our rejection of the dominant culture was as complete, personal and unrelated to practical alternatives as the anger against the "establishment" that drives young people in the sixties.

We were excited and sympathetic about the Russian Revolution, but we were too "alienated," too close to our middle class background, to believe that the revolution would succeed or to give it concrete meaning for us. We did not believe the propaganda in the commercial press, but it had the effect (as it does today) of planting doubts and befogging issues.

The significance of the Russian events, which was so clear to Reed, could not be digested by American intellectuals until they faced the class character of American power. It was an enigma to most of us in the Roaring Twenties. Power was enthroned. It ruled by force, but its rule seemed unbreakable. We fled to Paris. We admired the Dadaists and the Surrealists. We came back to New York to publish books and produce plays. We loved the land and the people, but we were caught in the net of power.

Eisenstein's *Potemkin* was a three-fold revelation—esthetic, social and psychological. The rhythm and contrast of images as the Cossacks marched down the Odessa steps marked a creative advance in cinema that was manifestly connected with the revolution. Class conflict became a social and human reality, and a psychological link was established between the sailors rebelling against the Tsar and the audience in an American theater.

Potemkin had an effect on film art all over the world—and not least in Hollywood—which can be traced through the years to some of today's most important motion pictures. Other Soviet film-makers, notably Pudovkin and Dovzhenko, revealed new cinematic possibilities, and Dziga Vertov's theory of the Camera-eye is a main factor in the evolution of documentary film.

For me, and I am sure for many other American writers and artists, *Potemkin* was part of a series of new experiences which changed the whole direction of the arts. *Potemkin* taught me startling lessons in the theater. It came at a time when I received my first impression (at the International Theater Exhibition in New York in 1926) of the constructivist settings and the use of pantomime and mass movement developed by Meyerhold in Moscow, and the related experimental work of Piscator and Brecht in Germany.

These technical innovations cannot be divorced from revolutionary changes in social and moral attitudes. After *Potemkin,* Eisenstein made *October* to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the revolution. The film, called *Ten Days that Shook the World* in England and the United States, sent me back to Reed's book: my copy of the 1926 edition has pencilled markings and argumentative notes on almost every page. Out of these new perspectives came my association with Michael Gold and three other playwrights in founding the New Playwrights Theater in 1927. Gold's early years in the crowded misery of New York's East Side gave him a sensitivity to poverty and a human recognition of its class origin, which were strengthened when he encountered the art and social struggle of the Mexican people in 1917. Gold was one of a growing group of American intellectuals, centering first around *The Liberator* and then the *New Masses,* who called for support and understanding of the socialist regime, as a matter of the vital interests and hopes of the American people.

The men who joined with Gold in the New Playwrights did not share his political views. But we had reached the conclusion that *avant-garde* art is impotent against the culture of the bourgeoisie unless it also fights the power of the bourgeoisie. The New Playwrights was the first theater in the United States to experiment with Brechtian, "Epic" or "Living Newspaper" styles of presentation, and to deal with working class themes, Negro struggle, and the threat of war. Its eight productions in three seasons were part of a transition in the arts, which can be somewhat crudely summarized as an evolution from alienation to commitment. The protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was part of this awakening. A crucial part of it, involving the most difficult labor of thought, related to the Soviet Union, the work of Lenin and the value of Marxism.

Theodore Dreiser gave his impressions of the Soviet Union in an article in *Vanity Fair* in June, 1928. Dreiser groped for truth with the moral earnestness which some critics dismiss as a stylistic weakness. He wrote: "I cannot even conceive of a classless society any more than I can conceive of life without variations and distinctions." Yet, he continued, "one result of all this effort has been to shake up the whole country, to generate such tremendous stores of energy in a whole people that the whole world is talking about and looking toward Russia. Out of Russia as out of no other country today, I

feel, is destined to come great things mentally as well as practically, or such is my faith at least."

I quote the passage, including the qualifying phrase at the end, because it is so characteristic of American feeling on the eve of the great depression, and it is in a sense a valid prophecy, foreseeing the dynamism and enduring strength of the Soviet Union, and at the same time stressing the reluctance of intellectuals in other countries to imagine a classless society.

THE stock market crash in 1929 revealed the instability of American capitalism and wrought unbelievable changes in the fabric of American life. Among the immediate cultural results was an increasing interest in Soviet plays and books. The people who were later to form the Group Theater took their first steps toward professional production with a Soviet play, *Red Rust,* sponsored as a studio presentation by the Theater Guild; it was supervised by Cheryl Crawford and Harold Clurman; Lee Strasberg was one of the actors, and it was directed by Herbert Biberman, who had studied theater art in the Soviet Union. A more remarkable importation was the Guild's large-scale production in November, 1930, of Serge Tretyakov's *Roar China,* which had been done by Meyerhold in Moscow in 1926. Biberman directed the play with a sense of its massive movement, its portrayal of people in motion, its indictment of imperialism. It brought the Chinese Revolution to an American audience—a symbol of international changes and a prophecy of things to come.

The direct impact of Soviet cultural achievements has been enormous and would require volumes for adequate consideration. Sholokhov's *The Silent Don* is one of the great classics of historical fiction, and shows how absurd it is to underestimate the psychological and moral pressures, the inner struggles and subjective disturbances, that determine each individual's place in a great social conflict. The musical influence of such masters as Shostakovich and Prokofiev, and the controversies that have arisen concerning their work, demand detailed and unprejudiced study. Another field that would repay searching investigation is the use and interpretation of Stanislavsky's theories in the American theater: in adopting the "method," the Group made a long-term contribution to American concepts of acting, but there is also a connection, by way of the Group, between the Moscow Art Theater and the work of leading American dramatists, including Clifford Odets, Lillian Hellman and Arthur Miller.

These and other relationships in specific areas of culture are part of a larger pattern of general ideas concerning the international role of the Soviet Union and its effect on American interests and policies. It may be objected that these questions are political and ideological. Of course they are! And their relevance to the arts, as well as to science and scholarship, was a matter of earnest con-

troversy during the thirties, and it remains a central issue in the sixties.

The problem of action plagues the artist or the thinker, for creative communication is a form of action. The vogue of Existentialism has introduced some troubling questions, but the ablest exponent of Existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre, returns again and again to the social nature of man.

I am not suggesting that Marxism has a ready-made solution to the "dilemma" of modern man. The trouble in the soul is in part a reflection of the crisis of capitalism. But this does not provide a clue to psychic disturbances, which are expressed in the art, as well as the philosophy, of the West. We know very little about psychology, and Marxist thought has made only limited progress in dealing with culture—largely because Marxists have oversimplified problems of consciousness.

These reservations are necessary in order to make some sense of the Soviet Union's effect on the intellectual life of the thirties. There is no sense at all in the view that the Left exerted a mysterious control of culture. Equally misleading is the notion that intellectuals of the Left were a dogmatic sect who spent their time debating obscure points of doctrine. Commitment, in any meaningful sense of the term (dedication of a person's life and art to the service of mankind) was rare during the thirties. But there was a rich and varied development of the arts, which related largely to a new understanding of the United States and its people. Attitudes toward the Soviet Union were a decisive factor in this new American perspective, because capitalism was the essence of the American situation, and socialism was the Soviet essence, and cooperation or strife between the two was the key to peace or war—as it is in 1967.

I have a vivid recollection of a weekend I spent with Edmund Wilson in January, 1932. He had rented a house near Santa Barbara for his family. We had a continuous argument. I admired Wilson, and I was impressed by his enthusiasm for Marxism, his new role as a political activist, his feeling about new possibilities for a literature of "commitment" in the United States. I could not share his convictions, but that weekend led me to begin a serious study of Marxist classics. Within a short time, our positions were reversed. I turned toward the Left. Wilson became disillusioned with the Soviet Union and agreed with Trotsky that the Revolution had been "betrayed." Wilson was one of the forerunners of a movement that attracted many intellectuals in the following years. The Moscow trials in 1936, 1937, and 1938, were the immediate cause of anti-Soviet attitudes. Wilson had a feeling for history and a respect for ideas, and he therefore found it necessary to sustain his position by a survey of the whole course of European socialism which brought Lenin *To the Finland Station.* The book, which appeared at a moment of international crisis in 1940, is a brilliant attempt to prove that Marx-

ism is a misunderstanding of modern society; "what Lenin had actually effected," wrote Wilson, "was a kind of bourgeois revolution." Wilson concludes that the United States is a democratic society: "Individual responsibility, the ability to make decisions, is a good deal more evenly distributed than it is in these other countries."

I quote Wilson, not to revive old disputes, but to show their present relevance. Judgments of the Soviet Union cannot be isolated from concepts of modern society, the nature and desirability of the American system, the possibility of socialism. The culture of the thirties was not dedicated to socialism, nor was it political in a narrow partisan sense. When Malcolm Cowley wrote in *The New Republic* (January 20, 1937) that the world's safety depended on strengthening Russia's "industrial and military resources . . . in the face of an international fascist alliance," he spoke of a threat, not only to the USSR but to the United States. When Waldo Frank spoke of our lack of an "organic culture," he recognized in his own way that our society is split by class differences.

THE culture of the thirties was concerned with all phases of American experience. James Farrell wrote his best novels about Irish slum life in Chicago. Archibald MacLeish wrote *Panic* about Wall Street financiers. Thomas Wolfe visited Nazi Germany and returned home with a new consciousness of the corruption of power in the United States. John Steinbeck came close to greatness in his story of migratory workers. These were artists whose creativity was stimulated by new concepts, arising from the US and world situation.

Spain had the most far-reaching effect on intellectuals. The saturation bombing of Guernica was a rehearsal for World War Two. When fascism conquered Spain, the Big War began. Today, there is a similar dress rehearsal in Vietnam. In 1967, the United States is no longer a vacillating "neutral," betraying the cause of peace by inaction. Our country is the leader of world reaction, proclaiming its mission to stop Communism by force of arms.

There are American intellectuals who have forgotten, or never learned, the lessons of the thirties. But the historical connection between the two periods cannot be broken. A comprehensive survey of American attitudes toward the Soviet Union might help to restore the continuity of history, and to enable writers and artists and scholars to engage in a real dialogue with their Soviet counterparts, without assistance from the State Department and the CIA.

The Soviet Union is still the touchstone, but it is not alone. Socialism exists, and spreads, and encounters new problems, and stirs the conscience of mankind. The Soviet Union is not Utopia. It is a functioning society, with goals that demand consideration and respect. An American culture that ignores this truth is gagged and bound by its ignorance.

THE BOOK OF LIFE

by PAVLO TYCHINA

I

What if the years have whitened my hair—
I still work, I polish off the end of a line.
I hear the voice of Maxim Gorky.
I hear the footsteps of Mikhail Kotsiubinsky.
They are here with me—I hear them always close by,
just as in those inimitable years,
when, beyond the deafening shells,
the throne rocked, then crashed once and for all time.
I would not have come upon these serene days
were it not for October. Thanks
to the people and to the party: it was they who
shaped my fate. I greeted the dawn
and began to sing, freely and openly.
I saw, wonder of wonders,
men who would have huddled forever in the backyards of life
rise to explore far regions of the sky.

II

I shall never get enough of looking at you—
your eyes, your brows, your hands.
As the old song goes—you are my joy,
my love, that miracle, my wife and friend.
I remember how it began:
I came in, a student, bandura in hand.*
You rented me a tiny, little room—
(a brighter one there has never been).
The rent? Your mother said, "Oh that will be all right,"
And you—you rushed out and cried:
"We've got a student!" I began to play the bandura.
I strummed at the strings. Your mother wept.
I remember the blacksmith's shop! (In those days

* Bandura—large Ukrainian stringed folk instrument.

PAVLO TYCHINA was one of the leading Ukrainian poets. This poem was written shortly before his death in September. Lev Ozerov translated the poem into Russian from the Ukrainian.

forging still was done there.)
October came. For me, along with everyone else,
the world opened up—you could see into all its corners.
October struck a blow on the anvil of the whole planet,
and sparks were scattered everywhere,
like summer lightning.
The clock of the world ran on new time!
I too walked toward the bright new heights.
Along paths, seeking and achieving—
Ahead were steep mountains of days.
How you have grown! My world!, my genius!
I shall never have enough of looking at
your wide expanses renewed by life!

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN with the editorial assistance of NAN BRAYMER.

DAGESTAN LOVE SONG

by **RASUL GAMZATOV**

If you hear that a thousand people love you—
Remember—Rasul Gamzatov is among them.

If you hear that a hundred people love you—
Remember—Rasul Gamzatov will be either in the first or last row.

If you hear that seven people love you—..
Remember—Rasul Gamzatov will be among them, like a Wednesday in the middle of the week.

If you hear that only two people love you—
Remember—one of them will be Rasul Gamzatov.

If you hear that only one person loves you—
Remember—he's Rasul Gamzatov.

And when you see not a single person around you, and find out that no one loves you any more—
Then you will know for certain that Rasul Gamzatov is dead.

RASUL GAMZATOV, one of the most popular poets in the Soviet Union, lives in the Southern autonomous republic of Dagestan and writes in the Avarian language. Gamzatov's poem is dedicated to a famous actress. Nokolay Borodin made this prose translation after Gamzatov recited his poem at the Soviet Writers' Congress in May.

The Search for Truth

Continuity and Change in Soviet Literature

by **VLADIMIR LAKSHIN**

PROSPER Mérimée used to tell Turgeniev that Russian writers always searched first of all for truth in their work, letting beauty come afterwards of its own accord. Combining realistic observation of life with a social and moral purpose, Russian literature as seen in the writings of Alexander Herzen, Turgeniev, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky was always concerned with "questions" addressed both to the writers' own time and to the future.

Soviet writers inherited this concern for truth and their predecessors' concept of art as a compelling public duty as well as the true core of their own lives. The only difference that separates the writers of the 19th century from our own is that the moral and religious ideals that inspired them have been replaced by the communist ideals of fraternity and equality and the solidarity of all the working people of the world.

Soviet literature was born during great social upheavals that stirred millions of people throughout the world. The significance of these revolutionary upheavals was understood in different ways by the Russian writers who observed them. Ivan Bunin, Alexander Kuprin, Marina Tsvetayeva emigrated to other countries. Alexander Blok, on the other hand, welcomed the Revolution with the majestic rhythms of his famous poem, "The Twelve." Besides the older writers, headed by Maxim Gorky, who sided with the new power, young new writers came from the war fronts and later from the struggles of the Civil War, and from the villages and provincial capitals where the routine of everyday life had been profoundly disrupted by the Revolution.

The literature of the twenties was full of bold explorations and daring experiments. Vladimir Mayakovsky, Boris Pasternak, Alexander Fadeyev, Isaac Babel, Leonid Leonov, Konstantin Fedin, Sergei Yesenin and Mikhail Zoshchenko all reflected in their brilliant and original work the youth of our country.

This young Soviet literature produced a new character, a revolutionary hero. Such is Vassili Chapayev, a true historical personality, a hero of the Civil War, a fighter who gave his life for the cause of the Revolution. And that is the way Chapayev is depicted in Dmitri

VLADIMIR LAKSHIN is a Soviet literary critic and an editor of the literary magazine *Novy Mir*. This article was prepared especially for *New World Review* through the courtesy of Novosti Press Agency.

Furmanov's story, not with a romantic halo around his head, but as a living man with all his weaknesses, faults, peasant ignorance and at the same time with an exceedingly infectious charm, courage and intelligence. Daring and successful in battle, exerting a truly hynotic influence upon his men, the semi-literate commander possessed the talents of a general and was a true leader of the people. Chapayev is only one of the numerous characters commemorated in the pages of such books as *The Rout* by Alexander Fadayev, *Red Cavalry* by Isaac Babel, *Partisan Stories* by Vsevolod Ivanov and *The White Guard* by Mikhail Bulgakov.

THEY sometimes say about the Soviet literature of the thirties and forties that it is poorer than that of the twenties. But it must be noted that in these decades there appeared new writers who introduced new themes and new forms of expression related to the great changes taking place in the social system as well as in people's characters. It is true that the social atmosphere of those years, influenced by the Stalin personality cult, was not conducive to the development of a truly creative literature. The dogmatic ideas prevalent at the time encouraged writers who wrote superficially, smoothing over everything. Nevertheless, the years of industrialization and collectivization, and the years of war against German fascism, were not barren for literature. The appearance of Alexander Tvardovsky's poem "The Land of Muravia" in the thirties, and his "Vasili Tyorkin" during the war, were notable events in Soviet poetry. And on the very eve of the Great Patriotic War Alexey Tolstoy completed the writing of his epic *Road to Calvary* and Mikhail Sholokhov his monumental *And Quiet Flows the Don,* which recently won the Nobel prize for its author.

Sholokhov found the necessary material for this folk epic in the life of the Cossacks on the Don at one of the turning points of their history. The life story of Grigori Melekhov reflects the complex, difficult life of his people. Carried away by the whirlpool of such events as the war and the Revolution, perplexed, fighting first on the side of the Red Army and then on the side of the White Guards, not finding a path of his own, Grigori is tragically alone in the end. From this book about the inevitable tragedy of great social upheavals emerges a new humanist attitude in relations between people.

One of the greatest achievements of those years was the appearance of a new, many-million strong reading public. This can be seen from the enormous circulation of our books and literary monthlies such as *Moskva, Znamya* and many others. By tradition the literary magazine occupies a special place in our literature. Anything worth speaking about, be it a short poem or a big novel, appears in the pages of a magazine before being put out as a book. This fact makes the magazine very attractive for readers who want to be in the know about all current publications.

In recent years the number of readers' letters on literary subjects received by the editorial offices of Soviet papers and magazines has considerably increased. These letters are mostly devoted to contemporary literary problems. The readers share their views on a certain book, often elaborately discuss its strong and weak points; they even enter into heated arguments with professional critics. Sometimes the shrewd comments and aesthetic views expressed in the letters can compete quite well with those of the professionals.

DURING the last period Soviet literature has been developing in a new social atmosphere. As a result it has become more true to life, more concrete, more honest; it deals now with the vital problems and real aspirations of the people, fulfilling their requirements for a truthful and exact interpretation of reality. The rejection of the Stalin personality cult and of everything connected with it that confined the spiritual and intellectual life of the country, the open criticism of Khrushchev's subjectivism, a more realistic approach to agricultural problems, and the instituting of economic reforms—all in one way or another have found reflection in present day literature.

By portraying life in a truthful manner, literature helps society to look itself in the face, to test proclaimed achievements and to recognize faults. And though there can always be found certain readers who expect literature merely to entertain and comfort them, the majority looks upon the writer in a more serious and conscious way. The readers expect the writer to give a trustworthy account of their life, and they ask him what they should do that they may lead better lives. By "living better" they do not mean being better fed and more comfortable. Soviet writers are anxious that the relations between people in socialist society should become morally irreproachable; that disinterestedness, neighborliness and a considerate attitude towards other people become a standard of behavior for every member of society. Soviet writers believe that the enjoyment of beauty evoked by art should enrich the reader's personality, that it should awaken all the talents and gifts that lie hidden in every person.

THE most outstanding books of the last several years are devoted chiefly to two subjects—World War II and life in the countryside today. The war left bitter memories and deep sorrow for almost every Soviet family. It is clear why it still continues to attract the attention of many modern writers. The war stories of Victor Nekrassov, Grigori Baklanov and Yuri Bondarev, Konstantin Vorobyev and Vassili Bykov, Konstantin Simonov's novels and Sergei Smirnov's reports, contain not only bitter recollections and hatred for German fascism, but also project a dream of peace achieved through suffering. The subject of war has been rewarding material for the writer because it has made it possible to show how man behaves when his spiritual strength is strained to the limit.

Stories by Vladimir Tendryakov and Sergei Zalygin, Alexander Yashin and Yevgeni Nosov, Boris Mozhayev's story, "From the Life of Fedor Kuzkin," Vassili Belov's "A Common Matter," Feodor Abramov's feature-stories in the press, all dealing with country life, have become very popular with the reading public. The pertinence of the subject is seen by the fact that though advanced collective farms had achieved great success, the lack of necessary material incentives for many peasants over the years was not made up for by hard work, nor by enthusiasm. This was noticeable in the results of their work. Where such objective factors as land and natural conditions are of vital importance, the harm done by subjective pressure, hare-brained schemes, and bureaucratic methods of management was particularly great. Truthfully depicting the actual situation in the countryside and appealing for its improvement, these writers at the same time portrayed with great warmth ordinary Russian peasants whose hard work provided the whole Russian land with food.

Work at the big construction sites, life in the suburbs of industrial cities, love and family relations, scientific conflicts, and the striving of the young generation to find their place in life—all these form part of the material of the Soviet writer and is reflected in novels and short stories. Treatment of the prison-camp theme, as well as bold mockery of bureaucratic methods, has proved that there are no forbidden subjects. When a tragic or satirical theme is presented without sensationalism and reveals a serious approach to important problems, then no matter what arguments and disputes such a work may give rise to, it will always find support among the reading public.

Many books and stories published in recent years give careful attention to the inner world of the characters. Mention here should be made of the story "The Big Ore" by Georgi Vladimov, a young Soviet writer, which caused a stir in the literary world. Very skillfully the author related the story of an ordinary worker, a driver, who had come to find a job at the big ore mines near Kursk. In his zippered velveteen jacket the driver Pronyakin, a practical-minded, energetic and sarcastic young man of the 1950's, is a true child of his age. He knows his job, but one can hardly suspect a hero in him, and his fellow-workers for a long time believe that he is interested only in money and does not care for the "big ore" which the workers of the mine are trying to find with such great effort. They think that it is all the same to him what he carries in his truck—ore or dirt.

Only the tragic death of Pronyakin, when he tries to drive his truck loaded to the brim with the precious ore along a road washed out by rain, shows his character in a new light. Vladimov does not attempt to portray the young driver as better than he actually is; he simply shows that there are three "levels," so to speak, inside Pronyakin's soul, and that to reach the deepest one is as difficult as to get to the "big ore." The initial motives and dreams of the young driver are

very limited: he wants to earn as much money as possible so as to be able to give up his vagabond life and settle down with his wife in a house of his own with good furniture, a refrigerator and a TV set. But besides that he is a very skillful driver, he knows his job thoroughly, he is fond of his truck—this is the second level of the man, lifting him above mere material interests and making him a personality. From here it is not so far to the third level: shared social interests. With other ends in view beside his personal success, Pronyakin becomes a conscious member of society. The author's approach makes one meditate upon the important changes that are taking place in our life today.

THE desire of the reader to learn the truth at firsthand, to see it with his own eyes, has resulted in recent years in the blossoming of documentary literature, such as diaries, memoirs, notes and letters. General Gorbatov's *Years and Wars,* for instance, Nina Kosterina's diary and *Student Notebooks* by Mark Shcheglov have all found a warm response. Fiction, too, has felt the sobering influence of this interest in the documentary. Odd plots and fantastic invention have tended to disappear. Thus there appear books that are a combination of art and the documentary, such as *A Village Diary* by Yefim Dorosh and *Babi Yar* by Anatoly Kuznetsov, a moving novel based on authentic documents relating to the German occupation of Kiev [see NWR, December 1966 and January 1967].

The special attention paid by many writers to facts, to the authenticity of the material, does not mean at all that literature has become monotonous, prosaic and dull. Dostoyevsky used to say that there was nothing more surprising, curious and improbable than real facts. The analytical character of modern prose does not exclude versatility of form and style, nor does it exclude poetic symbols, and it does not hamper imagination and fantasy. By the way, the traditions of Soviet literature in this respect are much richer than is sometimes imagined. Witness the recent great success of the posthumous publication of works of such writers as Andrei Platonov and Mikhail Bulgakov. In Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita,* Mephistopheles walks the streets of Moscow in person, but the audacity of this invention does not trouble anyone. Very unusual in form also is Valentin Katayev's recently published story *The Sacred Well,* which is a fanciful mixture of lyrical recollections, dreams and satirical pictures of everyday life. Full of fantasy also is Yuri Dombrovsky's novel *The Keeper of Antiquities,* as it projects the sultry atmosphere of Central Asia in the 1930's.

Many works of fiction produced by writers belonging to different generations have also become the center of attention during the last several years. I should like to mention the two thirty-year-old writers, Yuri Kazakov and Victor Likhonosov, the two forty-year-olds, Daniil

Granin and Victor Astafiev, and Vera Panova and Victor Nekrassov who are already in their fifties. Lastly, there are the oldest, Ilya Ehrenburg, who died only this summer, and Leonid Leonov and Konstantin Paustovsky, still happily with us. These writers represent the generations of the "fathers" and the "children"; though very different in their life experience, in the content of their creative art and in their personal likes and dislikes, they have one thing in common. They see that the social purpose of literature is conveyed not by lecturing the reader, but by developing in him an independent, life-asserting view of reality.

The greatest success with Soviet readers last year was the Kirghiz writer Chinghiz Aitmatov's story *Farewell, Gulsari!*, published in *Novy Mir*. This was an event not only in Kirghiz literature but in Russian as well, into which the author beautifully translated his story.

Gulsari is the name of a horse, a fast pacer with a bright yellow coat whose fate interests the young Kirghiz author not less than that of his owner—cattle-breeder Tanabai. The horseman and his steed are the traditional characters of oriental poetry. The story of the pacer Gulsari reminds one of Leo Tolstoy's famous story *Holstomer*.

The dying horse and the old man are left alone upon a deserted winter road. Trying to get warm by a fire built on the edge of a ravine where Gulsari now lies dead, Tanabai recollects both the horse's life and his own. The author tries not to make the horse appear too human, nor does he want to draw a direct parallel between the fate of the man and that of the horse. But so much in Tanabai's life is connected with his horse, that Gulsari seems to become part of himself, in the same way as the starry sky and the steppes, the nomad tent and the herd of sheep have become a part of him. The horse shares with his master the glory of victory at the ancient steppe tournaments; Gulsari alone was the mute witness of Tanabai's secret meetings with the gentle Byubyuzhan and of the dreadful moments of his master's grief and despair. Pictures of faraway years pass through the old shepherd's mind—his youth, the Revolution, the setting up of the collective farm, the war, the first postwar winters and springs—all the happiest and darkest days of his life.

I SHOULD not want the picture of Soviet literature drawn by me in this brief survey to look too idyllic. In the great stream of our literature there is, of course, a certain amount of hack work and trash. There are dogmatic survivals also and a low level of artistic culture is evident at times. But it is not this that basically determines the spiritual life of our society and the part Soviet literature plays in it.

The greatest responsibility of the writer is to tell the truth. But he will not be able to do this if he does not attempt to see the future as well as the present; if he allows himself to be carried away by hopelessness and gloom; if he does not try to support the weary and hearten

the weak. A combination of realism and historical optimism forms the essence of contemporary Soviet literature. This is the direct result of its experience over fifty years, an experience of daring explorations, important discoveries, and mistakes, and then the renewal once again of further explorations and discoveries—inseparable signs of healthy growth toward maturity.

SOVIET WRITING AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH

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Bulgakov, Mikhail: *The Master and Margarita*, Grove Press, 1967; Harper & Row, 1967.
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Fedin, Konstantin: *Early Joys*, Vintage-Random House, 1960.
Gorbatov, A. V.: *Years Off My Life*, Norton, 1965.
Katayev, Valentin: *The Sacred Well*, Walker, 1967.
Kazakov, Yuri: *Going to Town*, Houghton, Mifflin, 1964.
Kuznetsov, Anatoly: *Babi Yar*, Dial, 1967.
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Mayakovsky, Vladimir: *Mayakovsky; Poems*, Hill & Wang, 1966.
The Bedbug and Selected Poetry, Meridian, 1960.
Nekrassov, Victor: *Kira Georgievna*, Pantheon, 1962.
Panova, Vera: *A Summer to Remember*, Yoseloff, 1962.
Paustovsky, Konstantin: *The Story of a Life*, Pantheon, 1964.
Sholokhov, Mikhail:: *The Quiet Don*, Knopf, 1960 (three volumes in one, also in separate paperbacks).
Simonov, Konstantin: *The Living and the Dead*, Doubleday, 1962.
Tolstoy, Alexey: *The Road to Calvary*, Knopf, 1946.
Zoshchenko, Mikhail: *Nervous People*, Pantheon, 1963.
Scenes from the Bathhouse, University of Michigan Press, 1961.

Soviet Poetry

English translations of the various poets mentioned in the article will be found in the following:

Barnstone, Willis, *et. al.*, eds., *Modern European Poetry*, Bantam, 1966.
Obolensky, Dmitri, trans. and ed., *The Penguin Book of Russian Verse*, Penguin, 1962.
Yarmolinsky, Avraham, ed., *An Anthology of Russian Verse*, 1812-1960, Doubleday-Anchor, 1962.

From 1918 to 1966, over 31 billion books were published in the Soviet Union. Over 1,260,000,000 volumes of different kinds of books are currently published annually, five per capita of population. There are over 400,000 libraries of all types in the USSR today, containing over 2,500,000,000 books.

The Soviet Union, with eight per cent of the world's population, publishes 25 per cent of all the books published annually around the world.

Ilya Ehrenburg

1891 - 1967

Sometimes a people will be summoned for a space
To water with its blood the furrowed earth; by every road
Your persecutors, Motherland, will come to you,
Kissing your bloody footprints in the snow.

THESE lines, expressing a profound love of country, are from a poem, "To Russia," written by Ilya Ehrenburg in 1920—almost fifty years ago. This same passionate love of country sounded through the articles he wrote for the army newspaper *Red Star* during World War II, articles read and treasured by millions of soldiers, partisans, civilians in the bitter years of the Hitler invasion of the Soviet Union. And it was the same deep feeling for the country of his birth—inseparable from an uncompromising internationalism—that led Ehrenburg to work ceaselessly in the postwar years for peace.

The friend of Mayakovsky, Babel, Picasso, Bernal, Aragon, Neruda, Joliot Curie, who spoke to us through five turbulent decades from Moscow, Paris, Madrid, New York, Florence, London, Peking, from peace councils, literary congresses, intellectual symposia held in every quarter of the globe, is silent.

Ehrenburg was spokesman and interpreter between many worlds: the old world of the Russian intelligentsia in which he grew up, the new, raw world of the Revolution, the decadent world of Western capitalism hardening into the final death struggles of imperialism. Above all, he was interpreter and spokesman in a most difficult historical period for those who had lived long and experienced much yet had kept their dreams and hopes alive.

To the young people of the Soviet Union Ehrenburg's presence in his Moscow apartment filled with the paintings of his friends, Picasso, Chagall, Diego Rivera, must have seemed an unbelievable stroke of great good fortune. His talk and his writings about the daring days of the twenties, the war in Spain, the struggle against the Nazi invaders, and his loving recollections of his brilliant friends who had fallen victims of the Stalin repressions, must have heartened and reassured his youthful hearers, many of whom were on the thresholds of their own careers.

For in his later books, particularly in the many volumes of his memoirs entitled *Men, Years and Life,* Ehrenburg strove, with all the

skill his many years of writing had given him, to help his countrymen understand the meaning of Lenin's great behest: that the new socialist society must guard all the culture of the past and draw from it spiritual and intellectual sustenance.

Over the years Ehrenburg had been a valued contributor to *New World Review.* We were especially proud last year to print the concluding chapter of the sixth, and presumably last, volume of his memoirs directly after its appearance in *Novy Mir.* This year Ehrenburg decided to write one more volume of recollections and he personally sent us a copy of the introduction. Entitled "The Climate of Our Time," publication in our June 1967 issue was its first appearance anywhere.

What Ehrenburg had thought would be the final volume of his recollections ended when he began in 1953 to write *The Thaw,* his novel that heralded the post-Stalin period. But the ten years that followed, he writes in the new introduction, were difficult and puzzling, at the same time of such significance, that he felt he must put down his thoughts about this climactic time:

> The mid-fifties marked the end of various myths for many millions of people. No one can resurrect them. Of course, it is more difficult to live under a sky circled by "sputniks" than under a sky inhabited by gods and angels. It is more difficult to believe in the power of humanity than in the wisdom of a single creature elevated to the status of "chief." But there is the era of childhood and the era of manhood. And the different eras do not come in like some assortment of goods from which you can make a choice.

"The late evening of my life," Ehrenburg concludes, "has been difficult and restless, but, avidly, I have looked to the youth."

UNDER the crepe-swathed chandeliers of the Writers' Club in Moscow, on September 4, passed thousands of Ehrenburg's admirers to pay their last respects, scientists, artists, students, workers, soldiers, friends from abroad. The coffin, covered with wreaths from relatives, friends, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the World Peace Council and many other individuals and organizations, was surrounded by a display of his medals, orders and awards on red cushions—the Order of Lenin, awarded on his seventieth birthday for his contributions to Soviet literature, the International Lenin Peace Prize.

Boris Polevoi opened the memorial meeting. He was followed by the friend and writer A. V. Lidin, G. A. Zhukov of the Soviet Peace Committee, the Czechoslovakian writer Jan Drda, Andre Blumel, President of the France-USSR Friendship Society, and Ruano Ignacio, who spoke in behalf of the Communist Party of Spain.

At the grave, N. S. Tikhonov, Isabella Blum of the Presidium of the World Peace Council, and the writer L. A. Kassil spoke words of farewell.

—M. Y.

Soviet Women

Greet Their Sisters from Many Nations

by AUGUSTA STRONG

A UNIQUE and unforgettable international gathering took place early this year as 300 representatives from 90 countries came to the USSR as guests of the Soviet Women's Committee, for International Women's Day and in celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of their socialist revolution and its half century of women's progress toward full equality. Part of the observance was a three-day symposium on "The Role of Women in Socialist Society," which in actuality became a panoramic view of the condition of women and children in every continent of the world.

The setting in Moscow's Friendship House was dramatic, in a hall deck with the flags af all nations, with the women ceremonially garbed in all the colors and styles of their native dress, in all their varying beauty of features and coloring.

It was as if Tennyson's "parliament of the world" had become a reality, as one saw them mingling in such amity: the women of European descent, varying from the pale blondes of the North, the Estonians and Scandinavians, to the handsome, intense faces of the women of Spain and Latin America; the women of the Middle East, from countries which only very recently have permitted them to unveil their countenances, and given them an opportunity to voice their aspirations, women from Afghanistan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, these all the more grave and dedicated since a liberated few were spokesmen for the millions of still oppressed women of their countries; the women of the Orient, the women of North and South Vietnam in their modest black tunics, full of quiet fire; and the black and brown women of the newly independent African countries, regally clad in flowing robes of exotic fabrics.

The symposium was opened by a distinguished presidium of women honored for their roles in the liberation of their countries or in the emancipation of women. Among them sat Dolores Ibarruri, the magnificent heroine of the Spanish Civil War, and Madame Eugénie Cotton, president of the Women's International Democratic Federation, whose work has strengthened ties among organi-

AUGUSTA STRONG is an essayist and literary critic, and an editor of *Freedomways*, a quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement, on whose behalf she attended the gathering here described. Mrs. Strong has a Master's Degree in the History of Negro Literature and is now studying at New York University for a Doctorate in Linguistics.

zations of women throughout the world concerned with peace and human progress.

There was Valya Tereshkova, the first woman cosmonaut, famed for her Vostok space flight, a symbol to all of the changed status of women under socialism, who reported that additional Soviet women are now being trained as cosmonauts. A wife and mother, she told her goal in life, a common goal shared, she said, with all women: "To occupy a dignified place in society as a mother, a citizen, a human being . . . to influence our own governments and other governments for peace."

At her side sat Mme. Jeanne Martin Cissé, General Secretary of the Conference of African Women, who told how women, traditionally held in high esteem in African nations, had become "slaves of a slave" with the coming of foreign domination, and were only now beginning to emerge. There was Mme. N. Zaripova, Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet of the Tadzhik Republic, representing the new woman of the East, who brought greetings, "warm as the rays of our Southern sun" to the gathering. There were representatives of the UN, UNESCO, the ILO, and many others.

MADAME Nina Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, detailed the achievements of Soviet women during the 50 years under socialism.

Half of all those engaged in social production in the USSR today, she reported, are women—in factories, offices, collective farms, and in various branches of the economy.

For the American observer, concerned over racial strife at home, there were enviable statistics: "more than a hundred nations and nationalities have voluntarily united into a single multinational state, and are closely cooperating in state economic and cultural development."

That statement came to life, not so much in figures as in some of the women themselves who participated in the symposium, like Sonomyn Udval, president of the women's organization of the Mongolian People's Republic, who told of the continuing effort of their group to give a primary and secondary education to all women up to the age of 45 who had no education; who told us that women make up 21 per cent of the deputies to their representative body, the great People's Khural; who also spoke of women cattle breeders and of seasonal and nomad schools set up to raise their educational level. It came to life in the person of Khandmaa, a petite woman of middle age dressed in smart Western clothes, with her hair wrapped in an immense gleaming mound on her head, who was director of a textile combine, the largest in Mongolia, and her companion, an outstanding teacher, very young, very red-cheeked, in her native dress—long tunic and with leather belt, her thick

reddish-black braid hanging down to the tops of her little high-heeled boots. Teachers are greatly honored and education valued in these countries where the revolution is younger than in the West, and had even further to go and where, up to 1931, not a single girl had attended even secondary school.

As she spoke of the increasingly vital role played by women in the economy of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the vision rose of a society in which full equality of man and woman is being approached: 50 per cent of all productive workers in both industry and agriculture are women; 86 per cent of those in health services including nurses and doctors; 55 per cent in management and on the boards of cooperatives and public organizations: 44 per cent in science and scientific enterprises (and one thought of the 2 per cent of United States women in science by comparison); and 24 per cent in construction.

BUT problems remain, old traditions die hard—and the ideal society is yet to come. Some of the difficulties still to be overcome were frankly discussed by the speakers. In the socialist Asian republics there is still a struggle against feudal marriage customs. And in general under socialism the age-old problem of women's household chores and the demands of motherhood are yet to be resolved in the best way for the working women; women still form a disproportionate number of those employed in manual labor, and because of household duties less often acquire the more complex technical skills in industry and agriculture, and more frequently earn lower wages for this reason.

Sociologists and psychologists, it was indicated, are studying these problems. And the final answers have yet to be found to many of the questions of the physical aptitude of women in various fields of work, the special requirements of their physiological and psychological needs, and improvements in facilities for the care of children and the protection of motherhood.

The gathering was electric with the promise of the future, and with the vitality of the warm admiration expressed by the women of all countries for the path-breaking role of Soviet women. It was expressed by the women of the Eastern European socialist countries, whose socialist revolution is barely a generation old, like Bulgaria where the first law granting women equal rights was adopted only in 1947; by women of the United Arab Republic, whose equality was written into the Constitution only in 1964; by women from African nations like Algeria and Mali, who said proudly, "We, too, like you are building a new and radical society—socialism."

It was a gathering, too, that extended comradely and sisterly hands to the most oppressed of all women—those fighting against colonialism and imperialism: to the women from Angola and Mozambique who said, "Our women are fighting in the bush as guerrillas beside our men. Raise your voices to liberate our people who are tortured and imprisoned!" They applauded, also, the women of Spain who told how women, even under the fascist dictatorship of the last 28 years, had organized demonstrations against the American role in Vietnam, and the women of Chile, Columbia, and other Latin American countries, who despite their own oppression, pledged solidarity with women of the world in the fight for peace and to end the US intervention in Vietnam.

THE MOST solemn moment of all came when the audience rose in tribute to Mme. Nguyen Ngoc Dung the representative of the South Vietnam Women's Union for Liberation and her heroic words, "The women of South Vietnam will not put on another yoke."

Not a person moved as she spoke: "We fully support your struggle for peace, democracy, social progress, and for the happiness of your children. We consider your successes as our own successes . . ." She told of the will-power, the self-sacrifice, the creative genius of the women of her land in defending their children—how they were active in the liberated areas of South Vietnam building schools, maternity houses and medical stations; how they formed touring medical teams of women; how older women joined the "Soldiers' Mothers Association" to care for the wounded, and still others joined in military activity. She described the women of North Vietnam holding "a rifle in one hand and a plough or hammer in the other," resolved to defend the North, liberate the South, and reunify the country.

In a moving appeal, especially to women of the United States, the Vietnamese women urged Americans to help expose the crimes of the American war machine and to begin campaigns to keep American soldiers at home. As Americans love their children, she pleaded, let those who wish to protect Vietnamese children make their watchword: "No American soldiers in Vietnam."

In personal talks with women representing the United States, the Vietnamese delegates greeted them warmly as sisters from the peace and justice loving people of America, and urged that they speak to the sisters, mothers and wives of servicemen urging them to also fight for peace, tell the story of Vietnam, show their films, urge the unions to strike for peace. But both spoke with pride and confidence in the new way of life the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is building in both South and North.

They, too, like all the delegations present, voiced hope and confidence in victory, heartened by the example of the world's first socialist revolution. They, too, had come to join the women of the world in tribute to the achievements of socialism and its contributions to peace and freedom for all men.

"THE ETERNAL SPRING WHOSE NAME IS TWENTY YEARS"

by **P. S. ALEXANDROV**

BY THIS time—the 50th year of the Soviet state—our concept of education has been, of course, greatly enriched. For the essence of the ideology of the communist society towards which we are moving, is the development of manysided, socially integrated personalities. In a fully evolved communist society the limitless opportunities for individual development and the universal availability of the great heritage of human culture will enable each person to unfold all his potentialities. At the same time, the individual will not hide his unique inner world, with its own order, beauty, and harmony, under a bushel basket, or, as they say, "in the storehouse of the soul." He will carry his inner life into society and in this way contribute to the infinite treasure of human culture.

The Russian mathematician Nikolay Lobachevsky* once said: "To live is to feel, to enjoy life, to have a constant sense of the new, reminding us that we are alive."

Lobachevsky's basic idea was: do not pass by the wealth surrounding you, the wealth of opportunities afforded to you by social life, science, art, nature. Go ahead without blinders, look on every side, take everything in. This is what is meant by enjoying life, living passionately, giving your emotions the direction which leads outward to society rather than inward to the dark corners of the segregated, individual life.

Both science and art, like all human creativeness, are social phenomena. A man placed alone on a distant planet and provided with all "creative conditions" could not become a creative personality. His creative potential must "discharge" itself in society, in a collective.

What, then is a collective and what kind of collectives are there? A collective is, for instance, a study group joined by the student in his first year or a seminar in the senior years of study. There is something common to these two small collectives: the sense of belonging to the vast and glorious community of Soviet students. In the past, a student always inspired respect in the advanced section of Russian

* Nikolay I. Lobachevsky, 1793-1856, was one of the great 19th century mathematicians, whose non-Euclidean geometry was a fundamental discovery.

ACADEMICIAN P. S. ALEXANDROV is Professor of Mathematics at Moscow University. This article is an abridged version of a lecture on education given to the students and teachers at the university, under the auspices of the "Knowledge Society." The text, translated by *Novosti Press Agency*, was published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, March 29, 1967.

society. Today, a Soviet student is, and should be, to a much higher degree, a symbol of everything progressive and finest in modern young men and women.

The upbringing of a man should start with respect for other men. In the absence of this feeling the most dreadful thing that can happen to young people may take place—the gradual loss of self-respect, of that "sense of honor and dignity" which Lobachevsky constantly refers to in his speech and which was its ethical pivot.

When you lose your self-respect, the next thing that happens is the feeling: "to hell with it all." But the sense of self-respect gives rise to true, genuine discipline, to a serious approach to life in general. It is said, for instance, that discipline exists so that students might not miss their lectures. But if you respect your students, then make your lectures interesting and the students will not stay away!

In the senior years the earlier study group is generally replaced by a scientific seminar in which general studies become specific scientific interests. With the good student interest in a particular science soon begins to predominate. An altogether new emotion, belonging to the most powerful human feelings, arises: creative excitement. And a new collective, with new forms of responsibility, comes into existence.

ONE SUCH collective is dear to my heart—the community of young mathematicians of Moscow University in my student days there. Our conditions of life were hard. We lived on rations that were not too abundant. And our clothes too were not of the best. Yet we lived and studied with zeal and zest.

Why was this so? I suppose because we felt that we were on the crest of a mighty wave that was sweeping the entire country. The feeling that a truly new world was being built provided the inner foundation on which our enthusiasm grew.

In 1923, P. S. Uryson and myself were among the first young Soviet scientists to find themselves abroad. We were sent to Göttingen University in Germany. This, as you know, is one of the great world mathematical centers, it was perhaps the foremost mathematical center of that time. We were well received, and we at once felt ourselves in an entirely new atmosphere, members of an international family of science.

This international family dates back to the days of Descartes and Spinoza when all important scientists corresponded with one another wherever they lived; when letters carried by mail coaches or by horse took much more time to reach their addresses than they do now. Despite all the walls separating the hundreds of countries, scientists, conscious of their great progressive strength, were conscious also of their unity.

The sense of belonging to a definite collective is inevitably connected with a sense of responsibility for it. This is what distinguishes the collective from the "group" which gets together simply to have a good time. In these days the sense of belonging to the international community of scientists imposes upon us a particularly heavy responsibility.

Modern science has reached a point where it is possible to create heaven on earth; it could, for example, feed all mankind, had not a large part of its capabilities been used for the very opposite aim: the ability to create, in the event of a thermonuclear war, a hell on earth transcending all imagination.

Every scientist and every young man who regards science as his basic occupation ought to ponder these things. Science is inseparable from politics. On political decisions depend whether mankind will move in the direction of a boundless, radiant future or sink back into an abyss. Every man, in particular, every man who is twenty today, should understand that this depends on him. Those studying here within the walls of Moscow University, should feel especially responsible.

Yesterday I read a recent statement made by one of the greatest living physicists, Max Born, who was a professor at Göttingen when I studied there in the 1920's. I knew Professor Born very well. In the statement he says: "The future of science depends on whether it will be possible to bring the urgency for discovery and creation into accord with the conditions of our social life and the ethics by which it is guided." I can only add to this that by achieving such accord and harmony depends the fate not only of science but of mankind as well.

BUT LET us descend from these cosmic problems to our daily intercourse with the students. I have referred all along to the collective as the basis of student life. But the dialectics of being is such that the sense of the collective has its antithesis too, by which it is superseded and falsified. This is the sense of the herd, which finds its expression especially in the desire "to follow the fashion." Following the fashion is renunciation of one's own taste, which is humiliating to a thinking man. To follow fashion is to make everyone fit into a single pattern: the very opposite of the spirit of a creative collective.

A true collective is an association of free and independently thinking and feeling personalities, mutually enriching each other by virtue of the characteristics inherent in each. We see communist society precisely as such a collective.

It would not be so bad if fashion applied only to the length of a woman's skirt or the angle formed by her shoe heel. Unfortunately, however, it extends also to opinions, to literary tastes, to the very

way of life (take such habits as smoking, use of alcoholic drinks, etc.). I do not know of any genuine taste developed through fashion. Yet it is the following of fashion in one's young days, and the bravado of pretending to be a grown-up related to it, that is the source of a scourge which unfortunately still exists. I am referring to drinking. Most young men starting to drink or smoke at an early age do this to appear grown-up. Small doses of alcohol have a stimulating effect, causing a slight agitation. But why should a young man need any stimulants! After all, the need of an artificial stimulant of whatever kind—be it wine or vodka—only reflects a lack of inner wealth—fantasy, gaiety, imagination.

An equal sign should not be placed between being an adult and puffed-up "seriousness." Being an "adult" consists, in my opinion, of having a sense of responsibility towards society and towards yourself, of independence (independent choice of what you like or dislike), and of the order, as mathematicians say, in which you place the values of your life.

But this does not at all require you to be "serious" in the sense of giving up the right to have some fun, to behave like a child, to act in a way which distinguishes a seventeen-year-old from a fifty-year-old. Recall the same Lobachevsky. Everyone still remembers how as a college student he mounted a cow and using its horns the way a driver uses his wheel today, made several tours of the park in the center of Kazan. Imagine what a flutter anything like this would have caused in our academic world!

Please understand me correctly. I have no intention of calling upon the Doctors of Sciences of tomorrow to take walks on window ledges.

A SENSE of self-respect. What wonderful words these are! And how closely related they are to enthusiasm, which I regard as the basic spring of education and the basic spring of creation. Enthusiasm for one's wonderful science! I am speaking as a mathematician and thinking of mathematics, but I appreciate of course that any true science is splendid. I believe in enthusiasm for science, art, nature, enthusiasm for the very sports which some of my colleagues often scorn without any reason (it is certainly better for students to watch a game of hockey than to play a game of cards). Without enthusiasm there can be no fathoming the secrets of the universe nor any real understanding of the arts.

Nobody ever asks what it means to understand nature. But everybody debates on how to understand art. In my opinion, to understand art is simply to love it, nothing else. I think anyone capable of listening with enthusiasm, again and again, to at least one piece of music has the ability to understand music.

Tchaikovsky and Mussorgsky, Beethoven and Chopin all spoke

of music as a unique form of human intercourse. I recall a concert at the Grand Hall of the Moscow Conservatory. The pieces performed were Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and his Third Piano Concerto. The concerto was played by Sviatoslav Richter. I looked at the faces of the students of the Mechanics-Mathematics Department who had come with me and thought: "It was in order that man could have the kind of expression on his face these students now have that Beethoven wrote the Ninth Symphony."

Among man's emotions there is a special one—the emotion that springs from his sense of beauty. There is beauty everywhere. Each correct geometrical figure, a globe, for instance, made of polished granite, or the surface of snow after wind and blizzard when it suddenly gets very cold and the snow lies in such tranquil waves (what we in mathematics call an analytical surface). These are all beautiful indeed. And it is to our sense of beauty that "pure" art, including what is called "abstract" art, at least in its serious manifestations and expressions, appeals. Unfortunately, the adherents of "pure art" wish to recognize only this "pure beauty" as art.

Yet it is a fact, in my opinion, that art is not limited to stimulating the emotion of beauty. Art is surely bound up with many other emotions, such, for instance, as those born of great ideas that agitate all men. Take, for instance, Beethoven's Third Symphony, which he himself named "Eroica," or take the greatest works of Bach, Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich—it is hardly possible to dispute that these works, which link purely esthetic feelings with the sum total of man's deepest aspirations and emotions, are the most famous and most lasting.

The prime task of education is to help the still unformed personality find the dividing line between what he "likes" and "dislikes," between what he finds "boring" and what he finds "interesting." Good or bad taste depends on where this line passes. Here is what Lobachevsky had to say on this point: "Mere mental education does not complete one's upbringing. Man, while enriching his mind with knowledge, must still learn to enjoy life." There is this note ever present in Lobachevsky's philosophy of life: enjoy life, feel its beauty, be conscious of the fullness of the world surrounding you.

The development of taste must begin early in life, at the very start of any upbringing. My teacher Nikolay Nikolayevich Lusin was in the habit of repeating: "Any poor book read is poison drunk." This equally applies to bad films, bad music.

There is the famous aria on slander in Rossini's opera, "The Barber of Seville." How slander imperceptibly, gradually penetrates, spreads, worms its way everywhere. It is just the same with banality. You cannot "complain" about it. It is not a criminal act. But in essence it is as much a distortion of man's esthetic nature as slander is of his moral nature.

At one of the university elevators I happened to overhear a dialogue between two girl students. One offered a cigarette to the other. She said: "I don't smoke." The first girl answered: "Well, do, it is the fashion now." I am not going to read a lecture on the harmfulness of tobacco. But if you want a brief and precise description of banality, here it is: "Do it, it is fashionable now."

BEAUTY in Russian is expressed also by the word charm. There is hardly an image of a woman in all Russian literature filled with greater charm than Pushkin's Tatiana. One of the forms of an artist's immortality is the charm of the images he creates. Charm is beauty filled with inner warmth. Reverting to the ill-starred girl student with her cigarette, I must say that there was at that moment very little charm about her, charm which any girl of her age ought naturally to possess.

All human creation bears within itself both knowledge and beauty. There is an element of knowledge in the very uniqueness of the emotional content of any work of art. We learn something new both about man, and about the world, something that cannot be conveyed and learned by any other means, except the given work of art itself. This is why, as Pushkin said, one cannot convey by words the meaning of Raphael's "Madonna."

On the other hand, any scientific discovery (mathematical included) is inseparably connected with our esthetic emotions. Such a discovery demands straining all our intellectual and emotional strength and will power, which poets call inspiration. Inspiration so understood is inseparable from the very act of cognition of a scientific truth, when after long and often futile efforts a veil suddenly drops from the eyes and the horizon broadens. In mathematics, as is shown by the experience of all dedicated mathematicians (it is probably the same with all other sciences), the perception of truth is thus inseparable from that sense of ecstasy which comes to us when our sense of beauty is deeply stirred.

It is important to point out, I think, that a creative perception of the world and of one's own life is not only accessible, but at a youthful age natural, to every man. The eminent medical psychologist, Ernst Krechmer, says that any young man between 16 and 25 years of age, and even older, has the psychology of a potentially gifted man. It is the task of education to help young people develop these gifts.

I MUST close by quoting once again Lobachevsky's wonderful words, which are both a hymn to student years and a plea that the tradition be kept: "You are now entering the world. The novelty and diversity of impressions leave no room for reflection. But a time will come when the splendor of today will be overcast by the past, with the enchanting beauty of its dimness, like finely tarnished fretwork

on bright gold, like the reflection of things in the full mirror of water, and then the years of education, the years of untroubled youth, with all their innocent pleasures, will come to your memory like the image of perfect bliss, irretrievably lost. Then you will meet your fellow student as you meet a close relative; then in speaking of your youth you will recall with a sense of gratitude the names of your teachers, you will confess how much good they had wished you and you will solemnly pledge to each other to follow their example.

"Examples teach better than comments and books. You students of this institution have benefited by these examples. You will learn, and worldly experience will confirm you still further in the belief, that it was solely love, love of neighbor, selflessness, genuine goodwill towards you which imposed upon us the obligation to enlighten your minds, inspire you with desire for glory, with a sense of nobility, justice and honor, above all, with a strict, unimpeachable honesty capable of withstanding the reach of any punishment."

To be able to address students with such words, one must have fulfilled one's duty to them. The duty not only to teach them, but to bring them up in the spirit of everything Lobachevsky praised in his speech, obliges us today to contribute our share to this joyous period of man's flowering.

Student years may be described by the words of a great French writer: "Youth is an eternal spring whose name is twenty years." Our teaching profession is a happy one. It opens to us the secret of eternal youth. One generation follows another, but we see before our eyes always young and happy faces. Students are unfailingly full of mirth and entranced with science and their own youth. They will play football before every university door regardless of whether the university authorities permit it or not. Always this eternal spring flowers and spreads over the world.

But since we have been so fortunate it is our duty not only to train "well-shod" specialists who will later develop into what we call "cadres." It is not cadres but living young people, living human souls, we are forging here (to continue the blacksmith terminology we have already used), forging but not shoeing. We must take care of them with all our minds as well as all our hearts, we must bring them up so that they will have as many as possible of the human emotions spoken of by Gogol, and that these emotions will penetrate their whole being as deeply as possible, so that not a single one of them will be carelessly lost on their life's journey.

In 1915 Russia had fewer than 10 million pupils in elementary and secondary schools. The present total is 50 million, plus four million in technicums and vocational schools. There are now 4,100,000 students in higher educational institutions as against 130,000 in 1914-15. In 1913, there were less than 200,000 diplomaed specialists with secondary or higher education in Tsarist Russia. Today there are 13 million.

Soviet Education Today

"Greater flexibility, more independent study, less formality, less emphasis on rote learning"

by **ELIZABETH MOOS**

MASS EDUCATION is the foundation on which the transformation of Russia from a backward, largely illiterate country to one of the leading nations of the world economically, scientifically and culturally is based. The vast achievements of these fifty years of Soviet power could only have been accomplished by an educated population.

Lenin's call for universal education, his appeals to "study—study—study," established the serious concentration on learning which characterizes the Soviet Union today.

The young Soviet Union had no precedent to follow in its drive for mass schooling. Faith in man's possibilities for growth, given the necessary opportunities, inspired these Soviet pioneers in education. They moved ahead confidently, creating alphabets for peoples with only a spoken language, conquering illiteracy among the tribes of the Far North and the nomads of Central Asia, opening the road to learning for women where ancient tradition had denied them any opportunity for schooling. Even when struggling for life against interventionists, famine and the devastation of war, the work never ceased. Schools were among the first institutions to be built, study continued under conditions which, like the 90-day siege of Leningrad, can only be compared to those under which the Vietnamese, dedicated to learning, continue to carry on.

The system of education, based on European programs, evolved many special features over the years by trial and error, working out new programs and methods to meet the ever-growing need for more and more highly trained people to cope with modern science and economics.

Now with a population some 95 per cent literate, with 43 universities, at least one in every Republic, with 72.6 million people studying, the drive to improve and expand education continues with vigor. Many new trends are evident. The most important seems to me to

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ELIZABETH MOOS is a well known educator. Following a series of pamphlets on education in the Soviet Union, published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, she has now written a definitive book, *Soviet Education: Achievements and Goals.* Also an NCASF publication, it is just off the press.

be the trend toward greater flexibility, more independent study, less formality in the classroom, and much less emphasis on rote learning. The program now includes elective subjects in the 8th, 9th and 10th grades for the first time.

IN SIBERIA, the vast Soviet East where even the casual visitor feels the dynamic enthusiasm of the youth who are opening up the almost limitless resources of the land, one of the most exciting and unusual experiments is going on. This is the new boarding school for boys and girls from 15 to 18 gifted in mathematics and science. The school is attached to the University of Novosibirsk, in the famous Science City (called "the greatest science center in the world" by ex-Senator Benton) and was opened in 1961 on the initiative of the scholars who want most highly prepared pupils for the advanced schools and who believe that the potentiality of youth has not been fully explored and cannot be in the general school setup.

Fifty leading scientists, many of them members of the Academy of Sciences, give their time for courses of lectures and seminars and work on the committee that plans the programs and selects the pupils and in meeting socially with the young people.

The local Ministry of Education finances the school and there are 29 teachers on the regular staff for the 523 pupils. These teachers are approved and advised by the scientists who participate with the educators and the Communist Party education committee in the planning.

Here, the director told me, the most carefully selected pupils, the best teachers and the most modern programs are combined. The school is more like a college than a high school, with two-hour lectures combined with seminars and practice periods. Classes are very small and much independent work is done. Since some pupils are admitted for one year (the tenth and final year), some for two years and some for three, the programs are complicated and almost individually planned.

Details of content, methods and schedule are of great interest to educators, but cannot be described in detail here. The most significant aspect of the school, it seems to me, lies in the fact that it reaches out to find young people wherever they may be. The only requirement is ability.

Selection is made by a nationwide competition, the mathematics olympiad. Problems for the test are worked out by the scientists and designed to test ability to think independently and creatively, not merely school-book knowledge. Most tests are based on material not previously learned in a class room, thus equalizing the chances for pupils from different schools. Winners of the first test, by correspondence, may enter the second round. Last year 12,000 took the second group of tests, given in local centers with the help of graduate

students from the University. The winners of the second round, 800 last year, are invited to spend the summer at a camp at the University. There sports and other activities are combined with lectures and laboratory periods and the scientists observe and learn to know the pupils. Pupils are chosen for the school from those who attended the camp.

The pupils this year come from 21 different nationalities, from small villages and farms as well as towns. The social composition is significant as a proof of the real democratization of Soviet education: 43 per cent are the children of workers and farmers, 57 per cent children of doctors, nurses, artists, teachers, administrators, workers in trade etc. Only 17 children are from families of professors. Great efforts are made to find pupils in remote and rural areas; when necessary, such pupils may be given special help for a month or so. They are given priority when they pass the tests.

Among the nationalities represented are the Yakuts, the Koreans, the Buryat-Mongols, the Turkmenians and the Kazakhs, all peoples considered before the Revolution to be unable to learn even rudimentary subjects. Here the scientists are not only providing unique opportunities for youth to develop happily and fully; they are actively demonstrating that the Soviet faith in man is justified, that the achievements of the individual need have no relation to race or nationality, given the right environment.

ONE OF the tenth-grade pupils with whom I talked the day I visited the school, dramatically illustrated this principle. A handsome, dark youth of 17, he had been the head of the Soviet team of mathematicians that had competed in the international meet in Yugoslavia.

"I was born and went to school in a village 100 kilometers from Tashkent," he told me. "You can't find it on any map. I was bored with math in the fifth grade and read all the books I could. Then my teacher suggested I take the math Olympiad test when I was in 7th grade. I did and passed. They invited me to come here for the summer. They thought I was too young so I went back home for my 8th grade and came here after that."

His parents lived on a kolkhoz, the school was a small rural one. This young Uzbek will continue in the Institute when he graduates. He was but one of several such examples of children from the once illiterate national groups, now, under the Soviet system, flourishing and developing far beyond the wildest dreams of their fathers. Surely one of the greatest accomplishments of the Soviet revolution has been the opening up of the world of learning to all the people, regardless of their race, nationality or social situation. This new school is an illustration of the serious concern of the Soviet Government and the people for ever widening and opening further the road to learning.

Voices of Youth

The fiftieth year of socialism has great meaning for young people around the world, and they tend to see it in different ways. Here five young people, one Soviet and four Americans, say what they want to say on this occasion. We hope that the impressions of Soviet life gained by teenage and student visitors from the United States will be discussed by others with similar—or dissimilar—experiences, and we invite readers, young and old, to contribute to a discussion of these problems.

A MESSAGE TO AMERICAN YOUTH

by **NINA ZHEMCHUZHINA**

AS I was walking down one of Moscow's main streets I spotted a photographic display around which people were crowding eagerly. It was devoted to heroic Vietnam. Two photographs hung side by side. They were of two demonstrations—one in Moscow, one in New York. Both Soviet and American youth have protested angrily against the war being waged by the US Government thousands of miles from its own territory.

Young men and women in the United States are unwilling to tolerate this inhuman policy conducted by their government in Vietnam. Young people today do not know the horrors of the past world war—many of us were born after it had ended. But I shudder to think that, while I am going to lectures at the University, meeting my friends, or simply strolling about the streets, bombs are exploding in Vietnam, people are running for shelter, trying to save themselves from the death that comes upon them out of the skies.

Why is it that people should have to weep over the death of their children, the agonies of women and old folk, in order to gain the right to live as they themselves want?

This is a question that moves the hearts of all who are not indifferent to the fate of others, who are worried about the outcome of events on the Indochina Peninsula. The number of such people is growing all the time.

Soviet young men and women are doing everything they possibly can to help their Vietnam brothers and sisters in their grim struggle against aggression. We take an active part in solidarity meetings with the Vietnam people, and all over the Soviet Union special commissions have been set up with the aim of uniting the efforts of all young people in the fight against the American war in Southeast Asia.

NINA ZEMCHUZHINA is a fourth-year student of the Philological Faculty at Moscow State University.

I am a member of the youth commission set up by the Moscow Peace Committee, which is made up of factory and office workers, and students. We organize meetings and demonstrations and arrange exhibitions devoted to the courageous defenders of Vietnam's freedom. We meet young people of our own age from other countries and discuss with them the best and most effective ways to express our support for the Vietnamese patriots. The young men and women of our country are giving a great deal of material aid to Vietnam, many of them donating a proportion of their pay or student allowance. I remember a girl student coming in to the Moscow Committee and handing over some money her parents had given her for a birthday present.

The stronger our opposition to war, the sooner the Vietnam people will get peace and freedom and the sooner the youth of that much-tortured country will have an opportunity to lead a normal life, to study calmly and to rejoice in every day, as is so natural at our age.

We have read about young Americans refusing to fight in Vietnam, about their marching with slogans demanding a rapid end to the bombing and the cessation of military operations. We express our warm solidarity with you, our friends across the Atlantic. And we appeal to you to be still more active, more resolute in the fight to see that peace reigns in all corners of the world. We have no right to be indifferent. Young people share the general responsibility for the fate of peace. Indifference can mean our death tomorrow, for it is young people who are sent to the front.

I am deeply convinced that if we act together we can accomplish much. Let us redouble our efforts to help Vietnam secure peace, to enable the people of that country to drive out once and for all the uninvited strangers who have come to their land with guns.

YOU SEE, WE CAN LIVE IN PEACE!

by **BELADEE NAHEM**

LEAVING home for the first time alone on a journey halfway around the world was truly exciting. Ten of us yelling "Good-bye," giving last-minute kisses, and calling, "Don't worry, I'll write," were rushed into the plane. I still couldn't believe I was really going, though I knew very well I was. Nobody cried—it was too fantastic to cry about. There would be so much to see and learn in that short time that we couldn't be homesick.

We arrived in Moscow very late at night—and dead tired. Next

BELADEE NAHEM, a 12-year-old New Yorker, spent four weeks at the Artek Young Pioneer Camp on the Black Sea. She was part of a group of American children and teenagers invited by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, through the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

day we slept late, but during the following week we got up early and saw the beatuiful and interesting sights of Moscow. There were many things I thought were really beautiful; one was the subways. You ride great escalators and when you reach the bottom there are magnificent murals on the walls and ceilings of the station. I was told that these were made years ago when many people were illiterate so they could tell their stations by the pictures on the walls. After that great, fun-filled week in Moscow, we left on the train for Camp Artek.

We arrived at Camp Artek late at night, took a shower, were looked over by a doctor, and went to bed. The next morning we awoke to the sound of a bugle. I looked out and saw the beautiful Black Sea, with its gorgeous colors of green and blue, where Camp Artek is situated. Then I looked behind me and saw huge mountains with lovely little puffs of clouds hugging them. The bunks were in two big buildings on each side of Friendship Square. In both buildings the first floor is for the boys, second floor for the girls, and at the top is a sundeck. The buildings were all glass so you could see everything around and sunlight always floods the rooms. I learned that the government always picks the most beautiful places they can for children's camps, and they surely did a great job in choosing this site.

The American delegation had many experiences with Soviet children and with children from many other countries by going on trips and hikes with them or playing a game of volleyball. We also had many "Press Conferences." This consisted of each country's delegation asking questions about other delegations' way of life, schools, and politics, through interpreters. During these conferences we all became good friends. The teenagers there are very similar to us for they enjoy music of all kinds, including rock-and-roll. They like sports and they love to dance. They are like us in many ways but they are much more disciplined and work very hard.

I found the food in the Soviet Union very good but different. The food at camp was similar to ours but cooked in a different way. Instead of soda, they have a fruit drink that's slightly bubbly which costs about three cents a glass.

I loved everything at camp, but the one problem was that there was no planned schedule. You see, the camp is mainly a rest camp for the Soviet children, for they work very hard during the winter. Each delegation was supposed to plan its own schedule depending on what it likes to do.

We still had a terrific amount of fun for we had many things to do. To share the fun we also had two Soviet translators and one Soviet counselor. These became like second mothers and fathers to us and we all loved them dearly. We made friends with everybody we met, especially the ones we could talk to in English, French or Spanish, for in our delegation these were the languages we knew. I liked most of all the Swedish delegation, who were in the same bunk with us.

They spoke English extremely well for they learn it from the time they enter school until they leave. We all liked them very much and they were a lot of fun.

Then there were the Uruguayans, who were great people. We met them in Moscow and they came to Camp Artek. One of the girls in our group spoke with them, for she knew Spanish and translated for us. There were also many other wonderful people, like the Poles, Russians, Bulgarians, Romanians and so many others. They were all so sweet even though we couldn't speak their language.

WE HAD so many unforgettable experiences that I can't write about because of limited space but I'll tell you a few. The most beautiful took place during the next-to-the-last week when there was a storm at sea. It was truly magnificent, huge waves came rolling into the beach rattling the stones and creating a silvery spray that sparkled in the sun.

Whenever we could we would sit out on a kind of pier made of cement and watch the beautiful sea with the wind blowing around us. The last day we sadly left Artek and arrived about eight o'clock in the evening in Moscow. We were to stay the night and leave the next morning for home. We all missed the Swedes so much, for they wrote the name of their hotel and our hotel on a card.

We got a taxi that took us there, paid, and went in. We had a marvelous time playing "Ha!" In this Swedish game, everyone lies with his head on someone else's stomach. The first person says "Ha!", the second says "Ha! Ha!", the third says "Ha! Ha! Ha," etc. You are not supposed to laugh, and, of course, we cracked up laughing!

At 10:30 we left the Swedes and tried to get a cab but the taxis either didn't want to go uptown or just didn't know where our hotel was. So we started to walk and we walked about a mile. Finally, we came to a taxi station, showed the cab driver the name of our hotel on the card and piled in. We rode for half an hour and decided that the driver was just taking us for a ride. At last, he let us off at a place with bright lights and lots of people. We compared the letters of the big sign at this place with the letters on our card—they were the same. Well, it ended up that we were in a big train station with the same name as our hotel!

We found a nice cab driver and after about 45 minutes we made it clear to him that we were an American delegation who knew English, Spanish and French. He waved us into his cab. We said to each other, "Why not, we can't stand around here all night," and we got in. He drove us to a luxurious hotel where there was a woman who spoke French. One of our girls also spoke French and explained our problem. The woman explained it to the cab driver who took us to our hotel. He received a million thanks, and it turned out to be a unique experience for everyone involved.

In our classes, in the papers and books, or in conversations about the USSR, they all say that the Soviet people are unhappy, hate their government, don't have any luxuries; that in newly-built buildings, they forget to put glass in the windows, the door-knobs fall off, and they have no freedom. This is just a small bit. What I want the people of America to know is that they are happy, contented people, who are still striving for a little better way of life for everyone, everywhere.

More than anything the Soviet people want to be friends with us and to have peace in the world. There are a few shabby parts of Moscow but the buildings being built everywhere are for these people to live in. You see, we shouldn't fight against these people, we should be willing to be their friends, for when our hands are clasped in friendship, we shall live in peace!

IMPRESSIONS OF ARTEK

by **PAUL LITSKY**

IT HAS now been one month since I left the international camp in the Crimea of the Soviet Union called Artek. My mind basks in fond memories of the wonderful friends and beautiful things I have seen. I still remember vividly the night the American delegation arrived at Camp Artek. My head was swelling with thoughts of Moscow.

We were the guests of the Soviet Union and during our stay in Moscow we received all the help we could want. We had two interpreter-guides, we stayed in the Hotel Yunost, we received tickets to whatever we wanted, and all was paid for by the USSR.

Moscow was in a festive mood. There were placards commemorating 50 years of socialism everywhere. But the wonderful part of Moscow was the people. One day Paul Morgan and I were traveling in the Metro when a man walked up to us and asked us where we were from. When we told him the USA, he seemed very happy. He showed us around all morning. This same sort of thing happened quite a few times.

My first view of Artek was from the bus. There are eight camps. We were in the nicest one. This was the Sea Camp. We saw people dancing on the roofs when we arrived. There were 32 foreign delegations represented at Artek. Eleven of theme were at the Sea Camp. There were 500 people in the Sea Camp. In comparison, there were 2,500 at the neighboring Mountain Camp.

My first impression of Artek was not very good. The rules were very strict. But later I learned ways of getting around them. I found

PAUL LITSKY, a 15-year-old Californian, was a member of the American group at Artek last summer.

the Soviet people to be ultra-patriotic. A great deal of marching was done and most of the kids wore uniforms. When I explained to the camp director that I was a pacifist and could not march or wear a uniform, he understood and respected my right to dress as I pleased, and participate in what I please. No one had any hard feelings.

The factor which made the stay at the camp a success was the people. I could not speak any other language well, but through the use of sign language, and common beliefs, I was able to communicate and make many friends from all over the world. I had interesting discussions on all matters with English-speaking Soviet kids. I learned a great deal about their way of life under socialism, and they learned a great deal about my life.

The Soviet children are very different from us, yet they are very much alike. They go to school, enjoy sports, play instruments, have hobbies like stamp collecting, and coin collecting, and are like every child around the world in that respect. On the other hand, Soviet children are very patriotic and are more disciplined than we are, and their activities are more channeled and controlled.

We shared our room with the Swedish delegation. When the counselors would leave, we would have great fun. We had pillow fights and all the fun two groups of kids have when they come together even though the Swedes spoke only a little English and we couldn't speak any Swedish.

An interesting delegation was the Angolan delegation. These kids, aged 13-16, had all sworn to liberate Angola from the Portuguese oppressors or die.

My four favorite delegations were the Indian delegation, the Austrian delegation, the Swedish delegation, and the Romanian delegation. We would run, and play like all kids around the world. And we would sit and discuss problems in our countries and talk about our life. We would have friendship fires where the Americans would get together with another delegation and sing native songs and discuss things through translators. Each nation would have its own nationality day. On this day it would set up an exhibit in the main room. That night the delegation would sing native songs and do native dances. This was usually the highlight of the day.

Some interesting things happened to me in the Soviet Union. One day the delegation was across the street from Moscow University, looking down on Moscow spread out below us when guards started pushing us away. I was mad and would not move. A few seconds later I saw a few feet away from me a person dressed in white robes. I found out that this was the King of the Cameroons. My second brushing with royalty was the day the Shah of Iran came to the camp. I shoved out my hand and he shook it. Finally, the most wonderful thing that happened was on Vietnam Day. Paul Morgan and I were invited to go up to the Mountain Camp to give a speech. There were

600 people there. Our speech radically opposed the war in Vietnam. When we finished, the people cheered for a long time. Later we were given two Pioneer scarves sewn together with the signature of 200 people against the war. It was a thrilling moment I will never forget.

It has been one month since I boarded the bus yelling "dosvidanya." But the magic of the camp is still working. I have received over 20 letters from all parts of the world from friends I have made in Artek.

Camp Artek proved that while the people of the world may be different on top, underneath they are all the same. They enjoy having fun together. Camp Artek is the only place in the world where you can have a basketball team made up of one American, one Russian, one Mauritanian, one Angolan, one Swede, and one Romanian, all working together in a common cause. The one thing we all held in common was the hope of growing up in a world of peace. We pledge ourselves to make this possible. The motto of the camp is what we strive for. It is *Mir i Druzhba.* Peace and friendship.

THE PERSON I WAS ABLE TO BE

by **AMY GRAND**

YOU'RE young, you're naive, an idealist, a dreamer! This is what many will say if you express the opinion that money in itself does not satisfy. They shake their heads when you say that reality can be more beautiful than fantasy, if we would work to change a problem-ridden reality instead of adapting to it. There is a fragment from a song by Earl Robinson which is my answer to cynics of all ages:

> If you're young enough in spirit to dream dreams
> and have visions,
> If you're young enough in spirit to believe . . .
> Hold fast to your dreams. . . .

I have always held fast, and after visiting the Soviet Union this summer, I feel the strength to hold on forever.

The places that meant the most to me were the youth camps. Here, we were able to become involved with people informally and beyond the official level. We were able to participate, not just observe, and to develop real friendships. Sometimes, I was even able to forget that I was just a visitor and not Soviet too. There were things that I began to feel and understand that would have been impossible, had I been traveling as most tourists do.

The most exciting experience for me was to find, in reality, people

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AMY GRAND is an English major at New York University. She was a member of a four-week tour, sponsored last summer by the Student Division of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

and values I could really believe in. The principles of this society, begun in 1917, have made a basic change in the quality of human beings.

In the youth camp, I became friendly with a young man from a small city in Siberia. He spoke English very well and so we were able to discuss many things. He had already been graduated from the university, and now worked in the field of television. When he mentioned that he had just rejected an important position in Moscow, I asked him why. I'm sure he didn't realize how exhilarating his answer was to me, because to him this was the logical way of reasoning. He didn't need more money, he said, since he had everything he wanted in his life, in Siberia. But, most important, Siberia was just getting started, and there was great need there for trained people like himself. He also added that he could not comprehend the drive for money which could persuade a person to give up work which fulfilled him.

In this sense, the Soviet Union is a paradise for the dedicated student. Education is free and students receive a stipend for personal expenses, which do not include lodging, food or books. The student is never a financial burden to his family. This is obvious when you discover that many professionals come from worker and peasant backgrounds.

Not everyone goes on to the university level. But there is no reason for anyone to be unemployed, as there is no shortage of jobs and job training opportunities. The whole concept of labor is different. Since most people will spend days and years of their lives earning a living, the work they perform must be meaningful to them, in order for them to feel they are accomplishing something, and not just giving up time for money. Any type of work can be an individual's means of expressing himself and substantiating his identity. In the Soviet Union, they feel that this is a very basic need of man.

The young people I met illustrate the soundness of this principle. They are not plagued by the problem of alienation, so common in America. They feel a sense of belonging, are able to be patriotic in good conscience, and not constantly at odds with the views of the people around them. There is an absence of tension among Soviet young people. Some critics call this a sign of apathy. I think it is a sign of security, like the feeling you have when you are among close friends, or with your family.

It is sad to think that in America, there is so much young blood, locked in a closed system, drying up because there is no place to flow. And all the strong hands, refusing to grasp, afraid of being burned. These are the people I think should visit the Soviet Union. The young people I met there were so vital and optimistic, so eager to set out on new ventures. Their enthusiasm extends to all facets of life, not just their careers.

I HAVEN'T mentioned the best part of being in a youth resort, which is the social life. I was never so happy in my life to be twenty and a girl. Every evening, everyone came to the cafe to dance, to meet people, to talk. As a veteran of many "mixers" at school in New York, I really felt and appreciated the difference. The boys treated the girls like people, special people, not pieces of meat to be inspected and stamped with their approval. I have never found it particularly exciting to be leered at. I much prefer someone who will ask me to dance, or choose me to talk to.

This is the way of Soviet men. They are not afraid to reveal that they like you. They are honest and emotionally expressive. It was very easy for me to relax and enjoy myself because of this. It was wonderful to be included in good clean fun, with people who can enjoy themselves, together. Although some people I know call this "square" and too tame, I think it is the only real "high," the only worthwhile "kick" because it is natural, not desperate, and because there is no black pit on the other side, waiting.

I found something very comfortable in the natural way Soviet young people display their emotions. It is not considered unmanly for a man to shed tears. There is nothing sinister about two men embracing, or even kissing. In America many people are taught from childhood that this kind of exuberance is uncivilized and unnatural. There is something frightening about the definition of "civilized" implied here because it deprives people of perhaps the greatest pleasure in existence, the giving and receiving of love and affection. This way of thinking bears a great deal of the blame for the dehumanization, "pacification" and desensitizing of our population. Many have become indifferent to bloodshed and brutality, too.

My enthusiasm for the Soviet way of life has colored my impressions. Life there is not only a youth camp. People there also suffer personal tragedies and disappointments. This is a part of life and cannot be denied. But I believe that the nature of their society imbues them with greater strength to overcome problems, to keep their balance. They are strong, determined people, very much aware of their

WFDY ON THE 50th ANNIVERSARY

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION has opened up for the young generation of the USSR all possibilities in the different fields of social life. . . .

Soviet young people today still have to solve many complicated tasks and gain new experience in the building of a new society. Enjoying the advantages which socialism offers them, they participate together with the whole people in the solution of these tasks. . . .

May the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution be an occasion for the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation of Soviet youth with young people all over the world. . . .

—*Appeal by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, March* 25, 1967.

shortcomings, personal and national. They are constantly trying to improve, to learn.

Now I am home, on familiar ground which often seems so strange to me. I miss the person I was able to be while I was in the USSR. I am trying to keep all my thoughts about it close to me and fresh in my mind by corresponding with some of the Soviet people I met. This is not really satisfying enough and so I will have to go back again perhaps to study, to see things in greater depth.

SOVIET SOCIALISM AND US YOUTH

by **DAVID LAIBMAN**

WRITING about the meaning of Soviet socialism for American youth is like trying to assess the "relevance" of science to human progress. One is tempted either to dismiss the question as trivial and obvious, or to recount 50 years of history in the context of thousands of years preceding. What follows is a brief resume of some Fiftieth Anniversary thoughts.

I am an American, and a socialist. I therefore see the current tensions and ferment of young people in my country as a reflection of crisis inherent in the capitalist social order, a heterogeneous mixture of positive and negative responses to a society which breeds imperialist oppression and war, exploitation, alienation and degradation of human beings at home, and perversion and corruption of humanist values and our own democratic heritage. These responses are the germ of what could become the greatest liberating force in history, freeing the world and the United States from the present imperialist iron heel, and from the unspeakable threat of nuclear war.

Young people are important because their vision is purer, more energetic and sweeping. It is also more urgent, since their demands can be realized in their lifetime, and they may hope to enjoy the fruits of their struggles. In a sense, young people embody the potential of the future, carry the seeds of the emancipated, fully-free man of whom Marx spoke. I hope this does not sound like a bunch of slogans. We don't say these things often enough and we should learn to say them in fresh ways.

That is my perspective. I know that most of my contemporaries do not see these things. That is why I regard anything which sharpens and deepens the turn toward the Left among American youth as supremely important.

Then how is the Soviet Union relevant to this process? It exists. Through the reams of propaganda articles and TV commentaries and

DAVID LAIBMAN, on the editorial staff of NWR, is a graduate student in economics in New York City.

course outlines and "explanations" and "interpretations," this single fact stands out. The Soviet Union, the first socialist country, exists. Its people work and plan, meet and discuss in factories, clubs, schools, build and grow. They are a people who really love life, who regard obstacles as challenges whose overcoming will leave its mark upon them. Lusty, as in our pioneer days, but with a certain collective confidence, a oneness with others and with nature, a sense of growth and power. Building a planned economy with unprecedented speed, balance, and social harmony. Building a culture whose motif is the unconquerability of the human spirit. Building at last a genuine equality of all peoples in the sharing of creative labor.

I am not going to examine here any of the controversy surrounding the Soviet Union and its accomplishments. If the reader's experience corresponds with mine, he will know that many of the criticisms levelled at Soviet shortcomings, the list of which can be extended indefinitely, reflect, in part, the new higher standards of socialism. What capitalist society ever set out to eliminate bureaucracy? What capitalist society ever proclaimed each individual's right to satisfying and adequately rewarded employment? What capitalist society ever placed as high a premium on youth and education? What *is* freedom, kids? The right to get high in Tompkins Square Park or the right to a real and continuing education—no economic hang-ups or academic put-ons?

That socialism exists in the world and has existed for fifty years, and that sooner or later young people in the United States will know about it—this alone qualifies the Soviet Union as a major influence on American youth.

ONE THING about the USSR that "turns people off" in the United States is the highly organized and channeled character of social and economic arrangements there. This, plus the centralization of authority (of whose excesses the Soviets now speak continually), are aspects of Soviet life that affect American youth in two ways. First, young people who travel to the USSR will see certain tensions and conflicts at work: the struggle to make the Komsomol (Young Communist League) more meaningful to Soviet young people, the discussions among youth about many of the things we discuss—democracy, participation, integrity. Soviet institutions are *evolving*. As anywhere, paths must be forged, and they arise out of the existing institutions, including those of the old Russia. When we realize that socialism never exists anywhere as a pure entity, but is "mixed" with a specific national history, then we will be ready to face the task of creating a socialism here that reflects our own national past and special historical needs. Socialists in the United States did not see this until after the experience of building socialism in the world began. After fifty years we are only beginning to appreciate it.

Second, US youth will realize that, strange as it may seem, most

Soviet young people lead purposeful, fulfilling lives—whether as students at Moscow University or engineers at Bratsk—although they participate in highly organized and centralized institutions. When the organization is oppressive, the Soviet youth does not "opt out"; on the contrary, he increasingly works for solutions within the organization. The Soviets are proud of their thorough and widespread grievance procedures; another example is the tremendous rise in organizational activity—*participation*—which must accompany the economic reforms and the rising importance of local bodies of political control. As always in a country that is rapidly changing, young people are especially important in the USSR, especially at the *focal points* of change such as the new hydroelectric stations, the new-technology industries, the new experimental farms, and the new *social* and *moral* experiments of socialism developing toward communism.

Soviet youth are not so much "turned on" but *"hooked in"!* If that sort of oneness and realness can be achieved in a highly organized framework, then perhaps organization *as such* is not the enemy. Soviet socialism can help American youth learn this lesson, one which is opposed by our ruling-class ideology and the frontier psychology of Americana. Contact with the lives of Soviet young people can help American youth to grow out of the sterile, negative concept of freedom, freedom *from;* we can increasingly ask the positive question—freedom for what, to do what?—in our search for the future.

Finally, we return once again, for a major contribution to American youth, to the lusty quality of Soviet socialism which says, "I will not be licked!" The USSR, on her fiftieth birthday, shows that problems, however difficult, can be licked; that social change is always costly and never perfect; that reality is never simple and straightforward. We need not "apologize" for the crimes of the Stalin period, or for iniquities which still exist, to see the tremendous liberating momentum of this society. This says to American youth: "Stop wailing about trivia and splitting hairs. Get down to work." The Soviet experience can help steer us between the Scylla of cynicism and the Charybdis of utopia, and in the United States, especially for its youth, the passage between them is very narrow.

Thus Soviet socialism, both today and even more potentially for the future, stands as a rock against the waves of official propaganda, and helps carry the message of socialism to young people, both the majority who need a direction, a belief, and the Left minority who see something to believe, but are as yet afraid to believe it.

I hope the Soviets will regard the thoughts of our young people, as they grapple with crucial problems in their lives, and the glimmerings of hope and understanding imparted by knowledge of or personal experience with the Soviet Union, as a form of tribute from the youth of the United States to the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Russia's Secret Weapon

by ZIK

The following article, which appeared in* The West African Pilot *on October 10, 1945, was sent to us by Alphaeus Hunton for our anniversary issue. Dr. Hunton, now in Zambia, writes that the article "reflects what the Soviet Union meant for many Africans at a point in history before things got obscured by the Cold War. Even that is worth remembering."

"Zik" is Nuamdi Azikiwe, who was the President of the Federation of Nigeria until the January 1966 coup.

IN AN address to the Empire Parliamentary Association at the Houses of Parliament in London, General Smuts said:

"When we consider all that has happened to Russia within the last 25 years, and we see Russia's inexplicable rise, we can only call it one of the great phenomena in history.

"It is the sort of thing to which there is no parallel in history, but it has come about."

I will try to explain this great rise, which seemed to General Smuts "inexplicable" and which has so much surprised him and the world, including Hitler.

I suggest that the key to understanding Russia's new strength and triumphs is the participation of the masses in the life of the community.

Herein lies the road Russia has been the first to travel, her new "secret weapon" and also her great contribution to the world.

In what follows, I indicate briefly how this fundamental democratization is brought about and some of the wonders it has worked in the life of the individuals and the community.

Considering the relatively very brief span of time during which constructive work under Soviet planned economy was at all possible, we must agree that the speed of development outdistanced the feats of private enterprise.

I think, however, that this point has absorbed too much attention both of admirers and critics.

The true achievements of the revolution are far greater.

Impressive though the production figures are, neither in efficiency nor in quality have the highest standards yet been reached.

Russia's supremacy lies in a different direction.

Although clouded by a smoke screen of materialist philosophy and phraseology, the glory of Russia's revolution is that of the spirit.

Moreover, material values created, however great, have been already to a large extent swept away by the German invasion.

Its true legacy is more lasting.

It consists in creating a powerful human potential for future development.

The central item in the great transformation which has taken place is man himself, his relation to other men and to the community.

The collapse of the old regime was characterized by disintegration of society.

The task of the revolutionary government was prompt and vigorous integration.

This implies the raising of the people, including women, and including the so-called "backward" races and nations to full participation in the life, political and cultural, of the whole people.

Part of the spiritual heritage, which cannot be easily destroyed by invasion, is a new system of law embodying a step forward in the application of the principle of brotherhood of men, nationally and internationally.

It provides for complete equality of women with men and of national minorities.

It has set up the first legal scheme for public ownership of the productive resources in which the motive of profit is substituted by the motive of service.

It has created the pattern for land utilization under public ownership, including town and country planning unhampered by vested interests.

Having studied this legislation, I am convinced of its value outside the Soviet Union, whenever and wherever these subjects are dealt with.

One of the changes brought about by the active participation of the masses in the life of the community is the changed attitude towards the future.

Love for the future, and, what is one and the same thing, readiness to sacrifice the present for the future distinguishes the Soviet Union from the rest of the world, perhaps more than anything else.

Probably at no other period has any nation been asked for greater sacrifices than had been asked from the peoples of the Soviet Union during the years between the two world wars, and no nation has ever responded more readily to the calls made upon it.

Yet after all the privations already experienced, when the people had just started to have their stomachs regularly filled, and were beginning at long last to see some dividends for their efforts, the German invasion came.

We all know that war demands great sacrifices and inflicts great

suffering on the people, who are always its victims, and we all know that the sacrifices and sufferings inflicted on the Russian people by World War II were particularly heavy.

What has puzzled the world is the gallantry and strength with which this new burden, so terrible and so great, has been borne and overcome.

Harold Nicholson wrote of "the utter intensity of Russia's resolution," of "Russia's energy such as the world has never seen before —an energy in comparison with which our own day to day efforts appear mere dawdlings."

The explanation of this utter intensity of effort is the love of the people of Russia's future.

This extraordinary love for the future is brought about by the participation of the masses of the people in the life of the community.

The life of the community differs from the life of individuals in terms of time.

The former is infinitely longer than the latter, and this additional time is in the future.

Not only is the bourgeois outlook centered in the life and well-being of individuals, more isolated and selfish, but concern for the future is much more narrow and limited.

The more the people share in the life of the community as a whole, the more they identify their lives with the life of that whole, the greater their love for that whole and its future.

NO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Peter Abrahams, the well-known black South African novelist, wrote the following in* The African Standard *of May 17, 1946.

IN STRANGE places in and outside Africa and from the ordinary, common people of South East, Central and West Africa, I have been told that there is no color bar in the Soviet Union. . . . It is a crime to practice any form of racial exclusivism. Seamen coming back from war-time convoys to Russia were full of descriptions of the absence of color discrimination there.

The land-hungry peasant of Africa knows, in spite of censorship, because he has been convinced by "agitators" who had made secret trips to Russia, that the land there belongs to the peasant . . .

Because the Russians come nearest to symbolizing the secret dreams of millions of black folk, colonials have a passionate and personal interest in the Russian State and people. It has nothing or very little to do with party politics or the red bogey.

It is something simple and human. To them it represents the complete opposite of the Governments under which they live.

1917 and World Science

by J. D. BERNAL

THE YEAR 1917 ushered in an era in science and technology almost as important as the new era it marked in politics, and closely linked with it. The handing over of a great imperialist state like Russia to its peoples under the inspiration of Marxism placed science in a completely new framework.

Not that science had not played a very large part in the history of Tsarist Russia. Peter the Great had, in his introduction of Western ways into Russia, taken over science as one of the major factors for transforming that backward country and had founded the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Peter, however, was essentially under the spell of German science and his academy, however brilliant, was of German character.

It took the genius and enterprise of that polymath Russian, Michael Lomonosov, to give it a genuine Russian character. He was, in many ways, the founder of Russian science and of much of its technology as well. He also founded Moscow University, which still bears his name, and made important contributions as historian, linguist, chemist, physicist, artist and poet.

Lomonosov was, however, only a forerunner. Russian science continued to grow all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although it was essentially academic in character, still strongly influenced by continental, and in particular, by German science. It had, however, very distinctive individual contributions to make, especially in the fields of geology and mineralogy and that of chemistry, with the epoch-making periodic system hypothesis of Dmitri Mendeleyev and the almost equally important mathematical innovation by Nikolay Lobachevsky of non-Euclidean geometry.

The change wrought by the Revolution of 1917, however, was incomparable with anything past, both in its own importance and in its promise for the future. In the first place, this change was to come from the inspiration of Marxist theory. Marx and Engels themselves always laid great emphasis on the natural sciences, and the fact that Lenin was very much interested in science had an immense effect. Before the development of Marxism, science had

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PROFESSOR J. D. BERNAL is the world-famous scientist and progressive leader. An appreciation of his life and work, by Gordon Schaffer, follows on p. 156

been thought of either as abstract theory as in the case of Newton, as revolutionary descriptions of nature as in the case of Darwin, or, in the Napoleonic era, as a means of enriching capitalist enterprises by making soda and sugar. Now for the first time there was a prospect of deliberately using science by the people for the people.

This new concept of a creative relationship between science and society was at last tried in Russia after 1917, transforming profoundly the whole position of science, its methods, and the personnel of those engaged in it, while at the same time building on foundations laid by the old Russian Academy.

A large number, but still a minority, of Russian scientists joined the emigration and spread themselves through Europe. Those who remained had to build a new kind of scientific civilization from the very start. The word science, "nauka" in Russian, includes much of art, history and philology. Work was now pushed forward with great enthusiasm in all these fields. The importance of research was recognized from the start and many Scientific Research Institutes were built. These included the Physical Technical Institute in Leningrad under the direction of A. F. Joffe, the Institute of Animal Behavior under the already world-famous physiologist Ivan Pavlov, which changed our whole understanding of the nervous system, and many others.

I DO NOT intend to try to write a catalogue of the Soviet contributions to science and technology. It would take far too long. I will only mention some of the salient directions of work.

In the first place, when after the civil war the new Soviet Government found itself in control of the vast territories of former Russia, the first problem was to find out what these territories contained and how they could be used. This involved physical, geological and mineralogical surveys which amply paid for themselves by the discoveries of mineral resources, including great new fields of iron ore, oil, diamonds and potash.

These were not just lucky strikes. They were the fruit of profound understanding of geology, very much in the old Russian tradition but carried out with tremendous energy and enterprise. At the same time, the basic technological approaches in iron metallurgy were largely improved by the use of such new techniques as tonnage oxygen and continuous casting. The innovation of basic theoretical metallurgy was, however, very largely a Soviet contribution which has since benefited the rest of the world. It finds its scientific base in solid state physics, especially in the work of the great school of Joffe.

Crystal physics is one of the fields in which Soviet scientists have been preeminent. This has led naturally to the study of solid state electronics and transistors. At the outset of the Soviet regime, chemistry, particularly organic chemistry, was not widely developed and was largely in German hands, but this was amply compensated by the work of N. W. Semenov which found its practical realization in the synthesis of artificial rubber. This artificially produced rubber saved the Soviet army during the war. It was only after the war that a real drive was made to find a more complete utilization of chemistry in the developing plastics and synthetic fiber industry. [See article by Academician Semenov, page 159 of this issue.]

All these advances in the physical and chemical sciences combined with advances in mathematics, in which an entirely new school had been founded, account for the postwar achievements in space science. It should now be realized that the flights of the astronauts, and much more the skill of rocketry, itself the fruit of the inspiration of K. E. Tsiolkovsky, came to involve practically all other sciences, including astronomy, in which the Soviet Union has also made notable advances, and that of electronic control. In fact, the success of the first Sputnik aroused the USA to the value of scientific research and to its educational system as well, so that science in the Soviet Union can be said to have become the guide-light of all world science.

In addition, deep knowledge of the properties of atoms and radioactivity gave to the Soviet Union not only the necessary theory but the means of making the atom bomb and, later, the hydrogen bomb, long before the Americans had thought it possible for them to do so.

RUSSIA IN 1917 was the center of a primitive and agricultural civilization. The first need was to change to a more industrialized state: to apply mechanical means to production and to set up large new factories for the manufacture of tractors and electrical plant. "Communism," as Lenin said, "is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country." The second need was in agriculture which meant, among other things, furthering the understanding of the biological factors involved. This led to the unsuccessful invention of the anti-genetic theories of Lysenko, whose desire to get practical results in a hurry unfortunately had a bad effect on agricultural production in the Soviet Union as well as infuriating the scientists of the West and playing into the hands of the Cold Warriors.

Finally, the advance of Soviet science has been enormous not only on the technical but also on the educational side. Education formerly had largely been a matter of studying the classics; this tradition has been definitely broken with. The study of natural science has now become part of an almost universal educational system from the primary schools up to the university and beyond. The idea of a new scientific education, in which every child, girls as well as boys, has the right to a secondary scientific education, was born in the Soviet Union and is now copied in practically every country in the world.

The University of Moscow, named after Lomonosov, is a monument to the postwar recovery of the country. An even grander monument a generation later is the great science city in Siberia, the town of science, Academgorodok. The Academy is definitely an important part of the general government of the Union. I remember hearing someone say that in the old days a General was almost an obligatory guest at a wedding ceremony; now an academician is even more desirable.

THUS IT can be seen, against a perspective of five decades, that the Revolution of 1917 has fully justified itself by opening up science, both theoretically and practically, for the whole world and thus determining man's development in the years to come—if nuclear war can be avoided. For basically science, as understood in the Soviet Union, is devoted to peace. Unfortunately, because of the persistent hostility of the capitalist world to socialism, much Soviet science at present must concern itself with defensive measures. Nevertheless, the world's people are increasingly coming to realize the relation between the socialist reorganization of society and their ever-deepening anxiety for achieving a world without war. The fiftieth milestone marked this year by the Soviet Union can only brighten their hopes.

J. D. BERNAL – SCIENTIST AND FIGHTER FOR PEACE

by **GORDON SCHAFFER**

JOHN Desmond Bernal, who is 66, finished his latest book, *The Origin of Life,* while battling against ill health which has dogged him for some years and forced him to retire from the presidency of the World Council of Peace. He still keeps closely in touch with the activities of the WCP, however, and with the British Peace Committee of which he is a vice president. Born of an Irish father and an American mother in the little town of Nenagh in Tipperary, in what is now the Republic of Ireland, he produced two original papers on mathematics and science when still at school. He won a scholarship to Emmanuel College, Cambridge; in his last year there he wrote a paper on the theory of crystallography which led to his appointment to a post under Sir William Bragg, the discoverer of crystal analysis.

In 1927, he was appointed lecturer in structural crystallography at Cambridge University and worked at the Cavendish Laboratory where the splitting of the atom and the discovery of the neutron were achieved. It was here too that Blackett discovered the positive electron and Cockroft did pioneer work on atomic energy. Bernal worked on the structure of matter, studying the amino acids out of which proteins, the essential compounds of living matter, are made.

GORDON SCHAFFER is President of the British Peace Committee. He was awarded an International Lenin Peace Prize in 1964.

In 1932, he worked out the chemical structure of the group of organic compounds called the sterenes which are the basis of Vitamin B and the sex hormones. With J. B. S. Haldane and Joseph Needham, he helped to lay the foundation of the biochemical and biological revolution of which his new book is the latest chapter. This was followed by studies of the structure of viruses.

In 1937, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and the following year was appointed Professor of Physics at Birkbeck College, London, a position he still holds.

Significantly, most of those with whom Bernal worked, like himself, refused to live in an ivory castle and played their part in the struggle against fascism and the threat of war. Bernal, who inevitably as a Southern Irishman was concerned at the beginning of his career with the Irish independence struggle, soon entered the wider struggle. He summed up that period in an interview with me as follows:

> I took an active part in the struggles of the British working peoples which led to the General Strike in 1926 and the hunger marches in protest against the poverty and unemployment of the thirties. In 1931, I made my first visit to the Soviet Union and this showed me in practice how science should be used in an effective, organized way for human welfare. I visited it again in 1932, and again in 1934 when I stayed for some months doing scientific research. This experience made an indelible impression on me and gave me much of the theme for my first major book, *The Social Function of Science** which appeared in 1938 and analyzed the ill effects on science of monopoly capitalism and preparations for war. It was at this time that I started seriously studying Marxist works.

During that period Bernal met Frederic Joliet-Curie and Professor Longevin who were leading the struggle of the intellectuals in France against fascism and the imminent threat of war. In Britain he took the initiative in forming a similar movement which denounced the infamous Munich agreement and the British Government's appeasement of the fascist dictators.

During the war against fascism, Bernal was part of a scientific team which studied operational research, "a way of learning from the lessons of military operations how to choose strategy and tactics in a scientific way."

When the war ended, his laboratory had been destroyed by Nazi bombs and it was not until 1950 that he was again able to take up his scientific research. Continuing his studies of the structure of liquids, he discovered what he called the "order of disorder" and developed a new branch of mathematics, "statistical geometry." In 1954, he published *Science in History,* which showed the effects of the develop-

* Recently issued in a paperback edition by Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, $3.95.

ment of science on the major phases of history and which supplemented a smaller work, *Marx and Science.*

And inevitably Bernal was one of the founders of the World Council of Peace, playing an active part in all its work and succeeding Joliot-Curie as president.

SUMMING up, Bernal said, "As a boy I grew up in a world dominated by the great capitalist empires. Now it is the remaining colonies that can be pinpointed as the last islands in the sea of the vast and unjust domination of the world by imperialist rulers, industrial powers old and new who succeeded not because of any innate superiority but because they had the luck to be in at the start of the industrial revolution. Since 1917 in Russia, since 1945 in many countries of Eastern Europe and since 1949 in China, Socialist governments have produced a new pattern of living which despite all the attacks of the capitalist powers have proved technically and morally superior. At the same time, as the result of the influence of the socialist revolution, colony after colony has liberated itself or has been reluctantly accorded independence. The next stage is for them to consolidate their new found freedom and to make it real by adding political independence."

It is this integration of the discoveries of science with the struggles for the betterment of mankind that is Bernal's most significant achievement. As he put it to me, "The expansion of man's knowledge and control of the world he lives in depends on the advance of science, both natural and social. This can be realized only in a world of liberty and peace."

"MORE DARING THAN ANY OTHER IN HISTORY"

NO ONE CONTENDS that the Bolsheviks are angels. I only ask that men shall look through the fog of libel that surrounds them and see that the ideal for which they are struggling, in the only way in which they can struggle, is among those lights which every man of young and honest heart sees before him somewhere on the road, and not among those other lights from which he resolutely turns away. These men who have made the Soviet Government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the history of humanity. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But, when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

And when, in after years, men read that page, they will judge your country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it.

Arthur Ransome, British* Daily News *correspondent.
***The conclusion of a pamphlet written in Moscow, May,* 1918.**

Science in Today's World

by NIKOLAY SEMENOV

MODERN SCIENCE is international in character and advances through the efforts of scientists in many countries. It is difficult, therefore, to distinguish between the most important achievements of the scientists of the USSR, the United States, or some other particular country. We can point only, with reservations, to scientists of certain countries to whom we are mainly in debt for specific significant scientific results in various fields.

What then are the most interesting scientific achievements of recent years?

Space exploration. First of all, I would mention the investigation of the moon by means of space rockets conducted by Soviet and American scientists. These investigations led to the appearance of a new scientific discipline: the geography of the solar system's planets. The greatest achievement in this field has been the implementation by Soviet scientists and engineers of a soft landing on the moon of automatic stations, making it possible to relay directly actual pictures of the surface of the moon. The surface turned out to be firm and rocky, disproving the earlier conception that it was covered with a thick layer of dust. It is my firm conviction that new discoveries will soon follow, which will lead to manned exploration of the moon and its use for practical purposes.

The question arises: what is attractive in this desert devoid of water and air? It is precisely these properties which make the moon an ideal place for utilizing solar energy. Large power-generating stations for converting solar energy into electricity can be built there. Giving free rein to our fantasy a bit, we can visualize the moon as a huge power station for the Earth.

Of course, in this case we shall have to tackle the fantastic task of sending this energy to the Earth. The idea cannot be ruled out, however, that contemporary masers, giving exceptionally narrow beams of radio waves, can, with time, be improved to such a degree as to make a practical reality the transmission of energy from the moon to the Earth.

There is also another space discovery that I regard as significant. The study of radio and X-rays emitted by the universe provides

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ACADEMICIAN NIKOLAY SEMENOV is a Nobel Prize winner and a Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This article was prepared especially for *New World Review* through Novosti Press Agency.

additional information on the universe itself, including stars and nebulae farthest from the Earth. This information gives rise to ideas of extraordinary importance.

And the other is the detection of peculiar radio emissions from the most remote stars or nebulae. Soviet and American scientists are coming to the conclusion that this type of radiation is associated with some new collective emission by the plasma of individual star formations.

In the field of physics, chemistry and biology we see the intensive development of the major discoveries made over the past decade, and many supremely important and interesting results have been obtained in this direction. From the vast number of scientific works I would like to indicate the following.

Nuclear Physics. In the field of nuclear physics, the discovery by Soviet scientists of the heaviest, 104th element in 1964 and the study in 1966 of its radiochemical properties. Also very interesting was the discovery in the USSR of the fast division of some isotopes of heavy elements, which according to previous observations had considerably longer decay periods. The reason for this evidently lies in the existence of some nuclear isomers of a new type.

Masers and Lasers. Masers and lasers deserve special mention. Eight years or so ago Soviet scientists Nikolay Basov and Alexander Prokhorov and an American scientist, Charles Townes, discovered a new type of radio wave and light emission (so-called coherent radiation) as well as ways of transforming electrical energy and the energy of ordinary light into this type of emission. The new type of generators that were then developed came to be widely known as masers and lasers. A remarkable feature of the beam of light emitted by such a generator is its negligible divergence the rays remain practically parallel even when transmitted over very long distances. The same property enables the beam to be focussed into a pencil-thin ray, with tremendous power concentrated in the focus. With the aid of a laser beam it is possible to cut and weld high-melting metals and to drill through the hardest materials. The laser also provides the surgeon with a unique "bloodless" knife with which operations can be performed on the most delicate internal organs.

Lasers and masers will no doubt bring about in the near future a veritable revolution in radio broadcasting and electronics, as well as in the principles of computing.

From the great variety of works connected with this discovery I would like to mention one. American scientists noticed that the light emitted by a laser beam is scattered in a peculiar fashion when passing through various substances. A study of the spectrum of this scattering provided a powerful tool for determining the structure of molecules and atoms of the substance under observation. This method holds much promise in chemistry. It is conceivable that

the existing spectrum devices will to a large extent be replaced by instruments using coherent emission.

Superconductivity. A few words about the remarkable phenomenon of superconductivity which I hope will free us in the future from heat losses in transmission lines and in all electrical power apparatus and machines. In spite of the fact that superconductivity was discovered at the turn of the century, understanding of this phenomenon came much later. Its theory was developed by British, Soviet and American scientists in the 'forties and 'sixties.

The theory suggested that the material of a superconductor in a magnetic field or in the presence of current is divided into two phases—normal and superconducting. The first experimental proof of the existence of the macroscopic laminated structure in a superconductor was given by the Soviet physicist Alexander Shalnikov in 1944. A new step in this direction has been made in the last two years by Soviet scientist Yury Sharvin. He showed that beginning with some current values, layers of the normal and superconducting phases begin to move together without being mixed.

It should be noted that superconducting properties in superconductors disappear already at relatively low currents. Thus, for all its fundamental importance, the discovery of superconductivity offered no practical prospects. Yet while studying the superconducting properties of various new alloys in 1960, a remarkable discovery was made. It turned out that in some of these alloys superconductivity is retained at very large currents and voltages of the magnetic field. This discovery opened up vast technical possibilities.

Of the last year's discoveries in this field, I would like also to mention the works of Soviet scientists who demonstrated the possibility of doubling and tripling the laser light frequency through adding together two or three quanta, and also the discovery of a very strong interaction between light quanta and crystalline lattices and the possible development of powerful generators of ultrasonic emission of unusually high frequencies.

Chemistry. In chemistry, recent years have seen the use of new and more perfect physical methods and instruments for studying the fine structure of molecules and elementary reactions. The results stemming from these studies modify and sometimes even alter fundamental chemical concepts; for instance, our views on the nature of chemical forces, of valence, and of spacial arrangement of molecules. We are now in a sort of pre-revolutionary period in chemistry.

The synthesis of new compounds, especially for medical and agricultural purposes, is developing at a rapid pace. Among works on chemical synthesis and kinetics, I would like to mention the research started recently, mainly in the USSR, on chemical reactions of molecular nitrogen. It was shown in 1966 that, as distinct from

the earlier views, molecular nitrogen is easily attached to some organic and complex compounds even in the presence of oxygen and water. These works are very far from solving the question of obtaining nitrogenous fertilizers at normal temperatures and pressures, but still these may be first steps in this direction.

Also of interest is the discovery of semiconducting properties in purely organic crystals and polymers.

Until recently only inorganic substances were considered to be semiconductors, while metals were thought to be electric conductors. In the past couple of years, however, many new organic compounds with fairly good semiconducting properties have been synthesized, particularly in the USSR. In the United States, scientists have also developed electric conductors with a conductivity close to that of metallic mercury. What is more, American and Soviet theoreticians have considered the possibility of making specially-structured organic polymers likely to possess semiconducting properties. It has not yet been corroborated experimentally, but there is intensive search going on along these lines in both countries.

New Construction Materials. Physical and chemical research is being carried out on a large scale to develop new materials for solving problems of new technology and for improving materials in construction and engineering. They include new construction materials, among them unusual new heat-resisting grades of steel and alloys with special strength, electrical, radio-technical, semiconducting, superconducting and other properties, new heat-resisting glasses and sitalls (pyrocerams), the production of artificial diamonds and other super-hard substances, as well as new polymers for household and technical needs.

In the last two years Soviet scientists, by treating the surface of glass by chemical and physical methods, have succeeded in producing glass stronger than today's best steels. Techniques of obtaining and using such glass on a large scale have not yet been developed, but there is no doubt that the discovery itself is of great importance.

Biology. I have noticed that even people with only a primitive knowledge of science display an intense interest when it comes to biology. We know already the topography of the brain centers responsible for various emotions, such as fear, joy, etc. It is conceivable that here, too, certain changes in the molecular structure are the acting principle. If we are able to establish it, vast possibilities will open up for treating psychic and nerve diseases.

Impressive advances have been made by the science dealing with complex molecules—biopolymers underlying vital processes (proteins and nucleic acids). They have the ability to form definite molecular structures on a pre-set architectural pattern. This manifests itself already in viruses which are borderline cases between living and non-living things.

The first thing with which this study begins is to learn the sequence and mutual arrangement of structural elements that make up biopolymers (amino acids in proteins and nucleotides in nucleic acids). For proteins this was done more than ten years ago when the structure of insulin was decoded, and the substance itself synthesized three years ago. The nucleic acid proved a harder nut to crack. However, the past two years have brought triumph to that field as well. True, so far only low-molecular nucleic acids have been deciphered, one in the United States in 1965, three more there this year, and one this year in the Soviet Union.

The very first observations provided information on the general structure of such acids and enabled researchers to understand relationships between the structure of such acids and their functions in protein synthesis. Through the elucidation of the structure of nucleic acids and their fragments, it will be possible to synthesize protein substances of a structure not found in nature, with the most unusual properties, which may be of particular value for medicine and agriculture.

Genetics. In the field of genetics, main attention has recently been concentrated on artificially changing hereditary traits (mutations) and in particular producing mutations by exposure to X-rays and chemicals.

In the Soviet Union, the mutation method has produced some surprising strains of silkworm, which by themselves can breed normally from generation to generation. When these strains are used to obtain offspring for industrial purposes, they contain no females at all, a great advantage, since female cocoons contain 25 to 30 per cent less silk than male ones.

Everybody knows the tremendous practical results obtained thanks to the development of polyploid forms of agricultural plants. The development of polyploid forms in animals capable of breeding has so far been unsuccessful. Very recently, however, Soviet scientist Boris Astaurov has obtained a polyploid-breeding type of silkworm.

Cancer research. In the middle of this year an interesting report was published by three Soviet investigators about the prophylactic action of complexes of ribonucleic acid and protein. Two mouse strains were taken: the first strain always suffered from hereditary cancer and died from it; the second was entirely free from it. It turned out that if the ribonucleic acid and protein complexes were taken from healthy mice and periodically administered to mice of the cancer strain, in most cases no cancer developed.

Of course, this is a first report and it must be more carefully checked, but I have singled it out because this may take us a step forward in the struggle against this still mysterious disease.

Translated by SOMOV

The Fiftieth Summer

by JESSICA SMITH

THE land I first knew in 1922 was still old Russia in many ways, still ridden with poverty and ignorance, barely emerging from its age-old backwardness.

The infant Soviet state had to spend its first five years battling to save the Revolution against enemies inside and out who fought with desperate fury to crush the new socialist society. Only by 1922 was it finally possible to start rebuilding what had been destroyed in war, armed intervention, civil war, blockade. The year before an unprecedented famine had swept the rich farming lands of the Volga region. Industrial production was down to 15 per cent of prewar.

All these disasters had taken a toll of 28 million human lives, beginning in 1914 with the World War in which the youngest and strongest perished. Many of the brightest and best of the revolutionary forces, always in the forefront, gave their lives in the struggles that followed. Lenin, disabled by an assassin's bullet, died in 1924 when his guidance was still sorely needed.

The Moscow I first saw in those early days was a shabby place of gutted streets, without shops or restaurants. There was a shortage of food, housing, fuel, clothing—all life's essentials. Houses stood in disrepair, with peeling paint, gaping or boarded windows. Tens of thousands of homeless refugees from the famine area were encamped at the railroad stations. Doctors labored in grim hospitals lacking equipment, medicine and linen, trying to save those stricken by typhus or other epidemics. Homeless, ragged children roamed the streets. What I saw in Moscow and in the hunger-swept villages where I lived as a famine relief worker with the American Friends Service Committee was still the wasteland created by tsarism and the enemies of socialism, although within it the seeds of the new society were already germinating.

It was against such odds as no people on earth have ever faced that the Soviet people began to build the new socialist order, learning to build as they built. At the same time the Soviet leaders set in motion a vast campaign to wipe out illiteracy, to train specialists and engineers in an educational program that lifted a whole people from darkness into light.

It should never be forgotten that all through the hardest days a great cultural revolution was playing its part in the cataclysmic social change, preserving the best of the cultural wealth of the past while creating a new people's culture. Theaters, operas, concerts never stopped. Writers, poets, artists, musicians, brimming with new creativity, taking sometimes crude, sometimes glorious forms, poured new

infusions of revolutionary ardor into the nation's bloodstream. And above all their voices sounded Mayakovsky's exultant call:

Beat on the street the march of rebellion,
Sweeping over the heads of the proud;
We, the flood of a second deluge,
Shall wash the world like a bursting cloud.

What is richer than our colors?
Can we be caught by the bullet's sting?
For rifles and bayonets we have ballads;
Our gold is our voices' ring!

I HAVE watched the growth of this new society during six more trips in the forty-five years since 1922. In the period before World War II, I saw the beginnings of collective farming when I lived with an American group of farm experts who took over modern farm machinery and operated a large-scale model farm and training school in the North Caucasus. I watched the turbulent growth of industry and education and culture. After the war I saw the immense devastation wreaked by Hitler's armies, which laid waste the farm lands of Western and Southern Russia and savagely destroyed a third of the industries built with such effort. I read in the people's faces and heard from their lips the cruel human cost of the war against fascism in which over twenty million of their countrymen perished. For the sacrifices and heroism that led to victory over the common fascist enemy, the Soviet Union was rewarded by US withdrawal of Lend Lease aid and promised loans, and by years of blighting cold war. Without help from its wartime allies, the Soviet people rebuilt anew their devastated land. Then came the new era of sputniks, giant hydroelectric stations, computers, the march of mechanization, automation, cybernetics . . . an industrial output today 70 times greater than before the Revolution!

This summer of 1967, as the Soviet people prepared to celebrate their fiftieth anniversary, I saw a mature and flourishing socialist society. The old Russia is gone. Nothing remains of its capitalists and landlords. No man exploits another. In the whole land no one is starving or homeless and there is work for all. The earth and all its resources and all that has been built upon it belong to the people who live there. Soviet cities are calm and busy, with fewer and fewer police, no ghettos; the many Soviet nationalities, dark skinned and light, live at peace with one another. No Soviet soldiers are killing people in any foreign land.

I think any honest person visiting the Soviet Union today would agree with these comments, though perhaps finding other things not to his liking. Of course there are many problems, many complaints, many struggles ahead. But people in the United States who shrug off the achievements of a socialist society today, especially young people, people who say "It's an establishment, like all the rest," and

"What can we learn from them" would do well to ponder a bit about these things—or better still, go see for themselves how socialism works.

With each successive visit in the postwar years I have seen great material advances in both city and countryside—more and better housing, food, clothing, household appliances, cars and so on. But this year what struck me the most was the new élan in the mood of the people. In the summer of 1964 I found many people still deeply troubled by the revelations about Stalin, some of the young people especially wondering who now could be trusted. The wounds of that period seem to be largely healed. The people are looking forward, not backward, with a new sense of security, a solid confidence in their leadership and in their way of life. I do not mean complacency. People speak plainly of things they feel are wrong, but with a sense of assurance that wrong things can be set right and of their own responsibility in this.

Frequently I heard such remarks as: "We can no longer blame everything wrong in our society on hangovers from the past. We have to find out where we ourselves are to blame, and do something about it." Numerous public opinion polls and sociological surveys are used in this process, covering such questions as work relations, marriage and divorce, use of leisure time, goals of young people.

Many things have contributed to this growing feeling of responsibility. There is a lessening of tutelage from above at all levels. The economic reform in industry and agriculture, requiring greater participation of workers and management both in planning at the local level and in the distribution of income, has resulted in greater self-reliance and initiative than were possible when there was so much dependence on orders from above. Even in enterprises where the reform has not yet been fully introduced, its influence is felt. The same process is taking place in all fields, in greater cultural freedom, in greater emphasis on independent thinking in all branches of education. Especially important is the extension of democracy through the Soviets, drawing more and more people into participation in governmental functions and in the decision making process.

YOU hear a great deal today about the training and development of "the new Soviet man," recognized as the most important and difficult task of all in the transition to communism. "What is this new Soviet man? What are his qualities, his aspirations?" I asked everywhere. There were many answers. "A person of great moral purity," "a seeker of knowledge, of many sided attainments, advancing side by side with others, never at their expense," "man to man must be a friend, comrade and brother," "a person of boundless romanticism, striving for heroic deeds," "what we seek is to learn everything we can, to face any hardship, to be ready for any sacrifice, to work for better lives for ourselves and the whole collective."

Do these sound like empty words, clichés—sentimental drivel perhaps? I wrote of things like this over forty years ago and believed them to be true. In those days when "it was bliss to be alive and to be young was very heaven" I wore rose-colored glasses and through them I saw many things that I thought the Revolution had already accomplished. Building socialism turned out to be a bigger and longer task than any of us dreamed of. I don't wear rose-colored glasses any more. But please believe me, my friends, when I tell you that through my ordinary glasses today I see in actuality many of the things I thought I saw then. And to see them today, to know that they are happening somewhere in the world, makes it still bliss to be alive.

And so I say of this new socialist person they told me about, these are not empty words. There are all kinds of people in the Soviet Union. Good people and bad people, bureaucrats and dogmatists, careerists and self-seekers as well as heroes. But everywhere, you see this new Soviet man emerging. No one claims he has achieved all these qualities as yet, but they are already discernible.

In this new type of human being, the socialist precept that work is not only a duty, but "a matter of honor and joy" is coming true. It was wonderfully exhilarating to see people doing the thing they most wanted to do, to feel their tremendous enthusiasm for their work, whether it was creating a poem or painting or building a hydroelectric station; and combined with their personal satisfaction in their work is their satisfaction in being part of a collective effort.

The first part of my trip was with *American Dialog's* cultural tour, led by its editor, Joseph North. We had extraordinary opportunities to talk with people in various fields of art and literature in Moscow, Leningrad, Azerbaidzhan and Uzbekistan. I stayed on for another three weeks, and in Moscow and on a trip to Siberia my husband and I saw many other phases of Soviet life. And everywhere we found people in love with what they were doing. I heard quite a lot in the Soviet Union about a beloved poet who died in 1964, Mikhail Svetlov. Reading his "Notes on My Life" in *Soviet Literature,* No. 8, I come upon this paragraph defining the main characteristics of the youth of his generation, back in the '20s and '30s:

> We were in love. In love with everything, with battle when our country was in danger, with labor when we were building the new world, with the girl we chose to be our partner in life, and, lastly, with poetry and art to which we had plighted our troth!

And this too is true today. The poet in Moscow told us excitedly what a joy it was to write poetry for a whole nation of poetry lovers. "Yes," he said, "my books of verse are sold out the moment they appear. I can't even find a copy for myself! You can say that everyone in the country reads poetry, and half of them are writing it. . ."

The bricklayer in Bratsk, nineteen-year-old Liuba, whose plain face grew radiant as she talked about her job, exclaimed:

"My profession is building, I'm a bricklayer. I enjoy my work, I love it! It's wonderful to see the walls I help to build rising around me, to know that I'm building not only for myself but for others. To be a bricklayer is the most noble, the most creative kind of work!"

"No, no," from Olga, the pretty little music teacher in a Bratsk kindergarten, "Everyone knows that bringing up children is more important, the most creative work of all!"

But Liuba insists: "I won't give up—you'd have no place to bring up the children if not for those who lay the bricks!"

IN DISCUSSIONS with writers, questions were raised about differences reported in the American press, about repressions, censorship, how much freedom to write as they pleased? Of course, they told us, there are hot arguments, disputes, differences—how could it be otherwise? Some dogmatists will try to impose their ideas, some dissidents and skeptics may cause problems, everything is not smooth and rosy nor is everyone satisfied. The writers, too, obviously loved their work and their opportunities for publishing. Despite some resistance from the more rigid, there is apparent a healthy trend of insistence on honesty and truth, that the reality of history must be recorded, that things must never again be glossed over or hushed up. There are some who may still feel a lack of freedom to write as they wish. But it seemed to me that most of the inhibitions and repressions of the past are being lifted. Many new and gifted voices are heard in Soviet literature, many voices not heard for a long time are heard again. In general, the writers tell you that Soviet literature today is developing at a tempestuous rate, that there are infinite opportunities for every creative writer, that a new era has opened which allows all sorts of differences and endless experimentation.

One of the young writers on *Yunost* (Youth) magazine said, "Our socialist society gives each member of society the most unprecedented opportunities to be true to one's self, to express one's self fully without stepping on the throat of the person next to you. We no longer need to pin our faith on a single personality as in the past. It's the ideas by which we live that are important. We need analysis and exact knowledge of all sides of our life. We can't remake history, but we can make the future. That's why it is so exciting to be a writer in the Soviet Union today."

The editors of *Yunost* were especially enthusiastic about their work of discovering fresh, exciting new talents and opening their pages to them, especially the many new, gifted writers of the various national republics and minority groups.

In Baku, city of oil and culture, we learned that the Writers' Union has 270 members—poets, critics, novelists, playwrights. Azerbaidzhan has four literary journals, a youth magazine, a weekly literary newspaper. "Our works are translated into Russian and many other languages of the USSR," they tell us. "We have outstanding composers, a wonderful group of Azerbaidzhan painters, becoming known not only all over the Soviet Union but the world. Music and poetry are in the very blood and bones of the Azerbaidzhan people."

TASHKENT was a miracle. I expected to find a stricken town after last year's series of major earthquakes and hundreds of minor shocks. It was a new thriving city, brighter, more built up, more modern than three years before! Writers and poets in a group we met in Friendship House told us:

"All nationalities find expression here in our city—like a raindrop, reflecting every color. We have never had any kind of a racist incident or attitude in Tashkent. Today we have more nationalities here than ever. Within the first 24 hours after the earthquake people from all the republics started pouring in to help us."

We saw a vivid demonstration of this as we drove around the city. Workers had come from every part of the Soviet Union, from all the main cities of great Russia, the Baltic states, the Ukraine, from all the national republics, each taking upon themselves the rebuilding of a whole section of the old Tashkent that had been destroyed. Groups of completed new buildings had great signs before them identifying their builders—"Moscow," "Kiev," "Leningrad," "Krasnodar," "Krasnoyarsk," "Vladivostok." All had brought with them complete equipment, machinery, materials, as well as their own labor, only the power and water were supplied locally. These workers had postponed urgent construction jobs at home and worked with energy and zest, finishing the new apartment houses in less than a year.

This was an extraordinary outpouring of fraternal help, of white-skinned people working with enthusiasm and love for their dark-skinned brothers. The Tashkent people were deeply moved by it. They were also very grateful to the poet Voznesensky for his role. He had flown to Tashkent without fanfare as soon as he heard of the disaster, slept overnight on a bare office desk, talked to the earthquake victims next day and then issued at once his appeal in verse to "Help Tashkent!" (NWR, August-September, 1966).

We saw another example of the joyous mingling of many nationalities at a Pioneer Camp, "Little Morning Star," in a cool green grove of trees on Tashkent's outskirts. The beautiful violet-eyed director was obviously in love with her 400 young charges, aged seven to fifteen. as were all the other personnel, creating that wonderful, warm, relaxed atmosphere you always find in children's camps and pre-school institutions, where love of children (and what Soviet person lacks it!) is the first essential in choosing the staff. Folk dances and songs of a number of the nationalities represented there were included in the program the children gave for us. After that the youngsters invited the American visitors to dance with them on their outdoor platform

and what an irresistible sight the dark little seven-year-old Uzbek boy was—rolling sideways until he almost touched the floor as he danced the twist with a tall blonde American!

ONLY a week after seeing the breathtaking blue domes of Samarkand, the tomb of Tamerlane, the remains of the remarkable observatory built by his grandson, Ulug Bek, I am whisked through some six thousand miles of space (North to Moscow, East to Siberia) and over five hundred years of time to that very epitome of modern progress, *Akademgorodok,* the Science Center of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, outside of Novosibirsk.

It was a rare privilege to hear the story of this unique project from Mikhail Alexeyevich Lavrentiev himself, the great scientist and organizer who conceived and carried out the idea, with the help of a devoted group of colleagues. Here, where ten years ago was only dense taiga, has arisen a town of 35,000 with twenty scientific institutes, a computer center, a university, apartments, shopping center, movies, clubs, schools. In extraordinarily beautiful surroundings matched by airy, imaginative architecture, on the shore of the new Ob Sea, the scientists, teachers, students and construction and service workers live and work under the most ideal, utopian-like conditions. Scientists in related fields work in close collaboration. University students are taught by leading scientists and work under their tutelage in superbly equipped laboratories. Gifted youngsters in math and physics are chosen by competitive methods to come here to study under the guidance of outstanding teachers.

Lavrentiev, tall and grayhaired, clothes hanging loosely on his spare frame, is the most simple, direct, dedicated, pure-hearted person you could imagine. He has a long, deeply grooved face with high cheek bones, a jutting mouth, all-seeing eyes with wrinkles of kindness at the corners. The eyes light up with an electric charge as he tells you of his insistence that the beauty of forest and sea be kept close and untrammeled for the scientists to do their best work, that the young people who come here are not just students but people in love with science and as he says without boasting that the original plan of building the Science City has now been successfully accomplished. They are now planning a further step of building a new settlement of small factories to make prototypes of the more advanced types of machinery now needed for industry and to train highly qualified personnel.

It would be hard to imagine greater satisfaction in work well done than must be felt by the creator of this project, now renowned throughout the world and the mecca of visiting scientists from all over, and by those who are a part of this brilliant cooperative effort to develop modern science to the highest possible point and to train those who will insure its use in the service of economic growth and the well-being of the whole people.

In Irkutsk, capital of East Siberia, a much older city, we found another science center growing up, another group of scientists dedicated to the idea of the fullest possible development of science and technology to open up the as yet barely touched riches of East Siberia and the Far East, determined to make its once icy wastes livable, to double its population by the century's end.

IN IRKUTSK we enjoyed the warm hospitality of dear friends already known to NWR readers, Tatiana Ogorodnikova, Victor Demin and other friends, old and new. I'll have more to tell of them later. They too were all in love with their work, with their beloved Siberia and the joy of showing it to others, with their precious Baikal Lake whose pure water they swear to guard against all pollution! And Victor, of course, is still in love with his Svietlana (*Baikal Love Story,* NWR, January 1962), now buxom and matronly ("like a Raphael Madonna," says Tatiana), and with the chubby little Zhenya, nine months and thirty pounds, she carries in her arms. We spent a weekend with them and other friends at the Demin's new *dacha.* There I learned for the first time what transports of joy Russians go through when they pick mushrooms, as the women spread through the woods and cried out with ecstacy at each especially "noble" specimen.

In Bratsk we felt the great new surge of enthusiasm as everyone rushed to complete the world's greatest hydroelectric station well before the actual date of the Fiftieth Anniversary. The two last turbines are being installed to bring it to its full capacity of 4,100,000 kwh. Now all the rough edges are being smoothed out. The fine modern buildings housing machinery and offices are being painted, flower beds are being laid out. The railroad embankment carrying the Transsiberian across the dam is being manicured. A system of paved roads wind around the river banks and over the top of the dam. They are determined that Bratsk will be beautiful as well as powerful.

The enthusiasm of these last stages is shared equally by the Bratsk Hydroelectric Station director, Knyazev (we saw him later at a soccer game, seated among the workers, with his wife), Liuba, the 19-year-old bricklayer, and Valentina Dobrysheva, an Order-of-Lenin pourer of concrete. From the tent where she and her husband and sons lived eight years ago when she started work at Bratsk, Valentina has moved into a fine modern apartment with a view of the dam and power station which are her own handiwork, and the great Bratsk Sea formed by it. Her husband also works at Bratsk, she told us, as we sat around the tea table she had set for us with wine and fruit and cakes. "We are both workers," she said. "That's our life. We don't know anything else or want anything else. Just to be good workers. That's the greatest satisfaction." Her husband raised his glass: "To His Majesty the working class!"

New industries are rising around the power station, a new alumi-

num factory is under construction (the second in Siberia; the first, at Shelekhov near Irkutsk, is already in operation), a great lumber combine where cellulose is already being produced, and many others. New cities are rising along with the industries, there are beginning to be enough apartments for each family to have its own, more day nurseries and kindergartens for the bumper crop of babies the young workers are raising, well equipped hospitals, clinics, rest homes, children's camps. There are cultural facilities, amateur circles and professional entertainment in fifteen Palaces of Labor and Workers' Clubs where there were only three before, educational opportunities for everyone and their very own group of Bratsk writers, and artists who are already exhibiting in Moscow.

They have won a victory over nature in conquering the great taiga and taming the mighty Angara, these young people; they've triumphed over the bitter cold that froze their hands and feet and over the torturing swarms of gnats and mosquitoes, the greatest hardship of all.

Now the wild nature that fought them and struggled against them and resisted their efforts to tame it, is ready to do their bidding as well as the river they have dammed. Now the harsh earth embraces them, yields to cultivation, produces fruits and vegetables and grain where none grew before, grass and fodder for livestock. Are they ready to rest on their oars, to take life more easily, to enjoy the more comfortable living they have earned by their labors? Not at all. Many of the young people we talked to were ready to go on to Ust Ilym, where another great dam and hydroelectric station is rising, ready to start all over from the beginning, to endure again the bitter frost and the gnats, or to go on to one or another of still greater projects still in the blueprint stage, opening up endless vistas of future pioneering work for them and for new generations.

THE Soviet people have no illusions that the road ahead will be an easy one. They know they still have many problems at home, and they are deeply concerned about the outside world. They made clear their sense of shock at the treatment of the Negro people in the United States and their horror at the shameful US aggression in Vietnam. A Vietnam Month was in progress during our visit and all over the country the Soviet people were holding meetings to express solidarity with their Vietnamese brothers and to add gifts of needed supplies to the massive aid being sent by the Soviet Government.

We are grateful to all the wonderful people we met in the Soviet Union and the inspiration their joy in their building brought us. There are many things our two peoples have in common, many things we can give one another. But further development of American-Soviet friendship and all that it could mean to both peoples and to world peace, depends above all on what we ourselves can do to bring US aggression in Vietnam to an end.

The Movement
for American-Soviet Understanding

by **RICHARD MORFORD**

FROM the day the Soviet Union was born virulent forces in our country have endeavored to discount its achievements and undermine efforts to build friendship. But, fortunately, there have been many organizations and thousands of good people engaged in telling the truth about the Soviet Union throughout the country, mobilizing support for the proposition that cooperation and friendship are essential to the welfare of the peoples of both countries and the peace of the world. On this 50th anniversary we look at the record of these constructive efforts, amazed at their cumulative volume. We realize that truth is winning its way step by step, understanding and appreciation have been growing. We are encouraged to press forward. What follows are brief glimpses at the record.

Early Movements for Friendly Relations

WIDESPREAD attacks on the newborn state were appearing in the American press even before the year 1917 ended. It was difficult to obtain correct information concerning what was taking place in Soviet Russia. But friendly reports were being made by Col. Raymond Robins, head of the Red Cross Mission. The favorable stories of John Reed found their way into the country. Early in 1918 a group of socialists established the first organization whose specific purpose was the dissemination of truth about Soviet Russia, especially in the labor movement. Incidentally, the founding rally of this organization was held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, which has been the scene (on two sites) of many meetings dedicated to American-Soviet friendship.

The labor movement in 1919 fostered a second organization. Called the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia, it was supported by some of the most representative leaders of the trade unions. Education for understanding through a host of meetings and considerable pamphleteering among working people was perhaps as intense in this early period as ever since. These efforts in the early days led to such important actions as refusal by longshoremen to load ships with US arms designed for counter-revolutionaries. (One thinks of

REV. RICHARD MORFORD has been Executive Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship since 1946. An ordained Presbyterian minister, formerly a high school teacher and principal, he has always been active in causes connected with human welfare, international understanding and peace.

the last twenty years when positive educational efforts among working people have been so feeble while negative forces have continued to sow distrust of the Soviet Union in the name of anti-communism.)

Immense support to these early educational efforts was provided by two classics: *Ten Days that Shook the World* by John Reed and *Through the Russian Revolution* by Albert Rhys Williams. These two men, together with Colonel Robins and several others, were eyewitnesses of the events of the Revolution.

Educational efforts were soon coupled with organized action to provide technical aid and relief to the suffering in the new state: foodstuffs, clothing and medical supplies; and to establish trade relations between the two countries. With gratitude one notes the relief supplied and administered by the Quakers who from the days in the early 1920's until the present have been in the forefront of organizations devoted to the promotion of understanding and friendship through education and personal contact.

Out of the campaign for the collection of relief in the 1920's grew the organization called Friends of Soviet Russia, later called Friends of the Soviet Union, which established many regional branches and inaugurated an intensive educational program. There is not space to tell the full story of the initial organizations whose purpose was the promotion of American-Soviet understanding. Those of us presently engaged in the movement should be thankful for these early efforts conducted in the face of disruptive counter-propaganda and action quite as devastating as that we faced in the twenty years of the Cold War. We remember gratefully that the struggle of these early friends of the Soviet Union was rewarded in the belated recognition of the Soviet Union by our government under the courageous initiative of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in November, 1933.

Depending upon voluntary support and facing continued opposition from government circles in the early period, some organizations dedicated to friendly relations fell by the way. But several organizations established in the early years are alive today. Through the years they have made substantial contributions to the understanding of the life of the Soviet Union, continuing a persuasive appeal for the improvement of relations between the two nations.

Educational Work on the Soviet Union

THE Communist Party, established in 1919, has made education on the Soviet Union a major campaign throughout its history. They tell me today they have not made a count of the number of books and pamphlets they have published dealing primarily with life and activities in the Soviet Union, apart from political and polemical pamphlets on socialism. They would surely number several hundred and their circulation would be in the millions. Not read by some sections of the people they would have been pleased to reach, nevertheless the pamphlets have been widely read by the rank-and-file. The Party may take considerable pride in its program of education for understanding, almost spanning the 50 years.

In 1924 a remarkable venture was launched. It was the International Publishers whose major purpose was to print and circulate books about the life in the Soviet Union as well as to make reproductions of the political writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to publish many other authors in the field of scientific socialism. Alexander A. Trachtenberg was one of its founders and through nearly thirty years its President and Editor. International Publishers still moves forward vigorously with an extensive publishing program in 1967 under the leadership of James Allen. Here again titles would number in the hundreds. In terms of reaching people we are reminded that International Publishers got out three books of the late Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson; their titles, *The Socialist Sixth of the World, The Secret of Soviet Strength* and *Soviet Power*. Several printings in paperback of *Soviet Power* produced an unparalleled sale in excess of one million copies in the United States. Many Americans were introduced for the first time in these three books to a true and complete story of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the Red Dean and the publishers!

Continuing glimpses at the record chronologically, we note that another organization was founded in 1926 to increase knowledge of the Soviet Union—the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia. Its sponsors were men of big business, finance and law who, anticipating a steady flow of trade with the Soviet Union, felt it would be good if a broader knowledge of the country was gained by people in our country. In 1930 the name was changed to American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. Slowly the Institute began a collection of books and papers about the Soviet Union and the development of a research and information center. Newspapers, magazines, business firms and many other public agencies, as well as students in the field of Russian studies began an extensive use of the Institute's services.

The period of intensive build-up of the library began in 1936, coupled with a major publishing program under the editorship of Miss Harriet Moore. These publications were widely used throughout the country by specialists. In 1941 Mr. Bernard Koten became the curator of the Library and the Institute's Director of Research. The Institute was dissolved in 1950 and the Library, containing by that time the largest collection of Soviet materials in the country, was turned over to a new organization, the Library for Intercultural Studies chartered by the N. Y. State Board of Regents. In 1965 New York University acquired the Library as a gift, a collection of nearly 100,000 books, periodicals, pamphlets and other materials. With increasing interest in the Soviet Union, this outstanding library in the past thirty years has met the needs of teachers and students pursuing

Soviet studies as well as the wider public and thus has contributed considerably to the growth of understanding.

The American Russian Institute of San Francisco

IN 1931 a group of San Francisco educators and professional people discussed the urgent need of an organization in their area for exchanging cultural and scientific information with the Soviet Union. They organized the American Russian Institute (independent of the Institute in New York) and set to work to establish the exchange through cooperation with VOKS, the Society in the Soviet Union for Foreign Cultural Relations. This Institute still flourishes today. Its president since 1943 is Dr. Holland Roberts, former professor of Columbia and Stanford Universities. A large part of the success of its educational program through the years is attributed to the late Mrs. Rose Isaak, the Institute's secretary. The Institute's library gathered books and pamphlets on the life of the people of the Soviet Union, photographs and documentary films, exhibitions of Soviet graphic art and children's art, Soviet music, the fiction and poetry of Soviet writers both in Russian and in English translation. These materials provided the basis for an educational program to reach the people of the Western states, schools, colleges and universities.

Featured throughout the Institute's history have been exhibitions made here or sent from the Soviet Union, displayed in many cities. In turn, the Institute has arranged for exhibitions of American art in the Soviet Union. The Institute has published numerous periodicals, pamphlets and brochures. In 1934 it was host to a delegation of ten Soviet citrus-fruit scientists. In the same year Professor Roberts led a delegation of 100 Americans to the Soviet Union to study its culture.

In 1955 a new era of exchange was opened with the visit to the United States of a twelve-man delegation of farmers from the Soviet Union. The next year Iowa farmers went to visit Soviet farmers. In the total program of education for understanding and friendship there is no equal to people meeting people. In 1955 Soviet farmers spent most of their time on the farms of Iowa and Minnesota but they wanted to see cities also. They visited Los Angeles and San Francisco. The Institute of San Francisco organized the community's welcome. And this role the Institute has played for many Soviet delegations that have visited the city since. We cannot follow the rich program of this society through the years—the numerous meetings and forums, the festivals of music and dance, including in 1951 the première in English of Shostakovich's "Song of the Forest" by the California Labor School Chorus. Nor can we list all its publications which included in 1953 *We Pledge Peace; A Friendship Book.* But here is one regional society staunchly pursuing a program from 1931 to the present directed to the goal of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Hats off to it!

The Role of New World Review

IF WE remain faithful to chronology we shall here tell of the beginning of a magazine dedicated to American-Soviet understanding. Its name *Soviet Russia Today;* its birthday the year 1932; its editor almost from the beginning Jessica Smith. True, in 1951 the magazine's name was changed to *New World Review* so articles about the other socialist countries could be included. But always the magazine has focused on the Soviet Union and its coverage through the years has presented to the American people a larger volume of truth-telling about Soviet society than any other medium for education in our country. Happily Miss Smith remains in the editor's chair today to turn out this extraordinary booklet in celebration of the 50th anniversary. Place these magazines in top rank of those organizations which have done a splendid job in promoting understanding and appreciation of the Soviet Union.

Friendly Allies in World War II

ANOTHER chapter in the saga of friendship-building begins with World War II. The Soviet Union was joined with the Allied nations in a military partnership to defeat the Nazis. This was the most significant relation between the two countries that had ever been established since diplomatic recognition in 1933. Many millions of Americans were heartened because they saw the strength of Soviet arms, the determination and endurance of its soldiers and people. Because of this there could be hope of victory in the war. It was out of this strong gratitude to the Soviet Union as a wartime ally that the nationwide organization Russian War Relief came into being. It mobilized the sympathy of the widest groups of Americans in the war period for our Soviet ally, and raised substantial sums for relief purposes.

Many of the American people also dared to think of the time of peace. If only the cooperation between these two powers in fighting the war could be maintained in peace time! How wonderful it would be for the peoples of both countries; how reassuring to the world if their cooperation could be counted upon to preserve the peace!

Out of these hopes new friendship organizations grew—two of them regional and one national. Before telling the story of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, we speak words of praise for the two regional societies: one the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the other the Society for Cultural Relations—USA-USSR (originally the American Russian Institute of Los Angeles). The Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship was established almost simultaneously with the National Council early in 1943; the Los Angeles group came into being in 1946.

It was Professor Samuel N. Harper of the University of Chicago, a foremost American authority on Soviet affairs, who voiced the need

to establish in Chicago "a center which would expand the effectiveness of already established sources of valid information about a country whose aims and accomplishments had frequently been distorted." More than a hundred prominent Chicago citizens were sponsors of the new Council which became effective in February 1943.

From the outset the Chicago Council was affiliated with the National Council which also came into being early in 1943. Thousands in the Chicago metropolitan area have received the pamphlets and other publications of the Council. Scores of meetings have been arranged by the Council, year after year. Receptions for Soviet delegations and performing artists have been a feature of the Council's program. They have effectively assisted Soviet specialists to meet their counterparts in Chicago and to be accorded opportunities to lecture. The Chicago Council has served the cause especially well in terms of public relations, arranging public luncheon occasions for distinguished Soviet visitors, interviews by the newspapers and outstanding radio and television appearances. The success in this respect, as in other areas of their work, has been due to the leadership of the man who has been Chairman of the Chicago Council for many years, Mandel A. Terman. He has been utterly loyal to the cause of American-Soviet friendship through thick and thin. It has never been a smooth course for those identified with the movement for American-Soviet friendship; it was especially rough for Mr. Terman, owner and director of Chicago business enterprises. Yet he earned and kept the respect and admiration of business friends even when they did not agree with his support of the Soviet Union.

The third regional organization was formed in 1946, the American Russian Institute of Los Angeles with Judge Stanley Moffatt its distinguished first Director. A research library was established of books, pamphlets, journals, photo exhibits which could tell the story of prewar and postwar life in the Soviet Union. These facilities were made available to both the academic circles and the townspeople of Los Angeles and other cities in the area. There have followed through the years Russian language study courses, lecture series, round-table discussions, educational conferences.

With the advent of a people-to-people exchange the Institute saw an increasing role in the cultural field. The name was changed to Society for Cultural Relations. So the Los Angeles group joined the course of San Francisco and Chicago in its welcome to Soviet visitors (and in sending the home folk to the Soviet Union to meet the people there as did both L.A. and S.F. this past summer). The welcome is always personalized: sightseeing there is but it is not primary. Rather the meeting of Americans with Soviet visitors for an informal exchange of ideas is stressed and both sides like it. Los Angeles, like Chicago, does a good job in securing radio and television opportunities. At this writing the Los Angeles society is assuming responsibility, with the assistance of the National Council, for the launching of a nation-wide Competition-Quiz on the Soviet Union as part of the special activities of the 50th anniversary year in which all our societies are participating.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

MAY we say "last but not least" as we take the parting glimpse in this article at some of the efforts throughout the years and throughout our country to build understanding and friendship. We appreciate the opportunity to speak of the National Council. That the National Council is young is clear from these glimpses at the record of organizations established long years before 1943. February 3, 1943, was the day of incorporation of the National Council.

The National Council, it should be noted, came into being as a result of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship held in New York City November 7-8, 1942, on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State. Two days of impressive panel discussions in which many distinguished Americans and Soviet representatives participated, were climaxed by a massive "Salute to Our Russian Ally" in Madison Square Garden, a truly epoch-making event. The Honorary Chairman of the Congress was the late Joseph E. Davies, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union. The distinguished list of sponsors was headed by the then Secretary of State Cordell Hull and included other top government officials and public figures from every section of the country. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and General Dwight M. Eisenhower sent greetings. The main addresses were given by the Vice President of the United States, Henry A. Wallace, and Soviet Ambassador Maxim Litvinov. Other notable speakers included Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Thomas W. Lamont, and Paul Robeson.

Dr. Corliss Lamont became the first National Chairman of the N.C.A.S.F. He was succeeded in the office by the Reverend William Howard Melish and the late Dr. John A. Kingsbury. Our Chairman since 1957 is the distinguished artist Rockwell Kent. His consuming belief that "we can be friends" has been the inspiration of all Council efforts in the ten years of his chairmanship. We should also like to mention here the late Theodore Bayer, associated with the movement for American-Soviet Friendship for many years and Administrative Secretary of the National Council at the time of his death.

The organization in 1943 declared its purpose: "(1) To strengthen friendly relations between the USA and the USSR through the promotion of better understanding between them; (2) To educate the American people to the need for such understanding and friendly relations . . . as essential to victory in the present war . . . and the establishment of world-wide democracy and enduring peace."

A basic conviction of the Council leadership from the outset was

formulated into a public statement of "Our Beliefs" in 1948. This statement has controlled and directed the Council's operations throughout its history. It is not outdated.

> The National Council is a non-partisan organization, with no governmental or political affiliation. Its members differ in their political views and in their appraisal of specific points in the policies of both the USA and the USSR. But we believe that the cause of international amity must rise above any shortcomings of either country, and that the common interests of the United States and the Soviet Union transcend their disagreements, and that a way can be found for the two systems to live together in peace. We are convinced that such a course will serve the highest interests of our country.
>
> The National Council rejects the thesis that war is inevitable and dedicates itself to the reasonable hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will assume joint leadership in the achievement of a warless world. . . .

The program to implement the Council's beliefs and purposes has always been three-fold: (1) The circulation to the American people of information on life and activities in the Soviet Union; (2) The promotion of cultural and scientific exchange, and trade relations, between the two countries; (3) The mobilization of support in our country for a policy, not only of peaceful coexistence, but of cooperation between the nations to advance the welfare of the peoples in both countries and to safeguard the peace of the world. Let us illustrate:

The National Council began at once in 1943 the publication of factual material in a variety of forms. In 1944 a series of pamphlets were prepared dealing with major phases of Soviet life: The Farmer, Trade Unions, Mother and Child Care, Religion, etc. Many thousands of each pamphlet reached people in every section of the country. To develop exchange, committees were formed, headed by distinguished Americans: Science, Medicine, Architecture, Art, Music, Theater, etc.

The first pleas of the Council in terms of American-Soviet relations were in support of the Second Front to aid the Allied armies to defeat the Nazis. Directly after the military victory was won in 1945, the forces of fear moved into action in our country to end cooperation with the Soviet Union. The Cold War began. The Council was compelled to begin a campaign for peaceful coexistence which early brought it into conflict with the policies of our government. The efforts of the Council for the improvement of American-Soviet relations have continued resolutely through the years.

This three-fold program called for local action and support throughout the country. By 1944 the National Council counted some 32 local affiliates which were serviced from the headquarters in New York; touring speakers, providing films and pictorial exhibits, pamphlets and books on the Soviet Union. In 1945 and early 1946 hopes were entertained that a national mass membership organization could be created. An expanded staff undertook the task. But we learned quickly that the Cold War was already intimidating the American

people and that they could not be expected to join our organization. The membership campaign was put aside. The fearful began to drop out of local committees so that in late 1946 the remaining courageous folk were finding it difficult to carry on activities successfully. The House Committee on Un-American Activities sought to destroy the Council by calling for the names of all contributors.

A most significant activity in these first years of the Council's life was the wide dissemination of a bi-weekly *Reporter on American-Soviet Relations,* later called *Report on the News* in which the Council consistently stood for an end to the Cold War and direct negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union to resolve their differences. These publications were the evidence employed against us in court trials made necessary by the attack of the Un-American Committee and in later years as we defended ourselves against the indictment under the McCarran Act which charged us with being a "Communist front." Let it be said that, after a prosecution ten years long, the National Council won a unanimous verdict in the U.S. Court of Appeals. The McCarran Act charges fell for lack of probitive evidence.

We shall not rehearse all the hurts to our early high hopes occasioned by the virulence of the Cold War. The Council survived; it got on with its business although somewhat curtailed for a period. There grew increasing awareness, especially after the advent of the atom bomb, that the task to which the Council had set its hand was an absolutely essential task. The peace of the world, in large measure, depends upon relations between the USA and USSR. Then and now!

The Council's educational work was continued. Pamphlets were published and distributed. For a time diminished, slowly, the schools, colleges and universities began their return to the Council to secure materials for studies of the Soviet Union. Our Educational Services became a most active day-by-day operation of the Council, expanding steadily through the last half of the 1950-60 decade and continuing at a very high level at present. Information in many forms is provided: a lending library, pamphlets, exhibits, films. A research library run jointly with *New World Review* provides answers to specific questions and offers its facilities for personal research.

Soviet Studies in Academic Circles

REPORT should be made here of the significant rise in recent years in Soviet studies in academic institutions throughout the country. Of course, the Russian language received first attention. Then came the broadening of study to include literature, history, economy, politics, foreign policy, not only of pre-revolution Russia but of post-revolution Soviet Union. For the increasing atteniton directed positively toward engagement in these studies and for their broadening, major credit is due the American Council of Learned Societies. In 1938 it appointed a Committee on Slavic Studies which lent encouragement

to the development of "area programs" in the universities in which the Soviet Union was judged worthy of inclusion for scholarly study.

World War II focused fresh attention on the Soviet Union and studies have increased rapidly since that time. There are a host of colleges and universities now where one can specialize in Slavic languages, Russian and Soviet history, Russian and Soviet literature, Soviet political theory and institutions; where it is possible in a combination of courses to fulfill a "major" in Russian studies. In 1964 in some 28 universities the "area program" in Slavic studies was of such proportions as to be centralized in a separate School or Division or Center of the university.

One must reckon that negative attitudes may sometimes prompt the direction of Soviet studies. The American Legion had a hand after World War II in promoting the teaching about communism in the secondary schools and a few states passed laws requiring it. It was intended that the Soviet Union be regarded as the incarnation of the evil that is communism so boys and girls were to "know-the-enemy." Educational administrations prepared syllabi outlining a teaching of the Soviet Union bound to present an unfavorable picture and these were amply supported by prepared-for-the-purpose text books. Nevertheless, there is much evidence to indicate that many teachers of history or social science assigned by their superiors to teach the unit of study on communism, or a unit of study simply on the Soviet Union, have chosen to teach objectively and have not feared to make available material which reports progress in the Soviet Union in serving the needs of its people and does not make the Soviet Union out to be a threat to the rest of the world. The National Council has for a long time received requests in considerable volume from secondary schools and their teachers for materials to be used in the class room—books, pamphlets, photo exhibits, documentary films. Indeed, there are now text and reference books on the Soviet Union for the teenager which on the whole, tell a truthful story of the Soviet Union.

We may only cite one or two examples of the Council's activity in preparing and distributing pamphlets. We have been pleased by one series that began in 1950 when the Council published a pamphlet on Soviet Education by Elizabeth Moos. Between 1950 and 1967 there have been five others on the same subject also by Mrs. Moos. On October 1 this year the seventh in the series by Mrs. Moos made its appearence under the title *Soviet Education: Achievements and Goals.* Circulation was begun with its placement in some 3,600 public, college and university libraries. A second example from recent history is a pamphlet, "Journey to the Soviet Trade Unions," a firsthand report by Charles R. Allen, Jr., which has had special circulation among rank-and-file workers as well as union officials throughout the country. Other pamphlets are in preparation.

Off and on through the years, the Council has published and circulated *American-Soviet* FACTS in several forms, a periodical devoted to news describing major developments in Soviet life, taking account of progress and problems. In recent times *American-Soviet* FACTS has appeared first as a section in this magazine, then the section has been reprinted, with additions, as a booklet, circulated by direct mail to a list of 17,000, largely individuals but including the newspapers and periodicals, the Negro, trade union, farm and religious press and the 3,600 libraries referred to above.

The Challenge of the Future

TWO areas of work provide an overriding challenge to us as we face the future. One is the work among students, beyond our extensive educational service to them in Soviet studies. We desire through exchange to draw the young people of the two countries into closer contact since upon their shoulders is falling the responsibility of maintaining friendly relations between the two countries and of inducing cooperation to bring an end to war. Happily we have the services of a student director, Carl W. Griffler, to move on the campuses to promote exchange relations—students with students, university with university.

The other area of work with singular challenge is among the industrial workers. For their numbers and influence can be decisive in American-Soviet relations and the struggle for peace. Especially if American workers can be led to appreciate fellow-workers in the Soviet Union and join forces with them. One of the steps in the program is to send rank-and-file workers to visit Soviet workers and to arrange for Soviet workers to visit us in the United States.

We are confronted by one great barrier in our work. Our country wages war against the people of North and South Vietnam. Friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union cannot exist while the war continues. For the war is wrong. The initiative to end it must be the initiative of the United States. Our troops must be withdrawn. The Soviet Union rightly calls for this action on our part. It is a prime obligation for all of us to join forces to compel our government to end the war.

Were this terrible conflict ended, it is possible to envision a new day in which the two countries will cooperate to keep the peace and will give themselves to helping other nations achieve full freedom and a decent living for their people. We can envision the new day when friendship with the Soviet Union will abound, enriching our common life.

Toward the achievement of this new day the National Council resolutely sets its face. With gratitude for all those who have labored to build American-Soviet friendship through the past fifty years, with the support of thousands of friends in our country, the National Council renews its dedication to a noble task.

GROMYKO AT THE UN

IN THE present 22nd Session of the UN General Assembly, darkened by the barbarous US aggression in Vietnam and the still unsettled war in the Mideast, the Soviet Union has continued its efforts to bring an end to aggression and return to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes proclaimed in the UN Charter.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko outlined Soviet policy in his main address on September 22. Speaking of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the Soviet state, he noted that the Lenin Decree on Peace, the first international action of the young Soviet state, had laid the foundation for many of the principles embodied in the UN Charter. The Lenin Decree had established peaceful coexistence as the cardinal foreign policy aim of the Soviet Government on the ground that the new Soviet state required conditions for the peaceful construction of socialism and communism rather than war. It also condemned as annexation and seizure of foreign lands:

> . . . the incorporation into a large or powerful state of a small or feeble nation without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to, or forcibly retained as part of, the given state, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant overseas countries.

In this, said Gromyko, can be found the ideological sources of the UN Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples. [This UN policy, initiated and supported from the beginning by the Soviet Union, has led to the independence of nearly all former colonial countries since the UN was founded.]

US Aggression in Vietnam and Other Threats to Peace

GROMYKO declared that the present most serious threat to peace comes from US aggression in Vietnam:

> The crudest violation of international agreements, defiance of the fundamental norms of international law and of world public opinion—all these manifestations of a policy of international brigandage are concentrated in what the United States is perpetrating in Vietnam.

Noting that a half-million strong US army is carrying on aggression in South Vietnam and hundreds of US planes systematically are bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Gromyko pointed out that this is the largest scale war since 1945 and that there is increasing danger that more areas and countries will be drawn in. He said the so-called "peace initiatives" of the US were meant only to

deceive the people, pointing out that the DRV statement of readiness to start negotiations of last January had been met only by barbarous new bombings in the North, and new escalation in the South. There was nothing new, he said in the statement of the US position on the preceding day [the Goldberg statement].

He spoke of sharp denunciations of US policy throughout the world and urged that such denunciations also be heard from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly. He declared that the farcical elections staged in South Vietnam under US dictation only exposed still more the criminal designs of those who unleashed the war, and that all this must be emphatically condemned.

Mr. Gromyko emphasized the increasing aid in repulsing aggression given by the USSR and other socialist countries to the Vietnamese people, and declared that the USSR fully backs the position of the DRV and the program of the National Liberation Front.

On the question of the Israeli-Arab war, Mr. Gromyko said the first step toward a solution must be the clearing of Arab lands of the Israeli troops; that the UAR, Syria and Jordan "must be compensated for the material damage caused them by the Israeli aggression and continuing occupation of part of their territory"; and that Israel must fulfill the UN resolutions on Jerusalem. The Soviet Union, he declared, "is in favor of peace and security being insured for all the states of this area."

On the question of Europe, Mr. Gromyko spoke of the dangers arising from West Germany's revanchist efforts to restore its per-war borders, its claims to represent "the whole of Germany" and its attempts to gain access to nuclear weapons, all with the support of the United States.

The Soviet Government on the contrary, stands for mutually profitable cooperation among the European states in various fields. It suggests simultaneous disbanding of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, or that at the very least the military setups of both organizations be liquidated as a first step.

Define Aggression — Ban Nuclear War

THE Soviet effort, started even before World War II, to elaborate a precise definition of aggression, with the force of international law, was renewed by Mr. Gromyko. He introduced a draft resolution stressing the urgency of this question in the light of the present international situation and proposing that a special committee be set up to workout a definition of aggression and submit it to the next session of the General Assembly.

The Soviet Foreign Minister next turned to the long struggle of the USSR, ever since the Genoa Conference of 1922, to secure agreement on general disarmament. He stressed that the Soviet Union has no need of weapons except for the defense of itself and its allies

and friends, and that there are no groups in socialist society that might benefit by an arms race. He declared:

> We are compelled to again raise the question of disarmament in the UN General Assembly by the realization that if we ourselves do not resolutely attack the sphere from which an immense danger arises for the future of humanity—the sphere of the arms race—then all pledges of loyalty to the ideals of peace proclaimed in the UN Charter will remain nothing but dead letters. . . . The world has come up to the line when no state can evade making the choice.

To this end the USSR favors restriction of the arms race, the banning of all nuclear tests, the withdrawing of all foreign military bases from other nations territories and the creation of atom free zones in various areas. Gromyko welcomed progress toward a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as an immediately realizable measure.

But the most important step of all, he said, would be immediate agreement on complete and final prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. He expressed deep regret that the UN Declaration on this subject adopted six years ago had never been confirmed by a treaty. Mr. Gromyko then offered to the UN the draft of a convention on the banning of the use of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Government proposed in this draft that each signatory state would undertake not to use nuclear weapons, not to threaten their use and not to impel other states to use such weapons. It further proposed that each signatory undertake to work toward earliest discontinuation of production of nuclear weapons and destruction of all stockpiles. The Soviet Union itself is prepared to agree immediately to complete nuclear disarmament, but since no such agreement is now possible, proposes this substantial step in that direction.

End All Colonialism — UN Membership for China and GDR

THE Soviet Foreign Minister declared that it is necessary for this session of the General Assembly to take steps to implement its Declaration on the elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and insure the freedom of those countries still remaining under the colonial yoke.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries submitted to the General Assembly a resolution for the withdrawal of all US and other troops still occupying South Korea under the UN flag.

Mr. Gromyko renewed his call for making the United Nations a genuinely international organization and particularly urged the admission of the German Democratic Republic, with no objection to admitting the Federal Republic of Germany as well. He also urged that the rights of the People's Republic of China in the UN be restored.

He summed up the main goals of Soviet foreign policy as follows:

> Securing, together with the other socialist countries, favorable international conditions for the upbuilding of socialism and communism. Consolidating the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, consolidating their friendship and fraternity. Supporting the national liberation movement, and implementing all-round cooperation with the young, developing nations. Consistently upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, resisting aggression, and ridding humanity of a new world war.

In conclusion, Mr. Gromyko appealed to the UN member states to unite efforts at this Assembly session to find solutions serving the interests of peace.

SOVIET AID TO VIETNAM

A NEW and very much expanded aid agreement for 1968 was signed between Soviet Government and Party leaders and an Economic Delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on September 23.

The DRV delegation had talks during its visit with General Secretary Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin. The joint communique published in *Pravda,* September 4, expressed the gratitude of the DRV Government and Working People's Party for the extensive assistance received from the Soviet Government in repulsing US imperialist aggression and aiding the DRV economy. The stepped-up aid from the USSR covered a large amount of aid without charge, granting of new credits, new mutual trade arrangements and other forms of aid. Responding to requests from the DRV, the Soviet Government agreed to furnish during 1968:

> Planes, anti-aircraft and rocket equipment, artillery and small arms, ammunition and other military equipment, and also complete sets of equipment in various essential fields, means of transportation, oil products, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, foodstuffs, chemical fertilizers, medicines and other materials necessary for further increase in defense capacity and for the development of the DRV national economy.

A Tass dispatch from Hanoi of September 27, quoted an editorial from the newspaper Nhan Dan, organ of the Vietnam Working People's Party, which spoke warmly of the close fraternal relations between the governments and peoples of the USSR and the DRV, and the continued support and aid reecived from the Soviet Union. The editorial said that the signing of the new agreement:

> . . . eloquently shows that together with the peoples of other socialist countries the people of the Soviet Union are steadily increasing their aid to the Vietnamese people in all spheres in order to defeat the American imperialist aggressors and to build a socialist society. The Vietnamese people are very happy to receive the big valuable, sincere and effective support rendered them by the Communist Party, the Government and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union.

Recounting the numerous official actions and statements of the USSR Government and Party in support of the DRV and South Viet-

namese struggle against US aggression, the editorial also stressed the diverse forms of the aid of the Soviet people and the tens of thousands of rallies and demonstrations constantly being staged all over the territory of the USSR. It continued:

> On July 18, 1966, 6,000 representatives of the Soviet people met in the Kremlin and adopted a resolution fervently supporting President Ho Chi Minh's appeal to the entire Vietnamese nation and expressing the readiness of the Soviet people to send their sons and brothers as volunteers to Vietnam in order to fight together with the Vietnamese people against the American aggressors. The drive to collect money, medicine and other gifts, and also the voluntary donation of blood for Vietnam, always meet with the most fervent response among the Soviet people. In defiance of US bombing and shelling, Soviet seamen continue regularly to deliver equipment, relief material and other essential cargoes to the Vietnamese people.

Such meetings have continued throughout 1967, with a special Vietnam Month being held this summer during which large amounts of aid were collected in money and materials, and factory workers rushed to complete orders for Vietnam ahead of schedule. Every organized group of the Soviet people has carried on its own collections for aid and passed strong protest resolutions against the criminal aggression of the United States. Many millions of rubles' worth of supplies have been shipped by the Soviet trade unions, the Soviet Support for Vietnam Committee, the Soviet Afro-Asian Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Soviet Women's Committee, the various branches of the Societies for Friendship and numerous others.

Last August 23 the Soviet Government, through a TASS statement, angrily condemned the new barbaric raids on densely populated areas in Hanoi and other DRV cities and the further escalation of the criminal war in the South. The statement declared that the election farce being staged in the South to preserve the "rotten regime of military dictatorship, abhorred by the people," would not help the aggressors, who would never break the will of the courageous Vietnamese people. The statement warned that each new step of escalation "inevitably leads to the necessary retaliatory steps."

The DRV Ambassador to the USSR, Nguyen Tho Chan, stated at a meeting in Moscow last August:

> Every Vietnamese knows how substantial is the support rendered us by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. When US bombers appear in our sky and Vietnamese fighter planes take off to intercept them, my fellow-countrymen know who made those planes. When an American plane is shot down by our anti-aircraft crews, the Vietnamese know who supplies us with those guns.
>
> The Soviet people and the people of other fraternal countries share their bread, their oil and many other things with us. Our country is advancing along the path charted by the October revolution. We shall not swerve from that path. My country has always been and always will be a devoted friend of the Soviet Union.

THE SOVIETS AND RUSSIA IN BOOKS

Russian Political Thought. An Introduction, by Thornton Anderson. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1967. 444 pp., $9.75.

"From the legendary Riurik to the regime of Brezhnev and Kosygin," the author traces Russian political philosophy, claiming to maintain "an objective stance toward events and intentions, avoiding the antagonism toward Russian or communist theories that frequently distorts Western discussions."

Why the Russians Are the Way They Are, by Benjamin Appel. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1966. 180 pp., $4.50.

A political history for children. The author writes: "If I were asked to sum it all up, I'd say: 'They love their land as we love our land. They are one of the world's great peoples. They believe in the Communist way of life. They hate war for they have seen too much of war's horrors. Like us they want a good future for themselves and their children and their children's children.'"

The Russian Anarchists, by Paul Avrich. Princeton University Press, 1967. 303 pp., $7.50.

Russian anarchism from the nineteenth century beginnings to exile after the Bolsheviks took power. The author appears to take their position, crediting them with having predicted the "consequences" of the Communist victory.

Managerial Power and Soviet Politics, by Jeremy R. Azrael. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966. 258 pp., $4.95.

An attempt to test the theory that "totalitarianism" will fade with the rise of a managerial elite. The author doubts it.

Planning in the Soviet Union, by Philippe J. Bernard. Translated from the French by I. Nove. Pergamon Press, New York, 1966. 309 pp., $9.50.

"Unencumbered by vast statistical material and intermingled with some glimpses of Soviet life and its everyday problems."

An Atlas of Russian History. Eleven Centuries of Changing Borders, by Allen F. Chew. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1967. Spiral bound, 113 pp., $3.95.

Thirty-four black and white maps of Russia at various periods from 878 A.D. to the present, with historical commentary.

Medieval Russia. A Source Book, 900-1700, edited by Basil Dmytryshyn. Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York, 1967. Paperback, 312 pp., $4.95.

A selection of basic sources in the political, cultural, social and economic life of medieval Russia.

The Peasants of Central Russia, by Stephen P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1967. Paperback, 139 pp., $1.95.

A careful, factual study, with chapters on the *kolkhozi,* village and family, education, and folk institutions. "The main fact about the Russian peasant is that after nearly fifty years of revolution, civil and international war, shoving and hauling, and superhuman effort and sacri-

fice, he remains a man in transition."

The Soviet Union: People and Regions, by David Hooson. Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, Calif., 1966. 376 pp., $7.95.

Regional geography, with a "historical approach to the peopling process," designed (apparently) for college use. Many maps and diagrams.

Chekhov; A Collection of Critical Essays, edited by Robert Louis Jackson. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967. 213 pp., $4.95.

Fifteen contributors, Soviet and Western, on everything from "Principles of Structure in Chekhov's Plays" to "The Chekhovian Sense of Life." Includes fragments from Maxim Gorky's reminiscences of Chekhov, first published in 1905.

The Soviet Military and the Communist Party, by Roman Kolkowicz. Princeton University Press, 1967. 429 pp., $9.00.

". . . the author tries to define the areas where the interests of Party and military coincide and those where they conflict. . . . Under the post-Stalin leadership . . . the independence and influence of the military have increased. Its ascending political role is likely to have a profound impact on the conduct of Soviet politics."

The Serbs and Russian Pan-Slavism, 1875-1878, by David MacKenzie. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1967. 365 pp., $10.00.

"Focusing on the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878, this book traces the relations—official and unofficial—between Russian and the Serbian people during the heyday of Russian pan-Slavism."

Juggernaut. A History of the Soviet Armed Forces, by Malcolm Mackintosh. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1967. 320 pp., $6.95.

The author, a British military historian, spent two years during World War II as a liaison officer with the Red Army.

Russia Re-Examined; the Land, the People and How They Live, by William Mandel. Hill and Wang, New York, 1967. 248 pp., paperback, $1.95.

A revised edition of the classic descriptive work, with over 75 photographs.

Tolstoy. A Collection of Critical Essays, edited by Ralph E. Matlaw. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967. 178 pp., $4.95.

Includes essays by Renato Poggioli, Isaiah Berlin, George Lukacs and Edmund Wilson.

Soviet Political Schools. The Communist Party Adult Instruction System, by Ellen Propper Mickiewicz. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1967. 190 pp., $6.50.

Examines the role of evening schools and independent study for adults.

Rise of the Russian Consumer, by Margaret Miller. The Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1965. Paperback, 254 pp., $2.25.

A description of the Soviet consumer economy and economic reforms. Emphasis on the present.

The USSR Today. 50 Years of Socialism, by George Morris. New Outlook Publishers, 1967. 31 pp., 25c.

Perhaps the best concise roundup of impressions of the Soviet Union to appear recently. The author, a veteran labor reporter and analyst, visited factories, trade unions, health centers, the Komsomol, and the Institute for the Study of the Causes of Crime. His sharp questioning on the economic reforms, the role of the trade unions, the growing participation of workers in the unions' social insurance and recreation setups, and the international ties of the unions brings forth much useful information.

Present-day Russian Psychology. A Symposium by Seven Authors, edited by Neil O'Connor. Pergamon Press, New York, 1966. 201 pp., $4.95.

Includes articles on Soviet psychotherapy, statistical and cybernetic models, abnormal psychology, child psychology, and psycholinguistics.

Russian and the West from Peter to Khrushchev, edited by L. Jay Oliva. D.C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1965. Paperback, 289 pp., $2.50.

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One Man's Destiny; and Other Stories, Articles and Sketches, 1923-1963, by Mikhail Sholokhov. Translated by H. C. Stevens. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1967. 271 pp., $4.95.

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The Land and Government of Muscovy. A Sixteenth Century Account, by Heinrich von Staden. Translated and edited by Thomas Esper. Stanford University Press, 1967. 142 pp., $5.50.

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Methods of Teaching Physics in Soviet Elementary Schools, edited by V. F. Yus'kovich. Translated from the Russian by A. Moscona. Israel Program for Scientific Translations, Jerusalem, 1966. 183 pp., $7.50.

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2. Title of Publication: New World Review
3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly.
4. Location of known office of publication: 156 5th Ave., Suite 308, New York, N. Y. 10010
5. Location of the headquarters of general business officers of the publishers 156 5th Ave., Suite 308, New York, N. Y. 10010
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor:
   Publisher (Name and address): NWR Publications, Inc., 156 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010.
   Editor (Name and address): Jessica Smith. 156 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010.
   Managing Editor (Name and address): Murray Young. 156 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010
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