NEW WORLD REVIEW

Summer 1968 $1.00

VIETNAM: FALLING DOMINOES — D. F. Fleming

CZECHOSLOVAKIA TODAY — George Wheeler

SOCIALIST ECONOMIC REFORM — Maurice Dobb

GDR's SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION — Martin Hall

BULGARIA'S INDUSTRY — Nikola Vulev

QUESTIONS FOR THE NEW LEFT — Carl Griffler

LENINGRAD-MOSCOW May 1968 — Murray Young

A SOVIET RABBI SPEAKS TO AMERICAN JEWRY

Poems, Short Story from
POLAND, HUNGARY, UZBEKISTAN, BULGARIA

John Henrik Clarke on W.E.B. DuBois' Autobiography
and other reviews

NEW WORLD REVIEW

SUMMER 1968

Leningrad-Moscow, May 1968
Murray Young 1
Vietnam: Crashing Dominoes
D. F. Fleming 8
Czechoslovakia: Socialism in Development
George Wheeler 17
Questions for the New Left
Carl Griffler 32
Today's Youth, West and East
Pat Sloan 38
Report from Paradise—a poem
Zbigniew Herbert 45
Bulgaria's Industrial Expansion
Nikola Vulev 46
Tree Without Roots—a short story
Nikolay Haitov 50
Economic Reforms
Maurice Dobb 59
The Statue Says—a poem
Gyorgy Ronay 67
Soviet Rabbi Speaks to US Jews 68
GDR's First Socialist Constitution
Martin Hall 76
Soviet Truck Driver
Valery Agranovsky 83
The Drop—a poem
Zulfia 94
Trade Unionists Visit USSR 96
Soviet Aid to Vietnam
Victor Bolshakov 104
US-USSR Relations—Review and Documents 108

REVIEWS

W.E.B. Du Bois—Great American
John Henrik Clarke 118
War and Peace—Sidney Finkelstein 120
Ho Chi Minh, by Jean Lacouture—
Edgar Young 121
Searching for Light, by Hewlett Johnson—*Pat Sloan* 123
From Peasantry to Power Farming, by Lem Harris—*David Laibman* 124
Four Works on William Morris—
Murray Young 125
Reviews in Brief 126

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

As we go to press, August 1, Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders are still conferring at Cierna. A quarterly cannot, of course, keep up with last-minute news. We can only register our confidence that mutual fidelity to the common interests of the socialist world can only bring positive results.

We believe it is not sufficiently understood that external threats imperiling all socialist countries have played a larger part in the differences that have arisen than Czechoslovakia's internal developments. The main Soviet concern has been to insure safeguards against unceasing anti-Communist intrigues aimed to break up the socialist bloc and above all against the ever-increasing danger to the peace of Europe from the growth of militarism, with US support, in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the menacing rise of Neo-Nazism in the form of the National Democratic Party. The new Emergency Laws (see page 82), paralleling the Enabling Laws that brought Hitler to power, make more ominous the revanchist policy of the FRG, seeking to revise postwar frontiers, sieze Polish territory beyond the Oder-Neisse line and the Sudeten lands of Czechoslovakia and to abolish the German Democratic Republic. The purpose of Warsaw Pact military maneuvers and Soviet demonstrations of strength has been to warn West Germany and its US supporters.

In order not to miss future analyses of events in Czechoslovakia, following the important article by George Wheeler in this issue, use the blank on page 49 for a renewal or new sub.

JESSICA SMITH, Editor
MURRAY YOUNG, *Managing Editor*
DAVID LAIBMAN, *Editorial Ass't.*
SARAH HORN, *Research Secretary*
CLIFFORD JAY, *Circulation*

Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer, 1968

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 U.S.A. 209

MURRAY YOUNG

Leningrad - Moscow May 1968

"The use of traveling is to regulate imagination by reality, and instead of thinking how things may be, to see them as they are."
—SAMUEL JOHNSON

WHEN I arrived in Leningrad an early spring had already brought the first flowers to its many parks and gardens and to the lime trees along its superb boulevards and sleepy canals fresh, scented leaves. But brighter than the leaves and flowers were the May Day banners still draped from the cornices and wound about the columns of the public buildings in the classic style that gives the city its unique character.

For the week that followed the lengthening "white nights" were as unblemished by fog or rain as were the days that poured golden sunlight over the poets and philosophers dreaming in marble and bronze among the trees and flowers of the great commemorative squares.

Along the city's perimeter there are no "outskirts," shabby, cluttered, unplanned. At once the city begins at its legal boundary—boulevards, circles, squares spring into existence as soon as the boundary is crossed. The city is announced as you approach by high-rising apartments carefully placed among green fields and woods. The free space surrounding the city is a prelude to the free space so rigorously guarded in the city itself by the wide, handsome streets, the generously proportioned circles and squares and the careful relation between tower, spire and dome that define the serene skyline.

As the city opens before you it is very difficult to bring to mind the terrible "900 Days" during which its citizens were held in siege by the Nazis and almost a million of them perished from starvation, not to speak of the countless others killed by the ceaseless aerial and artillery bombardments. Hardly more than twenty-five years ago! But the people of Leningrad remember those years and cherish that dreadful memory proudly as part of the passionate love they bear for their heroic and beautiful city.

It was to be my good fortune to have as frequent guide and companion a young woman whose childhood had been profoundly scarred in the ravaged and desolate city of the siege but who had come through the ordeal to face the world with intelligence, humor,

and a radiant confidence in the future. Her sensitive recollections of those years, recalled for me as we walked or drove through the streets still marred here and there by the monstrous bombardment, added immeasurably to my sense of the historic city.

YOUNGEST of the great European cities—founded by Peter the Great in 1703—it seemed again to my American eyes as ordered as an architectural drawing by Piranesi. Remembered with delight from an earlier visit, as we drove from the airport, was the exquisite needle of the Admiralty spire, the golden dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral, and from across the Neva the slender spire of the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul glinting in the clear air. And remembered too was the charming 1912 "modernism" of the Hotel Astoria where, I was happy to learn as we approached its entrance, I was once more to stay.

Since Leningrad is relatively so young a city it is probably not surprising that only two plans for its development have ever been projected: Peter's plan of 1703 and the present plan completed in 1965. This second plan runs to 1985 when the actual living space of each inhabitant (it is hoped to keep the population around three and a half million) is expected to be more or less doubled. This will mean fifteen square meters per person as against the present eight square meters.

The magnificent baroque heart of the city is to remain as it now is, the buildings gutted and made into modern apartments or office buildings, with their exteriors resolutely untouched. The rehabilitation of this key area has just begun and the 200,000 who still live in the cellars and garrets will in two years all be moved into new buildings or rehoused in the buildings in which they presently live.

In the past ten years some 900,000 people—almost a third of its inhabitants—have been moved into new apartments in the city itself or in such new districts as that along the Baltic, some half-hour from the center, where you see the tall, black and white buildings rising beside the intense blue waters of this northern sea.

In both Moscow and Leningrad the height of the new buildings will vary according to the all-over plan, which, of course, will change from time to time. The majority of the apartment buildings will be—as they now are—in the five- to nine-story range, others rising to at least twenty stories.

One of the secrets of the rapidity with which these new buildings are rising in both cities was revealed by a visit to a fully automated plant in Leningrad for the manufacture of the prefabricated units of

which these buildings are composed. Almost as in a dream the few necessary workers touched here and there a button, pulled a lever, smoothed deftly a rough spot on a panel as the units under construction moved on conveyors to their appointed places. When the harsh industrial noises that still accompany the dream-like progression are inevitably silenced in the future, surely the reading of poetry or the music of string quartettes will give the even fewer workers relief from the monotony of their not very stringent labors. *That is William Morris' ghost smiling there from a cloud!*

ON CAREFULLY selected sites throughout Leningrad and with increasing frequency at the city's perimeter the high-rising buildings are poised on Le Corbusier's beloved "pilotis" (columns, stilts) that allow the surrounding space with its fields, trees, or in the city the parks and gardens, to flow uninterruptedy through and around the buildings, giving to the whole ambiance a sense of airiness, and to the buildings themselves a feeling of effortless levitation above the lovely greenness, the exuberant flowers and the magical play of fountains.

It was a special pleasure for me to find these column-supported buildings so frequently and so boldly being used in Moscow, proclaiming their origin in the important building Le Corbusier designed forty years ago, in 1928, and which since its completion in 1934 on Moscow's Kirov Street has served as the Soviet Ministry of Light Industry. It is a huge complex housing some 3,000 office workers which Peter Blake in his book on Le Corbusier calls the most self-assured building in the city. I think this judgment remains true for all the new buildings for which it has served as a model.

The boldest use in Moscow of such buildings is a striking group in Kalinin Street where glass and steel structures in serrated order on both sides of the impressively wide boulevard open a perspective on to one of the most grandiose of the Stalinesque postwar buildings—the multi-spired Ukraine Hotel. Viewed through this new perspective of austere and weightless-seeming buildings the hotel has a kind of rich extravagance where formerly it seemed merely over-decorated and arrogant above its surrounding low-lying neighbors.

Moscow's newest hotel, the *Rossiya*, surrounded by six little sixteenth and seventeenth century churches in faded pastel colors, like ancient chicks around a youthful, "with it" mother, rises twelve glittering stories between St. Basil's Cathedral and the Moscow River. From its roof there is a breathtaking sweep of Red Square, its cobbled surface centered by the handsome cubist mausoleum, to the rich maze

of buildings from sixteen centuries that make up the astonishing complex of the Kremlin.

The newest addition to the intricate but harmonious collection of architecture in the Kremlin is the Palace of Congresses that stands near the great Trinity Gate and whose somewhat disturbing simplicity seemed at last justified when I ascended by swift escalator to the vast restaurant on its top and with some 6,000 other people was served, without hurry, pressure or queues, food and drink in the brief interval of a ballet performance. Refreshed by the food and drink and stimulated by the agreeable exchange of opinions about the dancing or gossip about other members of the audience, we could look in every direction across the huge, history-laden city whose heart is outlined by the Kremlin's rose-colored, crenelated walls.

As agreeable as travelers may have found the unexpected "modernism" of the Hotel Astoria in Leningrad, it could never match the new hotel now in the process of being built in that city. It is cited across the Neva from the city's center at approximately the point from which the battleship *Aurora* fired on the Winter Palace from the river the evening of November 7, 1917. The steel and concrete structure will offer through its largely glass-clad walls a superb view of the Winter Palace, the Admiralty and the "ships, towers, domes, theaters and temples" that lie, as Wordsworth wrote about another great European city, "open unto the fields and to the sky." This new hotel, of course, bears the battleship's historic name.

ONE WARMISH afternoon in Leningrad we climbed the stairs of one of the old baroque buildings in a street just behind the Kazan Cathedral to the studio of a leading younger Soviet artist, Eugene Maltsev. His studio was much like such living-work rooms anywhere: low couches, finished and unfinished pictures stacked against the wall, "found objects" scattered about—icons, bits of peasant embroidery, primitive carvings, decorated household articles from the villages. A painted guitar given to Maltsev when he visited Cuba leaned nostalgically in a corner.

His pictures seemed to me to be painted with that authority typical of all Soviet work I saw which comes from the thorough training Soviet art students absorb in the art schools. Maltsev's pictures were a little too representational for my taste but they were, all the same, bold in concept and haunting in subject. Fratricide—in a picture about the Civil War period, mourning in a peasant family, a village celebration, a huge fresco depicting man's age-long struggle for justice and truth: subjects far from the limits set by socialist realism, but

subjects that placed his troubled pictures in an older tradition of European painting. "The great rituals of man's life," Maltsev said through the interpreter with deep feeling, "his birth, his building of relationships with others, his death, we must paint in terms of our own times as men painted such ritual moments in the past."

Attempting to talk on this level through even the best of interpreters is far from satisfactory. So with a gesture of hopelessness Maltsev put a record on his recorder. As the magnificent male voices filled the studio with the hypnotic chant of Slavonic Church music, I listened intently, staring through the great studio window into the warm spring sunlight gilding with its yellow glow the ordered roofs of the city.

Later in Moscow I was to visit the studios of other young artists who shared Maltsev's determination to discover the forms, themes, subjects, style that grew from the living substance of their country rather than from any abstract model. All of them are intensely interested in ancient Russian architecture, painting, craftsmanship, music. And all of them appeared to have the traditional concern of the Russian intelligentsia with the need to find philosophic meaning behind the phenomena they choose to paint.

My interpreter in Moscow was a younger journalist widely acquainted with this generation of painters and writers. Like him, many of these younger painters and writers had been born in backward villages, and only through the swift changes and the great educational upsurge following the war had become probing and searching intellectuals, passionately concerned about art and ideas. To any readers and admirers of the great Russian 19th century novels these post-Stalin intellectuals could only seem very familiar and full of the greatest promise for the future.

This concern with philosophy was especially true of Ernest Neizvestny whose sculpture with its complex relations of forms, its intense expression of man's attempt to realize himself as a unique being, has brought the artist international fame and the first prize in a competition for a monument to commemorate the High Aswan Dam in Egypt.

I found in the paintings of Victor Popkov with their deeply observed studies of the peasant life from which he came as well as the studies of his present urbanized Moscow existence a similar search for fundamentals. His dramatically styled, urgently painted pictures seemed to be attempting to find clues and explanations in all manifestations of life. This was true even of such a picture that appeared on the surface to be mere caprice—Popkov himself sunbathing on the roof

of his studio building, the bright Moscow air shrill with the wings of pigeons, the rhythmic pattern of tiled roofs and the sudden punctuation of belfries.

IT SEEMED to me that this search of the past, this determination to find fresh and original forms was most perfectly expressed in a new ballet that had just opened in Leningrad at the Kirov Opera and Ballet Theater. *Goryanka,* as the ballet it titled, is the story of a young girl in the Caucasus mountains who is sold in marriage. But having heard of the new life in the valley below, she runs away to become a student in the university she finds there. Her intended husband, stung to fury by what he regards as an insult to his "manhood," follows, pleads for her return, is again repulsed, and so to "avenge" his insulted "manhood," stabs the girl.

Hardly sounds new, does it? Indeed the simple tale of a life redeemed by socialism has been endlessly repeated. But what makes the ballet a revelation is the way in which all its elements have been deeply felt and the startling new forms that have been found to express the primitive life of the mountains, the baseness of ancient, degrading customs, and the joyous exhilaration of a new and more human life now offered to the peoples of Central Asia.

The choreography by a young man, Oleg Vinogradov, in his late twenties, sets the pace for this remarkable work. Always strictly classical, as he reminded me when we talked of what he had achieved, it is nevertheless full of endless invention, exciting, original, and finally, in the great death dance he has devised for the girl, profoundly moving.

The costumes and sets, based on local designs, were brilliantly inventive and the music by Murad Kazhlayev recalled the marvelous throb and beat of Stravinsky's *Rites of Spring,* which the composer was pleased that I mentioned when we talked. I hoped to see another ballet by Vinogradov currently at the Bolshoy about truck drivers in Siberia. Enttiled *Ansel,* it has been much praised but unfortunately it was not performed during my visit.

Goryanka is based upon a poem by Razul Gamzatov who is by nationality an Avar and writes in that language. Murad Kazhlayev, the composer of the music, is a Laki, and the conductor of the orchestra, Jemal Dalgat, is a Dargin. Both the designer of the sets and costumes and the choreographer spent long periods familiarizing themselves with the customs of the small mountainous country of Daghestan in which all these—and many more national groups—live, each with their own language, customs and art traditions.

This splendid ballet is testimony to one of the great achievements of the Soviet regime—the bringing of literacy and culture to the non-Russian peoples of Central Asia. In the past decade more and more astonishing work in many artistic fields has come from this area. In writing there has been the striking poetry of Gamzatov, the vigorous novels of Chinghiz Aitmatov, a Kirghiz, and the remarkable short stories of the young Fazil Iskander, who is an Abkhaz. We will in the future present in translation examples of the work of these exciting writers in *New World Review.*

KARL MARX: 1818-1968

"THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY of the birth of Karl Marx (May 5, 1968) may well turn out to be a more genuinely universal commemoration than that of any other great figure of the past. Marx has succeeded to an unusual degree in breaking through the geographical, cultural, professional and even ideological barriers which normally confine human reputations. Those who are most passionately, and justly, venerated in one part of the world may elsewhere enjoy little more than the formal superlatives of intellectual courtesy, like Dante, Pushkin or Goethe. Those whose reputation is genuinely universal, such as mathematicians and natural scientists, are normally appreciated at their full worth only by the restricted circle of their professional successors.

"The most carefully compiled Pantheons of cosmopolitan greatness reflect, like Auguste Comte's, the knowledge and preconceptions of a certain period, culture, country. What is more, our gesture as we tip our hats to many of their inmates is inclined to be more polite than heartfelt.

"Marx's situation today is thus quite exceptional. He forms part of the living universe both of intellectuals and, through the medium of the movements and governments inspired by his ideas and those impelled by the belief in their iniquity, of vast sectors of the world's population who have barely heard the name of any other philosopher or social scientist.

"His reputation is at present genuinely global. From Senegal to New Zealand, from Argentina to Canada, there is probably no country in which at this moment someone is not discussing 'Marxist' ideas. His intellectual stature is recognized, with enthusiasm or reluctance—rarely with indifference—wherever there are people capable of reading books. He is one of the rare nineteenth-century thinkers who are part of our present and not part of our history. Perhaps, with Charles Darwin, with whom he compared himself, he is the only one."

The Times Literary Supplement, London, May 9, 1968

D. F. FLEMING

Vietnam: The Crashing Dominoes

OUR entanglement in Vietnam has become the greatest fiasco in our entire history. This is because the whole adventure has been based on a series of false assumptions, and unless they are clearly and strongly understood we may go on into a national and world disaster.

Fortunately, President Johnson's decision not to stand for reelection and to move toward peace gives us a chance really to change course. Until he made this decision we appeared to be set to ride the escalation train on into the fiery furnace. Now, as we pull back from this prospect, it is imperative to understand the mirages of the past which our leaders have been pursuing. The *Wall Street Journal* did not speak a moment too soon when it warned on February 23, 1968 that "the whole Vietnam effort may be doomed" and that "no battle and no war is worth any price, no matter how ruinous."

The main illusions that have carried us to the point of facing the worst trauma in our national life are:

1. *That South Vietnam is a prize strategic spot.*

This was a powerful idea in Washington in 1954 and there is some truth in it, if we are to assume the role of world policeman. But the day when coaling stations (or air bases) around the world can control it is gone forever. After the collapse of the old empires, aided by the mighty yeast of our own doctrine of self-determination, the former colonial peoples will never again submit to white control.

2. *The Dulles illusion that we could negate the decision of the Geneva Conference of 1954 and create a state in South Vietnam where none existed.*

His motive was anti-communist but the living body of Vietnam was cut in two, and nationalism is far stronger than communism. Indeed communism has become the vehicle for nationalism in Vietnam.

3. *The illusion that we could defeat communism in South Vietnam by propping up a small corrupt landlord class that had already been largely ousted by Ho Chi Minh's first war of independence against the French.*

This effort guaranteed rebellion against our tyrant Diem which the North Vietnamese tardily supported. After feudalistic misrule has been ended in China and North Vietnam it cannot be preserved in the South.

4. *That we were containing an aggressive Chinese dragon.*

This is a primeval assumption, but where is the evidence? The Chinese have asserted their long-recognized sovereignty over Tibet and rectified a strange border with India, after provocation. They have made reasonable border settlements with Burma and Thailand and helped North Korea and North Vietnam. Moreover, Vietnamese nationalism, especially in a united Vietnam, is a better bulwark than American occupation, veiled or otherwise.

Our vast armed encirclement of China—in North Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Okinawa, Taiwan, South Vietnam and Thailand, plus our mighty Seventh Fleet—is the most astonishing and quixotic adventure in our history. Unless the policy and state of mind behind it are changed, we must expect to find ourselves eventually either in a great "limited" war we cannot win or in the final nuclear war. As the new China grows stronger no other expectation is even semi-prudent. We need only to ask ourselves what we would do if the Chinese treated us the same way.

5. *The illusion that our bombers could enforce our will.*

It is hardly believable that President Johnson and his advisers, military and political, should decide that just the right amount of bombing would put things in order in Vietnam. They had all lived through the Korean War and witnessed the inability of all the bombing we could do to win, and they had also seen the Korean ordeal oust the Democrats from power. Yet they shut their eyes tightly and took that dolorous road again, expecting the Vietnamese to "get the message" in about three months.

So the North Vietnamese were attacked for helping, a little, their hard-pressed brothers in the South, and their aid to the rebellion in the South promptly became important and grew in strength during

---

D. F. FLEMING is Emeritus Professor of International Relations at Vanderbilt University. He is the author of the two-volume *The Cold War and its Origins, 1917-1960,* now on its fifth printing by Unwin in London and Doubleday in New York. The same publishers will issue Dr. Fleming's new book on *The Origins and Legacies of World I* in November. Two of his early books are being republished currently by Russell and Russell: *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920* and *The United States and the World Court, 1920-1966.* A third, *The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933* is being reissued by the AMS Press.

more than three years after we began the bombing on February 7, 1965. The people of the North, few as they are, rose in mighty resolution not to be bombed into submission and the daily evidence of our bombing defeated in men's minds around the world our constant assertions that we were not doing anything aggressive. It was the North Vietnamese who were "the aggressors"!

6. *That the failure of all guerrilla wars would be demonstrated.*

This was the faith that sustained our leaders. It appeared to justify in their minds the "conventional" bombing of whole regions, the dreaded anti-personnel bombs, the dreadful use of napalm by the shipload, the dropping of phosphorus bombs that are even worse, the use of chemicals to kill crops and forests which also killed people, the killing of whole villages, the spraying of wide areas with machine gun bullets at night, the heavy use of helicopters, tanks, artillery and naval guns—all to prove that our immense arsenals of "sophisticated" weapons could put down any guerrilla revolt.

7. *The illusion that the domino theory won't work in reverse.*

From Truman to MacArthur to Johnson we have been taught incessantly that if one little country "goes"—Greece, Korea or Vietnam—the standing non-communist dominoes will fall against each other, crashing all around the world, even across the oceans to our own shores. We have been taught constantly that if we don't defeat "them" over there "they" will soon be over here, and many a fine boy has died in Vietnam believing it, years after inexorable evolution destroyed the whole notion of a huge red monolith working to destroy us. Yet our leaders acted on the assumption that a red domino could be attacked by us with impunity, on the other side of the earth.

8. *That we could pulverize an ancient, viable civilization in Vietnam and erect a gleaming new capitalist democracy there.*

None of our assumptions is more deeply disturbing than this. The horrors of this process, the corruption and degradation of millions of lives, including so many of our own, the millions of piteous refugees there and the growing threat that our democratic liberties will be suppressed at home—all militated against success. Yet our own national life is already warped by the attempt, enough to warn us that we shall lose here what we try to impose on others.

We lay ourselves open also to the growing belief that what is really at stake is preservation and expansion of our economic empire.

9. *That our prestige demands victory.*

This is said to be a life and death matter. We are the greatest power on earth and we cannot confess failure. This is because we have "commitments" to forty nations. They are all looking to us for protection and if we fail one of our clients all will lose faith in us. Surely this involves our sacred honor and our self preservation.

Boomerang Dominoes

ALL of these assumptions have been proved to be illusions. It is late in the Twentieth Century. Two world wars have demolished the empire business and exposed the white man's feet of clay. Our own doctrine of self-determination has won the world and it cannot be frustrated abroad under the guise of an anti-communist crusade. Even in the communist areas of the earth neither the Soviet Union nor China can suppress the constant evolution of all states in their spheres of interest toward greater and greater freedom. The law of change is inexorable and the power of nationalism will not be denied, as the Czechoslovak liberalization crisis demonstrates.

Neither can our worst engines of death prevail over the human mind, body and spirit, when all three are united to defend national independence or to escape from intolerable privation and misrule at home. Nothing short of genocide can conquer people who are determined to be men. It is the saddest thing in our national record, too, that we have been destroying the Vietnamese people wholesale in order to "save" them for our purposes.

For three years we bombed everything in North Vietnam that might conceivably have military value, except perhaps the main Haiphong docks; destroyed villages in the South and their inhabitants at will; and finally largely destroyed the Southern cities "to save them." Yet our opponents became stronger than ever and all our efforts to pacify the people forcibly failed.

From the standpoint of maintaining the underdeveloped world as a safe place for our own economic expansion, it would have been fine if we could have proved in Vietnam that the bravest guerrilla warriors could not succeed, but the contrary has been demonstrated. No people that feels put upon by a great power, or is desperate from deprivation, will ever forget what the Vietnamese people have done against odds that seemed to be absolutely overwhelming.

Likewise, our goal of gaining one more outpost in Southeast Asia for the containment of China and communism has backfired. As *The Wall Street Journal* put it, "the Communists are getting away with it; they are putting the mighty U.S. through a wringer, and they may be encouraged to try more of it."

This is because our leaders blindly failed to put themselves in the shoes of their opponents. It never seems to have occurred to them that the domino doctrine could work both ways. Accordingly, they con-

fidently attacked North Vietnam, thereby outraging communists of every known variety, and they were all expected to stand by while we coerced North Vietnam endlessly, year after year, as much as we felt necessary. Though China had thrown us back from her Korean border only a few years ago, she was expected to acquiesce in anything we did to North Vietnam.

When China and Russia and Eastern Europe did feel obliged to aid North Vietnam, we relied on them not to help her enough to defeat our therapeutic assaults on her. We trusted them all to be wise and mature enough not to fear that if they let us get away with the coercion of North Vietnam one of them would be next. Dominoes were a strictly American game. Nobody else would play it.

Yet the communist governments and peoples did play it. At every stage they have given Hanoi what was needed to maintain and increase her resistance. Gradually the North Vietnamese were trained to use larger and larger weapons. These were supplied, and before Washington began de-escalation at the end of March 1968, Hanoi was reportedly assured of longer-range rockets and nuclear weapons, if we should begin nuclear war, as was strongly hinted.

Of course all of this aid was very small indeed when compared to the air and sea fleets which continually poured every kind of American munitions into South Vietnam, but it was sufficient to bring us to the point of disaster. Moreover, in early 1968 Laos was infiltrated by North Vietnamese troops, from end to end, and Chinese troops were reported to be coming into Cambodia and Thailand. North Korea was keyed for an effort to unify Korea by force, one which we would have great difficulty in countering, especially if the attempt were supported by China and/or Russia. The reverse dominoes were poised for falling against us, even at Berlin, where the restrictions on travel were tightened.

The Dominoes of Rejection

THE orthodox domino theory worked in reverse, under the constant thunder of our bombing of North Vietnam, but it worked also in equally ominous ways not anticipated by our leaders.

For years the dominoes of disapproval of our actions clattered away from Vietnam throughout Asia, by the hundred millions. They fell also throughout the underdeveloped world, as even the most illiterate people watched the unending spectacle of the big white man constantly belaboring the small colored man, and as the educated contemplated the calamity of being saved from social revolution by American destruction.

Worse still, the dominoes of rejection have fallen against us throughout the whole of Europe, East and West. Our best friends and kinsmen have been so horrified by what we were doing that no government in West Europe dared to make any move to help us in Vietnam, even if it had wished to do so. The youth of Europe, as I found on a visit last summer, are deeply hurt by the cutting disillusionment of what they see us doing, and they will not soon forgive us. Even the youth of the Soviet Union say: "We did not believe the things our government said about you, but now we know they were true."

The dominoes of disapproval have crashed all around the world, across land and sea. Instead of defending our prestige our leaders have accomplished the opposite. It cannot be too often remembered that *doing what is wrong destroys prestige and doing what is right creates it.* Science and invention have made all mankind one family and nothing, short of the final blasts of fire, can undo the ability of all men to judge what we do. Nothing, either, could stir the wrath of the world more quickly than for us to resort again to the use of atomic weapons against Asians.

It is already time for us to realize, incredible as it is, that the great majority of the people would already have reason in our recent conduct for combining against us. In the *New York Times* for February 20 Professor Thomas H. Greer, co-author of the official seven-volume *Army Air Forces of World War II,* asked the question: "Is it any wonder that millions of people abroad are beginning to view our nation as a monster to be stopped?"

The question is paralyzing, but it should galvanize us into action to reverse the monster image we are building up.

The Dominoes of Despair

ALL the while, too, another kind of deadly domino has been falling against us. The tragedy in Vietnam has divided our people as they have not been in a century and it has throttled down the Great Society which had given hope to the one-quarter of us who live in urban or rural slums. In the cities the demands of Vietnam have all but killed hope in the great ghettos which harbor the Negro-Americans, not only by drawing funds away from rehabilitation but taking attention away from the dying centers of our cities, until the tragic death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and its violent aftermath forced us to see again this mortal threat to our entire future.

A great federal commission had already warned that growing civil war at home might come with each summer. To really eliminate the ghettos would require sums that we have not even imagined yet—

trillions of dollars, says Gunnar Myrdal—and a vast mobilization of national energies, imagination and good will, all drained away to the fruitless Vietnam struggle.

Before President Johnson's historic decision to de-escalate in Vietnam and retire from the Presidential race the prospect was that the dominoes of despair would continue to fall in many millions of American hearts and that we would choose to bomb and blast our own cities "to save them." This is the deadly nemesis which grows directly out of the doctrine that our government has the right to use any weapon to enforce its will upon troublesome people abroad.

The Fall of Lyndon Johnson

THE fruits of this belief were registered in the President's address on March 31, 1968, in which he became the greatest of the falling dominoes in reverse, making decisions that would have been utterly inconceivable in early 1965.

Gone was the proud day of April 7, 1965, when he proclaimed that "We will not be defeated. We will use our power with wisdom and restraint. But we will use it!" He *had* used it, and he had been defeated—by the tenacity of the Vietnamese, South and North, and finally by their stunning Têt offensive early in 1968; by steadily rising world opposition; by constantly deepening division at home; by the disintegration of our world position financially, powered by mounting Vietnam deficits piled on top of never-ending cold war ones; and finally by the looming evidence that he would be defeated for re-election, either in the Democrtic National Convention or in November.

So a haggard President announced a suspension of the bombing of most of North Vietnam—that bombing he had begun with such total confidence on February 7, 1965—and the cessation of which the world had demanded with rising insistence ever since. Three years of escalation having palpably failed, he began de-escalation: claiming that the Têt offensive had not really succeeded; calling on the Soviet Union, Britain and Ho Chi Minh to help him get peace; pleading with the Congress to raise taxes to help stop the world run on the dollar; admitting that "there is divisiveness among us all tonight"; and declaring that "I shall not seek and will not accept" nomination for another term as President.

It was clear that he still hoped to save the client state which we have created in South Vietnam. The glaring omission of any mention of the National Liberation Front, which governs most of South Vietnam, and other parts of the address betrayed that, but his offer to go back to "the Geneva accords of 1954, under political conditions that

permit the South Vietnamese—all the South Vietnamese—to chart their course free of any outside domination or interference, from us or from anyone else," opened the door to genuine self-determination by the South Vietnamese, at last.

Needless to say, our opponents in Vietnam would never agree to an election managed by the current regime in Saigon. They could not countenance that sink of corruption or deal with the group of military officers who have fought with the foreign invaders, both French and American.

This means the continuance of hostilities until our Saigon facade disintegrates or until we remove it and help create an acceptable transitional government. After that some mutually acceptable plan will have to be worked out to insure the freest elections possible.

The Future

IN THE weeks since March 31 we have engaged in bombing of unprecedented destructiveness in the lower part of North Vietnam, where the lines of communication run south, as deadlock in the negotiations with Hanoi persists in Paris over its demand for abandonment of the bombing. In this same period, too, the bitter loss of Senator Robert F. Kennedy by assassination has restored the prospect that we shall again have to choose in November between two men who cannot be trusted to make peace—between Nixon the tough hawk and Humphrey the unstable one. This would again drive great numbers of our young people, and others, into despair of our democratic system.

Yet if we are determined enough, the will of the American people to stop trying to police the world can be made known to any president. Using many new means of pressure, we did topple the proud, determined Johnson and our will can be made effective through a lesser reflection of either Goldwater or Johnson. A large segment of our people is deeply stirred by what has happened, ready to react strongly and promptly to any new attempt to crack down forcibly on social dissenters, abroad or at home. They can make themselves heard, even to a stern lawgiver president Nixon, and certainly to their representatives in Congress.

For the present the essential is a clear understanding of the principles of making peace in the Far East. In addition to a bona fide self-determination for all the people of South Vietnam, these include the sane proposals of majority leader Senator Mike Mansfield for peace with China in his recent lecture at the University of Montana. He rightly stressed that the new China has come to stay; that Taiwan is a part of it and must be so regarded; that Peking has not demon-

strated any eagerness to use force against its neighbors, even in the case of India; and that "there is an immense potential danger in China, but there is also an immense potential danger in every other powerful nation in the world which has not yet learned to maintain civilized survival in a nuclear age, except at the razor's edge."

With every prospect of the present nuclear China soon becoming armed with "a full-fledged intercontinental ballistic missile force," Mansfield does not see any reassurance in our giant and tremendously costly armed encirclement of China, all the way from South Korea around to Thailand. To escape from this perfect prescription for world disaster, he urges that we make it "crystal clear that this government does not anticipate, much less does it seek, the overthrow of the government of the Chinese mainland," that we abandon our effort to apply a trade blockade to China, that we evince our readiness to restore travel mutually between us, and that we make it "unequivocal that we are prepared at all times to meet with Chinese representatives—formally or informally—in order to consider differences between China and the United States over Vietnam or any other question of common concern." He urges us to look at China "not through the fog of an old and stagnant hostility, but in the light of enduring interests of the United States in the Western Pacific."

This is a mature view of what is necessary for us to live as a neighbor of the Chinese quarter of humanity in the nuclear age. It is doubtful that either Humphrey or Nixon are mature enough to grasp and act on this necessity, but the one who is our next president must be educated to the extreme urgency of returning to the good neighbor policy in our relations with the world. Nothing less will turn our national energies away from killing the American dream in the hearts of all foreigners and toward saving it here, where it is also desperately imperilled.

If we will really make the American way valid at home, the peoples will look to us with respect again, not because of the devastating power of our great military-industrial complex, with its vast economically sterile expenditures, but because of what we are.

I BELIEVE FIRMLY that an aroused America will see that what we are doing in Vietnam is a deeply wicked thing . . .

We need to make clear in this election year, to Congressmen on both sides of the aisle and to the President of the United States, that we will no longer tolerate, we will no longer vote for men who continue to see the killing of Vietnamese and Americans as the best way of advancing the goals of freedom and self-determination in Southeast Asia.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., January 12, 1968

GEORGE WHEELER

Socialism in Czechoslovakia: A New Stage

We are sure our readers will appreciate this thoughtful, well-informed account of the background of recent events in Czechoslovakia. We are glad to announce that George Wheeler is joining his wife Eleanor Wheeler as a regular correspondent of New World Review. *The Wheelers have lived in Prague for the past twenty years. George Wheeler is a Corresponding Member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, attached to its Economic Institute. On his sixtieth birthday, May 22 this year, he was awarded a medal by the Academy for his services to science and the economy of Czechoslovakia. Eleanor tells us he also received a warm personal letter on the occasion from Ota Šik, head of the Economic Institute and now Deputy Premier, telling him how much he valued his work.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is a small country, in area and population only about the size of the state of New York, yet it has been the subject of intense discussion all around the world. Certainly these are among the most important and least understood events in modern times. A large part of the capitalist press hailed the economic and political changes as a return to capitalism. Some Communists, such as Luigi Longo of Italy who has been here, also welcome the new policies, but see it as a new stage in socialist development. Others have a great fear that anything that Wall Street writes favorably about *must* be bad for socialism. As an American economist who has lived in Czechoslovakia for more than twenty years, it is a privilege to help set the record straight, and at the same time frustrating to attempt to cover such broad and complex developments in less than a book.[1] Often the most significant and enlightening fact occurs in some detail, a bit of data or a fragment of a conversation with a worker.

[1]For a brief explanation in English of the background trends see my article, "The New System of Management and Socialist Democracy," *Political Affairs,* March 1966. The best discussion of both the economic development in Czechoslovakia and the theoretical implications is in the book by Academician Ota Šik, *Plan and Market Under Socialism,* Prague 1967. English edition distributed by International Arts and Sciences Press, White Plains, New York. Šik, born in 1919 in Pilsen and interned in Mauthausen concentration camp during World War II, is the leading economist in Czechoslovakia, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and now a Deputy Premier of the new government.

To an outsider the economic and political changes in Czechoslovakia appear to be abrupt, and it must be said that in some respects, such as the decisive changes in personnel, they came as a welcome surprise even to those most active in pushing for them. This is a characteristic of all revolutions and it must not mislead us into thinking that the dramatic developments do not have deep roots. In fact, many of the forces, such as the amazing progress in science and in new technology, are common to all developed countries; others are common to most socialist countries; and some are unique to Czechoslovakia. These forces are both political and economic and in some cases can be traced back two decades, in others only a few years.

Socialist Gains and Developing Problems

SINCE those who advocate change must stress the defects of old methods and ideas, a disproportionate emphasis appears on the shortcomings of the past period. Realizing this, all of the leaders of the new government and of the Communist Party such as Alexander Dubček,[2] Oldrich Černík,[3] and Ota Šik, have repeatedly stressed the fact that in the postwar period Czechoslovakia under socialism has made great gains and that the present programs are building upon this firm socialist base. Let us mention a few points: All of industry, agriculture and distribution was peacefully converted from private to social ownership and a new system of centrally planned management was introduced. Under that system from 1948 to 1966 the social product increased 3.4 times and consumer production 2.4 times. Unemployment was completely eliminated and productivity of labor in 1966 was nearly three times as high as in 1948. In agriculture the establishment of cooperative and state farms made possible the introduction of large scale farming (previously the fields had averaged less than an acre in size!) and, with mechanization, less than half the prewar number of farm workers now produce more food than in 1936. Medical care and medicines are free and social security generally ranks among the best in the world, with such features as 22 weeks of paid

[2]Alexander Dubček, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party since January 1968, was born in Slovakia in 1921. His father was one of the skilled workers who volunteered to help in the early years of the Soviet Union. Young Alexander received his early education there, and after fighting with the forces liberating Slovakia he worked in a factory, then returning to the Soviet Union he completed his studies, graduating *Cum Laude.*

[3]Oldrich Černík, Prime Minister since April 1968, was born in Ostrava, Moravia in 1921. After working as a machinist in the Vítkovice Steel works he became a secretary in the regional Communist Party apparatus. From 1960-63 he was Minister of Fuels and Energy, and from 1963-68 was head of the Planning Commission. He is a graduate of the Ostrava School of Mining and Steel Engineering.

maternity leave. The list could be much extended, but the purpose now is only to indicate why, despite the sharp criticism of some methods of the past, there is such strong support among the workers for socialism.

At the same time there have been serious problems of both an economic and political nature. Some of these, particularly the violations of socialist legality during the Slánský trial period, occurred mainly in the early post-1948 years. Others, including some economic contradictions, became more acute as time passed. This is true of such problems as the use of science and technology in industry and agriculture, the increasingly bureaucratic and inefficient methods of management and planning and questions of incentives for efficiency, the lack of relation of prices to socially necessary costs and the increasingly chaotic situation in regard to exports and imports.

A few facts can bring home how serious the economic situation had become. In 1948 Czechoslovak wholesale prices (and costs) were generally at about the level of world prices. By 1966 they were about double the world level. The efficiency of investments declined so that increasing volume of investment was needed to maintain the same rate of growth of national income. In 1950 only 1.33 crowns of investment were required to add one crown to national income; by 1963 it took 18.22 crowns of investment to produce the same result. In that year and in 1964 no appreciable gains were made in social income or real wages, despite enormous investments. This was an intolerable situation for any advanced socialist society, particularly one with an informed working population in daily contact with tourists from capitalist countries.

How could a system of managing the economy decline so in efficiency instead of improving with experience? If I may be permitted to oversimplify, it would be that for twenty years it was operating on an essentially "cost plus" basis. Since the central planning agency made decisions as to where to invest and what to produce, it was necessarily responsible to the extent of practically guaranteeing a market for what the enterprise made. The goals of the plan were set in quantity terms, not quality, and the fulfilment, measured in crowns of output, was easier to meet if costs were high and rising. Extensive production, low quality and high prices satisfied the plan, and bonuses and economic incentives were tied to plan fulfilment. Hoarding of labor, materials and inventories of finished products was the safe thing to do. Unfinished construction and under-utilized capacity increased—yet even so, total real product increased until a point was reached when all available resources were exhausted. Then

the slowdown reached a point of stagnation. The situation became more acute because self-criticism had become almost non-existent, and serious criticism was cut off by censorship and by direct threats to the critics. We will return to this political side of the problem shortly.

The "New System of Management"

THE ESSENCE of the new system of management as proposed in Czechoslovakia is that instead of economic incentives and enterprise incomes being tied to plan fulfilment they will be tied to sales made in the market. Fewer specific directives will be given to the enterprises as to what to produce; this will open the way to reduction of subsidies. It is intended that competition, if necessary competition from imports, will force the enterprises to bring their prices more in line with world prices. There will be incentives to reduce costs, and to improve quality in order to extend their sales. Instead of extensive investments, an emphasis will be placed on new technology, on new products and upon the savings of materials and labor power. Instead of economic incentives that discourage efficiency, the new system will allow the enterprises to retain more of their net income from sales and to use part of this income to increase wages and to pay bonuses. Some differentiation of incomes will be needed to allow higher incomes to managers who are successful in producing goods that sell at a profit, and to make it worth while to have an advanced education—now a skilled worker may get more than his foreman or even than a scientist or section manager.

All of this is perfectly compatible with socialism, and in one form or another all of the advanced socialist countries are adopting "new systems of management." Let us take only two examples. Writing on "Soviet Economic Reform" in *New Times*, May 14, 1968, V. Rutgaizer reports: "Above all, it is clear that the new system is unquestionably superior to the old. The object of the reform is to increase returns from social production and to accelerate improvement in the living standard. And this cannot be achieved without overcoming the discrepancies that developed in the past years between planning methods, the system of incentives, and the cardinal requirements of the national economy. . . . Reorganization of management methods is a cardinal task. . . . The functioning of the higher economic management bodies must be guided by essentially the same principles of self-supporting, profitable operation as the enterprises."

Günter Mittag in an article "Building an Integrated Socialist Economic System in the German Democratic Republic," *World Marxist Review*, January 1968, quotes First Secretary of the Socialist Unity

Party of the GDR Walter Ulbricht as saying: "Profit in a developed socialist economic system assumes cardinal importance from the standpoint of economic accountability, orienting the enterprises on increasing their economic effectiveness." Mittag adds: "The orientation on profit based on high-standard planning is the logical sequel to the recognition that socialist production implies production of commodities" (p. 9).

In the Stalin era such statements would have been regarded as the worst kind of heresy. As recently as 1966 Professor Šik thought it absolutely essential to show why, despite the passing comment of Marx and the dicta of Stalin, commodities do exist under socialism. Around the world we still find conservative Marxists who regard Šik's arguments as dangerous revisionism. Yet in practice, and increasingly in theoretical arguments, one socialist country after another is recognizing the importance of commodity production with values tested in the market. The necessities of the economy, the need for pressures of competition to force the adoption of new methods of managemnt and new technology in order to increase quality and productivity, are forcing more realistic concepts into socialist economic theory.

Clearly, neither the economic programs nor the economic theory of Czechoslovakia are so new and unique as to excite the special interest that the world has shown in its current developments. This interest has been roused by the political and legal measures taken and proposed. Let us examine them, together with the closely related economic measures, to see whether in fact they endanger or protect socialism.

The Political Developments

FEW SOCIAL and economic systems, great advances in human thought and human relations, even inherently peaceful religions such as Christianity, have seldom been able to establish themselves without violence. Such a sweeping economic, political and social advance as that from capitalism to socialism has been no exception. No socialist system has been able to establish itself without a period of acute class struggle in which the capitalists attempt to protect their property rights and privileges by all means in their power, legal and illegal. It is established communist theory, supported by much experience, that after the initial success in coming to power, a period known as the "dictatorship of the proletariat" must ensue in which the entire apparatus of capitalist state power must be destroyed and class resistance to the new form of society must be liquidated. New laws, new constitutions, even a new ethic and morality must come into existence

—and that means that inevitably in the transition period some measures which are "illegal" by standards of the old society must be taken.

This much is accepted here as being beyond debate. The questions arise: What measures of force are essential, and how long must the period of dictatorship last? How can the dictatorship, a necessary instrument of class warfare, be liquidated after, as in Czechoslovakia, the capitalist class has been eliminated? The answers must differ with each country and with the character of the resistance of the obsolete classes. The Czechoslovaks do not regard their solution as an export item.

Here in Czechoslovakia the transition from capitalism to socialism took place in two phases. In the first, German monopoly capitalism in the form of fascism was defeated in bloody battles, mainly by the military power of the Soviet Union. At Košice, Slovakia in 1945 all of the anti-fascist Czechoslovak parties agreed to a National Front, to socialization of heavy industry and financial institutions, and to the confiscation of the property of collaborators with the Nazis. This phase lasted until 1948, when a struggle for power occurred between those who wanted to go on to full socialism and those who favored retaining (or even restoring) large elements of capitalism. Using their parliamentary majority, the Communist and Social Democratic parties, backed by a strong show of force by the trade unions and people's militia, succeeded in forming a new government committed to a rapid advance to socialism.

It is at this point that it may be said that the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat began. The force and methods used in this transition to working-class control of the state were certainly correct. But once socialist power is firmly established, how much and what kind of force is necessary against small private producers and service workers? In looking back and passing judgment we must remember that this was a time of worldwide escalation of the cold war, culminating in the Korean war and the "McCarthy period" in the United States.

In Czechoslovakia (in contrast to the German Democratic Republic) the drive for complete socialization extended to small shopkeepers and all private services, including such small-scale operations as individual shoe or watch repair. There were pressures to bring all agricultural land into either state farms or cooperatives. It was established Marxist theory that force should not be used to make small and middle peasants join cooperatives. But in the 1950 drive for socialized agriculture the honors went to those local officials who could announce that their area was "100 per cent" socialist. The result was that even farmers

with only a few hectares of land (subsistence farms by US standards) were classed as "kulaks" and class enemies, and forced by various means to join the cooperatives. This resulted in much resentment and indifference to proper care of livestock and crops. Only in the last few years have farmers generally come to realize that small scale private farming is obsolete and that modern technology requires in Czechoslovakia either cooperative or state farming.

There are no such economies of scale in regard to repairs and some other types of service. (Medical care, transport and many other types of service are, of course, not included.) Experience has shown that administrative costs outweighed the advantages of socialization and consolidation of some services because there was a serious decline in promptness and quality at the same time that costs rose abruptly. Now the question is being asked: *Under Czechoslovak conditions* was it necessary to classify all such small enterprisers as class enemies and so lose their skill and diligence? Should some of them be permitted now on an individual basis?

The use of dictatorship methods, and the violations of socialist legality, reached their peak in 1952 in the "Slánský trial" in which Rudolf Slánský, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and a dozen other officials, mainly top Communist leaders, were charged with treason, Zionism and other anti-state activities, convicted and executed. Others were imprisoned and thousands lost their jobs. It is history that Stalin's theories (particularly that as socialism advances class antagonisms sharpen) and Beria's men had a leading role in these events. A part of the "old guard," particularly Karol Bacílek, who was then Minister of Security, have tried to shift all the blame to the Soviet Union. In contrast, the new leadership has emphasized the responsibility of Czech and Slovak officials. On May 30, 1968 the Central Committee of the Communist Party announced that "the deformations of socialist justice at the time of the Slánský trial were the work of a small, exclusive group of leading officials." Pending full investigation it suspended the membership in the Communist Party of seven men: Karol Bacílek, Antonín Novotný, Viliam Široký (one-time Premier), Jirí Urválek (then Chief Prosecutor) and three others. But this is letting one part of the complex story get ahead of the main developments.

The Communist Party Regenerates Itself

A FULL repudiation of the violations of socialist legality was an essential step in restoring the confidence of the people in the Party itself, and in its ability to play a leading role in society. Be-

cause the Communist Party had over the years since 1948 assumed increasing powers of decision and had become more and more involved in detailed administration, it was inevitable that a large part of the resentment for the acts of illegality was turned against the Party. The Party could not claim credit, as it did, for the many economic successes, without at the same time sharing the blame for the failures and frustrations. Other voluntary organizations such as the trade unions and the youth organization were also discredited by their lack of independent activity. It was necessary that Czechoslovak political life be regenerated and this could only be done if the most powerful organization started the process by "cleaning its shield."

Only the fact that the Communist Party itself recognized these dangers, and initiated the steps to correct them has saved socialism in Czechoslovakia from full-scale disaster.

The Party's reexamination of its methods and policies began here after the death of Stalin in 1953 and was accelerated by the revelations at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. But no fundamental changes, such as took place in the Soviet Union, resulted.

At the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in December 1962 there had been open criticism of many economic shortcomings and a strong rank-and-file demand for more information, more democracy generally and in the Party itself. In his report to the Congress Antonín Novotný[4] exclaimed: "Comrades! One of the basic tasks in the building and development of socialism is the more and more broad and consistent practical realization that the people, who are the creators and owners of all values of society, administer and manage this state." Yet, and this was typical of the old leadership, when it came to specific action he prescribed quite different medicine: "The management of agricultural production should be concentrated in one center under the direct leadership of the Party. . . . The Agricultural Commission of the Party Central Committee will become the center for the *daily* managment of agriculture" (emphasis added). This was an impossible task for the Party and it led to such interference in the daily activity of the cooperatives that the members could no

---

[4]Antonín Novotný, born near Prague in 1904, was a machinist by trade. Early in life he became active in the trade unions and Communist Party. For this he was imprisoned in Mauthausen by the Nazis. After the war he returned to Prague where he became first district secretary and then First Secretary of the Central Committee. Upon the death of President Antonín Zapotocký in 1957, Novotný became President of the Republic, while retaining the key post of First Secretary. He was also Secretary of the National Front—a formidable amount of power and an enormous load of duties to combine in one man.

longer call the cooperatives their own, they were alienated from the land, their initiative was killed, and production lagged. Much the same was true in industry.

By the time of the 13th Party Congress in mid-1966 the economic problems had become more complex and difficult and the demands for action on both the political and economic fronts more insistent. The Congress adopted a series of broad resolutions, one of which read that it was necessary: "To complete, and *introduce,* from the next year on, *the improved system of planned management in the whole economy*" (emphasis in original). On the political side the resolutions stated: "The dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its main historic mission in our country. . . . The development of our society is closely connected with an extension of socialist democracy, with the active participation of the working people in administration and management. . . . The development of democracy must go hand in hand with strengthening of a scientific and professional approach to social management."

In the ensuing period a tug-of-war developed over the carrying out of these resolutions, with Novotný and the old guard resisting change, while the progressive wing, mainly younger party members, were pressing for action. They were supported by such important outside demonstrations as a meeting in Prague of more than 300 prewar Communist Party members which led to further and larger meetings—all demanding democratic reforms.

Novotný and those in his group did not take such opposition passively. They arbitrarily transferred protesters to positions where they could be less effective, as when they took Miroslav Galuška[5] in 1958 from head of the press section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and sent him as Ambassador to Great Britain. Similarly, Čestmír Císar,[6] increasingly influential as head of the Commission on Ideology and Culture in the Central Committee, was removed from that post in 1963 and made Minister of Education. He became so popular with the university students that he was sent in 1965 as Ambassador to Romania. Others, such as Ota Šik, were forbidden to speak at Party meetings.

The highhanded method of dealing with the opposition was shown in May 1967 when Jirí Hendrych, representing the Presidium of the

---

[5]Miroslav Galuška, born in Prague in 1922, is now Minister of Culture and Information.

[6]Čestmír Císar, born in 1920 in West Bohemia, is now back as head of the Commission on Ideology and Culture. In the 1968 elections he was the students' candidate for President of the Republic, but told them that he preferred his present post—an indication of the prestige here of Party work.

Central Committee, attempted to tell the writers at their congress how they should do their work. He was booed and the result was that the writers lost control of their journal, *Literary News*, and three of the leading critics lost their Party membership. Even though many people had previously thought that the writers had often been too self-centered (for example, seldom mentioning Vietnam) they did not approve of administrative measures as a means of settling cultural arguments. The use of police force to break up a student demonstration in October added to the mounting resentment of the public against the dictatorial methods Novotný was using. Popular indignation (the incident was so small that it would not have rated a headline in the USA) forced the resignation of the police chief and within a few days all of the immediate demands of the students were met. But the students had tasted the fruits of victory and broadened their demands. They added their voices to those of factory workers who in increasing numbers were insisting that Novotný and his government resign.

By the December 1967 meeting of the Central Committee Novotný had lost control of the majority. It was a tense time, with one mysterious order mobilizing part of the army. Novotný denied knowing anything about the mobilization. The Minister of Defense, General Bohumír Lomský, told an unbelieving television audience that no such alert had taken place. The tension, and fear of a military coup, was much relieved when on January 6, 1968 it was announced that Novotny had resigned as First Secretary and that the Central Committee had replaced him with Alexander Dubček. But Novotný was still President, and, as such, the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

The now uncensored press and radio began to ask for investigations of many specific abuses. One of these was the charge that Major General Jan Šejna, a protegé of Novotný and his political representative in the army, had sold to cooperatives seed which he was supposed to have distributed without charge. His take was several hundred thousand crowns. On February 25 Šejna fled to the arms of the CIA. He went on a diplomatic passport and in one of the two foreign-made cars owned by Novotný's son. Novotný increased the credibility gap by pretending that he hardly knew Šejna. This shattered his remaining prestige. He could no longer resist the demands that he give up the Presidency. On March 22 he resigned and on March 30 the Parliament elected General Ludvík Svoboda,[7] one of the heroes of the

[7]General Ludvík Svoboda, a farmer's son born in 1895, deserted the Austro-Hungarian Army and crossed over to fight with the Russians during World War I. Later he taught in a military academy in Moravia, and when the Nazis occupied Czechoslovakia his whole family joined in the resistance. His son was killed by the Gestapo. He helped organize and commanded the Czechoslovak army which

liberation of Czechoslovakia, as President. In keeping with the new spirit, this vote, for the first time in the history of Czechoslovak presidential elections, was not by a show of hands but by secret ballot. The old cabinet resigned and President Svoboda commissioned Oldrich Černík to form a new one which was sworn in on April 9. The new government is entirely made up of persons who favor the new system of economic management and further democratization of Czechoslovak society.

Foreign Relations and Socialist Internationalism

ONE of the hopes of the capitalists and fears of many socialists has been that Czechoslovakia would break her alliance with the socialist countries and "turn to the West." The new government has given a clear answer to this. Speaking in Slovakia (where he is very popular) President Svoboda said on May 23: "Our society is and will remain socialist. But we seek a consistent democratization of our whole political and social system, in which all citizens of this country will have equal rights and duties not only on paper but in fact. . . . Our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union is firm and enduring" (*Práce*, May 24, 1968).

The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jirí Hájek'[8] has repeatedly emphasized the economic, geographic and political as well as military basis for this alliance with the Soviet Union. He points to the Munich Agreement and to the fact that the revanchist Bonn government refuses to admit that it was invalid from its beginning. In Moscow at the end of April he noted the many times in which the Soviet Union had come to the assistance of Czechoslovakia and said: "There are elements which are trying to cast a shadow over Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship. But they will never succeed in shaking it. . . . The voice of Czechoslovakia has always been the voice of a member of the socialist community of nations. . . . Our basic policy orientation remains unchanged" (*New Times*, May 1, 1968).

On May 30 at a Prague press conference Western correspondents persistently badgered Minister Hájek in an attempt to get him to admit

fought alongside the Soviet troops, including the battles that liberated Slovakia. In 1945 he was one of those who signed the Košice Program and became Minister of Defense. In the worst period of the "cult" he worked as an accountant on a cooperative farm. In 1955 he became head of the Klement Gottwald Military Academy.

[8]Jirí Hájek, born in 1913 near Benešov, was imprisoned during the Nazi occupation. Talented linguist, professor at the College of Politics and Economics, a diplomat for many years representing Czechoslovakia at the United Nations and in Great Britain. From 1965 to 1967 Minister of Education.

that in some way the Soviet Union was interfering in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. Instead Hájek remarked: "I am surprised at the concern expressed here by the correspondents from the United States and Great Britain. They say nothing about the refusal of the United States to return to us the $30 million of our gold which she holds. And they do not protest that the United States denies our trade the most-favored-nation treatment to which we have a legal right. These things I do regard as serious interferences in our affairs." Can there be any doubt that the events that forced out men like Šejna and Novotný and brought in men like Svoboda and Hájek has strenthened socialist security and deepened proletarian internationalism?

The Action Program

GRADUALLY the demand of the people, of Parliament and of the Central Committee has become: Let us be done with emphasis on reevaluation of the past and direct our energies to the new stage in the construction of socialism. With the changes in government accomplished, the way is now clear for this advance, for the specific consideration of the many difficult and interrelated problems, economic, political and social. Some idea of the scope and complexity of the action needed is that in its English edition the proposed *Action Program* of the Central Committee runs to 90 pages. This program is now being widely discussed, with leading Communists and other representative people explaining and debating the issues every day in a truly exciting and enlightening way in the press and on radio and television. This is partly in preparation for the 14th Congress of the Communist Party, which will take place in September and elect a new Central Committee. The discussion also lays the democratic-scientific basis for new legislation by the Parliament. Ultimately changes in basic laws and in the constitution itself may be expected.

On the economic side, the Action Program proposes the democratization of management by giving the working people and managers more powers and responsibilities, while reserving ultimate controls to the elected bodies. It reads: "Decision-making about the plan and the economic policy of the state must be both a process of mutual confrontation and harmonizing of different interests . . . a process of a suitable combination of long term development and of immediate prosperity. Effective measures protecting the consumer against the abuse of the monopoly position and economic power of production and trading enterprises must be a necessary part of the activity of the state.

"The drafting of the national economic plan and the national economic policy must be subject to democratic control of the National Assembly and specialized control on the part of scientific institutions" (pp. 56-7).

The basic purpose of economic policy "is the steady growth of the standard of living" (p. 63). Many specific measures are proposed, such as the organization of representative economic and management councils, the raising of pensions and further improvement of health services, education and research.

It is on the political-legal side that the Action Program has its most unique proposals—proposals of world significance. In his speech to the Central Committee introducing the Action Program, First Secretary Alexander Dubček said: "We have to apply to a fuller extent the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of socialist construction in which we have already achieved outstanding successes, the principles of the leading role of the Party. It was and is a matter of marching forward, of unfolding these principles. We are beginning a new stage of our proletarian socialist revolution. . . . There is therefore nothing more and nothing less at stake than a full application of the fundamental Marxist concept of the role of the broad masses and the role of the Party and of politics. We cannot ignore the extremes which harm this movement. . . . We do not have in mind just any sort of democracy, but *socialist democracy*" (from the ČTK translation, pp. 5, 7 and 9). In line with this, the Central Committee at its June 1968 meeting, reaffirmed the decision taken at Košice in 1945 that the National Front would not permit any opposition parties that are against socialism (*Rudé Právo,* June 2, 1968).

As an essential part of the education for full democracy, the Action Program states that: "The Party stresses that it will oppose all expressions of anti-Semitism, racism and any anti-humanistic ideology which would set the people against each other" (*Action Program,* p. 17).

Perhaps the most important paragraph of the Action Program reads: "In the past, the leading role of the Party was often conceived as a monolithic concentration of power in the hands of Party bodies. This corresponds to the false thesis that the Party is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This harmful conception weakened the initiative and responsibility of the State, economic and social institutions and damaged the Party's authority, and prevented it from carrying out its real functions. The Party's goal is not to become the universal 'caretaker' of the society, to bind all organizations and every step taken in life by its directives. Its mission lies primarily in arousing socialist initiative, in showing the ways and actual possibilities of communist perspectives, and in winning over all workers to them

by systematic persuasion, as well as by the personal examples of communists" (p. 22).

This is good Marxism. Lenin's slogan was: "All power to the *Soviets.*" An essential part of regenerating Parliament and other elected bodies is to restore to them their constitutional powers—no body can be expected to have initiative and the respect of the people unless it has both powers and responsibilities. Joseph Smrkovský,[9] new speaker of Parliament and member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, has repeatedly emphasized this and the importance of the rule of law: "Law should be adopted as a solid inviolable basis of state and social life. . . . In the first place, we have to revise the rules of political decision-making. These rules have to remove privileges and preferences, particularly the claim of infallibility, a monopoly on being right. . . . The Parliament, as well as the lower political and administrative bodies cannot be regarded as mere instruments, as the ill-famed levers and gears. . . . The government of the republic must have all possibilities to really govern and create policy. . . . The Parliament must uncompromisingly fulfil its (constitutional) duty to maintain control over the whole executive apparatus" (Joseph Smrkovský, from a speech in Parliament April 18, 1968).

Shortly before this Smrkovský had written: "We must deduce theoretical and practical conclusions from the fact that there no longer exist antagonistic classes in our country. . . . It is up to us, Czechs and Slovaks, to set out courageously on unexplored terrain and to search in it for *our Czechoslovak socialist road. It is actually even our obligation towards the entire international socialist movement.* This road will lead us to consolidate, all over again and anew, our unity with the Soviet Union and with all socialist countries, doing so on the well-tested principles of equality, and to establish a type of socialism that would have something to say even to Europe's industrial countries with their advanced revolutionary labor movements" (*Rudé Právo,* February 9, 1968. Emphasis in original).

The new Czechoslovak leaders clearly see that there are dangers in such a broad process of democratization. Alexander Dubček said: "There are certain misgivings that such a broad meeting of ideas might grow into anarchy. . . . Anti-communists, who are certain to be

[9] Josef Smrkovský was born in 1911 in the village of Velenka, Central Bohemia. By 1932 he held important posts in the Communist Party. He remained active in illegal party work during the Nazi occupation. After 1945 he was elected deputy chairman of the National Council and in 1948 became Deputy Minister of Agriculture. From 1951 to 1955 he was imprisoned. From 1955 to 1963 he worked as chairman of a cooperative farm. In 1963 he was again Deputy Minister of Agriculture, and in 1967 became Minister of Forestry and Water Conservancy.

found here, may feel themselves to be on their high horse and even happy about our self-criticism, but it will not be they who will directly or indirectly influence our development. On the contrary, this process will deprive them of their breeding ground. . . . We believe in the strength and maturity of our people. In no case, however, does this mean that we are surrendering the right to use power against our enemies who—through no fault of ours—are in the imperialist camp, and against whom we have to safeguard our socialist way of life" (from a speech in Brno, March 16, 1968). In this way, with full confidence in the people, the new leaders of the Communist Party are showing the way to advance beyond the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat to full socialist democracy.

The Czechoslovak people, from students, workers and farmers, to pensioners, are responding to this confidence with an enthusiasm that is astonishing and a maturity that is reassuring. Some extremists do speak up, and are widely quoted abroad. But here they are either ignored or fully answered. They will have little influence on actual policies or legislation.

Many difficult problems remain to be solved, but they are being tackled with confidence that with the use of scientific Marxist methods they will be solved. As in the case of all pioneering social efforts, there are risks. But, and this can not be overemphasized, the real danger here lay in the inaction in the past, in the failure to conceive of socialism as a living and developing form of society. The Czechoslovak Communist Party realized this and acted in time to save socialism here from disaster and to lead the country to a new era of development.

Prague, June 5

10½ HOURS AWAY . . .

"ONCE A WEEK, beginning July 15, the big passenger jets will be loading up at Sheremetyevo Airport, pointing toward New York, and Kennedy International Airport, pointing toward Moscow. The cargo is people and caviar—theirs Russian, ours Iranian. The flight takes from 10½ to 13 hours, depending on direction and aircraft. First-class round trip fare is $1,109. (Basic one-way economy fare $384, except peak eight weeks of summer when it will be $429.)

"This first direct commercial air service between the U.S. and Russia has been brought to pass after nearly a decade of delicate negotiations, handled in the final phase by George B. E. Hambleton of Pan Am and his Soviet counterpart in the Soviet airline Aeroflot. The service eliminates costly and tedious Moscow-New York journeying by way of intermediate nations.

"The big jets sit at the airports. Contact! And the world moves an inch closer to sanity. Expensive sanity, but sanity." *N. Y. Post,* July 16, 1968

CARL GRIFFLER

The USSR and Socialism: Questions for the New Left

With large numbers of American young people moving to the left, the need to examine the revolutionary experience of the twentieth century becomes more and more pressing. The USSR, as the first socialist country has contributed mightily to the process of change in the world, and we feel that radicals in the United States will increasingly wish to study and apply this experience. This article is intended to open a discussion, and we hope readers will follow up the avenues explored in it by sending in criticism and comments. —THE EDITORS.

WHEN the October Revolution swept into existence the world's first socialist state, many people believed that Utopia had finally been achieved—the fulfillment of mankind's dream of a society in which all men would live in harmony; where rationality would rule and all of the problems plaguing mankind would find solution.

One person alive at the time of the Revolution, said to me, "We thought that Marxism would solve all problems." Socialists and others conscious of capitalism's ills looked to the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, as the beacon in a world that was groping through one tragedy after another.

The Stalin "revelations" and the Soviet intervention in Hungary created misgivings on the part of many, but Marxists and progressives in America, as elsewhere, still looked upon Soviet society as the embodiment of what they were struggling to achieve.

In today's radical upsurge, however, its is remarkable that some radicals do not find the experience of the Soviet Union important. In the list of publications available from the Radical Education Project (originally set up by the Students for a Democratic Society though now independent), there are numerous items (sympathetic and hostile) dealing with People's China, but not *one* article dealing with the Soviet Union. It would appear that the REP editors consider Chinese experience *very* important and Soviet experience very *unimportant.*

CARL GRIFFLER, a graduate student in New York City, is Student Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

One reason for this may be the fact that the editors consider the Soviet Union to be a "have" nation, as contrasted with China and Cuba, which are still in the throes of revolution, and thus are more like colonial nations struggling for independence. Many among the New Left support the policy of "many Vietnams," and this attitude accords with the position taken by Cuba and China.

The Bolshevik Revolution is now more than fifty years old; many have forgotten the struggle to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy. The more recent Chinese and Cuban Revolutions are better remembered. In fact, under the impact of a "Cold War" education, many among the New Left, as among the American population generally, seem to lack appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union. For example, its decisive part in the defeat of Fascism and Nazism in World War II is not well known to most radicals.

Another reason why radicals of the New Left ignore the Soviet Union is that, unlike China and Cuba, the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic and cultural relations with the United States—the aggressor. Cultural agreements are signed for the exchange of artists and scholars, meetings take place between diplomats, and between leading citizens of both countries, at the same time that the United States is attempting to bomb Vietnam to smithereens. For many of the New Left the Soviets' agreement with the United States and Great Britain to take "immediate action through the UN Security Council against the possibility of nuclear attack on non-nuclear countries" aroused more suspicion than joy. Similarly, they were suspicious of the meeting last summer of Johnson and Kosygin; the attitude evidently being that despite Vietnam the Soviet Union carries on "business as usual" with the United States.

Certainly the whole problem of "freedom of expression" in the Soviet Union contributes to a feeling of alienation, of lack of identification with the Soviet Union. Even without knowing the full situation, they reject the Soviet explanation for the trials of the writers Daniel and Siniavsky, and similar cases. Their position basically stems from a deep-rooted belief in complete freedom of expression, and the right of everyone to "tell it like it is"—or what you think "it is."

The disenchantment of the New Left with the Soviet Union is well summarized in the following quotation from an SDS member, Jeff Shero, writing about a visit he had just made there:

> The difficult problem [in judging the Soviet Union] is does the system produce more than the welfare state with its contented consumers; does it on a large scale, create people with the initiative and drive to overcome the established bureaucracies' definition of propriety and the full life?

Apparently, the writer does not think so, for later on he states: "Among average Russians the usual everyday concerns of family and making a better life are primary and politics and social issues are treated remotely"; and further that "there is general fascination with the accoutrements of bourgeois life" (meaning of course good living standards); which leads to this abrupt and characteristic conclusion: "But why not? It's not China" (*Village Voice*, Sept. 7, 1967).

An example of emotional alienation from the Soviet Union is provided by Professor Staughton Lynd, one of the leading intellectuals of the New Left. In an article in *Monthly Review* (November 1967) devoted to "Fifty Years of Soviet Power," he writes:

> I would like to be able to regard the Soviet Union as an ally: I would like to feel, when thinking of the Soviet Union: "Those are my comrades. I wonder how things go with them." I wish I were able to respond to the weal and woe of the Soviet Union as if it were happening to myself, or to the movement of which I consider myself a part. . . . I do not regard the Soviet Union with a *subjective* sense of comradeship (p. 29, emphasis added).

Professor Lynd would like to see a new orientation of the radical movement freed of the *domination* of the Soviet Union's "position." Perhaps this gives us another reason for the total ignoring of the Soviet Union by the New Left.

IN MANY instances the New Left is critical of the Soviet Union for practices and policies which are overlooked when practiced by the socialist countries that are currently most popular with them. For example, bureaucracy in the USSR is condemned while the total cult of Mao Tse-tung is ignored; the Soviets are roundly rapped for trading with Chile, while Cuba's trade with Fascist Spain and China's with West Germany is not noticed.

In the final analysis, however, the argument for the relevance of Soviet experience to the Left—New or Old—is not to be found in the various issues that arise concerning the actions and policies of the socialist countries, but in the simple fact that a radical needs to be familiar with the experiences of *all* socialist countries, of the experiences encountered in building socialism. A radical cannot learn from history so selectively that he rejects what he does not like or what he *thinks* he does not like. The Soviet Union is a country rich in socialist experience—in short, one which must be studied by serious socialists.

If it is correct to say that a radical should be familiar with the history of the socialist movement, then it is *especially* true that he should know the history of the world's first socialist state. Knowledge

of Russian history is essential in gaining a balanced perspective on the problems which have confronted the Soviet Union in building a socialist society. Many on the Left tend to forget that, whereas the Soviet Union as a socialist state is only fifty years old, the Russian state has existed for over one thousand years and Russian history goes back to before birth of Christ.

On visiting the Soviet Union one is made immediately aware of the influence of the past. It is evident in the faces of the people, on buildings and monuments, in the social life of the country. One becomes aware of the meaning of nationalism, not only as it has appeared under capitalism (early and late), but as it relates to the socialist countries, including advanced ones like the Soviet Union. We must understand the roots of these "nationalisms" in the different socialist countries, because it will affect the whole course of unity within the socialist world.

We can learn much from studying the influence of traditional cultural factors which are carried over from the old society into socialist society. It is abundantly evident that in the Soviet Union problems whose origin can be found in Tsarist Russia have remained without solution. One must relate the problems and shortcomings concerning freedom of expression in the Soviet Union to the absence of democracy that characterized all of pre-revolutionary Russia. As Engels said, Eastern Europe never experienced the "Protestant revolution." Censorship was a basic feature of Russian society. Most political writing in Tsarist Russia had to be done under the guise of literature, and a whole style developed among the revolutionary intelligentsia in order to fool the Tsar's zealous, though often, fortunately, ignorant censors; many brilliant examples of revolutionary writings disguised as literary works were produced. These writings were powerful stimulants to the gathering storm that finally erupted into full-scale revolution.

Autocratic, one-man rule has dominated Russian history. The influence of Tsar Peter was profound. Stalin had great admiration for Peter, and it is reasonable to speak of the influence of Russia's autocratic past on the rule of Stalin. Immense power had been concentrated in the hands of the Tsars, as in Stalin's. Thus a thread runs through the history of Russia and the Soviet Union. Of course, the "cult of the individual" is not a phenomenon which has haunted only the Soviet Union. The *Peking Review*, for example, bears witness on every page to the cult of Mao, which borders on the fantastic. The problem concerning "the cult of the individual," whether in the Soviet Union or any other socialist country, is to understand why it has existed.

Equally important is to understand how, despite such violations of democratic norms, the basic material conditions of socialist society were built, as was done in the Soviet Union during the Stalin period. The foundations for socialism were laid during this period, not only under the handicap of Stalin's cruel repression, and his often distorted policies, but also under the intense pressures brought about by the Allied intervention, the Civil War, kulak opposition, and eventually World War II. All of these problems faced the Soviet Union during the Stalin regime, and what I think is demonstrated is that the Soviet Union had strengths which enabled it to survive all the pressures with its basic socialist structure intact, and then to openly acknowledge the terrible errors of this period and take steps to correct them and prevent their repetition.

The Soviet Union has a long way to go in its struggle to realize the full potential of socialism. In the past there may have been a tendency to think that under socialism problems would automatically take care of themselves—if there *were* any problems. Nor can the fact be ignored that certain leaders swept problems under the rug.

WHILE denouncing the Soviet Union for its excessive concentration of power, the New Left claims that Soviet power is not used sufficiently on the side of the forces of liberation. There is particular concern over what they consider Soviet indifference toward Vietnam. However, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union is giving large-scale economic and military aid to North Vietnam. [See article on this subject elsewhere in this issue for further details.] Paul Wohl, in the *Christian Science Monitor* (January 25), writes that "hard-liner Suslov and his group in the Kremlin seem to be determined to stop the United States military action in Southeast Asia at any price, and Mr. Brezhnev has so far gone along with them." The North Vietnamese have repeatedly stressed the importance of Soviet aid.

Soviet leaders have repeatedly declared their willingness to provide the DRV with everything needed to beat back US aggression, in addition to what has already been given. The USSR has offered to send volunteers if requested (as China and other socialist countries have also) and thousands of Soviet youth have offered to go, but the DRV has preferred so far to depend on its own manpower.

If one keeps abreast of developments in the Soviet Union one finds encouraging evidence of a recognition of the need to investigate the role of the individual in Soviet society. They are beginning to pay serious attention to his needs, wants, feelings, inadequacies—and, yes, maybe the reasons for his alienation.

A recent article in *Soviet Life* (February 1968) reports on a symposium of leading Soviet sociologists and philosophers concerning "The Individual in Socialist Society." This discussion reveals that at least certain leading Soviet intellectuals share the concern of Mr. Shero, quoted earlier, with producing "more than a welfare state with its contented consumers." In addition to numerous references to the needs and responsibilities of the individual in combatting bureaucracy, the discussion reveals a frank approach to the problems of people in Soviet society.

One sociologist cites a recent study comparing workers in the Soviet Union and the United States. The study concluded that "job satisfaction in the United States was higher than in the Soviet Union for all labor groups." There follows a searching discussion of the gap in the USSR between educational attainments and job possibilities, creating a certain "surplus of education." Thus there *are* serious contradictions that exist in Soviet society; the important point is that they are contradictions of socialist society, and the way in which the USSR tackles them is important for all socialist societies, which will undoubtedly face these problems in one form or another.

This is why Soviet problems and the efforts toward their resolution are relevant and important for radicals in the United States. They help us define more clearly what we mean by a "good" or "viable" socialist society, something which often has not been thought out clearly enough.

Serious attention to the Soviet Union—instead of the current attitude of dismissing it—would help the New Left to clarify its position on many vital questions. It would enable them to discuss contemporary issues and politics in a more comprehensive way, to gain a deeper perspective on developments in the world communist movement. The Soviet Union will continue to play a critical role in world affairs and cannot be ignored. It is part of the total experience about which the movement needs to know.

"Today wide sections of students in all the leading Western capitalist countries have come out in active progressive political struggle, for such aims as far-reaching democratic reform in the universities, against racialism or against the war in Vietnam, and sometimes for the complete transformation of the existing capitalist order. This is a most heartwarming sign of the times and a barometer of future social and political change. The most striking characteristic of the overwhelming majority of the students entering into the struggle today is their serious, active and practical approach, their candour and their courage."

R. Palme Dutt, *Labour Monthly*, July 1968

PAT SLOAN

Today's Youth West and East

IN A RECENT interview the editor of the "with it" magazine *Oz* ("an intellectual forum for a disenchanted generation"), Richard Neville, said that "we recognize the need for an alternative society" but that "there isn't a hippy Karl Marx." Instead, there's Bob Dylan, and *Oz* ran "a moral article on Bob Dylan, evaluating his lyrics," but the editor was rather self-critical about doing this, as it is now considered "old-fashioned" to "evaluate."

Old-fashioned to evaluate; to profess moral values. In the societies of the West today, steeped in the crises of capitalism and the decline of religious sanctions, a sort of anarchistic nihilism has arisen which is called "moral chaos" by the old-fashioned and a "permissive society" by the tolerant.

This permissiveness, in Britain at any rate, has gone far. Never did the present writer imagine, for example, that in his lifetime the staid Sunday *Observer*, in a survey of marriages, would include a contribution concerning a "married" male pair. But that is not the least of the surprises which the *Observer* has given its readers in an attempt to be "with it" in the 1960s. A Soviet official working in London was recently somewhat shocked to see a couple apparently engaged in sexual intercourse in a London park. "In the USSR," he said, "that does not happen, at least not in daylight."

Again, at the time of writing, students are demonstrating throughout Europe and the USA. These young people seek to improve the educational provisions of the rapidly growing universities and to introduce elements of democratic student self-government; there is a simultaneous trend which is primarily concerned with making contraceptives, cohabitation and The Pill essentials of officially-sponsored university life. On the question of the pill, Malcolm Muggeridge resigned from the rectorship of Edinburgh University—he did *not* support the idea of making it part of the equipment of female students.

PAT SLOAN is a former editor of *British-Soviet Friendship*, and has written extensively on the USSR. He taught at the Ideological Institute in Ghana until the coup in February 1966.

On cohabitation, David Craig was forced to resign as Dean of Lancaster University—he *did* make a public statement supporting it. And so the controversy around sex rages, and captures much of the attention of student youth.

The manifest dissatisfaction of a large proportion of the youth of the West, especially the students, may be traced to several interpenetrating causes.

First, there is profound disillusion with capitalist society as embodied in the American invasion of Vietnam and Harold Wilson's attacks on living standards. These serve to jaundice youth against the capitalist Establishment, whether admittedly such or whether wearing the "socialist" clothing of a labor government.

Secondly, there is the breakdown of traditional morality which is linked with the collapse of religious belief. A century ago the phrase "God is watching you" was effectively used to mold the morals of children. Today the religious sanctions have fallen away, and in the West nothing new has arisen to take their place. The historical evasion by religion of the need to apply Christianity to the economic immorality of exploitation, and its enormous overstress on sex as the main concern of morality, is now facing its reversal in complete sexual permissiveness.

But yet a third trend differentiates today's youth from the generation of the 1930s.

In the 1930s the worldwide issue of Democracy *vs.* Fascism, as expressed successively in the Popular Fronts in France and Spain and the Spanish Civil War, with the USSR as the world's only working model of socialism, provided a relatively simple black and white antithesis, in which he who was not for socialism and democracy was against it. On one side were the fascist Establishments in Germany and Italy in those days, and the Chamberlains and Daladiers who supported them; on the other, the Soviet Union and all the forces working for collective security, for democracy and peace.

Today things do not appear so simple to contemporary youth. The Vietnam war—no; racism—no; imperialism—increasingly no; the old traditional morality—no.

But how far does this take us?

Are those who say "no" to the above able to say "yes" to socialism, to the socialist states, to the USSR? Is the young people's search for a personal morality transcending both Victorian morality and self-defeating license related to their response to the historical contest between old and new social systems?

Here, it appears, is the great problem.

THE black-and-white presentation of the two social systems has broken down in the years following 1945.

Here again there are two main reasons:

First, since 1952, it has no longer been possible for anybody (despite certain Soviet official formulations which still sometimes appear), to present the USSR in a wholly favorable light, even as viewed by progressive people in the rest of the world. Since the death of Stalin, the revelations of Khrushchev, the amount of self-criticism which has achieved publication in the USSR itself over the past dozen years, and certain matters of detail where Soviet internal policy has appeared, or been made in the West to appear, to violate the principles reaffirmed since 1956, criticism of the USSR has been expressed by friends as well as exploited by enemies.

Secondly, a number of additional socialist states have come into being, each one of which has proved, in one way or another, that the Soviet road to socialism was unique; thus forever putting an end to slogans of the early 1930s which were still based on the idea of "Soviets everywhere."

Moreover, it is now clear that even socialist states with communist governments do not necessarily agree. There is no need for disagreement to be stressed as far as China has pressed it for it to be clear that the Cubans and the Czechs, the Romanians and the Poles, are all in their own way charting out paths of development which, at times, alarm their Soviet friends.

The youth in the West is thus confronted not only with capitalist Establishments which they increasingly don't like; but also with a variety of socialist Establishments which do not agree among themselves. The issues are vastly more complicated than in the over-simplified days of the 1930s. Having said "no" in the West to the Vietnam war and racism, even to capitalism and imperialism, to which socialism are the youth of today to say "yes"?

In answering this question, there are certain basic points on which clarity is essential, and of which all who were born since the last war should be reminded:

The USSR was, and remains, the first state in the world to have introduced socialism—the public ownership of the means of production. It was the first country to introduce, on this basis, a planned economy. It has raised the peoples of the USSR from living conditions of absolute poverty to a level of prosperity, full employment and leisure which today compares with the most advanced countries (despite the many problems which are still in the course of solution).

This same Soviet state has introduced equality of the sexes, and

between people of all nationalities, in a way which no capitalist or imperialist state has even attempted. It has consistently used its growing power in the cause of peace and disarmament, as befits a country in which no person can profit from the manufacture of arms.

At the same time, in a conscious attempt to educate human beings to live in a cooperative society, everything possible is done to replace the ideas of private profit by social consciousness.

Hence in 1961 the adoption of the Moral Code of Communism—which has received remarkably little notice in the West, even in publications friendly to the USSR—setting out a pattern of behavior, a way of life, for the new society which is being built, which is in no way inconsistent with the traditional Christian "love thy neighbor as thyself." For example:

". . . conscientious labor for the good of society . . . concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth . . . collectivism and comradely mutual assistance; one for all and all for one; humane relations and mutual respect between individuals —man is to man a friend, comrade and brother." An "uncompromising attitude" is called for against "injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism, and money-grubbing" and also against "national and racial hatred."

In British schools today, *one hour* a week is allocated for so-called "Religious Instruction," and this is the sole period in the school curriculum which is even remotely concerned with morality.

In the USSR the Moral Code has been introduced into schools and factories as a guide to contemporary living. The last time I visited the USSR (1964) I saw extracts from it posted on factory walls rather as religious texts used to be posted on drawing room or bedroom walls in Victorian England.

On the basis of this Moral Code, of course, a good deal of pompous exhortation can be written. "Sermonizing" in Britain is nowadays limited to church sermons, and not many attend. But in the Soviet press, institutions and schools, "sermonizing" in the spirit of the Moral Code of Communism is frequent, and to the eye and ear conditioned by the "permissive society" much of such sermonizing seems pompous and smug. Our youth do not like sermonizing, from whatever quarter it comes, but in the context of Soviet life, where a genuine attempt is made to unite theory and practice, the atmosphere is different.

Maybe, even to Soviet youth, there is too much sermonizing.

But in practice, in day-to-day life, they are growing up in an atmosphere of communal effort in which, from the start, their own personalities develop as part of a collective.

In Moscow one Sunday I took a short-cut across the grass border along one of the green-lined boulevards. I felt a tug at my coat: "Uncle, keep off the grass," said a boy of about ten or twelve, wearing an arm band. His "social work" this Sunday was to protect the grass from loose-footed adults and he did it with a dignity far beyond his years by Western standards.

That same Sunday, in the late afternoon, I saw truckloads of scrap metal being taken to a city collection center by children whose "social work" had been to collect it. In other words, from early years, children grow up with a sense of common property and common work in the public interest.

In this atmosphere of communal social effort, school children are interested in achieving the best group results. Grading in educational institutions is not on the individualistic basis of numbering everyone from "top" to "bottom" of the class, but by a system under which any number can achieve the highest mark of "five" or "four." Apart from individual efforts to get this high mark, there is the collective effort, expressed in organized competition between classes, to get the maximum number of "fives" and "fours" and the minimum of "twos" and "ones." And so a spirit of collective effort results in the classroom which we in the West only know on the football ground.

Collective effort to achieve something: this is the characteristic of youth growing up in Soviet conditions. With no unemployment, and careers open to all according to ability, there is an optimism of outlook which contrasts strikingly with the nihilistic anarchism so prevalent in the West.

However smug some of the published exhortations may appear to be, this atmosphere certainly does not dehumanize the Soviet younger generation.

In recent weeks, British school visitors to the USSR have been interviewed in our press. A girl of 17 said: "I didn't expect people to be so friendly. We met other children in their schools and they took us out." Others said that they were very impressed with the Russian students whom they met. "We were able to discuss with them such things as Vietnam, religion, and communism," and the people were "so friendly."

True, these brief extracts give only the impressions of young tourists. But young people are quick enough to detect anything phony or unnatural, or stiff and smug, in members of their own generation whom they meet. Neither group said a word of this. It was the "friendliness" which impressed them, illustrating the maxim: "Man is to man a friend, comrade and brother."

To the younger generation in the West today, the USSR's socialism is something which *exists.* But it takes some effort to realize that to be understood it must be seen as it has *developed.* The primitiveness of Russia up to 1917 can only be learned from reading, and it is not the most readily available material. Moreover, the building of a socialist (and thence a communist) society is a long historical process.

Even today there is a certain reluctance on the part of Soviet writers to recognize how much the past can still hold back the progress of the present, though the Party Program of 1961 was quite clear on the necessity "to eliminate completely the survival of bourgeois views and morals" and "to insure the all-round, harmonious development of the individual; to create a truly rich spiritual culture." In their endeavors to create the new culture there are still sometimes smug self-congratulatory formulations that suggest that it has already been created.

Youth in the world today has its eyes open. It is aware of the faults of capitalism, and no longer can anybody pretend that the new society does not also have its share of faults. Youth may well accept the idea that a new social system is necessary, but the tendency is to grasp at some "ideal" without faults—something which is never in practice realizable in life itself. Even in Poland and Czechoslovakia, we hear, youth have been demonstrating for a better society, and it is to be hoped that all their realistic proposals, which are consistent with socialism, are speedily incorporated into their countries' systems. But when reading that youth in socialist countries is also expressing criticism, there is a natural tendency for youth in the West to say "a plague on both your houses."

We are not concerned with "plagues." Criticism is a factor in real life which may play a positive or a negative role. The essential question which young people must decide for themselves is this:

Will criticism *within* the capitalist system solve the basic problems of peace and prosperity for themselves and future generations, or is criticism *of* capitalist society necessary?

And, on the other hand, taking the complex of socialist states, is it criticism *within* socialism or criticism *of* socialism which points the way forward?

It is very important that the two types of criticism should not be confused: To end the profitability of war and war preparations, for example, criticism *of* capitalism is necessary. To end monopolistic anarchy in the economic system and replace it by social planning, criticism *of* capitalism is necessary. But to make a social plan work,

once it has been established, criticism *within* the planned system becomes the main implement of progress.

AS in the 1930s, the world is divided into two main social systems. At that time it was the USSR—alone—and the capitalist-imperialist world outside. Today it is the system of socialist states (whatever their differences among themselves), the capitalist-imperialist states, and a "third world" of newly independent ex-colonies which have come into existence since 1945.

In this world of today there are many more varieties of paths of social development becoming apparent than were conceivable in the days of Marx and Engels or even as recently as the 1930s. It is in *this* world that *this* younger generation has got to find its political feet, and the job is not an easy one.

But it is well worth while to take another look at the USSR, to delve deeper into what are the conditions for real freedom, to compare the three moralities—old-style authoritarian prudery; "I'm all right Jack" permissiveness; enlightened responsibility and social concern—and to make the choice between the possible paths these moralities indicate for humanity's future.

At least we can begin on one issue which unites all people: survival is preferable to annihilation. The avoidance of humanity's suicide is surely a common aim of youth, in whatever social system they happen to be living. So let this be the common ground from which to start.

A BOLSHOI LIFT

THE WORD BOLSHOI, since the first visit of the Russian troupes to our shores, has become a part of the vocabulary of our own world of dance. American dancers, fascinated with the acrobatic prowess of the Bolshoi artists, emulated them. One-armed lifts by stalwart Soviet males as they propelled Soviet damsels skyward simply challenged our own dancers . . .

"Today, almost any choreographer for ballet, musicals, movies or TV will say to his dancers: "Here, I want a Bolshoi lift."

"American dancers have added such one-arm lifts, hurtlings through space, leaping turns with wild backbends, and other examples of physical daring to their vocabulary of movement. But there has also been reciprocity. The first Bolshoi males to be seen here were built rather like truck drivers. They were undeniably strong but not modeled along esthetic lines. Today, the Bolshoi gentlemen of the ballet have taken a note from the American males. They are slim and lithe and even svelte, without losing strength. This was, indeed, a part of the US-USSR Cultural Exchange Program. Both benefited."

Walter Terry reviewing "Stars of the Bolshoi," *Saturday Review*, May 25

ZBIGNIEW HERBERT

Report from Paradise

In paradise a working week lasts thirty hours
wages are higher prices fall
physical toil does not tire (due to weaker gravity)
wood chopping is no more than typing
the social structure is stable and those in authority wise
honestly in paradise things are better than anywhere

At first it was to be different —
luminous circles choirs stages of abstraction
but it proved impossible to divide exactly
body from soul which would arrive here
trailing a drop of lard a thread of muscle
the conclusion had to be drawn
a grain of the absolute had to be mixed with the grain of clay
one more departure from doctrine the last departure
John alone had foreseen this: ye shall rise in the flesh

Only a few behold God
he is for those of pure pneuma
the rest listen to communiques about miracles and floods
in time all shall behold God
when this will be no one knows

Meanwhile on saturdays at noon
sirens bray sweetly
heavenly proletarians emerge from factories
carrying their wings clumsily like violins under their arms

Translated by ADAM CZERNIAWSKI
Courtesy *Polish Perspectives*

ZBIGNIEW HERBERT fought in the Polish resistance in his teens. In 1956 he published his first collection of poems, *Ray of Light.* He is an art historian, and besides other collections of poetry he published in 1963 *The Barbarian in the Garden,* a group of essays about his travels in France and Italy. Penguin Books has just published in English Herbert's *Selected Poems.*

NIKOLA VULEV

Bulgaria's Industrial Expansion

ECONOMISTS are showing increasing interest in what the smaller countries are doing to improve their industrial development. There are two principal factors behind this drive for improvement: the fact that the highly industrialized states are looking for new markets for their increasing output, and the desire of the smaller countries to overcome their economic backwardness and build a modern industry, comparable to the best world standards.

The experience of small countries which have launched extensive industrialization programs over the past two decades is varied; different trends and ideas have evolved in the elaboration of their national industrialization programs.

Bulgaria did not begin its economic development until the postwar years. In the past it was a backward agricultural country, with little industry and a small home market. Bulgaria's participation in international trade was negligible; it imported certain industrial goods and exported predominantly raw agricultural products. The country was a poor market for highly industrialized states.

The postwar years have seen an accelerated industrialization rate. In 1967 industrial output was 25 times that of the last prewar year of 1939. Today more than half of the national income comes from the industrial sector (until 1948 this figure was only 34 per cent). In 1948 only 7.6 per cent of the labor force was employed by industry, but by 1966 the proportion had risen to 27.6 per cent. In spite of the rising share of agriculture in the gross national output and national income, there has been a rapid drop in the manpower employed by farming. Economic progress has also meant greater participation in world trade.

Industry has been the main lever behind Bulgaria's economic development during the past two decades. The industrialization program gave priority to heavy industry producing means of production, thus speeding up the application of technical progress. This led to the expansion of the material and technical basis of all spheres of production and to an extension of consumer services.

NIKOLA VULEV is a Bulgarian economist.

Industrialization meant importing means of production, Soviet machinery and equipment helped build and commission Bulgaria's largest metallurgical, machine-building and chemical works. Marked progress was made as well by ferrous and non-ferrous mining and the metalworking industries.

Bulgaria started building many types of agricultural machines: tractors, combine harvesters, threshers, drills, and others. The foundations were laid for an instrument and electronics industry. The Bulgarian electronic calculator ELKA has won international awards.

In its first stage the chemical industry was expanded mainly to supply agriculture with chemical fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides, and drugs to fight animal diseases. Later large petrochemical combines came into existence, creating the basis for organic synthesis. Industrialization essentially changed the sources of raw materials used by the national economy. In the past, light industry processed mainly natural farm products (wool, cotton, hides and skins) and products of the food industry (fruits and vegetables). With the discovery of local oil and natural gas fields, production began of artificial leather, polyester and other synthetic fibers. A modern plant for polyester fibers will soon enter service, and three other plants for synthetic fibers are under construction.

Electric power is a determining factor in modern production. The power-generating industry was also given priority, and today's power supply is able to meet most of the needs of the country. Several 600 megawatt plants are under construction, and by 1970 (the last year of the current five-year plan), the electric power output will reach 21 billion kwh.

Oil and natural gas plants also add to the country's power potential. Nevertheless, Bulgaria's industrial expansion and general improvement of living standards will require by 1980 (last year of the long-term development plan) some 65 billion kwh a year. An 800 to 1200 megawatt power plant will help meet the rising demand for power.

The development of heavy industry has provided additional employment. People continually come from the rural districts to the larger industrial centers. The purchasing power of the people has increased, and more consumer and durable goods are sold on the home market every year. Many branches of industry have been modernized, and new ones have come into being, especially in the light and food industries.

The textile industry now turns out 330 million meters of fabrics a year (for a population of 8.3 million). Adequate supplies of local

raw materials, skill and experience have stimulated the modernization of the food industry, and Bulgaria now exports canned foods to many countries in every part of the world.

Economic prosperity has increased the sale of durable goods which in the past were considered to be luxuries: household refrigerators, washing machines, automobiles, radios and television sets, electric household utensils, etc. The demand for such commodities on the home market has been constantly growing. Full employment and higher pay have greatly increased the standard of life in both urban and rural areas.

BULGARIA'S industrial expansion has also been influenced by the country's participation in the international division of labor, specialized production, joint enterprises, and mass production at lower cost. Modern industry needs larger markets. Bulgaria is a small country, but on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements for the specialization of production among the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and above all with the USSR, Bulgaria has been assigned the task of using her local resources to best advantage by the production of machinery and goods which the other CMEA countries require: electric platform and high-lift trucks, electric hoists, electric motors, and others.

At present Bulgaria builds 28 series of electric high-lift and special purpose trucks, which have found customers in 60 different countries. All have been certified to be up to the best world standards. In 1968 they will be displayed at seventeen international trade fairs and exhibitions in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The markets of many countries have shown a steady demand for Bulgarian electric motors, which Bulgaria builds within the framework of the CMEA. Mass production has meant the design of reliable and efficient models, with the highest operational coefficients.

Specialization includes certain types of agricultural machines, which find unlimited markets in the socialist countries. Joint-production projects have been realized not only with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic. Long-term economic cooperation agreements have been signed with many other countries. For instance, the Bulgarian industrial association "Balankar" has built assembly plants for electric high-lift trucks in Italy, Austria, Morocco and other countries. Because of the rising demand for automobiles, Bulgaria has reached agreement with the French "Renault" Company for the assembly of several types of its automobiles in Bulgaria. International cooperation has meant industrial expansion, better management, and cutting down of production costs, sure marketing prospects.

Bulgaria's industrial development program has greatly increased sales on the home market, as well as increasing the importation of foreign industrial products. Industrialization has increased the demand for modern and highly productive machines and flow lines, especially for the machine-building, instrument and radioelectronic industries. It is necessary also to import a number of industrial raw materials, especially metals, chemical products, ores, etc. On the other hand, Bulgaria has been increasing her own exports of metal-cutting machines, agricultural equipment (especially the internationally popular vineyard tractor "Bolgar"), electric and engine-driven platform and high-lift trucks, electric motors, electric hoists, and others.

Bulgaria's growing export-import trade is illustrated by the following figures. In 1966, foreign trade was 11.6 times greater than during the last prewar year of 1939. Industrial goods account for an increasing share of Bulgaria's exports, at the expense of farm products. While in 1939 industrial goods of non-farming origin accounted for only 0.4 per cent of her exports, the corresponding figure in 1966 was 41 per cent. During this same period the share of industrial goods of agricultural origin dropped from 62.2 per cent to 48.7 per cent. Exports of raw agricultural products fell from 37.4 per cent in 1939 to 10.3 per cent in 1966.

Imports have also increased, especially, of industrial goods, from some 72 countries: equipment for entirely new industrial projects, electronic computers, TV sets, automobiles, vacuum cleaners, etc.

This industrial development has opened prospects for more trade with the United States, which still accounts for only a small percentage of Bulgaria's foreign trade. Compared with her trade relations with France, Italy, Switzerland, West Germany, and other highly industrialized states, so far little use has been made of the opportunities for trade with the USA.

The modernization of Bulgaria's industry and agriculture, and her growing production and consumer capacities, suggest that the basis exists for considerable expansion of trade with such a highly industrialized country as the United States.

CLOTHBOUND, facsimile reprints of NWR, and its predecessor *Soviet Russia Today*, Vols. 1-28, for years 1932-1960, will be issued by Greenwood Reprint Corp. in September 1968. Complete set will sell for $990. Individual volumes will also be available for sale. Write Greenwood Reprint Corp., 211 East 43rd Street, New York City, N.Y., 10017.

NIKOLAY HAITOV

Tree Without Roots

This story about a retired peasant's life in Sofia with his son and daughter-in-law presents an aspect of industrial growth not usually found in statistical reports. Nikolay Haitov is a leading Bulgarian writer.

YOU asked me my name. Thank you, thank you! I've been living in this city for a year, I've come to sit on this bench almost every single day, and so far no one has ever asked me what my name is. Not a soul, I tell you! You're the very first one, and that's why I thank you. May you live long and prosper, and may you never get into the state I'm in!

I know neither hunger nor thirst—certainly not. I look perfectly all right, and there's nothing wrong with me really, everything's as it should be. My daughter's married, and lives at home in our village, her child is all right, her husband is the chairman of our cooperative farm and my son's at the Ministry, the first deputy, or something like that, he's an engineer with a diploma as long as a bedsheet; a car comes to fetch him and brings him home every day. His wife's a doctor, their bathtub is of porcelain. I've got all the food I want, my bed is as fine as can be, I've got a room to myself, and all the same I'm in a bad way, so bad I don't know what to do! My health's going, I tell you, I'm growing weak and thin. I've no appetite, I can't sleep, and my mind's full of all kinds of nonsense, but there's no one I can talk to about it, for if I do, they'll make me out to be crazy.

Take, for instance, just the simplest thing: yogurt. I say to my son Kircho:

"Now, Kircho, just let me go and buy the yogurt. A man can go out and get it, and see folks and be seen by them. Get a bit of exercise, too."

"You're not to go!" he says. "You're absent-minded, and the first thing you know you'll get yourself run over by a car, and who'll have all the bother of it? I will of course! You stay at home and enjoy yourself, take your *kef!*"*

*Turkish word meaning pleasantly relaxed mood of enjoyment, taking one's ease and enjoying life.

And so there I sit at home. What am I to do? It's a big place, you could ride a horse around that apartment! It's all beautifully got up—everything you could wish for. There are rugs to spare, one spread after the other on the floor, so fine you daren't step on them. The parquet floor's polished like a mirror, and the minute you set foot on it, down you go!

"Make yourself comfortable!" my son says. "Eat, drink, take it easy, enjoy life!"

I ask you, how the devil am I to live? With whom? With the dining room or the sideboard, when my son and daughter-in-law are out from morning to night? They go out in the morning and come back in the evening. "Good night," "See you soon," "See you soon," "Good night," that's about all we've said to each other for the last year or two.

Well, as long as the child was in the house it wasn't so bad. We'd have a game together, take a walk together, and my old head would become clear; but my daughter-in-law sent him off to the nursery, so we only have him at home once a week now.

And do you know what she sent him off for? She didn't want him to learn peasant words from me! She didn't want his language spoiled because I talked to him like a peasant! You think I taught him swear words? Nothing of the kind. I made him a little switch, *shibouchka. Shibouchitsa* is what we call little switches in our parts of the country, a thin little switch to swish with. I gave it to my little grandson and said to him:

"Here's a *shibouchitsa* for you!"

You should have seen how his mother went for me:

"What's this *'shibouchitsa'?* Why don't you call it a stick like everyone else, why do you spoil his language with such words?"

"Why, daughter-in-law, why shouldn't the child know such a word? A stick is a big, thick thing, but a thin stick is a switch, a *shibouchitsa,* let the child know the word, he may need it!"

"He isn't going to be a cowherd, he won't need your *'shibouchitsa'!* He'll go to the foreign language school and learn the right things there! He'll never need your *'shibouchitsa'!"*

And just because of that word, she packed him off to the nursery.

"It would be better if I went home to my village," I said to her husband, my Kircho, "and let the child come home!"

But he cut me off short:

"You'll do nothing of the kind! You're not going off there to be all alone! And have the busybodies and gossips all going for me and saying I can't look after my own father. Make yourself comfortable here," he said, "eat and drink your fill, take it easy, enjoy life!"

Eat! . . . But I don't feel like eating warmed-up food, all of it out of cans! Stuffed vine-leaves, kebabs out of cans, salami out of cans, everything out of cans! They just open a can, shake out the food, and the daughter-in-law always covers it with mayonnaise. She went to Germany and saw that everybody there eats everything with mayonnaise, so she bought herself a machine and makes it, and when one batch is finished, she makes another, so there's never an end to it . . . Veal, pork, stuffed vine-leaves, it's all spoiled with mayonnaise! But you can't not eat it for she's short-tempered and would make a fuss.

Once I said to Kircho:

"That mayonnaise'll be the death of me!"

"Why?"

"It gives me a stomachache!"

"I hope to goodness you haven't got an ulcer!" he says. "I'll take you to the doctor tomorrow, and if you have, it'll just have to be cut out!"

"Take me, by all means, let them carve me up!"

I swear to you: I was ready to be cut up and have my stomach chopped to pieces, only to be rid of that mayonnaise!

Once I made up my mind to pound some garlic with salt and vinegar, and make a good meal of some proper food. After that awful sweetish mayonnaise, the sharp taste of the garlic was like balsam to me, so I made some a second time, and a third. But once I forgot to open the windows, and our lady-doctor smelled the garlic.

"What's it stinking of here?" she asked.

Well, I couldn't lie to her, so I said, "Garlic!"

"And what's garlic doing in my house?"

"Well, I just made myself some sauce with garlic and salt and vinegar, and ate it."

She went blue with rage! When she's angry, she doesn't shout, nothing as common as that. She just talks quite quietly, but her tongue's like a whip-lash, it cuts.

"Very good, excellent in fact! Kircho and I have got this household together with things we've collected from all over the world, and you make it stink of garlic! There, that cupboard stinks of it already! I'll have to send for the cabinet-maker and have him repolish it, or I won't be able to invite anyone in. Really can't have anyone here with that stink!"

It was all I could do to stop her messing up that cupboard:

"Just shut your eyes to this shortcoming of mine and forgive me, and I promise there won't be any more garlic while I'm in this house! So we'll have peace and quiet!"

Peace, but what's the use of peace? I was in two wars: at the front in the first one, and in a transport unit in the second one, and as you see, I didn't die from the war, but I can tell you that a man can easily die of too much peace and quiet.

And I'll tell you how: put a man in an apartment, leave him without a job, feed him on mayonnaise, speak to him only now and then, and he'll soon be done for!

I said to Kircho:

"When you go to those dams to stop them up or unstop them, bring me some willow stalks, so I can make some baskets at least!"

"You don't need to make any more baskets," he said. "Take it easy now and enjoy yourself!"

He takes after his mother, God rest her soul; once he says a thing, he never goes back on it. He may have said it last year, or the year before last, it doesn't matter when; he sticks to what he says. Every inch an engineer! Give him figures: two is always two and zero is always zero. Anything else is nonsense. "Good night, and go to sleep!"

I go to bed, but I can't go to sleep. We're a family, they call me Dad, we live together, eat at the same table, but we're strangers. Why?

We're such strangers that when the time came to christen the boy, they didn't want to give him my name, as the custom is. Ignat is my name and they didn't want it, because the children would call him Gatyu. My grandfather was Gatyu, my greatgrandfather was Gatyu, and they lived in spite of being called Gatyu. They were haidouks* and fought for the people. They went to war, they gave the country two Gatyus who helped the partisans, but their grandson is Krassimir! And as if that were not enough, his father began to change his name from Ignatov to Ignatiev. He put his name down in the telephone directory as Engineer Kiril Ignatiev. One day the telephone rang and when I picked up the receiver and asked:

"Who do you wish to speak to?"

"Comrade Engineer Ignatiev."

When he came home, I told him straight out:

"My family name is Ignatov. Where do you think you are? Either," I said, "you'll give up your name through the Official Gazette, or if you keep it, you'll keep it as it is and not mess it up!"

At other times he would have answered me back, but that time he didn't dare say a word. But I didn't have enough courage to fight him over my grandson, so the poor little mite is Krassimir.

That's a little worry, but there's a big one, too, that's eating me

*Guerrilla warriors who fought against the Ottoman yoke.

away. When it gets hold of me, it makes a hole that big in my soul! It begins to gnaw at me at night, about two in the morning when I ask myself why I left my home and my village, and let myself be cooped up in this gold cage? Why? But if I say a word to my son, he only knows his side of it all: "What'll you do there all alone?" How can I make him understand that at home in my own village I'm in my own world. I've got cherries in my garden, and marrows, and onions and everthing a man could want. One thing rustles, another burbles, another bleats—I used to have goats before I came here, two little white kids, little devils they were. They used to come up to me when I came home and sat down tired on the doorstep. They'd come to me and lick my hands. We slaughtered them to roast them for my son. I still can't forgive myself. When they heard the gate open they used to bleat so sweetly!

I'll tell you about the gate, too. It's on wrought-iron hinges, and because it's oak it's rather heavy, and when it turns on its hinges to open or close it makes a special sound. When it's damp, it's like a lamb bleating, and when the sun beats down on it and the wood gets dry, it'll play like a barrel organ! I can tell by the sound it makes when it's going to rain, and when the weather'll be fine. And once I even told the agronomist: "Get the sprayers ready, lad, and spray the vineyards, because it's going to rain tomorrow."

"The weather forecast didn't say anything about rain," he said.

"You listen to your radio, and I'll listen to mine, and we'll see!"

It rained the next day, just as I said it would, and from that day on the team leader used to come every morning to ask what the weather was going to be like that day and the next.

That gate of mine is surely growing rusty now. There's no one to open it, and hear what it's got to say. I wrote a letter to my brother-in-law and asked him to see if things were all right in my house and with the gate, too, and he wrote me a note:

"I checked the gate, brother-in-law," he wrote, "and I'm writing to tell you that it's where it should be and quite sound, but it doesn't sing, and it doesn't play any tunes, it just grinds its teeth, and squeals like a beaten dog. The team leader has been asking after you. And so has everybody else. Don't you forget it!"

I gave my son the note to read, hoping he'd take the hint and see that I'm of use to some folks, and you know what he said to me?

"You old people are like children: you can't enjoy your leisure, you've always got to have something squeaking and squealing."

And now what? Go and make the garlic go with the mayonnaise if you can.

If I can't talk to my son, who can I talk to? And I want to talk, I want to talk so badly that I don't know what to do with myself. But there's no one to talk to. In the gardens, there are youngsters sitting on benches, kissing and hugging each other. A bit further on there are mothers sitting with their babies and doing their embroidery. Here and there you see a few older people, but they're all bank clerks or office workers and my talk just doesn't go with theirs. The other day I came on a retired colonel. I told him that the vine-growers would be having a tough time of it this year, because they'd have to spray their vines every day or every other day, and he told me all about lasers. There's a kind of laser somewhere that someone's invented and it pierces everything.

"Lasers," he said, "are going to replace artillery sooner or later. Artillery," he said, "is finished." And he began to tell me all about it. Which shells burst in which way and what a noise they make and he seemed to be sorry that lasers would do their killing quietly, as if killing people with a noise was preferable.

He talked to me about war, but with other folks you can't even talk about that: all they want to talk about is medicine and their aches and pains. Some have a pain here, some there, one rubs it with liniment, another poultices it, as Professor Dinkov recommended him to do, and one chap from Krasno Selo was all for Yogis —or was it Yorgis, he said—and told me how he stood on his head every morning so that his brain would be nourished with more blood. But his face was as pale as pale, as if not a drop of blood had ever reached his head all his life. His neck was crooked, and his left eyebrow twitched away almost all the time. That's the kind of people I see here. They ought to let me deal with those Yorgis, I'd put a spade into their hands, just to show them how it'd stir up their blood. The year before last my knee-joints got troublesome, and I thought: "Dear me, I'm in for it this time!" They made a regular sieve of me with their injections, and a fine lot of good it did me! Those knees of mine kept on hurting like the very devil! But one day my brother-in-law came by with his spade over his shoulder.

"Where are you off to?" I said.

"The cooperative farm has given me part of a meadow," he said. "I've got to work it and keep it right. I'm going to grow a crop of hay for the sheep. Come along with me!"

So I limped along with him. We evened up the meadow and cut down the bushes. By evening I'd lost all my rheumatism and hardly knew I'd had it. Somebody seemed to have taken the pain

away in his hand, and buried it in the earth. I told our chairman to give me a bit of meadow land, too, for I still had a lot of joints to get rheumatism in, and I needed something to cure it with.

"Now, you've worked enough," he said, "take it easy and enjoy yourself. What do you need a bit of meadow land for?"

"You let me have it," I said, "and I'll tell you afterwards how to take it easy and enjoy yourself."

He has great respect for me, for I'm the one who founded that cooperative farm, so he gave me a bit of meadow land, but do you know where? Right away there where the wasteland begins. It had been a meadow once, but it had been left to run wild and was just choked up with bushes. You couldn't tell that anyone had ever set foot on it. I'm more of a vine-grower, to tell you the truth, but I made a good job there, too. First I got to work on the bushes and that took a lot of doing. The smaller ones weren't so bad, I cut them and cleared them off and threw them away, but there was a dogwood tree that had thrust its roots deep into the earth! I dug around it and under it, but it was tough. It held on and wouldn't budge an inch. I cut through all the roots and only left one, but still I couldn't get it out. I fought it for one week, as if it were a wild man, I cut and dug, and panted and foamed, until at last I brought it down, and the meadow could breathe again. I evened it up, raked it over, and fenced it in. Then I planted a cherry tree where the dogwood tree had stood, put in a pear tree and a plum tree, too, and brought along some clover seed from the barn. I sowed it all over, then I watered it well, and left it to grow in peace.

After a time we went to mow it, my brother-in-law and I, and what did we see: the clover had blossomed, and poppies were flowering there, too. The cherries were turning red and the whole place was fragrant with clover and blossom, so that everything in the forest that had wings had gathered there to get their fill of honey!

My brother-in-law cried:

"Let's get to work and mow it!"

"Not on your life!" I said. "We're not going to mow this meadow. Let all the insects feast upon the nectar and bless old Gatyu!"

That evening I said to the chairman:

"If you want to know how to take things easy and enjoy life, come and see my little meadow tomorrow."

So we went together.

"There you are, chairman, that's what enjoying life means!"

"All very well," he says, "but if we had a demijohn with us full of good red wine, and if we had a lamb to roast on a spit in that

clover, then that would really be enjoying life! It's a good thing I've got a bit of bacon with me to eat!"

Out he took it, ate his fill and went on without seeing the cherries or smelling the fragrance of the clover!

Since then, that business of taking it easy and enjoying life has bothered me quite a lot, so I asked Kircho about it:

"Now, you often tell me to take it easy and enjoy life. Just what do you mean by that?"

"What do I mean? Not to have anybody bothering me about anything."

"Stuff and nonsense," I said, "your way of enjoying life's no good. Those films you watch every night on TV, do you know what they're like? They're like dipping into olive oil through glass. The films that are good are the ones I make myself. And not to have anyone bothering you—that's just like living death!"

"It's perfectly natural to retire on a pension and not have anyone bothering you any more," Kircho said. "It's grand to be able to rest."

"It's not natural for a living man not to be bothered about anything. Are there any pensioner foxes in Nature? There aren't, and what's more there never will be. Have you ever heard of an eagle retiring on a pension? Did you ever find them sitting around the nest while the young ones brought mice to their beaks? An eagle will fly to the last breath it can draw and then it drops to the earth."

And I told Kircho what happened to me once at White Waters. I was having my midday rest with the sheep and whittling away at a bit of wood under a pine tree. Suddenly something went whirring above me. I looked up and saw an eagle swooping down from Mount Persenk, down and down he came, swooping over me, then, with a crash, he fell behind the pine tree. I jumped up to see what had happened, and there he lay, his huge wings stretched out, without a scratch on him anywhere—dead! He had died while he was flying. "That's it," I said, "that's the truth, my son: you should die flying!" And what I felt like saying to him was: "And you've shut me up here as if I were in a cage," but I held my tongue.

Kircho stared at me, he stared as if he were seeing me for the first time.

"I'll take you to the doctor," he says, "you look over-excited to me."

"You'd better hand me over to the doctors entirely," I said, "then you can watch your TV in peace."

I thought he'd understand what I was telling him, but of course he didn't. Words are like figures for him: two is two and zero is zero.

I'm on my way to Shiroka Lukka, my village, and he's off to Baghdad! And where can he and I ever meet?

So you see, that's the big worry that gnaws away at me through the nights. It goes drilling into me, until it makes me burn and sweat. Then I jump up and open the window, and let the breeze play over me, but as soon as I open it, there comes the sound of the motor squad below: purr-purr-purr, ptt-ptt-ptt, grr-gr-rr, prr-prrrr-bou-oum! Down below the motorbikes go roaring along the street, shooting straight through your ears and your heart. Such a big city, nearly a million people in it, with a mayor and a regiment of assistants. How is it they can't find some way of driving out those thousand—well, let's say five thousand—motorbikes, that deafen you and make the air filthy?

So I shut the window and put my head under the tap! For the time being that's my only salvation. But there's another way, too! Running away! I want to breathe in the smell of the soil, crumbling and warm, the living soil! But talking to Kircho is just like talking to the icebox. Not that my boy's a bad boy—he's healthy and strong, hardworking and honest, but you'd think he hadn't been born out of his mother's womb, but he'd come out of a gas tank for he smells of gasoline and not of his mother's milk! So we've nothing to talk about. I'll just write him a little note:

> Kircho, I'm going home to my village. You can transplant trees and take them from one place to another when they're young, Kircho. You brought me to town, and planted me here in my old age, but I've no roots, here, my son, not even small ones! My roots are in the village, so I'm going back to find them, or I'll wither away and die, with my eyes open, as the saying goes.
>
> Goodbye, my son, and don't come to look for me!
>
> I'll be making for Shiroka Lukka, while you carry on for Baghdad!
>
> Your father Gatyu

NEW WORLD REVIEW—156 Fifth Ave., Suite 308, N.Y., N.Y. 10010

☐ I enclose $3.50 for 1-year sub (4 issues)

☐ I enclose $1.00 for Anniversary Issue, 50 Years of the USSR

Name ______

Street ______

City______ State______ Zip Code______

Canadian and foreign $4.50 for sub — $1.25 or 50 years of the USSR

MAURICE DOBB

Economic Reforms in the Socialist Countries

THIS IS the year when the new economic reforms in Soviet industry are supposed to be completed, in the sense of the new system of economic management and planning being extended to the whole of industry.

Already to date, at the turn of the year, the new system has been extended to (approximately) one-half of all industrial enterprises. Some indication, at least, of what the changes have contributed to the improved functioning of Soviet industry is given by the results of industrial production for the past year.

After the growth rate of industrial production had shown a tendency to sag after 1962 (falling in the following years below the level of the 1950s to 8.5 per cent in 1963, to 7.1 in 1964, and to 8.6 in each of the years 1965 and 1966), it has risen again in 1967 to 10 per cent, i.e., to what was the average rate of growth of the 1950s. In doing this it has considerably surpassed what was planned for the year.

It is also to be noticed that for almost the first time the industries producing means of consumption (Group B) have done practically as well as the industries producing means of production (Group A)—9 per cent increase for the former and a little over 10 per cent for the latter. (If everything goes according to plan in 1968, production of consumers' goods should go ahead faster than that of capital goods).

Highlights of the Economic Reform

HAVING written previously about these economic changes, I do not want to repeat myself here. It must be sufficient to summarize the main features of the reform as follows. *Firstly,* the multiplicity of plan targets to which an industrial enterprise was previously subject

---

MAURICE DOBB, world-renowned Marxist economist, retired last year from his post as Reader in Economics at Cambridge University. He is regarded as a leading authority on the Soviet economy; his *Russian Economic Development Since 1917* appeared recently in a revised paperback edition. Professor Dobb's latest work is *Papers on Capitalism, Development and Planning.*

has been replaced by two (and two only): an overall total of *marketed* output, expressed in value terms, and a maximum on its total *wage bill.* All other details of its production plan are left for the enterprise itself to work out and decide, such as the detailed makeup of the production total, the methods of production to be employed and (within limits) its choice of inputs for the purpose.

Secondly, the main incentive to the enterprise and its personnel to make a success of the job is to consist of an incentive fund geared to the balance-sheet results of the enterprise over the year; this replacing all previous types of bonus payment, mostly geared to purely quantitative fulfillment of output targets. Thus, if an enterprise manages to sell more by turning out designs and lines that consumers want and like, or if it finds ways of producing more economically at lower cost, it will show a better balance-sheet, with a surplus of receipts over expenses of which part will go as payments into the incentive fund. (The same applies to development funds which the enterprise can use at its discretion for improving and enlarging production, and which are also financed out of balance-sheet profits.)

Thirdly, certain new financial arrangements are introduced at the enterprise-level, designed to ensure that technical equipment in the possession of the enterprise is more responsibly and economically looked after, to discourage the keeping of undue reserve capacity, whether of equipment or of stocks. These arrangements include a new capital charge levied on industrial enterprises in proportion to the size of their so-called "basic and turnover funds" (fixed and circulating capital); also provision for more of new investment (for extension or renovation) to take the form of bank credit, for which a charge will be made, instead of as free grants from the state budget.

Parallel with these changes has gone a readjustment and reform of wholesale prices (the prices at which industrial enterprises get paid for their output). Needless to say, such prices are crucial to enterprise decisions and industrial performance, since they affect both the receipts and the costs of output, and hence the balance-sheet showing what is made from producing a given assortment of goods by certain methods (i.e., with given inputs).

Looked at in the abstract, such changes as we have listed might seem to be comparatively minor, differing little in magnitude and importance from the various administrative shifts and changes of which one has heard or read during the past three decades.

To assume that this is so would be a serious mistake: what it overlooks is that the changes in question involve, from their very nature, crucial qualitative change in administrative and planning

methods. This has been variously described as a shift from direct to indirect methods, or from administrative to "economic" methods and "levers." The more centralized is the system of planning and administration (in the sense of the amount of detail decided at top levels and stipulated in plans themselves or in planning directives) the greater dependence there must obviously be on instructions and orders from above, passed down the chain of command until they reach the level of the factory.

On the other hand, decisions taken at lower levels are always taken within a certain *economic framework,* in the sense that they are calculated (and compared with other possible alternatives) on the basis of prices, costs, etc. Things like price policy, credit policy, taxes, assume much greater importance in these circumstances.

Equivalently, planning uses them (price policy and the like) to influence and steer the decisions being taken at these levels. There is more flexibility in taking the latter, and to some extent greater realism, because they are taken by those closer to the production situation to which the decisions apply. But this does not mean that they are quite "spontaneous" and uninfluenced by planning. Apart from operating within a planned framework, as regards *main* indices, long-term targets, investment decisions and the like, such lower-level decisions are continuously influenced indirectly by planning, but by a *new* set of instruments that were comparatively little used before.

Wanted: New Habits and Personal Qualities

IT IS this change of *kind* that gives the new changes their special character and importance. It also creates some of the problems and difficulties in carrying them through. The new system demands new habits, experience, even personal qualities and cast of mind both from administrative "higher-ups" and from plant managers. The latter are required to show more initiative and independence in deciding things for themselves, instead of being *told* what to do..

When things don't seem to be going according to plan, administrators have to *refrain* from just giving orders, and must think again about the situation and think up other ways and means of influencing the situation. This explains, in part, why progress in operating the new methods has often been slower than the advocates and designers of the reforms had hoped and intended. Such complaints have been loudest in countries like Czechoslovakia (to a less extent in Hungary) where the reforms had been designed in a number of respects to go further, if only because it was hoped thereby to make a clean break with the old system of administrative orders.

Here it is that one has heard charges in recent months that the economic reform has been held up because it is too often operated by the "old hands," who, because they have been brought up in the old system find it easier just to "give orders," and perhaps at the back of their minds continue to believe that this is really the only way of getting things done satisfactorily. Whence apparently the personnel changes witnessed in recent months in Czechoslovakia.

A more fundamental difficulty may be that continuing shortages (for whatever reason) may limit the speed and extent to which change can be introduced. Thus it would seem that in many cases in Soviet *heavy* industry, where the new system has come into operation, *other* indices than the two we mentioned (gross value market and total wage bill) have continued to be set for the enterprise from above: for example, detailed stipulation about the "assortment" or makeup of total output. This is from fear that, if enterprises are given latitude about such matters, supplies may not be forthcoming in the required quantities of certain key components and equipment (e.g., a particular type of machine-tool) on which production in other plants and enterprises depend, so that production lines elsewhere will be held up and their output plans handicapped. This is probably no more than a temporary and stopgap problem: in the long run it should be met by enterprises making closer and direct contact with one another on a contractual basis, and making their needs known to one another in this way. But in the transition from the old system to the new it may constitute a real problem as well as just a pretext for delay on the part of the conservative minded who tend to cling to methods that they already know.

Similarly with consumer goods: as long as there is any shortage of these and insufficient reserves (and there can be shortages, of course, even when output is growing, if demand expands faster), special care must be taken to keep expansion of the total wage bill (and hence demand) within the bounds of the planned expansion of production. Otherwise inflationary pressure will result, of which the familiar symptoms are shop shortages, insufficient range of choice for consumers and even queues. It is pretty certain that it is fear of this (a fear that is by no means unreasonable) that is responsible in the case of the Soviet reform for the retention of control over total wage disbursements by enterprises; whereas in some other socialist countries the enterprises are being given greater freedom in this respect.

Connected with this is the slowness in going over to what Kosygin spoke of in his speech introducing the 1965 reforms (report to CC of

CPSU, September 27th, 1965) as "wholesale trade in individual types of materials and equipment," creating "direct ties between producing and consuming enterprises." This, he said, "should be more widely developed in the sphere of material and technical supply": it was "necessary to shift gradually" to this system of trading or contractual links. Logically this does seem to be a consequence of the new system of enterprise autonomy (on the basis of so-called *Khozraschet,* or economic accounting), if this autonomy is to be real and not merely nominal. (If a plant or enterprise has more discretion about its output pattern, and is to show initiative in pioneering new models and designs, it surely must have more discretion also in selecting its own supplies and supply sources.)

But this involves a fairly radical break with the old system of centralized supply allocations (the system whereby supplies of materials and components were allocated by means of "funds" or "quotas" to the various enterprises as a part of the plan—often with the suppliers as well as the quantity to be supplied stipulated in the "quota" or "permit"). This allocation system, worked out at top levels, will need to be modified fairly drastically, if not actually scrapped, if "wholesale trade" links between enterprises are to play a genuine role. The extent to which this has been done is, apparently, one of the ways in which the economic reform and its implementation have differed in the case of different socialist countries. In the case of the Soviet Union the initial step in this direction has been the setting up in various districts of depots or stores for surplus materials and equipment to which enterprises with surplus stocks can send supplies for disposal and at which other enterprises can "shop" for additional supplies independently of planned allocation quotas. But this seems only a first step.

Another respect in which the extent of the change varies as between socialist countries is the extent to which prices may also be subject to contractual arrangement (in transactions between enterprises). In both Czechoslovakia and Hungary, while all important lines of supply of materials, equipment and consumers' goods are subject to centrally-controlled price lists, there are certain categories of things of which the prices are left free to be determined by contractual agreement or else are controlled by upper and lower "limits," between which variation is possible. In the Soviet Union the traditional system of centralized price fixing by comprehensive price lists, drawn up by state price-fixing committees at either all-Union or Republican level, remains (to the present writer's knowledge) virtually intact.

Market and Plan Under Socialism

IT IS IN connection with this kind of innovation, which we have been speaking of, that there has been talk of market relations—of a "new type of market between socialist enterprises" and of the need for a new-type "fusion of market and plan." And it is in this connection that the appearance is timely and welcome of an English translation of a work by Ota Šik entitled *Plan and Market Under Socialism.** Professor Šik has often been spoken of as a main architect of the Czechoslovak economic reform. As both Director of the Institute of Economics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague and member of the Central Committee of the Party (now deputy Premier), he has certainly played a very influential role in the economic discussion and innovations of recent years. No Marxist wishing to keep pace with new trends of thought in socialist countries can afford to neglect it. The English edition, moreover, is not only clearly and competently translated, but is unusually well and pleasingly printed and produced.

The author starts by telling us that "the main ideas in this book originated some time in 1957-1958—the period when the first reorganization of planning and management in Czechoslovakia was being prepared." Even at this time he was led "to recognize the fact that the maturing socialist economy and the advanced social division of labor, following on the industrially developed capitalist economy in this country, would inevitably require a thorough-going use of socialist market relationships." He speaks of "the over-simplified, mainly quantitative, approach to planning social production, an approach which neglected questions of efficiency," prevailing at that time. Also "the notion that planning under socialism must absolutely exclude any influence of the market on production was still much too strongly entrenched." He speaks of the old system as the "directive and administrative system of management," that took "too little account of the essential economic relationships" and sought to deal with negative phenomena "by giving direct orders," instead of discovering and removing the real causes. He wrote and published the present book in Czech in 1964 to combat these notions. For the English edition it has been revised and supplemented, together with a completely new chapter on "Money under Socialism."

The work is largely theoretical in character, and starts with a

*Ota Šik, *Plan and Market under Socialism* (Trans. Eleanor Wheeler), Academia Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague 1967. American edition published by International Arts and Sciences Press. 382 pp., $12.00.

criticism of some traditional Marxist notions about the disappearance of commodity production under socialism; also a criticism of some ideas of Stalin, who, despite his having "played a progressive role" in opposing certain "sectarian ideas" on this subject, is criticized for associating socialist commodity relations with the existence of certain forms of ownership (e.g. collective farms): in other words, with circumstances *external* to socialist industry, rather than with the social relations of production themselves under socialism. He also passes in review contributions to recent discussion of Polish and Hungarian economists.

This is followed by a useful and informative section (of over 50 pages) in which the economic results and trends of the Czechoslovak economy since 1948 are surveyed, including those contradictions and negative features that lay behind the "difficulties in growth (which) began to appear from 1960 onwards" and reached a climax in the stagnation of 1962-63. Emphasis is here laid upon such tendencies as the declining rate of increase of labor productivity since the early 1950s; the "high and growing proportion of investments made in heavy industry, especially in heavy extractive industries" (leading to disproportions that required increased imports); in certain years an actual decline of real wages (e.g. 1962-3). What is needed, he thinks, is a change over from so-called "extensive development," the possibilities for which are long since exhausted, to "intensive development," requiring technical innovation and increased effectiveness of production and of use of resources. But he adds the warning: "the old methods of management are so entrenched that it will not be easy to overcome them definitively and to wipe them out from our society" (p. 94).

Planning; Labor; Material and Moral Incentives

WHAT MANY will probably regard as the most interesting (and least specialized) part of the book is one of the two middle chapters, which deals first with the necessity of planning under socialism, its general character and essential problems; secondly with the nature of labor under socialism, which the author considers to be the key to understanding the need for commodity relations under socialism, the need to combine both material and moral incentives and to do so in such a way as to fuse the sectional interest of the individual working collective (the plan or enterprise) with the *social* interest. In the former part he advances the view that "central economic plans should be expressly *macroeconomic* plans giving direction only to the basic structure and most general proportions of

branches of production": in this way bureaucracy, he thinks, can be surmounted, and the initiative of the enterprise given full rein.

Regarding labor under socialism, Professor Šik holds that "the present level of development of productive forces is characterized primarily by mechanical and factory production where a relatively great deal of manual labor must still be expended; moreover, this labor is more and more an appendage to the machine rather than creative human labor" (the latter being characteristic only of the higher stage of communism). Hence it is inevitable that the motive for labor in the mass should continue to be the *obtaining of use-values in consumption*: and from this follows the need for continued use of material incentives, related to the results of productive labor (individual and collective). Incidentally, he believes that incentive payments should be related *not* to profits made by an enterprise, but to its so-called "*gross* income" (which includes the basic wage fund as well as payments to the tsate).

Economists will no doubt be interested in the chapter which follows about socialist price policy. Non-specialist readers may find this rather technical. But it has interest in relating the requirements of socialist pricing to Marx's categories of "value" and "price of production"; and it points out that a centralized "administrative price system" is a difficult problem, both technically and economically when the number of separate prices (as is the case in Czechoslovakia) amounts to one-and-a-half million. Some decentralization is also needed here.

The book concludes with an answer to "leftist" and Chinese complaints that "market relations arouse profit-seeking attitudes." These are dismissed as "completely speculative, abstract statements that preserve and reinforce the ideological dogmas that arose in the Stalin era of Marxist thinking and do immense harm to the actual development of socialist economics."

Whatever one may think of its specific emphasis, the appearance of his work in English is useful and important, not only for its context in relation to the Czechoslovak reform and Czechoslovak thinking, but because so few in this country are familiar with these discussions and this type of rethinking that is going on in socialist countries. Since Czechoslovakia is among the most industrially highly developed sectors of the socialist camp, they may have some direct bearing on our own problems in building socialism. At any rate, we need to understand them if we are to have any insight into developments today in the socialist sector of the world.

Courtesy *Comment* (London), May 4 and 11, 1968

GYORGY RONAY

The Statue Says

I am fed up with standing in my appointed place,
with every tired bird lighting on my shoulder,
with everyone who gets dizzy clutching my middle.
I loathe my stately bearing, my noble smile makes me vomit,
and I'm bored standing forever a head above the others.

You know what I'd like? Get off this pedestal,
get dead drunk in a bar, sit vacantly, blissfully in an arbor,
guzzle and spatter my splendid suit, loose the buttons of my
waistcoat,
stop before another statue, piss on his feet with a joyful grin
and happily roll in the mud like a hog.

But suddenly a pigeon lands on my head
with the weight of all the weary pigeons of the world on its wings,
and I go on standing on the pedestal. There's no way off.

Translated by Ila Egon
Courtesy *The New Hungarian Quarterly*

Gyorgy Ronay was born in Hungary in 1913. He has written many novels, essays and translated widely from the prose of Louis Aragon, Sartre, Turgenev, Virginia Woolf and the poetry of Michelangelo, Holderlin and Rilke.

A Soviet Rabbi Speaks To American Jewry

We are privileged to present the full text of the address of Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levin, Chief Rabbi of Moscow, at a meeting organized by the American Council for Judaism, at Hunter College, New York City, June 19, 1968. The text is translated from the Yiddish.

The Hunter College audience was prevented from hearing the entire speech by the shameful disturbance created by a small minority of representatives of some anti-Soviet Jewish groups who attended the meeting with disruptive aims.

Elsewhere Rabbi Levin and Cantor David Stiskin of the Leningrad Choral Synagogue, who accompanied him on his two-week tour of American Jewish communities, have received the warmest welcome from various Orthodox and other Jewish groups and from many individual rabbis, clergymen and others who have expressed their appreciation for his mission of peace and friendship to this country.

SHALOM unto you, dear Brothers and Sisters. I bring you heartfelt regards and brotherly wishes in the name of Soviet religious Jewry. Although I do not regard myself as a representative of the entire Soviet Jewry, I have been sent by the Jews of the Moscow Choral Synagogue, and I think that the entire religious Jewry of the Soviet Union is in agreement with it.

It was hard for me to travel to you, because I have recently gone through a difficult operation, but I came to you gladly because we bring you a special message of peace—to promote friendly relations between our brothers, but especially that peace may be effected between our countries. You and I live in the two largest and strongest countries of the world and upon their relationship depends the general peace of the whole world.

You and I ought to take all measures within our power to insure that shalom prevails between our countries. And if you and I will contribute a certain effort to the general peace, for which the whole of progressive humanity is struggling, it will mean that our mission will have been accomplished and I shall feel great satisfaction; and my journey will not have injured my health, for as our sages have said, "The emissaries of a worthy commandment are not to be injured." (Pesachim, 8.)

Our respective countries are dominated by two different political

systems, different ideologies; but we must not come to the conclusion on account of this that there can be no peace between our countries. As individuals of different opinions and world conceptions may, and actually do, live in a friendly manner among themselves, so also citizens of different systems and governments could and should live in peace. I want to say that this thought is included in the Biblical passage, to the effect that "God created man above the rest of the living creatures by giving him a tongue to speak in order that human beings could get together on the subject of peace—those who are far as well as those who are near."

War is the greatest misfortune in the world. Therefore in our country, immediately following the October Revolution, Lenin issued his decree, directed to all the peoples of the world, to conclude peace among themselves, saying that all peoples of all systems should and must live in peace. Of all the misfortunes which come upon the world —elemental catastrophes such as storms, tornadoes, earthquakes, floods and the various epidemics—the worst of all is war.

We older people are witness that the wars which took place between Tsarist Russia and imperialist Germany, and especially the last war with accursed fascism, which destroyed more than a hundred million human beings and emptied thousands of cities of hundreds of million of people—such wars bring the greatest loss of civilization, culture ond the arts. The whole world is in need of peace, and above all we Jews are in need of peace.

In our long journey through history we have lived through not just one tragedy, but all the miseries and misfortunes of ancient, medieval and modern history mentioned in the Book of Lamentations and in the Prayers of Forgiveness (Slihot) that were created at different times. All the horrible events which Jews have lived through at different times and in different countries—the Crusades, *auto-da-fé,* the Black Plague, inquisitions, pogroms—these are as nothing in comparison with the fearful genocide which was perpetrated on peoples in our own time, and especially against us Jews. Such cruelty and crimes against humanity and also against Jews were not known in the entire history of the world; and in the course of the entire history of our people, which together formed rivers of blood and tears, all these have not witnessed such a fiendish enemy of the Jews as was Hitler. In memory of the 6,000,000 destroyed and sacrificed Jews, our brothers and sisters, our fathers and mothers and children, we must all unite and raise our voice, shouting "Stop!" And then let there be an end to wars, cold or hot, so that there be not a corner in the world to tolerate conflicts leading to war.

Our history is rich with the magnificent heroism displayed by Jews at different times, but the Prophet says that our strength is not in the physical, but in the spiritual realm. Our problem now is to see that fascism is completely eradicated; there should be no residue of it left anywhere. In our country there is no semblance of fascism. Any manifestations of fascism and anti-Semitism are stringently punished in our country. Fascism is so effectively uprooted that it can never sprout again.

We ought to be very careful that fascism not return anywhere. Unfortunately, the tears of the surviving orphans and widows, the victims of fascism, have not altogether dried; and in many countries there are still to be found fascists, and they still occupy important positions.

Dear Brothers and Sisters, remember that as long as fascists exist and wars occur in the world, and there is animosity among peoples and countries, the danger still is very great that fascism will be resurrected. In our Torah it says, "Thou shalt surely eradicate the memory of Amalek." An analogous incident occurred in the days of King Saul, whom the Talmudic sages classified as a righteous person. Saul was the first King who fought for the Jewish people and saved them from the Philistines who continually attacked them; but notwithstanding his great kindness to the Jewish people, he was removed from his position by the Prophet Samuel and his crown was given to King David, and only because he had permitted Agag, the King of the Amalekites, to live. This remains as an example in Jewish history as to how potentially dangerous Judaeophobia can be.

Racism, fascism and wars are the greatest misfortunes of the world. In our country the first decrees following the Revolution concerned peace and friendship among the peoples. All the different peoples who live in our land live among themselves in friendship and do not engage in any discrimination. All false prophets in the various countries who spread derogatory information about the Jews in the name of their respective governments and populations, build on false premises, their aim being to create strained relations among the governments.

In the last world war all the great nations took part in the victory —America, England, France and the Soviet Union; but the worst hardships fell to the lot of the Soviet Union. Apart from the fact that our country suffered more than all the other countries and the victory over fascism, following immediately after the great victory won in Stalingrad that helped to destroy the fascists, that victory saved many human beings who remained in the concentration death camps, and

the remnant of the Jewish people was spared in our country. And if the remnant of the Jewish people was saved in our land and in many other countries, it is only thanks to the Soviet Union. This we must remember and never forget.

Sholem Asch, a writer who lived in your country, wrote in one of his works: "We laughed at the Bolsheviks when they built much of their five-year programs while they were hungry and naked, but in the end it turned out that the Soviet Union has helped the whole of mankind get rid of the Fascist wild beasts."

AND NOW, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to speak of the position of the Jewish masses and their achievements under the Soviet Union. Now that the gates of knowledge, of art and technology, are opened to all, let us recall how our witnesses had lived under the old order of the Tsars. I think that among you there are witnesses who lived at that time in Russia. Sad and bitter was the position of all small people there. They were backward, they were behind in every respect, for lack of education, and they had not participated in the economic life of the world. Now under the Soviet authority, they have acquired education and have reached a high degree of attainment. In Tsarist Russia the position of the Jewish masses was worse than that of any other people. Among the limitations against us Jews was the prohibition against our living in the big cities in many parts of the country, outside of the section known as the "Pale of Settlement," meaning plainly the Ghetto. This meant that we were compelled to settle in the small town where there was no industry. We were forbidden to till the soil or acquire the right to participate in the economic life of the country. Jews were not permitted to work on railroads. The doors of government institutions were closed to them. In the large factories and production plants Jews were not accepted. To maintain existence we were forced to engage in small trade and petty storekeeping, and so was developed a category of non-productives, the "wind people," those who had no qualifications for work but who lived on incidental earnings and led a life of semi-starvation. They were idlers who drew their miserable income from charity boxes, and by begging from house to house. Perhaps there are in this hall those who still remember all these things, but if you have forgotten you can still get acquainted with them. They are memorialized in the work of our Jewish classical authors, Mendele Mocher Sephorim, Sholom Aleichem, I. L. Perets, and others. Today if you would want to find Mendele, the "wind man," in the Soviet Union, you would not find him because in the Soviet Union today, instead of the former

Mendele there have grown up a wide number of doctors, engineers, jurists, professors, academicians, and great writers—men with a universal reputation.

If in the older days the worker was not sure of his work, he had to worry about his future. If he was a house servant he was afraid that his boss might dismiss him at will, or that the boss himself might go bankrupt and he and his family become subject to starvation. It was as it is written in the Torah: "And you will be in fear day and night."

The great achievement in our country is that the worker and work occupy with us today a place of honor. Work is placed on a high pedestal. Every person must work and everyone must derive his livelihood from personal labor, whether hand labor or spiritual labor. No one has the right to exist at the expense of others. It says in the Torah, "Thou shalt eat bread by the sweat of thy brow, but not by the sweat of thy neighbor." The Talmud says, "He who supports himself by the labor of his hands is superior to the one who merely fears God." In the Book of Psalms it is said, "If you support yourself by the work of your hands it will be well with thee." Many great Jewish sages (Tanain) were laborers: Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah was a blacksmith, Rabbi Johanan Hasandler was a shoemaker, many of our sages and philosophers were engaged in labor.

Our wise men coined the motto, "Love labor and hate domination." In our country every person is judged by his work, physical or spiritual, and by his usefulness to his country. For very substantial and important work many have acquired the title "Hero of the Soviet Union," and among them are many Jews. In our country anti-Semitism is strongly prohibited, something which carries severe punishment. All the limitations which affect the honor and the rights of the Jewish people have been dropped. The Jews have acquired the right to work, to an education, to leisure. The "wind people" have disappeared. There is enough work for everybody and all the doors of knowledge and of the arts are open for our youth. This has uncovered great talents which previously were hidden and lay dormant among the vast masses of the people. The Jews now occupy a prominent place in science and technology, in literature and art; and we, like all other peoples, are contributing our part to all branches of knowledge and of the economy, in building our socialist country. In the field of science are many Jews who are inventors and organizers. They may, and actually do, occupy a prominent place. Among the great learned Jews, there are also many who have earned the Lenin award and also those who have received the Nobel Prize, and their names are known not only in our country but also abroad.

NOW I want to dwell upon the main question of Judaism, which is on the evening's agenda. Our religion and generally the whole of traditional Judaism is permeated with great ideals of humanism, brotherhood, peace and love for human beings. It is related in *tractat* Sabbath "31" that one of the Romans appeared to the Nassi Hillel, asking him to teach him the whole of the Torah while standing on one foot. The Hillel answered that the whole of the Torah is included fundamentally in the one injunction, "Love thy neighbor as thyself"; adding, however, the commentary, "Whatsoever is hateful unto thee, that thou must not do unto another." Our relations with human beings of different peoples, according to the Torah, is expressed in the passage, "There shall be one law for the native-born and for the stranger in the land." We find many dicta that were issued in our country are not only not against our Torah, but have many similarities with the ethics and morals of our Torah. Many decrees which were issued in the Soviet Union and which find practice in life, have mirrored the great ideals for which the finest minds of humanity have striven at different times.

In our country there is no discrimination or racial distinction among people. There is no differentiation between a skin that is black and a skin that is white. All people are alike. That is exactly what our sages have said: "Every man is beloved and precious because he was created in the image of God."

In our country there is no differentiation whatsoever between important and unimportant peoples. They all have the right to independence. They all live in peace among themselves. The Jewish people also receive in the Soviet land its rightful place to live and to contribute to the advancement of our country and to the happiness of the Jewish people as a whole.

Now I want to dwell upon our religion. At the beginning of the October Revolution a decree was issued that religion is separated from the government; that is, that the state does not take part in the religious life of the religious communities. In our country there exist different religions, and every person is assured of the right to meet his requirements in accordance with the canons of his religion. We religious people utilize all the rights the government has given us. The doors of our Moscow Great Synagogue, from the time of the Revolution to the present day, have been open to all worshipers and for all visitors. The Great Synagogue in Moscow, during the Tsarist regime, on order of the Governor General, was closed from 1891 to 1906; but after the October Revolution the Synagogue was opened and has remained open, and prayers are conducted there throughout the day,

the Talmud is studied there, and the Mishnah, the Shulchan Aruch, and the Humoch. There is available a slaughterhouse for poultry, a ritual bath, and those who perform circumcisions. The Community Council provides Jews with matzoh, not only for Moscow Jews but also for Jews of other places.

But despite the fact that our government does not prevent religious people from fulfilling their needs, we must confess that the number of religious people grows increasingly smaller; the followers of religion are mostly elderly people who were brought up under the old traditions, who remember still the Torah which they studied in their youth, This is merely fulfilling the observation that a generation comes and a generation goes, day after day. The younger generation in our country is brought up atheistically, has a passive attitude toward religion, and has not the slightest mental picture of our religious literature which was created in the course of thousands of years. They occupy themselves with literature and information which in the main are opposed to religion. It is permissible to preach a religious sermon in the Synagogue; but it is also permitted to propagandize the atheistic knowledge which attracts youth.

For a long time after the Revolution there were in existence Jewish schools in the cities with large Jewish populations. But the parents of the children simply did not send their children to the schools; therefore the schools have lost their existence. The number of pupils grew small and the schools were closed.

In the year 1956, by consent of the government, we opened a Yeshiva in Moscow, in which we have hoped to educate rabbis, slaughterers, performers of circumcision and of many other religious services of which our religious communities are in need.

In the early years there were some students who had once studied in the Yeshivas and thus received the necessary information required to fill religious needs. Some of them have graduate from the Yeshivas and are filling the positions of rabbis, *shohatim*, *mohalim* and scroll writers. As time passed the number of such students grew smaller and smaller, and that is quite understandable.

In our country all the doors of the higher and middle schools are open for all peoples and also for the children of *our* people. Education is free. The pupils also receive stipends and everyone is in a position to reach the special position for which he aims and for which he is capable, so to secure his existence in life. It is therefore very difficult to meet among the young those who will refrain from qualifying for a lifegiving career and devote themselves entirely to spirituality.

In the old days, when religion was strong and there were those

ready to sacrifice themselves for the Torah, many wanted to occupy religious positions. Today, when the rationalistic education has spread throughout the whole world and the bulk of youth is saturated with atheism, especially in our country which is dominated by a materialist system, the youth have completely removed themselves from Judaism so that students for the Yeshiva are very difficult to find.

Every father has the right to teach his children Yiddish; no one prevents him from doing so. However, very few who teach them Yiddish are to be found. On holidays the synagogues are filled, but on weekdays and even on the Sabbath only a small percentage visits the *schul* (synagogue), outside of Moscow. Regretfully, we must stress the point that religion is growing progressively weaker. In the history of our people we find other such moments, especially in Europe, when through the influence of education strong assimilation tendencies developed, but afterwards a new epoch in Judaism started. The Prophet Isaiah said, "They shall not depart from Thy mouth and the mouth of Thy children," and these holy words of our Prophet must be fulfilled.

I HAVE presented a short picture of our life in our Soviet Union with details and color, in order to effect friendly, brotherly relations between us in our countries. [The reference is to a film shown at the meeting about services at the Moscow Synagogue, with worshipers dancing in the streets before it in celebration of Simchas Torah.] The main thing is to avoid false, hearsay information which will strain our relationship. I indicated before the need for peace, especially among us Jews. From this standpoint we are against the wars that are taking place currently in different parts of the world. We rabbis are far from politics. Our authority is the Torah in which it is said, "That her ways are the ways of pleasantness and all her paths lead to peace." Upon us rabbis the mission is laid to increase peace; "scholars are to increase peace in the world." We must, as King David said, "Seek peace and pursue it, and when you seek and pursue the thing, you find it."

The holy Prophets pictured that a time will come when universal peace will reign in the world and they will break their swords into plowshares, and men will cease to conduct wars and "when people will not lift the sword against another" because all peoples will live in peace. As we say in our Rosh-Hashanah services, "And all of them will make one union and do Thy will with perfect heart." We hope that peace will at last rule in the whole world and between our countries and peace by upon Israel.

MARTIN HALL

The GDR's Socialist Constitution

ONE HUNDRED and fifty years after the birth of Germany's greatest social philosopher, Karl Marx, the people of the German Democratic Republic in a free and secret plebiscite adopted the first socialist constitution on German soil.

This event has deep historical significance. For in Germany the bourgeois revolution in 1848 and the proletarian revolution in 1918 remained unfinished. This inherent political weakness led to the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the advent of Hitler, which would have been impossible had there been the kind of democratic tradition developed during the nineteenth century in some West European countries.

In 1945 the nightmare of the Third Reich collapsed. Utterly defeated by the anti-fascist alliance, Germany lay in ruins. In what was then the occupation zone of West Germany under the rule of the United States, Britain and France, Western imperialism decided to split the nation and to form the Federal Republic of Germany. In an inevitable response to this act the Soviet Zone of occupation was transformed into the German Democratic Republic. Its first constitution in 1949 formed the basis for the gradual development of a socialist state. This development has proceeded since that time in the GDR, while at the same time West Germany has developed on the basis of monopoly capitalism.

Millions of U.S. dollars were invested under the Marshall Plan to make the Federal Republic of Germany an advance post of the NATO Alliance against the Soviet Union and her socialist allies in Eastern Europe, and in particular against the GDR. The Cold War strategy of the West immediately started to use former Nazis for this purpose, not only in the Bundeswehr but in the whole Administration and in the judiciary. The Potsdam Agreement among the Allies, providing for denazification, demilitarization and decartelization, was

---

MARTIN HALL, German-born US citizen, is a veteran of the anti-Nazi underground movement. He has lectured widely at universities and forums, and written for *The Nation, The Progressive, Monthly Review, The National Guardian, Minority of One.*

systematically broken by the Western powers. West Germany's industries became the best and most modern in Western Europe. Her armed forces developed into the very backbone of NATO. Her foreign policy became one of revanchism and aggression. Today the Chancellor of the Bonn Government is Herr Kiesinger, who up to the very end of the Hitler regime acted as liaison between Ribbentrop's Foreign Office and Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry; its President is Herr Luebke, a man who supervised the construction of concentration camps for the Nazis.

The GDR's history since 1949 has been the exact opposite. The GDR received the smaller, poorer part of Germany. While West Germany had the rich and highly developed industrial region of the Rhineland, the Ruhr and the Saar, plus the richest farmland in Germany in Schleswig-Holstein and her two big ports (Hamburg and Bremen), the GDR had only the chemical industry of the Leuna Works, some soft coal mining and the textile industry of Saxony. She had lost rich farmland in Pomerania and parts of Prussia and the mining industry of Silesia to the Soviet Union and Poland respectively. Instead of being subsidized by her former enemies, as was West Germany, she had to carry a heavy burden of economic reparations in the years immediately after the war. She was in the front line of the cold war, with West Berlin a center for sabotage and espionage deep within her own territory.

Yet with all these handicaps, the GDR by hard work and iron discipline achieved something far closer to an "economic miracle" than West Germany with its subsidized territory. The GDR has in many respects the highest living standards among the socialist countries. She has built an improved chemical industry and an entirely new steel industry, the latter by creating a new method of using soft coal for making steel. Rostock has become one of the largest ports in Europe. In the process of rebuilding the devastated cities, the socialist sector of the GDR economy has become predominant in the cities and towns, and in agriculture as well. National income has steadily increased, as has productivity and the quality of manufactured goods.

IT IS against this background that we must appraise the new socialist constitution adopted in April. It is the constitution of a peaceful state, which in contrast to West Germany has eradicated Nazism within its borders and has recognized the Oder-Neisse Line as its permanent Eastern border. It has no intention of giving up its socialist character and its social achievements, which would be the condition for unification as far as Bonn is concerned.

Underlining the new and different character of this constitution, Article I begins:

The German Democratic Republic is a socialist state of the German nation. It is the political organization of the working people in town and countryside who are jointly implementing socialism under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party.

Exploitation of man by man is "forever abolished," and the socialist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is embodied in the document. The "National Front," which combines various political parties and social organizations, represents the alliance of all the forces of the people. The dominant Socialist Unity Party, formed by joint decision of the Communists and the Social Democrats, is only one of several parties. Again and again the statement emphasizes that all political power is exercised through democratically elected representatives and that "at no time and under no circumstances can any but the organs embodied in the constitution exercise political power." At least in this part of Germany the lessons of fascism have been learned.

In its relations to other countries the constitution states that the GDR has eradicated German militarism and Nazism and follows a policy of peace, socialism and international understanding. Friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism is stressed together with support for the struggle of all nations for independence, equal rights and mutual respect.

As in the constitutions of other socialist countries, any type of war propaganda, incitement to hatred of race, creed or nationality are crimes punishable under the law.

On the difficult question of relations between the two German states the constitution calls for "normal relations and cooperation . . . on the basis of equality . . . and for the step-by-step rapprochement . . . up to the time of their unification based on democracy and socialism."

The socialist character of the constitution becomes even clearer in the second chapter dealing with the economic basis. The economy of the GDR is "based on the socialist ownership of the means of production." Its purpose is "strengthening of the socialist order, the constantly better satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the citizens, the development of their personality and their socialist relations in society."

The planned GDR economy combines central planning and direction in the main aspects of economic development with individual responsibility of the socialist producers of goods and of the local organs of the state. Socialist property can be state-owned property, collective property of cooperatives, or property of social organizations of citizens.

Personal property and the right to inherit is protected. A series of articles deals with the use of the land, conservation of resources and proper use of developments in science and research. Of particular interest is the formulation regarding cultural problems:

> The socialist national culture is one of the bases of socialist society. The GDR protects and advances a socialist culture which serves peace, humanism and the socialist community of man. It fights imperialist anti-culture which serves psychological warfare and the degradation of man. Socialist society promotes a rich cultural life for the working people, cultivates all humanist values of the national cultural heritage and of world culture, and develops a socialist national culture as a common cause of the entire people.

A large part of the constitution deals with the rights and duties of citizens. Participation in the direction of social development, protection of the dignity and freedom of the individual are listed first. Equal rights for all regardless of race, creed, sex or nationality are guaranteed. At the age of eighteen every citizen has the right to vote and to be elected to local representative bodies. At 21 he or she can be elected to the "People's Chamber," the national Parliament.

Every citizen is obliged to serve in the defense forces of his country "in accordance with the law." There is, incidentally, a provision for alternative service for conscientious objectors in the GDR. The right to work and to education is spelled out in detail. Ten-year school attendance is obligatory. Admission to institutions of higher learning depends on intelligence, performance and interest. There is no tuition at universities. Stipends are granted according to need.

On freedom of speech, assembly, press, radio and television the constitution reads as follows:

> Every citizen has the right, in accordance with the principles of the constitution, to express his opinion freely and publicly. This right is not limited by any service or employment relationship. . . . Freedom of the press, radio and television is guaranteed. . . . All citizens have the right to assemble peacefully, within the framework of the principles and aims of the constitution.

What the phrase "within the framework of the principles and aims of the constitution" may mean in any particular case is, of course, difficult to predict.

The right to an annual paid vacation, to free medical care and to protection from eviction from one's home is considered important enough to be incorporated in the constitution.

The rights and duties of the trade unions are described in great detail. Unions are independent, they negotiate agreements regarding

wages and working conditions, and administer the whole system of social security. There is no mention of the right to strike.

THE political structure outlined in the constitution has two salient characteristics. First, this is a parliamentary democracy. In fact, the dependence of all political organs of the state on the elected "People's Chamber" goes farther than in the parliamentary democracies of the West. Secondly, there is no division of executive, legislative and judicial powers. All power emanates from the People's Chamber and all state officials on the highest level are elected by and responsible to the Chamber, which also has the right to recall them.

The People's Chamber is the highest organ of state power. It is the only constitutional and law-making body and its powers cannot be abridged. The Chamber consists of 500 members, chosen every four years by direct election. It votes on the enactment of laws, but also has responsibility for the observance of these laws. It elects the Chairman and the members of the State Council, a collective body entrusted with the functions usually discharged in other countries by the head of state. The Chairman of the State Council submits to the Chamber the name of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or Prime Minister, who in turn is charged with forming a cabinet. He and the members of the cabinet are responsible to the Chamber.

The Chamber also elects the President of the Supreme Court and the Attorney-General. The latter works under the Minister of Justice. The Chamber ratifies and abrogates state treaties. It can order a plebiscite.

While Chamber members have the right to dismiss any state functionary, even the Chairman of the Council of State, the Prime Minister or the President of the Supreme Court, they themselves may be recalled at any time by their constituents if they "grossly infringe their duties." All members of the Chamber are obligated to hold regular consultation hours for their constituents. They must listen to complaints and forward them to the appropriate offices. Complaints and inquiries by citizens must be answered within a prescribed time limit.

Reflecting to some degree the changes in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin, the chapter dealing with socialist legality and administration of the law reads:

> Socialist society, the political power of the working people, the system of state and justice, are the basic guarantee of observance and enforcement of the constitution in the spirit of justice, equality, fraternity and humanism.
>
> Society and state guarantee the rule of law by involving the citizens and their organizations in the administration of justice and in the social and state control of observance of socialist law.

A special paragraph recognizes "generally accepted norms of international law regarding the punishment of crimes against the peace, crimes against humanity, and of war crimes as directly valid for the GDR." It adds, "Crimes of this sort have no statute of limitation." In other words, such crimes can be punished no matter how long ago they were committed.

No law can be made retroactive. If a person is arrested, he must be brought before the judge within 24 hours. The judge must inform the family of the arrested citizen within 24 hours after he has seen the defendant. Every citizen has the right to defense counsel. Setting up special or extraordinary court is illegal.

THE history of the constitution throws light on the degree of involvement of the people in its coming into being.

On December 1, 1967, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State, proposed in a speech to the People's Chamber the formation of a commission to write a new, socialist constitution for the German Democratic Republic.

After a detailed analysis of the changes making a new constitution necessary, he declared:

> Thus life and the development of our society and of our socialist state order have grown far beyond the framework of the constitution of 1949. The old framework has become too narrow. . . . We have proved in the German Democratic Republic that a democratic road to socialism is possible in a developed industrial state. . . . We therefore need a new constitution which does justice to the reality of today and to the plan for tomorrow.

The proposed commission was named by the Chamber. Three months later a first draft of the new constitution was ready, and was submitted to the people for discussion.

Eleven million men and women participated in these discussions in some 750,000 meetings. Some 12,454 proposals for changes were made and later discussed by the commission: 118 changes were made in the original text to incorporate the most important proposals.

The proposals accepted were substantive ones. For example, one proposal objected that in the original text the Attorney General was not responsible to the People's Chamber. He was made responsible in the final text. Another proposal called for an explicit declaration in favor of general disarmament as well as the statement supporting a "stable peace." This was added. A Protestant minister felt that it was not sufficient to speak only of the heritage of national, i.e., German culture. The final formulation spoke of the "humanist values of the national cultural heritage and of that of world culture."

Perhaps most important: The eventual plebiscite was really secret

and the number of No votes (409,733 voted No as against 11,536,803 Yes) gives this document added weight.

Thus the first socialist constitution on German soil came into being.

BONN'S NAZI-LIKE EMERGENCY LAWS

THE BUNDESTAG of the Federal Republic of Germany passed on May 30, by 384 to 100, the Emergency Laws, pushed through by the governing coalition of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats. In contrast to the new socialist constitution adopted by the German Democratic Republic, these laws give the FRG Government the right practically to suspend the constitution and institute a fascist military dictatorship. They are comparable to the enabling laws of the Weimar Republic which paved Hitler's way to power. Such laws were condemned by the international tribunal at Nuremberg. They were approved by the United States, Britain and France, the three occupying powers of West Germany, who made their adoption the condition for relinquishing their own emergency controls.

The emergency laws contain measures abrogating virtually all civil rights of the people. They allow the Bonn government to transfer the powers of parliament to a "special committee," to suspend all constitutional guarantees of freedom of press, speech and association, to violate the privacy of post and telephone, to cancel the right to strike. They empower the government to use the army for punitive actions against the population, to set up an auxiliary military police, to impose special taxes, to establish "emergency detention sites," (i.e., concentration camps), to introduce compulsory labor conscription for women as well as men. They permit the government to regulate production, to control and allocate raw materials and power resources, to turn over industrial enterprises to military production or close them down.

These emergency laws were passed despite unprecedented popular opposition, demonstrations and strikes by the trade unions, farmers, and all progressive and peace forces within West Germany.

There were numerous protests by the government and people of the German Dmocratic Rpublic. GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph warned, in a letter to Chancellor Kiesinger on May 14, that confirmation of these laws would sharpen and worsen the relations between the two German states. Charging that they were part of preparations for war and the revision of postwar frontiers, he declared: "Such legal provisions are a preparation for the annexation of foreign territory. . . . They are a breach of the anti-militarist and democratic principles of the Potsdam Agreement."

The Soviet Government has also issued repeated sharp warnings against the emergency laws. In a TASS statement, May 29, the Soviet Government called impending passage of the laws "a big undemocratic and militaristic action spearheaded against peace in Europe," and warned:

"The emergency laws pave the way to power for the most aggressive circles of German militarism, who have already twice plunged the world into the abyss of devastating wars. That is why the adoption of such laws is by no means an internal matter of the Federal Republic of Germany. It affects the interests of other European peoples, the interests of universal peace. . . ."

VALERY AGRANOVSKY

Mikhail Pirogov, Soviet Truck Driver

IT IS NOT all at once that I found Pirogov. First I had watched trucks on a new bridge across the Volga connecting the two cities Engels and Saratov. Though in winter the traffic is less heavy, no less than three hundred vehicles passed by every hour, from Moscow, Baku, Yerevan, Kishinev, and all kinds of places. In my pocket I had a sheet of paper from my pad with all the characteristics of my prototype. At the newspaper office we had calculated, using relevant statistics, the "average driver" I was to find. Age: 25 to 35; education: through seventh grade; service record: no less than 5 years, etc.

As might well be expected, in half an hour there was a traffic jam and an hour later I realized that my method of finding statistical averages did not work. Next day I used a new method: in the office of Viktor Khalaidzhi, the head of one of the motor transport columns of the Saratov Board, I rummaged in the files to choose the right candidate for my feature. A man entered the room to sign some papers.

"Have a heart!" Khalaidzhi was saying. "Why, each of them is typical. I have five hundred drivers and each of them is typical! Take this one!" and he pointed at the man who had entered the room.

Though I had not checked any statistics on Pirogov, I agreed. Later I found that he was 35, class 1 driver, had worked for 19 years, had finished seven-year school, his tanker truck covered 35,000 kilometers in 1966, etc. Well, that suited me fine. So Pirogov was destined to be featured in the present profile about the driver of today.

To tell you frankly, we had not thought that a feature about the driver should open the new newspaper column. What occupation should we take first? We believed that the most numerous occupational group was composed of salesmen, or teachers, or lathe operators,

---

VALERY AGRANOVSKY, a lawyer by training, worked for five years as a barrister in a Soviet court. Switching to journalism and a special interest in youth, he has written numerous articles in the past decade, and is presently a roving correspondent for *Komsomolskaya Pravda,* the newspaper of the Young Communist League.

but certainly not drivers! However, statistics exploded our delusion. According to the latest census, in 1959 there were about 1,000,000 lathe operators, 1,200,000 salesmen, a little more than 2,000 teachers and —guess how many drivers?—3,174,188!

Morning. Day. Evening

MIKHAIL Pirogov wakes at 6 a.m., leaves at 7, gets to the garage of his transport agency in twenty minutes, and at 8 he is "on line," as his log duly registers.

Pirogov puts an old blanket on the seat, pulls down his peaked cap (he never parts with it even in winter) and starts off without any farewell honking or any other fuss. The same is done by other drivers, and those of them who are to work in a team patiently wait outside for their dawdling comrades. Then begins what Pirogov calls "Operation Turnabouts." First his tanker runs to the oil depot, gets its fill of gasoline, and runs to an oil-fueling station to deliver the gasoline. Then she runs back to the depot and then to another station, and so it goes all day long. His routes take him all over the city, and sometimes beyond. Some trips are five kilometers long, others exceed fifty, and as Pirogov puts it, "If things run smoothly, there is no time to have a bite." Finally, he unwraps his lunch: a bread and sausage or a pair of meat cakes or fried fish. His lunch is prepared either by the "old woman," his wife Maria, or the "kid," his daughter Nina.

Pirogov comes home between 8 and 9 because it takes time to hand in the log, prepare the truck for the next day and have a shower. The children will be in bed by that time, and Sunday Vitka will say, imitating his mother: "Dad, when are you going to live with us like a human being?"

IN THE LAST five years the motor transport column has received a hundred new trucks while the remaining four hundred are pretty old, including very old trucks, and the driver who makes a long haul on such a truck always runs the risk of having the clutch or something go out of commission somewhere midway and waiting for the column's only emergency repair truck to come to his rescue. However, the "wrecker" comes only in "real emergencies," and whether the accident is a "real emergency" is determined according to the driver's skill: "Whose tank's clutch is out of order? Pirogov's? He'll fix it!" Having heard this verdict, Pirogov would be mad at first but then would think better of it: the "wrecker" can't get all of them out of trouble, and surely there is no way out but fixing the clutch himself unless he wants to drop the tanker somewhere and clear out.

The real problem is not only renewal of the motor transport stock, also the supply of spares. Give a good driver enough spares and he will make any old jalopy run like a truck just off production line. But try and find a spare axle or even a spring! Why not? Mikhail Pirogov believes that the production and supply of spare parts are planned all wrong. Without taking into account the quality of roads or the actual wear and tear of automobiles. It is planned "by science" lagging behind practice. Take the life of the dump's chassis. Three years, they say. Now suppose a dump is serving a brick works. A crane would bang down three or four tons of bricks at once. In eight months the chassis will be all smashed, though according to the "standard rates" you cannot expect any spare parts for it so soon.

Trucking offers another problem: a family one. If a driver gets home only in the morning because his truck broke down somewhere far away, there will be a fuss—his wife, especially a young wife, will be suspicious and will even make inquiries to check on her husband's story. There are few women drivers in our country: only 22,000, and therefore, "driving is alien to the woman's heart."

Mrs. Pirogova seems to be used to her lot. Yet she told me bitterly: "I don't like one thing about it: the children seem to be not Mikhail's and mine, but mine only, they see so little of their father." It should be borne in mind that Maria is also working—as a crane operator.

Grades and Kinds

THE reader probably knows that cabbies once were divided into numerous groups: "drayman," "smarties," "roadsters," etc. The relations between these groups were quite complex.

There is a remote analogy between the cabbies of old and the drivers of today. After all, drivers first competed with cabbies, then ousted them and actually took over the job.

Evidently, they took over some psychological traits too. Especially so since the horse and the engine stand for the same symbol with them.

So drivers also have grades and kinds. Take, for example, the drivers of the same motor transport column. Five hundred persons seem to be of the same kind: truckers. But take a closer look. There are "riders," drivers who run a truck till it wears down completely and then quit and get a job elsewhere: "I am not a repairman!" There are few "riders" and they are thoroughly disliked. There are "georgies," though perhaps they are called differently elsewhere—the young drivers who have just received their licenses. The "old timers" (the average age of drivers is 35 to 40 years) say that the "georgies" are "proud of their

science," "were taught too much" and are "too big for their breeches," but they will readily go to the warehouse to fetch two kilograms of "compression," though every sucker should know that "compression" is a stroke in the engine. The "georgies," for their part, believe that the "old timers" are stiff and arrogant. But finally they hit it off.

There are also "sausages," the drivers serving shops. Then the "plodders," driving dumps, tanks, eight wheelers, etc. As Pirogov puts it, "the respect is the same for all, but there is precedence." Each driver chooses the type of truck he will drive according to his temperament. The divisions are especially marked when a driver gets into trouble on the road. If a dump gets stalled, another dump going by will not be sorry to give him two bolts from his own supply. But if a heavy is in trouble, the attitude will be somewhat different.

In 1926 there were 18,000 drivers in the country. In forty years the figure has multiplied 176 times. No other occupation has shown such a rate of growth. There are 6.3 times more physicians, 18 times more lathe operators, 23 times more research workers and 10 times more writers. "Perhaps, because there are so many of us," said Pirogov, "we don't stick together like we used to."

The drivers of all grades and classes are at one when the discussion turns on poor roads, wrong rates, "impudent passers-by," "malicious" automobile inspectors and traffic controllers, and also motorcycles and bikes which all drivers call "semi-products."

Concerns

I ASKED Mikhail what was his attitude to his chiefs. He answered in his characteristic style: "Affection but not quite." I wanted him to decode the expression and finally found out that Pirogov "liked and respected" his present chiefs because recently they had been working "without pressures on drivers but trying to explain everything and to act in the spirit of the new economic reform." Now, why "not quite"? Because there are cases when the managers try to save "not by their creative work but at the expense of drivers."

Here is an example: some time ago it became clear that the number of tankers was insufficient. The way out was to increase the average city speed. Let the drivers turn about more quickly and they will meet the demand. However, the roads did not become better, there are no more underground passes, the street lighting was just as it was, and no miraculous wings were rigged up on tankers to enable them to fly. In other words, the speed of tankers was the same. The net result: the management met the target at the same costs, but it was a saving at the expense of the drivers' wages.

"Now we proposed something different," said Pirogov and I realized that I was facing not just a driver but also a responsible citizen. "We proposed: number one—to increase the cross section of the pipe through which oil gets into the tankers. Second: to do away with the weighing of filled tankers: every tanker has a rated tank, so what's the point of weighing it and cheating the driver of thirty to forty minutes? Third, the approaches to filling stations must be improved. Then every tanker will do several hauls more per shift, and the plan will be met. And not at the expense of the drivers, mind you, but owing to a greater common effort. I am saying this to you as a member of the workshop committee," Pirogov concluded. I may add that when I arrived in Saratov, the weighing of tankers had been done away with in compliance with the drivers' proposals.

The trucker is "head over heels in such matters," according to Pirogov. Let me add that in these matters the drivers cooperate very effectively, as a rule, with the engineers of motor transport agencies. This suggests that social differences are of no importance when common occupational interests are concerned. A significant fact deserving close attention.

The Family Budget

SUNDAY I called on the Pirogovs. They introduced me to their budget. Mikhail supplied the initial data: he makes 130 rubles a month, his wife 60, the total 190, minus taxes 170, which makes 2,040 a year. Should we begin with the expenses on food? No. Pirogov suggested another budgeting system. "Let's add up all other expenses in the past year, and the remainder will be food," he said. I realized that this was their principle of spending: if they wanted to save, they saved on food, and this is why they had a refrigerator, a TV set, a radio, carpets on the walls, etc.

What did the Pirogovs buy in 1966?

A "Rubin" TV set: we put down 150 rubles; it costs more but it was bought under an instalment plan. A carpet: 90 rubles. A coat for his wife and a suit for himself: 150 rubles. Clothes for the children: 60 rubles. A set of four chairs: 24 rubles. Other expenses? 140 rubles for the upkeep of Vitka at a kindergarten, then the annual rent including gas, electricity, heating and everything else: 130 rubles. Then Mikhail's daughter Nina studies at a music school—playing the violin—which costs another 140 rubles. For the cinema and other recreational needs Pirogov sets aside 100 rubles a year. Then, despite a certain opposition from his wife, he added another 156 rubles to this sum for Sunday drinks, three rubles per Sunday. Mrs. Pirogov was shocked as

she saw this grand total: 156, and Pirogov did not seem to have ever expected that this simple Sunday item would add up to such an impressive total. We added up all the above expenses and got 1,140 rubles. That left 900 rubles for food, or 75 a month, 2.50 a day for a family of four persons!

"Well, this seems too little," Pirogov agreed and suddenly suggested: "Let's strike out the carpet and the Sunday vodkas! That'll give us another 250 rubles."

I refused to cross out the sum and grew somewhat suspicious. The fact is that I was just a chance guest and yet the hostess treated us to a tasty cabbage soup with meat and the second dish was roast beef. I asked Mikhail bluntly whether he or his wife had any side earnings. It was not likely that they saved on food. Neither Pirogov, nor his handsome wife, still less the children, showed it. True, Mrs. Pirogov told me that they bought potatoes and vegetables in the countryside for a year ahead: they had a cellar in the yard. "After all Mikhail is a trucker and that should be of some use to us!" Still, perhaps they had side earnings?

"All right, this is off the record," said Pirogov, his iron hand vetoing my jottings in the pad. "My average pay is not 130 rubles but 170 a month."

"What was the point of pulling my leg?" I wanted to say. Indeed, the next day I received at the garage an official certificate on the drivers' wages and the figure 174 showed against the name "Pirogov." He was not embarrassed. "You wanted to use me for a typical description of all drivers. Now, there are fellows who make less. So either you take another driver for your feature or cross out that carpet and Sunday vodkas!"

Instead I shall give some official data. Among the 97 drivers employed in the same unit with Pirogov the wages are distributed as follows: 44 persons earn 150 rubles a month or less (out of these only 6 drivers make less than 100 rubles), and 53 persons earn more than 150 (out of them 19 make more than 200 rubles a month).

The problem lies rather elsewhere: housing. Pirogov has a 20-square-meter room and believes that he has "normal conditions." Mikhail took me for a tour visiting his comrades and I realized that the housing problem had by no means been solved. As a rule, transport agencies are not engaged in their own house building and it is difficult for drivers to join a building cooperative. The worst impression was made by the driver Chechnev's six-square-meter room (Chechnev has two children and his wife is expecting a child). The room was crammed up with all sorts of things from a refrigerator and a TV

set to a washing machine tucked away under a bed, and a radio on a wardrobe. Outside we saw Chechnev's pet, his brand-new motorcycle with a sidecar.

Clients and Drivers

THE truckers are convinced that working seven hours a day will only get them a standard pay-rate: 80 rubles a month. A first-class or second-class driver does not think this is enough: "A healthy man worth his salt and having a skill rating must earn more."

Now, what do the trucker's earnings depend on? First of all, on the state of his truck. The problem is linked with the managers' permanent complaint of the "fluidity of manpower." Where do those who quit go and where do new drivers come from? The secret is no secret at all; the "fluctuating personnel" consists of the same drivers who go from garage to garage in search of higher wages. However, they move in a vicious circle, and they have no one but themselves to blame. Novices will never be entrusted with a new or good truck: they have first to show their work to get it. Now, a driver cannot make much driving a poor truck. He quits. At a new agency the pattern is the same. And so the driver starts "rolling" among personnel departments. Now a driver who keeps his job will then get a decent truck and stay put. Here is a fact: out of the three thousand drivers employed by Saratov's motor transport agencies, 2,300 had service records exceeding five years. It is the other 700 that provide the "fluidity of personnel."

Then the trucker's pay depends on the clients, and in particular the clients' good or poor organization of work. Pirogov expressed it in this way: "The client must be polite and he must understand life." Let us consider the first half of this formula. By "politeness" Pirogov means that the driver must bring over his truck strictly on schedule, and the client must load or unload it promptly, without idle time. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. For example, the 116th motor transport column carries bricks for a brick works. Now, stoppages are frequent at the works but there is no stock of finished products because there is no proper warehouse (incidentally, it was the truckers who first brought up the subject of building a warehouse at the works). Second, loading and unloading are organized very poorly: either there is no crane or the crane is out of order or there are no crane operators or they step out for a smoke or whatnot. As a result, trucks spend much time in queues, or have idle runs (the truckers call them "pleasure runs"). Some motor transport agencies have gone to the length of paying bonuses to their clients out of their own funds for effective loading and unloading. Such bonuses look like bribes, but they pay—

certainly more than fines: the thing is that a client pays a fine out of the state funds, while "bonuses" are charged to his own account.

By "understand life" Pirogov meant illegitimate additions to the invoice. "There is a good fellow," says a driver to his client. "It is through your fault that I suffer losses. It will cost you nothing to add to my invoice a couple of extra hours of work or a couple of extra rides." Legally, the client should do nothing of the kind, but in practice he does not always resist the temptation to oblige.

This is what the truckers' wages depend on, if we discount their own ability, skill and time. The truckers do not mention these factors because they take them for granted and they indeed work very hard.

One day Mikhail told his wife: "You want me to come home early? I will, but I'll make less. Make your choice!" His wife did not answer, but since then she has never made a fuss because of his being late. In the middle of every month Pirogov figures out his prospective pay. If it is less than the sum on which he has counted, he makes extra trips, takes on a trailer, or asks for Sunday work.

Actually, he drives three trucks at once, so to speak. One: his truck. Two: the trailer. Three: overtime. This is pretty hard, but Pirogov's skill makes it possible. He must take special care of the engine, or the shaft will crack. But it pays! For both the driver and the state: twice as much cargo per driver and truck.

As for overtime, this is, of course, wrong. The driver is supposed to work 178 hours a month, and the trade union local should see that the limit is not exceeded: overtime is strictly forbidden! A driver may work as much as he wants to every day, but once he has topped the limit, he may go on leave! But drivers do not want to go on leave.

Viktor Khalaidzhi, in charge of the motor transport column, frankly described himself as sitting on a powder keg with two fuses: one in the hands of his superiors and the other in the hands of the drivers. Khalaidzhi has done what is being done by all motor transport agencies: his "system" is an open secret. He has signed an official instruction forbidding any overtime—and has continued to permit pay for overtime. No matter how many rides the driver— makes—five or fifty—he will be paid accordingly.

Class of work

FOR eleven years Mikhail Pirogov was a third-class driver. By the close of this period he received second-class designation and in three years the first-class.

How does he benefit by this?

The "straight class cash," as he calls the money obtained directly

for his class, amounts to 20 rubles a month. However, this is not the only advantage.

First of all, Pirogov handles his truck excellently. From outside his old tanker does not look like anything special. But sitting next to him in his cab, one immediately appreciates the elegant ease of his driving when without any effort or switching gear he runs upgrade. "How do you manage it?" you ask. He would just smile: "Don't you know that necessity is the mother of invention?"

Pirogov's tanker is a ZIL-164. However, he uses a ZIL-130 carburetor. He has also reconstructed the rear axle, using a motor-bus gear, as a result of which the tanker has lost some of its speed (no loss at all, considering the poor quality of the roads) but has gained in power. "Modernization," sad Pirogov.

That is what his skill does for him.

Ultimately, this "modernization" will also raise his earnings, not directly but through work over and above the plan, not to mention the fact that the driver achieves "great peace of mind and high spirits," as Pirogov expressed it. What with the present-day state of equipment and the shortage of spare parts, drivers like Mikhail Pirogov are simply indispensable for motor transport agencies. Viktor Khalaidzhi told me that he was ferreting out experienced drivers, and in his personnel department they were immediately invited to take the best seat in the room, and the personnel executive would go to the door to block their retreat if necessary.

Out of the 97 drivers of Pirogov's unit 52 are first-class drivers and 30 are second-class drivers!

Prospects

WELL, what can the first-class driver expect after he has won the first class? Does the first class open further prospects for promotion? No. Rather the first class is the point of destination: "Stop here, we've arrived!"

However, this does not depress Pirogov. In general drivers are not ambitious about formal promotion. This is, perhaps, because their occupation is a "take-and-keep-it job," as Pirogov defined it: once a person is a driver, a driver he will be, no matter how well or hard he works. If he is appointed the column's mechanic or the head of a unit, he leaves his cab, for he is no longer a driver: just like in sports there are no "playing coaches." The driver's ambition is peculiar. The most pleasant thing for him is to have the reputation of an ace, a crack driver. There are many first-class drivers but crack drivers are few. A week before I came to Saratov, Mikhail had learned the

trick of braking without letting up on the gas: this preserves the power of the engine so that the engine needn't pick up revs after the braking. Some tricks are still unknown to Pirogov, long a first-class driver. Can he, for example, avoid skidding under any circumstances by making skillful use of the road? In reply Pirogov would only sigh.

Unfortunately, the passing-on of skill and experience does not hold a place of honor, though drivers take a genuine interest in their trade.

This year Mikhail enrolled in the eighth year of an evening school. When I asked him who had suggested this, he answered: "Life had!" Then we decoded his answer, and isolated three reasons which had impelled Pirogov to turn his life "into a real nightmare," as he called the resumption of his education.

Reason number one. Pirogov is now thirty-five. He has to work another 25 years before his pension age. Is it possible that he will drive a truck for another 25 years in addition to the years he has been driving it? It is possible but not highly probable. An accident or failing health, and there you are. "Ours is a tricky job," said Pirogov. "I mean you can't depend on it, it may let you down any moment. I must learn another trade just in case. Here is Lyoshka Yefimov: he got asthma and is working now as the column's mechanic. Why? Because he's learned the job!"

Reason number two. No matter how "decent" the seven-year schooling is for a driver, it may land him in difficulties. For example, ton-kilometers prove to be not just tons multiplied by kilometers; there is some additional factor there that must be calculated. Without complete secondary education a driver cannot properly invoice the fuel, or study complex equipment, or, last but not least, understand how he works, whether he works well and what his work means to society. In other words, education is in line with skill, wages and security.

Reason number three. Mikhail's daughter Nina comes home from music school, puts away her violin and faces her father, strict and serious as befitting a father who is to hear about his daughter's progress at a music school. "Well," says Mikhail very sedately, "what did you do today?" "Solfeggio," answers Nina. Her father exchanges glances with her mother, then coughs and changes the subject.

The questionnaire which I distributed among 90 drivers of Pirogov's unit contained this question: "Do you want to study?" To this 81 persons responded with "Yes." To the question "Do you think you will be able to study?" 64 persons responded with "No." Some added "Too old," "Too late," or "Too many obstacles."

This is true enough. Drivers find it, perhaps, harder than anyone

else to take up the textbooks. A flat tire on the way to the garage and the first lesson is missed.

Obviously, the opinion of a driver's wife counts too. At present Mrs. Pirogov has no objections against her husband's studies. "Let him study," she says softly, "if he wishes to. I don't overburden my Misha with cares." But I wonder what she will say when her Misha collects for the first time less than he used to.

Anyway, despite the drivers' yearning to study, only seven persons out of the 97 drivers of Pirogov's unit are studying.

Psychologists define the word "interest" as "active cognitive orientation" or as the "most essential stimulus for acquiring a deep knowledge, extending the range of vision, raising cultural standards," etc.

I would not say that the drivers have a weaker urge for knowledge and culture than accountants or engineers. However, they have rather limited possibilities for making "active" their "cognitive orientation."

It is true that drivers are not depressed too much by this fact; they believe that they are knowledgeable people without carrying on their formal education. They are indeed unique in this sense.

"I am a man on wheels," says Pirogov, and hence his amazing knowledge of international and domestic affairs, all events at Saratov, in the country or the world, in Moscow's Union of Film-Makers or the local City Council. It should not be assumed that the main source of information for Pirogov is "roadside gossip."

"Drivers do a lot of talking, as a matter of fact," he said, "but they value printed matter too." He subscribes to three newspapers and three magazines. There is hardly a single driver in the garage who does not read newspapers and magazines.

Drivers are indeed storage batteries of public opinion. It is part of their occupation to learn facts, compare them, "roll them over" as they speak with other drivers and their clients, and work out their own point of view from which they never budge.

"Don't tell *me!*" the driver will say, "I know what I'm talking about!"

"DO YOU sing while driving?" I once asked Pirogov. "Well, I do sometimes—on long hauls." "What songs?" "All kinds of songs," he said with an air of finality.

His loyalty to his truck, to the road, to the trade is so deeply engrained that it is hard to get the driver to confess it.

From Komsomolskaya Pravda, *February 9, 1967*
Translation by Novosti Press Agency.

ZULFIA

The *Drop*

You are fifty years old today, my friend,
And far away, yet closer than ever before
As the mind flies. For fifty years old too
Are the sun, the still-fresh grass on the meadow.

My pen and paper are fifty years old also and as I
write, the fire
Blows bright again by the breathing of leaves.
So are the once-young happiness, the sorrow,
Seasoned now by the slaking rains.

The Arabs have put it most clearly. (Not
for nothing are they reputed to be wise men):
There are no greater distances in the world,
Than the distances between hearts.

But if the gulf is wide between us—
And who can doubt the findings of the Arabs?—
And since it is not easy to cross from heart to heart,
Then I make my way to you over a bridge of poetry.

Oh, I shall not come in secret. Nor shall I intrude,
Nor drive wedges into your home, your destiny;
Neither shall I bring grief upon you,
Nor overturn what you have built.

But when friend and foe alike are gathered,
Then like daybreak, like a first poem, like a folk tale,
shall I come
Elbowing aside the murk that engulfs
Your regrets and your raptures alike.

Honor? Disgrace? What are these to me?
I am a drop, and the place of a drop, you know,

Is on a leaf, in a cup, there for your pleasure,
Toast after toast, each more beautiful than the last.

But suddenly you will put down your emptied glass,
Your eyes, gone blank, turn from one to another,
And something you've taken for granted is missing.
It might have been right next to you!

Everything that life is full of is gone now
And there you stand, with glass uplifted
To drink to nobody. For you are alone
And from your face the old fire is quenched.

The shock, the grief—they will exhaust you,
Consume you even as they sober you.
And like the teardrop of a nightingale
A live drop is at the bottom of your glass.

Yes, pulsing and all aglow, this drop,
But for you—nothing, no more the heady gift;
And with none of the old sustenance, it fades,
Burns itself out and charms you no longer.

What was it? The residue of your own tears,
The grief you chose to hide from the world?
A thought, briefly rekindled when memories
Reverberated down old corridors?

Or was it the timid gift once proffered you
Of an easily frightened love, come to life again?
Or the self-renewing ache of a woman's heart
That knows too well the icy breath?

Whatever it may have been, that drop is I—
I as I am now. Do not torture yourself.
Be on your guard against this limpid drink,
This burning drop, bereft of happiness.

Translated by Bernard Koten with the editorial assistance of Joseph Berger

---

Zulfia (Zulfia Israilova) was born in Tashkent in 1915. Her first book of *poems* was published in 1932. She is editor of *Women and Uzbekistan,* a deputy to the Supreme Soviet, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. She was awarded the title of People's Poet of Uzbekistan in 1965.

EDWARD PILFORD
TOMMY FREEMAN
JOHN AH HO LEE
RALPH ABEL

Trade Unionists Visit USSR

Following is a report by an International Longshore Workers' Union delegation, which visited the Soviet Union as guests of the Soviet Sea and River Workers Union. The report is excerpted from the ILWU Dispatcher, *May 10, 1968.*

ON OUR trip to the Soviet Union, we had royal treatment wherever we went—the red carpet was out for us—and we were well received throughout our tour.

We took trips by planes, bus, taxi boat—everything you can think of. Even by hydroplane. The Soviet Union is moving toward tourism, but as of today, they cannot handle the tourist industry well enough because they don't have enough hotels.

We traveled from Moscow to Leningrad, from Leningrad to Odessa, from Odessa to Yalta, and then back to Moscow through Volgograd.

We found that the ILWU is well-known throughout the Soviet Union. If they don't know the ILWU tell them you belong to the "Harry Bridges union." Everybody knows Harry Bridges and the ILWU.

At each of the cities we visited we heard severe criticisms of the American policy in Vietnam. In Moscow, the chairman of the Central Committee of the Union of Sea and River Workers repeated this criticism but immediately added that he was aware of the ILWU's stated policy and therefore they were not criticizing us—the delegation—very strongly.

While visiting a collective farm approximately 75 miles from Odessa, the delegation established a warm and memorable friendship with the people of the small farm village.

As we finished enjoying an abundant and delicious lunch, the conversation shifted to the Vietnam war. The manager of the collective farm very honestly pointed out to us the past plight of the Russian people, the wars his people have been plagued with throughout their history, and how he had grown old and disgusted with wars.

The oldest member of our delegation, Ralph Abel, who had celebrated his 61st birthday in Russia, was very much concerned and warmly touched by the farm manager's conversation.

He told the manager that he was a veteran also, and a grandfather, that he presently had a nephew fighting in Vietnam, and of his wish for international peace and good will. Watching these two aging wise men as they talked of peace in the world was truly a memorable experience, as silent tears streamed down their faces.

And for those brief moments we witnessed the true ring of brotherhood in man, some 75 miles outside Odessa on a warm fall afternoon, on a collective farm in Russia.

Modern Port of Leningrad

ONE of our first stops was at the port of Leningrad. We were shown around the harbor by the harbor manager, Alex Budanov and his assistant in charge of mechanization, Oleg Fomchenko. Alexander Omelchenko, the secretary of the Leningrad Basin Committee of the Sea and River Workers' Union, was also with us.

At the outset it was obvious that the Leningrad port was a modern one in almost all respects. Our hosts were proud to point out that it had just won the Lenin Order of the Soviet Union, which is the highest award in the country, for good port management and implementation of mechanization.

The use of machinery to ease the dock workers' labor and to increase the pace of loading, discharging and distribution of cargoes is common in the port.

There is almost 104 per cent use of shoreside cranes as opposed to ships' gear, which is very seldom used. As each area of the port is developed, cranes of a specialized nature will be used to handle different types of cargo in different areas.

The use of containers has not been pursued as much as in the west, mainly because the cargoes have to go to such diversified regions in the country, and in quite small volume for each particular commodity.

There is no such thing as a basic gang size. Gang sizes vary from job to job, depending upon the ship, cargo and available shore equipment. However, gang sizes usually average between seven and ten men on the ship and on the dock.

Our delegation was shown the training facilities for the Leningrad dockworkers. Instructors are provided by the union and by the port authorities to train new members and those who wish to upgrade their skills.

Hand in hand with training is the understanding of mechanization and what it will do for the industry and the individual. New methods, ideas and machines are welcomed by everyone. Workers do not fear the machine and mechanization.

Dockworkers in Leningrad seemed to know everything that is happening in the port including plans for expansion, tonnage, and production figures.

Later on we were shown around the port of Odessa, in the southern part of the country on the Black Sea. As in Leningrad, the port was modernizing as fast as possible. Cranes were everywhere, with capacities ranging from five to 50 tons.

There is an evident lack of storage and assembly areas. This is why they frequently use multi-storied warehouses in Odessa. If it were not for open decks at each story that could be reached with the shoreside cranes, the efficiency for quick cargo movement would be drastically reduced. Space that could be used for cargo goods is taken up by large support pillars.

Canvas tarpaulins are used to cover cargo. We suggested that perhaps heavy plastic tarps would be lighter, cheaper to replace and easier to handle. The workers said they would consider our suggestion but in the meantime as they had just ordered and received new canvas tarpaulins they would have to use them.

Dock machinery was used almost everywhere, and we were told the port was approximately 80 per cent mechanized, the same as in Leningrad. Small containers are used for small quantities of general cargo, which are usually shipped to the Mediterranean region.

We again stressed the advantages of containerization, but were told there would have to be a major overhaul of ships, docks, warehouses, assembly areas, rail traffic and truck fleets and new distribution methods created for containerization to be effective on a large scale.

These problems are being considered but there are no definite plans as yet.

The port facilities at Volgograd are used primarily for serving transient ships and the consolidation of cargoes for transit up and down the river and to and from the railroad which parallels the river at this city.

Volgograd was formerly Stalingrad and was the scene of almost total devastation during World War II. It is now completely rebuilt. It cannot be recognized from the films the delegation saw of prewar and wartime Stalingrad.

Everywhere safety classes were held and there were rooms where safety literature was available for the individual worker. We were

told by a stevedore in Odessa that it was not uncommon for a gang to stop work if they felt something was not safe. Posters and signs stressing safety are all over.

Incentives and bonuses are offered to workers to complete safety courses. In some categories one has to pass a safety test before being given a job.

One of the big surprises on our trip was the successful method the Russians used to create electric energy at the Volgograd dam. The 23 generators produce more power than the Grand Coulee Dam. Their production costs were considerably less than ours.

Trade Unions and Living Standards

THERE IS no such thing as poverty in the Soviet Union, at least not as we know it. There are, however, dilapidated houses in small areas, but there are plans on the drawing board to erase the problem.

Everywhere in the Soviet Union we saw mass construction sites. In every city we were shown housing projects under construction. But we were told there is still a big shortage and long waiting lists.

It is interesting to note how large a part the trade unions play in the field of housing. The unions work in close association with the government, and have considerable influence in the administration, coordination and allocation of funds for building new homes.

The unions have committees which inspect new and old houses to determine their fitness for union members.

Medical care, legal assistance and education are completely free to all. Rent is extremely low, depending mainly on the size of the apartment. It usually comes to four or five per cent of a family's income, but in any case is never more than 10 per cent. Food is reasonably priced, leaving clothes and cars as the only really high priced commodities.

The Russians have some of the best medical facilities in the world. In Leningrad, we visited the Seamen's Medical Station, where they have 43 doctors, 80 nurses and a whole slew of orderlies.

They believe in control and preventive medicine. They have medical stations even on the beaches and in the rest homes and vacation resorts.

The total membership of the Sea and River Workers' Union is 700,000, and this covers all workers in the maritime industry including longshoremen, harbor personnel, warehousemen, pilots, sailors, truck drivers, mechanics and many others. As a result of more duties and responsibilities being handed to regional and local areas the problems

have to be handled by union personnel, and so the unions now seem to have tremendous power in many diversified areas.

It was explained to the delegation that the unions almost entirely controlled prices, wages, health, and welfare programs. They draft many laws which affect the conditions of the working people.

Union officials were very interested in the labor situation in America and had considerable knowledge of our movement—as much as, or even more than we did. The unions here subscribe to many foreign union publications and books.

The structure of the Sea and River Workers' Union has not changed since our last delegation to Russia in 1959. The elections to union office are by secret ballot and competition is very sharp on all levels.

Almost all of the officers are rank-and-file workers who have advanced from the job.

Union membership is not compulsory, although if an individual does not wish to join a union he is usually visited by union officials or other workers and told the benefits of joining. This practice is highly successful as around 96 per cent of workers belong to a union, and attendance at meetings averages 60 per cent.

One important inducement to join is that union members are the only recipients of benefits gained through collective bargaining. There is no dues checkoff in the Soviet Union. The worker generally pays his dues when he receives his pay check, and it cannot exceed one per cent of his pay.

The committee that collects the dues is also the committee which pays out the bonuses and premiums.

There is now a minimum wage that covers almost all workers in industrial unions, and is equivalent to about half of a good factory worker's wage. Beyond this, it depends on the union concerned in each region as to what they can negotiate.

So the pay for dockworkers in one port may be slightly higher or lower than in another. There can be a basic wage that is higher than the state provides from one union to another and one region from another. The individual worker can then also earn more than union scale by personal performance and initiative. Wages for dock workers are comparable to our own.

The Soviets believe that the dirtier the job, the higher pay you should get. The miners get about the highest pay in the country. Also, agricultural workers are paid very well.

The law restricts the amount of overtime that an employee may work to 10 hours per month, and two consecutive days in a row.

From our discussions with longshoremen we found that the

workers seek little overtime. This is where most conflict arises between the unions and the administrations. Pressure is put on workers near the end of the month to work more overtime than is permitted to reach their quotas or overfill their quotas. The union must be alert to police this part of the labor laws.

There are no strikes in the Soviet Union, because the labor unions have so much power. They don't feel they have to strike, because they usually get their way through bargaining.

The labor contract in the maritime industry lasts one year. At the beginning of each year all matters to be settled are presented by the union and the administration, with the largest number of demands coming from the union.

The contract is checked at each port committee every three months to see that it is adhered to and also to present other demands from each side.

If an issue cannot be settled at the port committee level the problem goes to a higher committee of the union and administration and is resolved there, usually in favor of the union.

There are grievance committees in each port beginning at the dock level up to groups covering the whole port. An equal number of representatives from both sides are present and if a grievance cannot be settled by mutual agreement then the decision of the union is binding on management. If the union has sided with management in the case of the worker, the worker has the right to take his case to court.

Police, Traffic, and People

IN LENINGRAD the policemen are conspicuous by their absence. We counted four in the entire city. There are also few policemen in Moscow, however there were more there than in Leningrad.

Yalta displays a plentiful supply of what we refer to as highway patrol or traffic cops. These police use the double passenger motorcycle and travel in pairs on the highways of the tourist-infested city, giving traffic citations every other mile.

This was an especially familiar sight to the delegates from California.

The most interesting point about the Russian policemen is that they carry no firearms. They all carry the wooden nightsticks. We are sure that crimes are committed in Russia, but compared with the United States, the number seems very low.

There is no cockfighting and gambling in Russia. You cannot even go on the street and bum because the people are the police of the

government. You can't even throw a cigarette butt on the street because the people will jump on you—what the heck you want to dirty up my street for, they'll tell you.

The lot of the women in the Soviet Union has changed very dramatically since the 1917 Revolution. Today women are over 50 per cent of the labor force, 75 per cent of the physicians and over 65 per cent of the teachers. The delegation witnessed women tying steel on a construction job, working on equal terms with their male partners.

While traveling on a bus we were told that it was not necessary to vacate your seat for a standing woman because of the equality of the sexes. But we saw two young women get up to offer their seats to two older men.

The Russians seemed to be making an intensive effort to refrain from asking extensive questions about the racial issues troubling the United States. However, we were approached individually and once as a group about the race issue, and our union's stand on civil rights, but the questions were limited.

As far as their own race relations are concerned, we were in a tourist hotel bar in Odessa having a drink when we heard a Russian (speaking English) "accuse" another man of being Japanese.

When the Japanese replied very firmly that he was a Russian citizen, the first man boldly asked him for his papers. The Japanese then said, "I am a Russian citizen. I will show you nothing."

He later explained that he was a Japanese from the northern part of Sakhalin Island in the Pacific, and he seemed very proud of his Russian citizenship.

But they don't seem to have a race problem comparable to ours. We talked to a group of African students who seemed about evenly divided in their opinions of the Russian system.

As to religion, it is a very touchy subject, and the man on the street, when questioned about religion, becomes excited and angry.

They contend that for the younger generation there is no belief in life after death, nor in God. We were informed that only the very old attend church.

A Proud, Sensitive People

WE FOUND the Russian people to be very proud of themselves and very sensitive. We thought overly so, but we could understand they had much to be proud of. They had brought the country from backwardness to a major power in the world in every respect in a short span of time including wartime.

This becomes really striking when we realize that in World War II, during the 900 day siege of Leningrad by the Germans, one million people died. They died of starvation, cold and disease. We were taken up to the cemetery there and we watched from a hill as people went in and out, putting flowers on the graves of the war dead. Many came out crying.

And everywhere we went, it was the same. About 85 per cent of the city of Stalingrad was destroyed during the war, but they have rebuilt a beautiful city.

A total of 21 million Soviet people died during World War II.

All in all, the delegation was shown a well-rounded program which we feel enabled us to get a complete picture of union life in the USSR and of life for the average citizen in all aspects of their lives. As close as the two ideologies allowed we felt that life in general in the Soviet Union would compare with our own in America.

PLAN FULFILLMENT, 1967

The following table summarizes the main indices of the Soviet economy, and how they changed during 1967. Figures are taken from the annual report of the USSR Central Statistical Administration. The first figure is the planned percentage growth of the item; the second gives the actual percentage growth of the item.

National income	6.6	6.7
Industrial output	7.3	10
Capital goods	7.5	10.2
Consumer goods	6.6	9
Agricultural output	3	1
Fixed assets put into operation	—	7
Capital investments	—	8
Labor productivity	5	7
Profits	14	16
Total wage bill	5.6	7.4
Public consumption funds	7	7.7
Real per capita income	5.5	6
Public services	17.4	18

Output of basic industrial goods during 1967 was as follows (the second figures gives the percentage increase over 1966):

Electric power, billion kwh	589	44
Oil, million tons	288	23
Coal, million tons	595	10
Steel, million tons	102.2	5.3
Mineral fertilizers, million tons	40.1	4.2
Automobiles, thousands	728.8	53.6
TV sets, millions	5.0	0.5
Washing machines, millions	4.3	0.5
Refrigerators, millions	2.7	0.5
Textiles, million sq. m.	8,042	39

VICTOR BOLSHAKOV

Soviet Aid To Vietnam

THE ORDER to begin mass bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was given on February 7, 1965. American aircraft raided populated areas in a number of provinces, beginning systematic raids which were later extended to Hanoi and Haiphong, irrigation structures, pagodas, schools, medical institutions, and settlements, all of which were far from having any military significance. Phumi, the center of the Republic's textile industry, was turned into a Vietnamese Coventry.

After one of its regular bombings of a populated area in the DRV, the American military command reported that the US airforce had raided "another military target" in North Vietnam. But if in the beginning these raids were carried on with relative impunity, they were later answered by increasingly heavy anti-aircraft and rocket fire.

The stand adopted by the Soviet Union in the Vietnam conflict was, primarily, prompted by its deep conviction of the lawlessness of the USA's military intervention in Vietnam. The past decade has demonstrated the broad popular opposition to the puppet regimes in the country's South. It should have become clear to the Americans that it would be impossible to solve the problem by military action, let alone intervention, a method which has long since discredited itself. The experience of France was also a graphic illustration of this. On the other hand, there existed a ready recipe for a peaceful settlement: the 1954 Geneva agreements which granted the Vietnamese people the right to find an independent solution for their problems on a democratic foundation, free from outside interference. However, this alternative evidently did not suit the United States, which feared the loss of its influence in this economically and strategically important part of Southeast Asia.

The Soviet Union's assistance to Democratic Vietnam thus constitutes a reply to the bombings and other hostile acts of the United States. However, it would be a mistake to believe that this help has

---

VICTOR BOLSHAKOV is a commentator on Moscow radio, and also on the staff of the Novosti Press Agency, through whose courtesy this article was received.

an exclusively military nature. Back in 1955, the USSR and the DRV signed an agreement on economic and technical assistance. The USSR committed itself to build 144 industrial projects in the DRV and to help in the training of personnel for these enterprises. This agreement has since been implemented.

Neither the USSR nor the DRV were to blame for the fact that the new agreements signed last September (1967) laid particular stress on military deliveries from the USSR. The American raids and other military operations compelled the DRV to pay particular attention to the organization of an armed rebuff to US interference. Under the new agreements, the Soviet Union committed itself to supply the DRV, free of charge, planes, anti-aircraft and rocket armaments, artillery and small arms, as well as ammunition and other military material. The agreements also provide for the delivery to the DRV of complete plants and sets of equipment, means of transportation, oil products, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, foodstuffs, fertilizers, medicines, and other needed supplies.

Hailing these agreements *Nhan Dan,* the leading Hanoi paper, wrote that they were proof of the "sincere, serious and valuable support and assistance the Soviet Government, Party and the Soviet people extended to the Vietnamese people."

In mid-March of the current year the Government of the Soviet Union announced that it would increase its help to Democratic Vietnam by another 20 per cent. In the same month, the Soviet Union and six other European socialist countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the GDR and Bulgaria) published a declaration on the increased threat to peace created by the extension of American aggression in Vietnam. The declaration stressed that all necessary assistance to the DRV would continue as long as it was needed for the victorious repulsion of the US aggression. Volunteers were offered, as had been done previously, if requested.

AS WE have noted, military aid is only one of the ways of helping Vietnam employed by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The unanimity with which the Soviet people, irrespective of profession, age, education or religious views, have censured the Pentagon's aggression in Vietnam has turned the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam into a mass-scale popular undertaking. It is a concrete manifestation of the thoughts and feelings of people who have not forgotten the horrors of the Second World War and the sacrifices made for the victory over Hitler's Germany.

Speaking at a meeting of solidarity with Vietnam held at Moscow University, Marina Selitskaya, a scientific associate of one of the institutes attached ot the USSR Academy of Sciences, said: "Today, nobody can be at ease, no matter how quiet things may be at home, and however brightly the sun may shine. The pain of Vietnam is also our pain, the pain of women all over the world. It is to them that I want to appeal. The schools where Vietnamese children are studying are in flames. The flames may spread to our schools and our children. We still remember the Second World War when almost half of the planet was aflame. And today, a country which boasts of its democracy, science, culture, a country which is huge and wealthy is trying to outdo the nazis. No nation can be free which oppresses another nation."

To show solidarity with Vietnam is an everyday occurrence in the Soviet Union. One day, the workers of an industrial enterprise decide to fulfil orders for Democratic Vietnam ahead of schedule; then the students of a whole city decide to work at construction sites and contribute the money thus earned to the Vietnam aid fund; another day there is a telegram from Far Eastern seamen who declare that neither the American raids nor any provocative acts in Chinese ports will stop them from delivering cargoes to the port of Haiphong even for a day.

The work of these seamen is far from safe. A year ago, Rybachuk, machanic from the *M.S. Turkestan,* was killed and several of his fellow-crewmen were seriously wounded during an American raid on the port of Kampha. Huge red flags bearing the hammer and sickle emblem have now been painted on the sides of Soviet ships heading for the ports of the DRV, since US official representatives have time and again justified hostile acts by their aircraft by referring to difficulties in discerning the nationality of the vessel in question.

Another ship, the *M.S. Rasdolnoye,* arrived at the Haiphong port toward the end of April, bringing to Vietnam foodstuffs and industrial cargoes, as well as 10,000 parcels containing a million rubles' worth of May Day gifts. This was the second "solidarity ship" whose cargo was purchased with funds collected by various Soviet public organizations.

Contributions to the Vietnam aid fund started by the Soviet Peace Committee keep streaming from all parts of the country. Special bank account No. 70012, opened for this purpose, has acquired great popularity. For example, the workers of the Volgograd Tractor Works have already deposited 5,700 rubles in it from their own earnings; actors of the Moscow Art Theater have deposited

the entire box-office take of a play staged by them. Royalties from book publications, money collected from special evenings of poetry and music have been handed over to the fund by such prominent Soviet writers and poets as Konstantin Simonov, Stepan Shchipachev Sergey Vassiliev, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, composer Vano Muradeli and many others.

THE USSR gives all-round support to the efforts of the DRV Government directed at reaching a political solution of the Vietnam problem. It supported the declaration of the Republic regarding its readiness to discuss with the USA the problem of the unconditional stopping of American bombings to be able to begin talks. The USSR Government is of the opinion that this declaration indicates an effective road towards a discontinuance of the Vietnam war and a political settlement of the problem in the interests of the Vietnamese people and the restoration of normal conditions in Southeast Asia.

(Since the above article was received, a new USSR-DRV military and economic aid agreement was signed. See page 110).

LION AND LAMB VOTE TOGETHER

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 19—Lord Caradon, Britain's chief delegate, read today in the Security Council a poem he said was inspired by Soviet support for the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

The poem was dedicated to Vassily V. Kuznetsov, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, who headed his country's delegation in the Security Council. It said:

When prospects are dark and hopes are dim
We know that we must send for him.
When storms and tempests fill the sky
Bring on Kuznetsov is the cry!

He comes like a dove from the Communist ark
And light appears where all was dark.
His coming quickly turns the tide,
The propaganda floods subside.

And now that he has changed the weather
Lion and lamb can vote together.
God bless the Russian delegation—
I waive consecutive translation.

N. Y. Times, June 20, 1968

Problems of War and Peace

Vietnam — US-USSR Relations — Non-Proliferation Treaty

Gromyko Address — Soviet Disarmament Proposal

EVERY WORD uttered by President Johnson in condemnation of the violence that struck down Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy can be applied with even greater force to his own policies in Vietnam. In naming a panel to seek the causes of these killings, he declared: "We cannot sanction the appeal to violence—no matter what its cause, no matter what the grievance from which it springs."

Physician, heal thyself! The panel need look no further than the violent US aggression against the Vietnam people and the violent assaults here at home against the lives and freedom of Black Americans.

US-USSR Relations and Vietnam

MILITARY defeats in Vietnam, worldwide opposition to the war, and pressures from the American people compelled the President's abdication and overtures to Hanoi to open talks, now dragging on through their third month. Restriction of the bombing to the part of North Vietnam below the 19th Parallel has in fact meant an intensification of bombing in an only slightly smaller area, with constant reports of the heaviest strikes of the war taking place. Vietnamese people in both North and South are perishing in great numbers under US assaults, and several periods since the beginning of the talks have seen the heaviest US casualties of the entire war.

The talks can move forward only if all US bombing and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are stopped. It was to achieve this first step that Hanoi agreed to enter upon negotiations. Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, charges that so far "the peace talks have been used by the US Government as a sedative for American public opinion," in announcing a national campaign to expose the US blocking of serious discussions in Paris.

It is of the utmost urgency that new pressures be mounted to end all the bombing, all the killing and destruction, and to bring about

withdrawal of all US and allied troops, leaving the Vietnamese people free to determine their own affairs.

Recent developments in American-Soviet relations must be seen against the background of the present world situation in which US military aggression constitutes the greatest threat to the peace and freedom of the peoples of the world.

Soviet leaders, while expressing the conviction that American-Soviet cooperation is essential in the long run in the interests of world peace, have repeatedly emphasized that there can be no fully normal relations as long as the United States continues its present aggression.

There is no inconsistency between this position and recent events. The Soviet Government announced its long-delayed ratification of the US-USSR consular convention only after the Washington-Hanoi agreement on holding the Paris talks, as a signal that prospects for peace in Vietnam would also open the way for improved Soviet-American relations. Future improvements in relations will depend on the outcome in Paris.

The signing by over sixty nations of the nuclear-non-proliferation treaty, made possible by US-USSR agreement, and the Soviet consent to enter into talks with the USA on the curbing of offensive and defensive missiles, go far beyond American-Soviet relations. These are measures which can only act as a brake on the growth of US military might and serve as safeguards against US aggression and new world war.

A NEW cultural exchange agreement, the sixth since 1958, was signed in Moscow by the United States and the Soviet Union on July 15. The previous agreement expired at the end of 1967, and the delay in reaching a new one and certain curtailments in the new one are attributed to Soviet opposition to the US war in Vietnam.

Annual exchanges of university students have been cut to 30 from the former 40 by each country. Exchanges of professors for research have been reduced from 15 to 10. The new agreement calls for the exchange of three major performing arts groups instead of five as in the earlier agreement.

The new agreement provides for exchanges of motion pictures, books, journals and radio and television programs, and for a continuation of the distribution of the journals *Amerika* in the Soviet Union and *Soviet Life* in the United States.

Scientific and technical exchanges are broadened somewhat. The new program includes exchanges in weather control, treatment of industrial waste water, air pollution, studies of solar eclipses, and ex-

changes in the field of agriculture and medicine. While leading Soviet doctors have opposed heart transplants pending accumulation of greater knowledge and skill, the agreement provides for exchange of delegations of doctors to study progress in transplanting of human organs.

A program of exchanges in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy was taken up in parallel negotiations after a two-years lapse.

July 15 also saw the inauguration, after a decade of talks, of the first direct airline service between the Soviet Union and the United States, by Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, and Pan American World Airways.

That these moves signify no "softness" in the Soviet attitude toward US imperialist policies, was made clear by CPSU General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, at a Soviet-Hungarian friendship meeting in the Kremlin on July 3. Denouncing US policies of violence and terror, he declared that "monopolist America is decaying and degenerating." He charged that the United States was still seeking a military solution and delaying talks on steps for peace in Vietnam, and affirmed that "the Soviet Union will continue giving fighting Vietnam all necessary assistance in its struggle against American imperialism and for the right of the Vietnamese people to build their life in the way they choose."

On the following day, the Soviet Union announced conclusion of a new military and economic agreement with North Vietnam, after a ten-day discussion with a DRV delegation. Details of types of military equipment were not announced as in last year's agreement, which included sophisticated anti-aircraft and rocket equipment as well as aircraft, artillery, small arms etc. It was noted that the talks took place several months earlier than previous years. This led to speculation that supplementary help was provided in view of possible curtailment of Chinese aid due to the latter's internal disorders, and the recent blocking in the transport of both Chinese and Soviet military aid to Hanoi for a protracted period due to sharp conflicts in South China, as acknowledged by Premier Chou En-lai (*New York Times*, July 10).

J. S.

THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

A NEW great step forward in easing the threat of thermonuclear war was the signing of the non-proliferation treaty in three capitals, Washington, Moscow and London, on July 1.

This treaty commits nations not now possessing nuclear weapons, not to produce them or acquire them in the future. It commits the nuclear powers not to share these weapons with the non-nuclear nations while at the same time obligating them to assist the latter in gaining access to the full benefits of peaceful use of the atom. It pledges the signatory nuclear powers to take further effective steps toward the banning of nuclear weapons altogether and complete disarmament.

The Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was approved by an overwhelming majority in the UN General Assembly, June 12, 1968, by a vote of 95 to 4. Those who voted "No" were Tanzania, Zambia, Albania and Cuba. Among the 21 abstainers were France, India, Brazil, Argentina and Spain.

France, having withdrawn from the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee, has so far refused to go along with the treaty. China has denounced it as an "imperialist plot," along with the latest Soviet disarmament proposals. Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger of West Germany, which has long sought to possess nuclear weapons, has arrogantly demanded a US guarantee against nuclear attack by the Soviet Union as a condition for signing the non-proliferation treaty.

No treaty in the history of international relations has received such wide discussion and support among the nations and the peoples of the world. It is the result of numerous comprehensive discussions in the UN General Assembly, where representatives of about 100 nations spoke in the decisive debate. First Deputy Foreign Minister Vassily V. Kuznetsov led the final discussion for the USSR. The treaty has been under negotiation for three years in the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. It has been supported by millions of people throughout the world who want an end to the nuclear arms race.

The non-proliferation treaty was further strengthened by the action of the Security Council on June 19 in passing a resolution submitted by the USA, USSR and Great Britain safeguarding the security of non-nuclear nations. This resolution emphasizes that:

> Aggression with the use of nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a state not in possession of such weapons, would create a situation in which the Security Council, and especially the permanent members possessing nuclear weapons, would have to act immediately in keeping with their commitment to the UN Charter.

The resolution was accompanied by special statements of the USA, USSR and Great Britain pledging support to any non-nuclear signatory state that should be the victim of aggression or threat of aggression by nuclear weapons.

President Johnson declared in a speech at the United Nations after the passage of the treaty that it was "the most important international agreement in the field of disarmament since the nuclear age began."

While seeking to take upon himself a large share of the credit for the treaty, the record shows that in this as in all steps toward nuclear disarmament the Soviet Union has taken the lead, and was at particular pains to try to reach agreement with the United States on this treaty because not the United States but world peace is the greatest gainer. While in Washington there are people still pressing for the use of nuclear arms in Vietnam, this treaty makes such escalation of the war in Vietnam all but impossible.

Premier Alexey Kosygin, at the signing ceremony in Moscow, declared that along with the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in three environments signed five years ago, and last year's treaty prohibiting the use of outer space for military purposes, the non-proliferation treaty constitutes a further practical step towards limiting the arms race. Mr. Kosygin announced that the Soviet Government was at the same time addressing a memorandum to all countries proposing a program for ending the arms race and for disarmament and calling for a world disarmament conference (see p. 116).

Along with the signing of the non-proliferation treaty, announcement was made of agreement between the United States and the USSR to enter into talks on the question of mutual restriction and subsequent reduction of strategic vehicles for delivery of nuclear weapons, offensive and defensive, including anti-missile devices. Due to the Soviet Union's progress in developing anti-missile defensive systems, the US Administration has long sought to open talks on their restriction, to save itself a costly program in this field, but has not wished to include offensive weapons, in which it claims superiority. The USSR has insisted that offensive weapons must also be considered, as an essential step toward ending the threat of nuclear war, and the United States finally had to agree to include offensive weapons as the only way to secure Soviet agreement on talks.

GROMYKO REVIEWS SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

A review of the international situation and of Soviet foreign policy was presented by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet June 27, 1968. A summary follows.

On Disarmament

THE MAJOR part of Mr. Gromyko's address was devoted to the question of disarmament and ending the arms race, in pursuance, he declared, of the policy of peace which began with the establishment of the Soviet Government, November 8, 1917, in reiteration of proposals for banning nuclear weapons and their use made repeatedly for the past 22 years.

Mr. Gromyko's concrete disarmament proposals were embodied in the July 1 Memorandum of the Soviet Government to all nations, a summary of which is appended. In making his plea for the liberation of humanity from the terrible burden of armaments and the threat of new world war, Gromyko stressed the terrible toll of human lives, totalling in World War I the number of men killed in European wars during the preceding thousand years, and over 50,000,000 lives in World War II. He continued:

> During the first half of the 20th century the arms race and wars have swallowed up, as shown by statistics, 400 trillion dollars. It is difficult even to imagine what boons this money would bring the people if it were at the disposal of a society rid of exploitation of man by man and of the domination of monopolies! Perhaps only electronic machines could enable us to see the prospects which would open up before the people of the world, if the astronomical sums now spent on the arms race through the fault of the imperialist powers, were used for raising the peoples' living standards, for advancing culture, education and public health.
>
> Human reason rebels at the fact that the genius of scientists, the knowledge of engineers and production organizers, the skilled hands of workers, the talents of people in the arts, and tremendous material funds as well are still being squandered on the production of weapons of destruction and annihilation. The people have the right to demand an end to this insanity.

On US Militarism and Aggression in Vietnam

THE SOVIET Foreign Minister, analyzing the relation of forces in the present eventful stage of the revolutionary epoch in which we are now living, concluded that "the process of the collapse of the world of exploitation and profit with its usual companions—aggressive wars, unbridled arms race, suppression of the freedom of the peoples —is progressing in scope and depth."

Vietnam especially, said Gromyko, has shown that the forces of national liberation are irresistible. In the cruel and brutal war waged by the United States against a country with a small population and economic potential, the US Air Force has dropped on Vietnam more bombs than were dropped on Germany in World War II and has now more than half a million interventionist troops in South Vietnam. Yet as a result, he pointed out, the will of the Vietnamese people to drive out foreign invaders has become even stronger and worldwide support for them has grown.

In the section of his speech dealing with relations with other countries, Mr. Gromyko stressed that Soviet-American relations are still burdened by the aggresive US foreign policy and especially the war in Vietnam. Referring to statements made by President Johnson in Glassboro on the desirability of increased cooperation with the Soviet Union, he said that the Soviet Union has always been in favor of

good relations with the United States, but that such relations would only be possible "if the United States does not encroach on the security and independence of other peoples." He went on: "Our country has never struck and will never strike any deals with anyone at the expense of the peoples, circumventing their interests. It depends on the United States Government to what extent available possibilities in Soviet-American relations can and will be used."

On the Middle East

GROMYKO stressed the concern of the USSR for the relaxation of tension and establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East, where, he charged, Israel is responsible for the continuing tensions, because its troops are continuing to occupy the captured Arab territories.

The Arab troops have accepted the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and have informed Mr. Jarring, the UN Secretary General's envoy, of their consent to implement it, but Israel, he said, with the backing of the United States, has refused to fulfil the decision and withdraw its troops from occupied Arab territories, which is the first requirement for the solution of the problem. Mr. Gromyko expressed the hope that all governments would cooperate toward a speedy settlement of the situation in the Middle East.

(It should be noted that in the Soviet disarmament program the idea of limiting the arms race in the Middle East is supported.)

European Security and West German Militarism

THE SOVIET Foreign Minister stressed the concern of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries over the threat to peace in Europe arising from developments in Greece and the growth of militaristic and neo-Nazi dangers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

He warned of the menacing growth of the Nazi forces in West Germany, where the National Democratic Party now has representatives in seven out of the ten Landtags.

Despite its vaunted "new Eastern Policy," the FRG Government, he said, continues to call for a return to the 1937 borders of the German Reich and to revive the ominous demand for "lebensraum." Relations with the German Democratic Republic are still determined by the bankrupt Hallstein doctrine of refusing to recognize the GDR's existence and new tensions arise over the continued attempts to annex West Berlin. Hypocritical proposals to the USSR for mutual renunciation of force can have no meaning in the light of Bonn's revanchist policy of revising its borders. The USSR would welcome such negotiations, said Mr. Gromyko, if the FRG would respect the postwar

agreements and also recognize the existence of the GDR as a state.

He reaffirmed the proposals made at the Bucharest Warsaw Treaty meeting for a European conference on questions of security and cooperation among European states.

Relations with the Chinese People's Republic

REVIEWING relations with other countries, Gromyko outlined especially Soviet efforts to develop and consolidate relations with the young national states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. He stressed the continuous resolute support of the USSR to all national liberation movements and for the end of all colonial oppression. While there were both successes and setbacks in the liberation struggles and in the independence struggles of the new states, Soviet policies had helped in many instances, he said, in withstanding imperialist pressures as they would continue to do.

Mr. Gromyko expressed confidence that Soviet-Chinese relations would eventually return to their normal channel. We quote in full his remarks on this subject:

> Frankly speaking, these relations are a far cry from what relations between two socialist countries and even simply neighbors can and should be. Everything possible is being done from our side to prevent deterioration of state relations with China. This year the Soviet Government presented concrete proposals to the PRC Government on questions of trade, of joint utilization of border rivers for shipping and some other questions. But Peking remains deaf to any initiative reflecting concern for the present and future of Soviet-Chinese relations.
>
> Following its anti-Soviet course, Mao Tse-tung's group is internationally continuing to aggravate matters further. I can mention the rude provocations against the crews of the Soviet tanker "Komsomolets Ukrainy" in the port of Vampu, the diesel ships "Zagorsk" and "Svirsk" in the port of Dalny. These provocations evoked the just wrath of the Soviet people and are self-evident.
>
> Mao Tse-tung's group is promoting hostile subversive activity against our state. In their foul attempts to slander domestic life in the Soviet Union and Soviet foreign policy, the Peking radio and newspapers vie with imperialist propaganda.
>
> Through the fault of the Peking authorities, the volume of Soviet-Chinese trade has shrunk 95 per cent since 1959 and has reached a negligible volume. Cultural ties between our countries, not to mention public contacts, have in actuality been severed.
>
> Unfortunately, it is the Chinese people, who are bound to the Soviet people with bonds of old friendship, who have to pay for the adventurism of the Peking leaders and their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.
>
> The CPSU, the Soviet people, have repeatedly expressed confidence that present events in China and the chauvinistic great-power direction of its present foreign policy are only a historically transient stage. We are confident that despite all difficulties and zigzags the cause of socialism in China will triumph and Soviet-Chinese relations will ultimately enter into their natural channel.

USSR DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

THE JULY I Memorandum of the Soviet Union proposed a Nine-Point Disarmament program for the "urgent consideration of the nations in the world in the near future," herewith summarized.

1. *A Ban on the Use of Nuclear Weapons.*

In order to facilitate the speediest solution of the problem of the complete prohibition and total liquidation of nuclear weapons, the USSR urges the convening of an international conference to consider the draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons proposed by the USSR at the 22nd session of UN General Assembly and supported by the vast majority of UN delegations, and to consider as well any other proposals along these lines. The USSR proposes that the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee take this up as a priority item.

2. *Measures on Ending the Manufacture of Nuclear Weapons, the Reduction and Liquidation of their Stockpiles.*

The Soviet Government proposes that all nuclear powers immediately open talks on ending manufacture of nuclear weapons, reduction of their stockpiles and subsequent complete prohibition and liquidation of nuclear weapons under appropriate international control. The Soviet Government expresses readiness to enter into such negotiations with all other nuclear powers at any time.

3. *Limitation and Subsequent Reduction of Means of Delivery of Strategic Weapons.*

The Soviet Government proposes reaching agreement on concrete steps in the limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons, believing that the destruction of the entire arsenal of means of delivery or at any rate its reduction to an absolute minimum while temporarily preserving only a strictly limited number of such means, would be a step leading towards removal of the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Government is ready to exchange views with concerned states on such measures.

4. *Prohibition of Flights of Bombers carrying Nuclear Weapons Beyond National Frontiers, Limitation of Navigation Zones for Submarines Carrying Missiles.*

The increasing crashes of US bombers with nuclear weapons outside of the territory of the United States arouse the legitimate alarm of various countries; such crashes could lead to a nuclear explosion setting in motion a chain of grave events leading to a conflict endangering all mankind. The Soviet Government proposes immediate banning of bombers carrying nuclear weapons beyond national frontiers and agreement on an end of patrolling of submarines carrying nuclear missiles within missile-striking range of the borders of the contracting parties.

5. *Banning of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests.*

The Soviet Government is ready without delay to agree on the banning of underground nuclear weapons tests on the basis of the use of national means of detection for the control over such banning.

6. *Prohibition of the Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons.*

The Soviet Government has repeatedly drawn attention to the danger to mankind of the use of chemical and biological weapons. The 21st UN General Assembly Session adopted a resolution calling for strict observance by all states of the Geneva protocol of 1925 on Prohibition of the Use of Chemical and Bacteriological weapons, condemning all actions contrary to this and inviting all states to accede to the Geneva Protocol.

This important decision has not been implemented by some countries and in the first place by the United States, which, moreover, uses chemical weapons in its aggressive war in Vietnam. In view of this the Soviet Government proposes that the 18-Nation Committee should consider ways and means of insuring implementation by all states of the aforesaid Geneva Protocol.

7. *Elimination of Foreign Military Bases.*

Foreign military bases on the territory of other countries create a grave threat to peace. Such bases are a source of military conflicts and endanger the freedom and independence of peoples. This is convincingly proved by the continuing aggressive war of the United States in Vietnam, by the tension and conflicts in other areas of the world where foreign bases are situated.

The Soviet Government, in accordance with the instructions of the 21st UN General Assembly session, proposes that the question of the elimination of foreign military bases be urgently considered in the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee.

8. *Measures of Regional Disarmament.*

The Soviet Government supports the creation of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world. It believes that not only groups of states embracing whole continents or major geographic regions, but even more limited groups of states or even separate countries could assume commitments to establish denuclearized zones.

The Soviet Government also supports proposals to implement measures of regional disarmament and reduction of armaments in various regions of the world, including the Middle East. The question of such measures to limit the arms race in the Middle East could be discussed, of course, only under the condition of the liquidation of the consequences of the Israeli aggression against Arab countries and first of all the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories of the Arab countries.

9. *Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and Ocean Floor.*

The arms race can be reduced not only by limitation of the military use of those environments where man lives and acts but by prevention of such use of new spheres of human activities. The Soviet Government hails important steps in this direction such as the Antarctic Treaty and the Treaty on the Use of Outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies.

The progress of research and prospects of conquering the sea-bed and the ocean floor make it possible to raise the question of the timely establishment of a regime that would insure the use of the sea-bed beyond the limits of existing territorial waters exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would mean prohibition in particular of the creation of permanent installations of a military character on the sea-bed and also of other activities of a military nature. The Soviet Government proposes beginning negotiations on this question.

Call for a World Disarmament Conference.

"In proposing the above measures, the Soviet Government draws attention to the need to spare no efforts to achieve concrete results in the solution of the problem of *general and complete disarmament.* The Soviet Government considers it necessary to activate the negotiations on this problem in the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee. Along with this it stands for the implementation of the UN General Assembly Decision on convening a world disarmament conference and expresses its conviction that the convening of such a conference will contribute to the solution of this most important task faced by mankind."

JOHN HENRIK CLARKE

W.E.B. DuBois — Great American

ONE of the governing rules of book reviewing is that the reviewer should review the book and not the author. It is difficult to review a book by W. E. B. DuBois without violating this rule. The publication of his last major work calls attention to his long and useful life in the service of his people in particular and the world in general. While in this book* Dr. DuBois views his life from the last decade of his first century, the total of his life is also reflected throughout.

This soliloquy is a personal commentary on the last phase of his extraordinary life. In his lifetime his influence in shaping the life of the black American was far-reaching and profound. In fact, the story of their struggle for freedom and dignity in the first half of the twentieth century is, in the main, the story of W. E. B. DuBois. He was both a participant and an interpreter of this struggle. His writing and his ceaseless activity helped to make racial oppression in the United States a world issue.

It is a mistake to think of Dr. DuBois only as a great leader of black Americans. His range and achievements extended far beyond his best known activity. He was one of the greatest American citizens of his time. He was an American and a public man who took his public responsibilities seriously. He knew that in order to change the status of his people in this country and in the world he would have to strike at the roots of worldwide colonialism and lift his voice against the exploitation of all the oppressed people of the world.

In a recent article on Dr. DuBois, the Afro-Caribbean writer C. L.

The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois. A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life From the Last Decade of its First Century. International Publishers, 1968. 448 pp., $10.00.

JOHN HENRIK CLARKE is Associate Editor of *Freedomways*, a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement. He is director of the Heritage Program of Haryou-Act, and edited the recently published book *William Styron's Nat Turner—Ten Black Writers Respond.*

R. James has listed what he considers the main achievements of DuBois.

"1. He educated and organized black people in the United States to claim, and white people to acknowledge, that racial prejudice in the United States was a disease against the material wellbeing and moral health of the American people.

"2. More than any other citizen of Western civilization (or of Africa itself) he struggled over many years and succeeded in making the world aware that Africa and Africans had to be freed from the thralldom which Western civilization had imposed on them.

"3. As a scholar he not only initiated the first serious study of the American slave trade in his studies of the Civil War, and of the Negro in the United States after the Civil War, he also laid foundations and achieved monumental creations surpassed by no other scholar of the period."

To this may be added the fact that in the beginning, the development and the conclusion of his life's work, he symbolized certain stages in the development of American thought which are a pointer in the examination of dominant currents in the role that the United States is now playing in the world.

As early as 1911, a year after he had founded the *Crisis* Magazine, Dr. DuBois was a participant in the First World Races Congress held in London. The congress was attended by representatives of most of the people of the world. Dr. DuBois represented the N.A.A.C.P. and, supposedly, all Americans of African descent.

At the end of World War I, Dr. DuBois started a movement for a Pan-African Congress to be held in Paris in 1919. DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P. hoped that such a Congress would lead to "self-determination" for the African people and would also serve, perhaps, better than any other means that could be taken, to focus the attention of the peace delegates and the colonial world on the just claims of black people everywhere.

This is only one of the main events leading up to the last phase of the life of Dr. DuBois. He has written two other books that were reflections on his life and mission. The present *Soliloquy* is more of an autobiography than *Darkwater* written in his fiftieth year and *Dusk of Dawn* written in his seventieth year.

In many ways the *Soliloquy* is both historical and topical, and it should be required reading for all civil rights militants, especially the young ones who need to know that a man like W. E. B. DuBois opened the door to their age and worked to make their movement possible long before most of them were born.

IMAGES OF SPLENDOR

War and Peace, a Walter Reade-Continental release. Directed by Sergey Bondarchuk. Screenplay by Bondarchuk and Vassily Solovyov. English version by Lee Kressel. Color, 373 minutes.

THE pictorially magnificant motion picture made from Tolstoy's *War and Peace* by Mosfilm in the Soviet Union is declared by its American distributors to be "the greatest film ever made," and some critics have echoed this view. I do not share this opinion. But the fact that such a question as to whether it is the "greatest film" is even being raised indicates the extent of its accomplishment.

First some statistics. The film, directed by Sergey Bondarchuk (who also collaborated in the screenplay and enacts the leading role of Pierre Bezukhov), took five years to make. Close to 300 indoor and outdoor sets were built to recreate faithfully the Russia of 1805-12. Aside from 30 actors with prominent roles, the extras range from 800 for the great ballroom scenes to 120,000 for the battle scenes. In the original Soviet version, the showing of the film occupies four evenings. The version shown in this country is somewhat cut, and consists of two "superfilms," each about three and a quarter hours long, to be seen either afternoon and evening or on two separate evenings. English dialogue has been dubbed in. This is a flaw, since speech is an organic part of acting. Yet this dubbing, carried out by Lee Kressel, is one of the most smooth, expert jobs within my experience.

The camera work, color and collective acting are splendid. The storytelling (saying the most with swift touches) and the finely planned pacing keep the audience continuously enthralled. Scenes crowd upon one another, each a miracle of cinematic power and beauty, so that the eye is almost surfeited, like going through a great gallery of fine art and seeing one masterpiece after another. Tolstoy's word-painting of scenes and characters is brought to life with such scrupulous fidelity that it will probably be impossible to read the novel again without those camera images rising in the mind.

However, I feel that a vital aspect of the novel is missing. This is not apparent in Part I, which opens in 1805 and moves slowly towards 1812. We see the Russian aristocracy in their sumptuous city festivities and on their country estates. Contrasting personalities appear, like the jovial Count Rostov and his wife, who like to be in the center of activities, and the stern old Prince Nikolay Bolkonsky, who lives in a tyrannical austerity far from city activities and far in mind from 19th century currents. And there are differing types among the young generation. Bolkonsky's son, Prince Andrey, is an intellectual and philosophical skeptic, who believes in nothing and keeps a firm check on his emotions. Rostov's oldest son Nikolay is brave, high-spirited, loves to drink and hunt, and never troubles his mind with an idea. Pierre Bezukhov, illegitimate son of a wealthy nobleman, is a social critic and visionary. Anatole Kuragin is a handsome, dashing, unscrupulous woman-chaser and adventurer.

And so an entire society takes shape, within which there is the tragic love of Natasha Rostov and Prince Andrey. Their prospective marriage is broken by his excessive reserve and her temporary infatuation for Kuragin. There is the equally sad tale of Pierre's marriage to the beautiful but unfaithful Helene Kuragin. Russia is also engaged in alliance with the Austrian Empire in the war against Napoleon, and there are powerful battle scenes of the Russian troops in Austria.

Part II, dealing with the events of 1812, is scenically even more spectacular, but Tolstoy's social insights seem to slip away. There are the magnificent epic scenes of the Battle of Borodino, on the doorway to Moscow; the burning of Moscow; the retreat of the French army through mud and snow, and its decimation. And there is the touching death of Prince Andrey from war wounds, nursed by Natasha, to whom he has been reconciled too late. We feel the tremendous upsurge of patriotism that met and beat back Napoleon's cruel invasion. But Tolstoy was interested in more than this. The greatness of his novel is that it portrayed an entire society in the throes of change. In fact he had originally planned to write a novel about the 1825 "Decembrist" uprising of the liberal nobility against the Tsar, but found that the roots of their ideas lay in the impact of 1812 upon Russian society, and so he moved to *War and Peace.* As the novel shows, new forces were set in motion by the impact of Napoleon's assault, and the heroic effort to combat it. Criticism rose of Tsarist autocracy. Unrest grew among the peasantry. And so the real conclusion of the novel is not the crushing defeat of French arms, as it is in the film, but the changed Russian society that emerged.

And it is this aspect of the novel that filters away in Part II. Nikolay Rostov disappears from the scene. The peasant uprising, so graphically recounted by Tolstoy, is missing. General Kutuzov emerges as a hero, as he is in the book, but Tolstoy's criticisms of the Tsar, which help show Kutuzov's stature, are absent. Also missing are the necessary insights into Pierre's intellectual search, such as his joining the Freemasons, and without this his actions appear incomprehensible.

Perhaps these omissions are due to the whittling down of the original to make a version suitable for American distribution. I don't know. But the film as it is being shown here should be described, I think, not as a translation of Tolstroy's *War and Peace* into cinematic terms, but as a series of stunningly beautiful, authentic and vivid illustrations of it. As such, it is a thing of splendor.

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

"TYGER! TYGER! BURNING BRIGHT"

Ho Chi Minh, by Jean Lacouture. Translated from the French by Peter Wiles. Random House, 1968. 313 pp., $5.95.

JEAN Lacouture, in his biography of Ho Chi Minh, has painted a vivid and credible picture of the man who has for the past fifty years been the standard-bearer of the revolution of the colonial peoples. Written between October 1966 and February 1967, its translation into English has become available only a year later, when its later chapters have been somewhat outdated by subsequent developments, but its detailed description and understanding analysis of all that has led up to the present situation in Vietnam makes that situation more understandable.

Ho Chi Minh's long life started on May 19, 1890 in a small village in Central Vietnam, where he grew up "in an atmosphere of bitterness" against French colonialist exploitation and brutal oppression, and has been an exceptionally varied one. It has taken him over much of the world, and it is interesting to note that one of his early enthusiasms, when he worked in London as a restaurant kitchen-hand, just after the outbreak of the First World War, was for

the Irish uprising. It was not long after that that he first achieved publicity, not only for himself, but for his country, the very name of which had been sedulously suppressed by the French. At the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919, he put forward a claim for the emancipation of his country, with a very moderate eight-point program based on President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." It was ignored, of course, but it served as the starting point for a sustained campaign for a free, united, democratic Vietnam which has engaged the effort and attention of Ho Chi Minh and his small band of disciples for close on half a century.

During the whole of that long and arduous period, Ho Chi Minh, under six pseudonyms, of which the best known is Ai Quoc (under which he presented his demand to the Paris Peace Conference), has been the guide and leader of his people, by whom he is regarded—uniquely among the world's leaders—as being "both inventor and protector, source and guide, theory and practice, nation and revolution, yogi and commissar, good-natured uncle and great war leader." Yet he has remained modest and unassuming, and always frugal in his way of life, though sometimes a bit of a play-actor, without, however, any hypocrisy.

Lacouture writes of him as follows: "One thing about Ho is beyond dispute; his passionate desire to persuade people, his thoroughly democratic urge to win acceptance to measures by argument rather than by compulsion." He has also, writes his biographer, "an exceptional gift: that of maintaining harmony at the center of a controlling group faced with problems of every kind, of preserving a stability without precedent in the history of modern revolutions." As the result of this, the governmental team with which he went into action against France in 1946 has survived almost intact to this day, and it is noteworthy that this applies also to the non-Communists among it.

Ho is guileful, of course, as he has had need to be, especially during the early days when his movement was weak, and could survive only by deciding which was "the main adversary" and then playing off the other adversaries against that one, and by striking at "the favorable moment." To get the Kuomintang Chinese out of the north of his country, which the United States intended them to annex (together with Hong Kong) at the end of the last war, he had the guile to attract in the French, saying to a friend: "It is better to sniff France's dung *for a while,* than to eat China's all our lives."

He has also had to be patient, in the face of dirty tricks and deception perpetrated against him, first by the British, then by the French, repeatedly, twice in 1946 and again after the Geneva Agreements had been negotiated *on most conciliatory terms,* when they sold out to the Americans in South Vietnam; and most recently, by the Americans—and by those countries which stand by and let the Americans proceed with their evil intentions.

We see now, once again, the underlying fierceness of this patriot-revolutionary, which he expressed at the time when he was *reluctantly* forced to call his fellow-countrymen to arms against the French, in 1946, by an allegory about a fight between a tiger and an elephant, as follows: "If the tiger stands still, the elephant will then pierce him with his mighty tusks. But the tiger does not stand still. He lurks in the jungle by day, and emerges at night. He will leap upon the back of the elephant, tearing chunks from his hide, and will then leap back into the jungle. And slowly the elephant will bleed to death." Ho repeated this allegory to the English journalist Felix Greene, more recently, in relation to the American "elephant," which he admitted was bigger—but no less vulnerable, as events are now proving.

It should be noted that Ho Chi Minh recognized very early in his career that his struggle for the emancipation of his beloved Vietnam was part and parcel of a worldwide struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed peoples. This attitude has been maintained by him consistently throughout his career, and is maintained today, so that he would certainly subscribe to his biographer's dictum: "American intervention in Vietnam was to provide an enduring example, a permanent lesson to all underdeveloped countries which might presume to question the validity of a regional power structure guaranteed by the United States. Vietnamese peasants were to die in ever-increasing numbers for the greater peace of mind of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, the Moroccan royalists and the ruling clique in Manila . . ."

"People of the Allied nations," cried Ho Chi Minh, when he was forced to take up arms against France in 1946, "the French colonialists are launching a war of aggression. The Vietnamese people earnestly call on you to intervene." The call went unheeded—largely because it was never heard by those to whom it was addressed, since it received no publicity in their newspapers, which deigned to notice Vietnam only when the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu. The self-same call has broken through this time, however, and is producing powerful reaction all over the world, including in the United States, and this time the USSR and other Socialist countries are in a position to provide powerful material help to the heroic Vietnamese.

EDGAR P. YOUNG

CANTERBURY'S RED DEAN

Searching for Light, by Hewlett Johnson. Michael Joseph, London, 1968. 446 pp., about $6.00.

THE "Red Dean" of Canterbury was known throughout the world. This is his autobiography. From cover to cover it embraces two worlds: the world of Christian values, and the world of socialism and communism; in this meeting of worlds, Hewlett Johnson is unsurpassed in breadth of vision, idealism, and consistent adherence to his basic principles.

The Dean had been born of a business family in Manchester, trained as an engineer, and then turned to the church. Born in 1874, he was already forty when the First World War broke out, and already, he writes, he had by that time begun to realize that "the old capitalist order, social, political and economic, was cracked to its foundation" (p. 49).

For a way out he first looked to Social Credit, but in 1917 he recognized the Russian Revolution as "the dawn of something new and better in the world's history" (p. 50). But only with the Spanish war and the rise of fascism did the Dean turn his attention more earnestly towards the Soviet Union where "they were producing goods for the needs of the people; hunger was abolished and mass education was being given with greatly increased opportunity for higher education" (p. 149). His famous *Socialist Sixth of the World* appeared in several millions of copies in twenty-four languages, including Nazi-occupied territory, disguised in an innocuous cover.

Unlike so many who hitched a personal bandwagon for a time to the Soviet star in the 1930s, the Dean never embraced utopian views of Soviet society. From the start he saw it as a process , starting with socialism, with "an adequate reward for work . . . opportunity for work . . . a planned economy," and thence progressing to the higher stage where "to each accord-

ing to his need" would apply (p. 152).

This clear understanding of the USSR as in a process of constant growth and development is perhaps the explanation of the Dean's unwavering attitude when so many jumped off the bandwagon as each turn in policy brought new surprises.

In the *Socialist Sixth*, the Dean was conscious "of pointing to those aspects which seemed to me to be truly creative and essentially good," with a "moral purpose" (p. 156). After all, it was these aspects of Soviet society which, above all, had to be made known in the West.

Because of his courageous stand on political issues—starting with Social Credit and ending with socialism, the USSR and China—the Dean was constantly at loggerheads with various Archbishops and the canons of Canterbury. In 1940 the canons published a warning against him, saying that it was "a dangerous illusion to hold that . . . reform will ever be achieved by the methods which have characterized the Soviet regime." The Dean was able to get a detailed reply to this attack published both in *The Times* and in the *New Chronicle.*

The Dean received an invitation to lecture in the United States in 1948. While there, "he found four plainclothesmen spending the night outside my door, and I never learned whether they were protecting me from the USA or the USA from me!" (p. 267).

While in the USA, whatever Government policy might be, the Dean was warmly welcomed by Henry Wallace, "a close runner-up for the Presidency" (p. 267), Charlie Chaplin, and religious and progressive leaders.

Interested in socialism as such, and not only in one country, the Dean's interests ranged far beyond the frontiers of Britain and the USSR. He early made the acquainttance of China, in the old days and paid his last visit there in 1964 at the age of 90. On this visit he told Premier Chou En-lai and "everyone else, that we had been friends of the Soviet Union since 1917; we had also been friends of China; we deeply deplored the present disagreements and believed they would in time be solved" (p. 429).

Today, when the dialogue between Communists and Christians is spreading all over the world, it is a profound pity that Dean Hewlett Johnson cannot be with us to see the fruits of work in which he was surely the most outstanding pioneer.

PAT SLOAN

SOVIET AGRICULTURE 1917-68

From Peasantry to Power Farming. The Story of Soviet Agriculture, by Lement Harris. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1968. 60c.

THIS pamphlets, published recently by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, is probably the best thumbnail sketch of a difficult subject that exists in English. The author is a four-time visitor to the Soviet Union, and the present account is enriched by his personal experience as well as by his knowledge of the subject.

Beginning with the Revolution and Lenin's "Decree on Land," one of the first enactments of the Bolsheviks, Mr. Harris traces the difficult struggle to win the minds of the peasants, overcome kulak opposition and lay the agricultural foundation for industrialization of the country. The story of those Americans who, in the midst of the civil war and widespread famine, went to help the young Soviet republic with tractors and modern techniques is told here; Lenin wrote to the American Society of Friends of Soviet Russia in 1922, to "express to you our profound gratitude, and ask you to bear in mind that no form of assistance is as timely and important for us as that which you are rendering."

There follows the story of the introduction of tractors and the collectivization of agriculture. The author deals with the excesses committed against the kulaks at this time, and the temporary losses in livestock and equipment due to kulak resistance, and shows the slow but steady rise in rural incomes during the thirties. He also deals with the problems of the postwar period, including the "cult of corn" that developed during the time of Khrushchev.

The pamphlet explains the beginning of the economic reform as it applies to agriculture. The larger and better organized incentives for collective farmers and state farm workers have resulted in considerable higher production, with cotton, milk, meat and eggs reaching record outputs in 1967. "There is every reason to anticipate that with the continued pouring in of capital investment, rising incentives and cutting down of waste, Soviet agriculture can easily meet its plan to increase production 25% by 1970."

Mr. Harris's essay should be required reading for all who believe that Soviet agriculture is falling apart; this pamphlet demonstrates the gains that have been made without over-estimating or glossing over the real problems and mistakes that have occurred.

DAVID LAIBMAN

NEWS FROM NOWHERE

William Morris: His Life, Work and Friends, by Philip Henderson. Foreword by Allan Temko. McGraw-Hill, 1967. 388 pp., 92 illustrations, $9.95.

The Work of William Morris, by Paul Thompson. Viking, 1968. 300 pp., 24 illustrations, $10.00.

William Morris as Designer, by Ray Watkinson. Reinhold, 1967. 84 pp., 90 illustrations, $16.50.

Three Works by William Morris, edited by A. L. Morton. International, 1968. 404 pp., paperback, $1.95.

"Morris was twenty-one before I was born; and I am now eighteen years older than he was when he died. I who was very much his junior now write as almost equally his senior. And with such wisdom as my years have left me I note that as he has drawn further and further away from the hurlyburly of our personal contacts into the impersonal perspective of history he towers greater and greater above the horizon beneath which his best advertised contemporaries have disappeared."

SO WROTE Bernard Shaw about William Morris in 1936. The growing number of publications both about Morris and about his work seem to bear out the value Shaw placed upon him.

Philip Henderson gives us the clearest account we have had so far of the troubled private life of Morris—that strange Victorian triangle in which he shared his wife Jane with his friend, the poet and painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Henderson's account of Morris's political life, however, needs very much to be corrected by the exhaustive study made by E. P. Thompson in his *William Morris, from Romantic to Revolutionary.*

The books by Paul Thompson and Ray Watkinson will be very helpful to those interested in finding out exactly what Morris' contributions were

in the decorative arts. The illustrations in both books are handsome and give a very good idea of the achievements and the limitation of Morris as artist and craftsman.

The three works included in the book edited by A. L. Morton are: *News from Nowhere,* the *Pilgrims of Hope,"* and *A Dream of John Ball.* These are products of the later years of Morris's life, of the period in which his energies were poured without stint into spreading the message of socialism as the only solution for the helpless dilemma the rich industrial society of 19th century England had got itself bogged down in.

News from Nowhere, with its entrancing picture of a pre-Raphaelite socialist England is, of course, one of the classics of socialism. The poems that make up *The Pilgrims of Hope* show what a man of Morris's creative gift could do in writing songs meant to inspire the working class in whom he had come to place all his hopes for the future. *A Dream of John Ball* is a characteristic story of the medieval rebel who hoped to help the ordinary people of his day live a fuller, more human life.

Morris ends the story of John Ball characteristically:

"Men fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes, turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant by another name."

We are very much in the debt of International Publishers for making this selection of Morris available

MURRAY YOUNG

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia, translated and edited by Samuel H. Baron. Stanford University Press, 1967. 349 pp., $8.95.

This firsthand account of the travels of Adam Oelschlager ("Olearius") in Muscovy and Tartary was first published in German in 1647. The present edition is the first in English since 1669, and has been annotated to aid the non-specialist reader. Contains illustrations from the orginal edition.

Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924, by Seymour Becker. Harvard University Press, 1968. 416 pp., $12.50.

The history of two small Moslem states under varying conditions of Russian domination, later incorporated into the Uzbek and Kazakh republics of the USSR.

Religious Ferment in Russia; Protestant Opposition to Soviet Religious Policy, by Michael Bourdeaux. St. Martin's Press, 1968. 255 pp., $8.95.

Focusing mainly on the Baptist Church in Russia (and on a reform movement within it), the author, an English curate who studied in Moscow, seeks to refute the view that religion is dying out in the USSR. Basing his conclusions entirely on internal movements in the Church, he holds "Christianity may yet prove itself to be one of the most dynamic forces in the future evolution of Soviet society."

Pobedonostsev; His life and Thought, by Robert F. Byrnes. Indiana University Press, 1968. 495 pp., $15.00.

A biography of a man "known to historians as the arch-reactionary of nineteenth-century Russia," "a bureaucrat, legal scholar, editor, propagandist, tutor and advisor to the last two tsars, theologian and powerful religious leader," who affected "nearly every aspect of Russian life."

Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility, by Paul Dukes. Cambridge University Press, 1967. 268 pp., $9.50.

Using materials of the Legislative Commission of 1767, the author examines the legislation of Catherine II, who became Empress of Russia in 1762. He attempts to show "the limitations placed upon her domestic policy by the prejudices and desires ot the nobility," as well as the class attitudes shared by those who were close to her.

Soviet Russia and Asia. A Study of Soviet Policy Towards Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, by Harish Kapur. The Humanities Press, 1967. 265 pp., $8.50.

"The pre-revolutionary Russians were driven, by the very nature of their political and economic outlook, to aim at the elimination of British influence in order to move into the vacated areas for the purpose of pursuing a policy which would be, more or less, similar to that of the British. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand . . . were driven by a policy of strengthening nationalist governments in the independent countries and extending moral and material support to the nationalist movement in countries which were still striving for their independence."

Red Virgin Soil; Soviet Literature in the 1920's, by Robert A. Maguire. Princeton University Press, 1968. 482 pp., $10.00.

"Red Virgin Soil" (*Krasnaya Nov*) was an early Soviet literary journal, published from 1921 until 1928; it fell into disrepute with the rise of Stalin, along with its editor A. K. Voronskii. Professor Maguire holds that it developed the first consistent Marxist esthetic in Soviet literature, and that it "represented the first serious attempt in nearly half a century to create and shape an entire generation of writers, readers and critics. . ."

Political Memoirs 1905-1917, by Paul Miliukov, edited by Arthur P. Mendel. University of Michigan Press, 1967. 508 pp., $9.75.

These memoirs of the prerevolutionary liberal leader were written in France in 1940-1943. They cover the 1905-7 revolution, the first, second and third Dumas, travels abroad, the war, provisional government, and revolution. The memoirs end with the Congress of Soviets and the formation of the Socialist Government, after which Miliukov, who had once sided with the Marxist and populist movements, joined the anti-Bolsheviks and finally fled the country.

Dostoevsky; His Life and Work, by Konstantin Mochulsky. Princeton University Press, 1967. 687 pp., $12.50.

This biography by a Russian emigré intellectual, first published in Russian in Paris, 1947, purports to deal with Dostoevsky from both the literary and biographical standpoints. Mochulsky, who underwent a religious conversion in the early 1930s, holds that Dostoevsky must be understood in terms of a "spiritual unity" between his "profoundly tragic" life and his literary heritage, which are inseparable.

The Impact of the Russian Revolution, 1917-1927, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press, 1967. 357 pp., $7.50.

This compendium on "the influence of Bolshevism on the world outside Russia" has as contributors Arnold J. Toynbee, Neil McInnes, Hugh Seton-Watson, Peter Wiles, and Richard Lowenthal. Toynbee, characteristically, sees the communist and non-communist worlds as performing a "reciprocal service as substitutes for the traditional

devil," which "in an age in which the historic religions are losing their former hold on human consciences," "may be one of the necessities of social life." The other writers are variously predictable.

Rationalism and Nationalism in Russian Nineteenth-Century Political Thought, by Leonard Schapiro. Yale University Press, 1967. 173 pp., $5.00.

This survey of nineteenth-century Russian political life is based on six lectures delivered at Yale University by the noted British historian of Russia, and centers on the "confrontation of the two principles—nationalism and rationalism." While nationalism in Russia was essentially conservative, it was Lenin's genius to see that the "national realities" of Russia required political tranformation to be "effected from the top." The rest, says Schapiro, is all ideology. Rationalism was doomed to failure.

The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia, edited by Wayne S. Vucinich. Stanford University Press, 1968. 314 pp., $8.50.

Western specialists on various aspects of peasant life in old Russia. Dealing with religion, literature, the army, the village commune, and peasants as factory workers, the book argues for centrality of the peasant experience to Russian cultural history.

The Crisis of Russian Populism, by Richard Wortman. Cambridge University Press, 1967. 211 pp., $6.50.

The rise and fall of the groups of Russian intellectuals who based their hopes for the future on Russia's peasantry. The author focuses on the "psychological dimension of populism," and the relation between the crisis associated with the disintegration of the countryside and the personal lives of the three leading writers of the school —Engel'gardt, Uspenskii, and Zlatovratskii.

VISIT THE USSR

When the theater, concert, ballet season is in full swing, when the schools and colleges are open, when people are back at work again after their summer vacations.

SEPTEMBER 18th **OCTOBER 9th**

$850 *Complete*

LENINGRAD • MOSCOW • BAKU • YEREVAN • KIEV

For full details and brochure write to Travel Committee,

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Suite 304 • 156 Fifth Avenue • New York, N. Y. 10010 • Telephone: 989-6677

NOW— READ WHAT THE SOVIET PEOPLE READ

REPRINTS FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

A journal of unabridged material from current Soviet newspapers and periodicals.

EVERY TWO WEEKS—a careful selection of significant articles, editorials, reports, texts of documents and speeches.

One Year $25 Two Years $48 Three Years $70

NO-RISK SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

Your money refunded to cancel your subscription after you receive three issues. Please use exact address below and include Zip Code with your mailing instructions.

COMPASS PUBLICATIONS, INC.

BOX 69, COOPER STATION

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

Soviet Films

Now in Release:

There Was An Old Couple

The Tsar's Bride

Don Quixote

An Uncommon Thief

Coming:

I Am Twenty

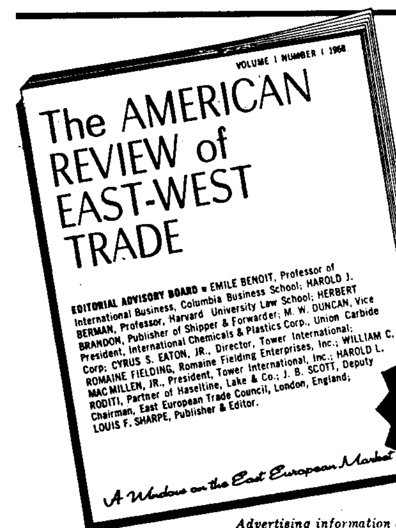
•

Released by:

ARTKINO PICTURES, INC.

723 Seventh Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10019

Telephone: Circle 5-6570



THE New TRADE JOURNAL FOR BUSINESS READERS SPECIALIZING IN EAST-WEST TRADE

NOW Is The Time To Learn About The Prospects For East-West Trade

The American Review of East-West Trade is the first journal published in the United States directed to the business reader specializing in East-West commerce.

This new monthly is designed to supply the business community with every phase of information essential to penetrate and remain in this highly complex market.

FEATURES: authoritative comments and analysis by leading Western, Soviet and Eastern European trade specialists. **ALSO HIGHLIGHTS:** comprehensive up-to-date news coverage; how to deal with state trading corporations; sources of credit (government and private); new products (quality and price characteristics); cooperative arrangements in licensing of new technology and know-how; U.S. policy, rules and regulations; Comecon developments; trade fair and exhibit information; full translations of important legal documents and regulations; and many other pertinent data.

Annual subscription: $50.00

SYMPOSIUM PRESS, INC.

108 Grand Street White Plains, N.Y. 10601

Advertising information available upon request.

SOVIET STUDIES IN LITERATURE

A Quarterly Journal of Translations

Editors

BERNARD KOTEN, A. JOSEPH HOLLANDER

Advisory Committee

Guy Daniels, Hugh McLean, The University of Chicago; Sidney Monas, University of Rochester; Helen Muchnic, Smith College

The best in Soviet literary criticism
poetry
esthetics
interviews
current literary controversy

Sample Selections

What Prompted Me to Write *The Train* .... VERA PANOVA
A Gift of Empathy .... I. EHRENBURG
Recollections of Mikhail Zoshchenko .... M. SLONIMSKII
Mayakovsky's Satirical Comedy, *The Bedbug* .... V. LEVROV
Andrei Voznesensky's Rhythms .... EVGENII OSETROV

Subscriptions — Institutions: $40.
Individuals: $15.

IASP journals are the principal source in English of scholarly articles translated from leading Soviet and Eastern European journals in the social sciences and related fields. Each journal contains complete translations of important articles selected by a distinguished editor and advisory committee.

INTERNATIONAL ARTS AND SCIENCES PRESS
108 Grand Street, White Plains, New York, 10601