

USA

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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November 7 — November 16

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

Two Historic Dates: November 7—November 16

THIS FALL we celebrate two historic dates: November 7, 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution ushering in the world's first socialist state, and November 16, 40th anniversary of the establishment of US-USSR diplomatic relations.

The Soviet Union's internal achievements go steadily forward, the living standards of its people are constantly rising and the quality of life, the security of its multinational citizens, the warm, comradely mutual relations among them all, are marvels to the many visitors.

Important testimony to this effect is given in an article by Ernest De Maio, President of District 11 of the United Electrical Machine and Radio workers, and a member of Last Fall's UE delegation to the USSR, in an article entitled "A Higher Quality of Life" published in this magazine (Vol. 41, No. 2). He noted that in some respects US workers might still be better off materially, although the gap is closing, but "there are no slums or ghettos in the Soviet Union and no poor."

Similar testimony was heard recently from Patriarch Pimen of Moscow, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, on a visit to the World Council of Churches' Geneva headquarters. He declared that Western churchmen who urged his church to take a stand on "human rights" were influenced by widespread propaganda that blinded them to the "unquestionable merits of a socialist mode of life." He went on: "The social evils so typical for the life of many people today just cannot occur within our social structure. In the Soviet Union there are no rich, no poor, no privileged and no oppressed. Each citizen has wide and equal rights" (*New York Times*, Sept. 18.)

IT IS because of this tremendous internal strength and stability that the USSR has been able to exert such a powerful influence in world affairs, changing the whole balance of forces. In Europe we have seen its steady initiatives in pursuing the sweeping, many-faceted peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress, implemented in the new relations with France and other Western European countries; the détente with the Federal Republic of Germany and be-

tween the FRG and the German Democratic Republic, which has led to the happy event of the admission of both Germanys to the United Nations as well as the All-European Security Conference.

These developments, along with the new turn in US-USSR relations, have opened a whole new epoch in world affairs. Of universal importance are the US-Soviet agreement on avoidance of nuclear war, the continuing SALT negotiations for further limiting of strategic weapons and the scheduled talks on mutual reduction of forces in Europe. It is symbolic of the Soviet role for peace that the most representative peace gathering ever held, the World Congress of Peace Forces, is being held in Moscow this October.

Foremost of all recent steps toward peace in Asia was the ending of the war in Vietnam, insisted on by the Soviet Union before détente with the US could be fully accomplished, and made possible with the aid of the USSR and other socialist countries to the defense of Vietnam. Peace has not yet come to all of Indochina, but US troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam, and the murderous US bombing has at last been stopped, although President Nixon cannot be forgiven for its continuance in Cambodia until mid-August, senselessly slaughtering many thousands more.

The Soviet peace initiatives continue, with the USSR urging new steps by the UN to implement the decisions for a World Disarmament Conference, for renouncing use of force in international relations, and settling the Middle East conflict on principles guaranteeing the rights and interests of all peoples and states of this region.* At the opening of the 28th session of the UN General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko proposed that the Big Five members of the Security Council voluntarily *reduce their military budgets by ten per cent and use part of the funds thus saved to aid developing countries.*

The Anti-Soviet Campaign and Its "Heroes"

DESPITE THE fascist coup in Chile and the Middle East conflict, the forces of socialism progress and peace are growing in most parts of the world. This very fact has led to an unprecedented rallying of the anti-Soviet forces to prevent détente and the fulfillment of the US-USSR agreements.

A major effort in this campaign has been to block "most favored nation" status for the USSR to which Nixon Administration is already committed. (MFN only means that the USSR should not be discriminated against by higher tariff rates, etc. than granted others.)

* Printed before the outbreak of war—to be dealt with in the next issue.

ANNOUNCING A CHANGE

It is a time of great opportunities. The new victories for peace and détente are a challenge to bring the word about thought and practice in the USSR and other socialist countries to the US people as never before. We must meet this challenge! To do this, we announce, for 1974:

A new NEW WORLD REVIEW

- A new, larger format
- Greater frequency of publication: bi-monthly
- Wider coverage—shorter articles
- Pictures, art work, cartoons

Many readers answered our questionnaire, perhaps wondering if it would be filed and forgotten, as so often happens with questionnaires. Well, this time you will see results; a new magazine—we hope—both in style and in content. We are hard at work trying to digest the sometimes divergent but always thoughtful views of readers; your input is a must, if NEW WORLD REVIEW is to grow as a powerful voice for détente, world peace and social progress, for the truth about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We have found that when we show people exactly how their counterparts live under socialism—without embellishments, the whole truth—the response is astonishing. People are asking large questions now, about the economy, about politics. This is part of the answer they are looking for!

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- Bring NWR to the attention of neighbors, shopmates, friends. Make a special effort; you'll see that it works. Say: "These are our new trading partners, our cultural exchange partners, partners in safeguarding the people's health and environment; can you afford not to get to know them better?"
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 - The bi-monthly NWR will still be available at \$4.00 per year. (Students, \$3.00; Canada and Foreign, \$5.00.) New subscribers and all who renew their subs now (whether expired or not) will receive a special discount on a list of books which we'll send you on request. For each new sub you get (in addition to your own), you receive, free of charge, *Following Lenin's Course: Speeches and Articles*, by Leonid Brezhnev (320 pp., sells for \$2.50).
 - Seize the time! That blank is on the following page.
-

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TWO HISTORIC DATES

The tactic, as in the Jackson bill in the Senate and in the Vanik bill passed by the House Ways and Means Committee, has been to make MFN conditional on changes in Soviet emigration rules for Jews and others.

This tactic has been pursued despite the explicit mutual agreement made when diplomatic ties were established (see following article), that neither nation would interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the other.

A "Sense of the Senate" resolution (September 18) expressed explicit support for Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn and other Soviet dissidents, and instructed the President to "use the medium of current negotiations with the Soviet Union as well as informal contacts to secure an end of repression of dissent." Quite a remarkable request to make in view of the Watergate scandal which in its final analysis, along with the revelations of suppurating corruption in all government areas, was an attempt to insure by any means necessary that no candidates expressing dissent to Nixon's policies could have any chance to win in the 1972 elections. In view also of the fact that the fascist coup which has murdered thousands and destroyed all semblance of democracy in Chile was encouraged, aided and abetted by the Nixon Administration, and that the Junta was immediately recognized by the US. And in view of Nixon's support of the tyrant Thieu who has killed or jailed all opposition to his dictatorial regime, kept in power in South Vietnam by US arms alone. Considering also Nixon's repressive policies against Blacks and other US minorities, the Angela Davis and other racist and frame-up trials, his assault against workers and the poor and numerous other reactionary moves, it should not take too much imagination to suggest what the USSR could bring up as a matter of reciprocity if it were to abandon its steadfast principle of mutual non-interference in internal affairs.

Anti-Soviet circles have made heroes of a small group of dissidents in the Soviet Union. Andrey Sakharov gives aid and comfort to the enemies of his country, the enemies of detente and peace. He called Western newsmen to his apartment to warn that agreements with Moscow, lacking conditions regarding Soviet internal affairs, would be "a serious threat to the world." With Western technological aid to help the USSR accumulate strength "the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine," and "no one should ever be expected to live next to such a neighbor, especially one armed to the teeth." Linking easier trade terms to unrestricted emigration, he said, was the very minimum that should be required. (*New York Times*, Aug. 22). A few weeks

later Sakharov addressed an open letter to the US Congress, urging members to stand firm on the Jackson amendment (*Times*, Sept. 16). He thus allied himself with the US military-industrial complex.

Sakharov signed an appeal to the Chilean junta to safeguard Neruda's life, which declared his loss would becloud "the epoch of rebirth and freedom proclaimed by your government." Queried on his attitude in a telephone interview, Sakharov "declined to take a stand for or against the junta on the ground that 'Chile is too far away.'" (*Times*, Sept. 26.)

Victor Krassin and Pyotr Yakir admitted, at their recent trial for anti-Soviet activities, that they had ties with the NTS (Peoples Workers' Alliance) with headquarters at Frankfurt am Main. This is a counter-revolutionary organization formed originally of persons who fled from Russia during the revolution, all kinds of former fascist henchmen, collaborators with Hitler and the like. Over the years they have constantly sent agents into the Soviet Union for espionage and contacts to be used in efforts to overthrow the Soviet Government. NTS specializes in publishing anti-Soviet literature, in different languages, one of its publications being *Possev*. *The New York Times* of August 29 carried Sakharov's interview with First Deputy Prosecutor General Mikhail Malyarov, who had called him to his office for a talk, and which Sakharov afterwards wrote down from memory. Malyarov and his assistant spoke of the nature of NTS and *Possev*, noting that the latter published more of Sakharov's writings than anyone else, and that he had never protested this publication. Sakharov answered that he considered the fact of publication the main thing, not where writings were published. Asked if this was true "even if they appear in anti-Soviet publications for anti-Soviet purposes, as in *Possev*," Sakharov answered. "I consider *Possev's* publishing activities highly useful. I am grateful to that publisher. I reserve the right not to identify *Possev* with the NTS and not to approve of the NTS program, with which I am not even familiar" (*New York Times*, Aug. 29). It seems strange indeed that the Soviet "father of the H-bomb" could be that naive. An organization which is the bitterest possible enemy of the Soviet Union and never ceased plotting its overthrow, would obviously be expected to publish only material that served its anti-Soviet aims.

Sakharov has made clear in many interviews that he considers capitalism superior to socialism. In the interview cited above he described his position as to the right of the Social Democrats. Referring to an interview with Swedish Radio correspondent Stenholm, in which he had denounced the socialist system in his country, he

said: "He is a Social Democrat, he is far more of a Socialist or Communist than I am, for example." Sakharov's well known "convergence" theory, that the capitalist and socialist systems would gradually grow together, each taking on aspects of the other, amounts in fact to a belief that the Soviet Union should turn back to capitalism.

Recently Samuel Pizar, American lawyer who has done much to promote US-USSR trade and peaceful co-existence sent an open letter containing the question: "Does he [Sakharov] wish us to replace our active and growing desire for expanded economic links between East and West with a kind of ultimatum to the Soviet authorities, 'Change your system now or we will stop the entire process of cooperation?'" In his reply (*New York Times*, October 8) Sakharov, denying any imputation of "ultimatums," made clear that he held to the opinion that détente with the United States must be accompanied by concern for the "internal social problems" in the Soviet Union, revealing his desire to retreat from socialism by mentioning among such problems "partial transition toward a mixed economy."

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, another hero of the Western world, who glorifies Prussian militarism in his *August, 1914*, fully supports Sakharov and his views, and has proposed him for the Nobel Peace Prize. He makes a tortured argument to the effect that not peace and war should be counterposed, but peace and violence, including in the latter restrictions on words and actions made by all states, in the very nature of states as long as they exist, some of them essential and some needlessly repressive. Lashing out in all directions in a letter originally published in *Aftenposten* of Oslo, and reprinted in the *New York Times*, September 8, he attacked what he called the "widely touted" World Peace Congresses, rejected the distinction between just and unjust wars, assailed liberals in the West (who have in fact been vociferous in his defense) for protesting actions by reactionary regimes but not by communist ones. He accepts as "reliably proved" the version of mass killings in Hue by Communist-led forces in Vietnam. He sneers at Ramsey Clark for not having "guessed" that the American POW in Hanoi who gave him a written statement against the US bombing had been "subjected to torture."

The Soviet Union and China

IN A SPEECH in Sofia, Bulgaria, September 19, Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary, warned against efforts in the West to interfere with the development of détente and return to the cold-war period. He deplored efforts to bargain with the USSR for con-

cessions, rather than join in a common effort for peace. He spoke of recent calls in a number of countries for fostering the arms race and inflating military budgets and declared:

Ill-conceived propaganda campaigns are aimed at sowing mistrust in the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries. It is difficult to avoid the impression that all of this is being done with only one goal in mind, namely to hinder by every means the success of the great work that is now under way and is so much needed by the peoples.

In a speech in Tashkent September 24, Brezhnev specifically refuted the charge of the People's Republic of China of "two super-powers" in collusion to determine the fate of the rest of the world:

If we take, for example, our relations with the United States, we regard their improvement as an organic component of the general process of the fundamental change in the international climate of our planet. This component is highly important, but not in the least due to the fact that these two states allegedly possess some "exclusive" rights in international affairs or may claim to joint ruling of the destinies of the world. . . . By virtue of the military, economic and scientific and technical potentials of the Soviet Union and the USA, the state of relations between them objectively influences the international situation as a whole, especially the solution of questions of war and peace.

Discussing the general prospects for strengthening peace in Asia, he noted regretfully that at the recent 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China in Peking, the Chinese leaders had continued "their line of frenzied anti-Sovietism and opposition to the easing of international tensions," and their charges that the Soviet Union had aggressive intentions toward China. Possibly, he said, the Chinese leaders had some internal need to make their people feel this non-existent threat existed. He declared that the USSR was prepared to develop relations with China on the basis of peaceful coexistence, if Peking did not consider it possible to go further in relations with a socialist state. He also made the following important announcement:

In the middle of last June, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government officially proposed that the Chinese leaders sign a non-aggression pact between the USSR and the PRC, which would include the commitment of both sides not to attack each other with the use of any kinds of arms on land, on the sea and in the air, and also not to threaten such an attack.

While continuing to talk about the "Soviet menace," the Chinese leaders did not even respond to this concrete proposal. Brezhnev spoke of the shortsighted and dangerous policy of some countries and some politicians who have taken advantage of the abnormal

relations between the USSR and China and tried to inflame their relations further. He reiterated the Soviet Government's desire for normal, friendly relations with the People's Republic of China.

Premier Chou En-lai made a long and bitter speech at the 10th Congress "leaving no doubt that China regards her one-time ally as her principal foe" (*New York Times*, September 1). Chou En-lai indicated in his speech that there must be considerable opposition to this policy within the Chinese Government and Party. Describing in detail the plot of Lin Pao against Mao Tse-tung and his death in an airplane crash after he fled, Chou En-lai said they expected many more such plots against the government. The new Constitution said of the Cultural Revolution that created such chaos in China that "revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future."

China has opposed every peace move of the Soviet Union. In an article in *Peking Review* (No. 32, Aug. 10), entitled "Ten Years of 'Disarmament' Ballyhoo and Ten Years of Frenzied Arms Expansion," the author, "Hsinhua Correspondent," attacks every peace agreement of the last ten years initiated by the USSR. The list includes the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, space and underwater; the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; the May, 1972 SALT agreement on limitation of ABM and strategic arms. The article suggests that the Soviet Union is responsible for the continued arms race during this period when in fact no country has made greater efforts to curtail it.

In the same issue of *Peking Review* a Chinese Journalists' Delegation gives a very favorable picture of the Federal Republic of Germany, following up an earlier report of their sympathy with the West Germans because of the "threat" they faced from the East. In this article the journalists say: "The people of Europe, including the German people, have suffered greatly from two world wars." They say nothing about what the Soviet Union suffered from Hitlerite aggression, its loss of more than 20 million people, and its unceasing efforts to make sure, especially through the all-European Security Conference, that such a war can never happen again. Instead they quote the fears of various West German figures because "the social-imperialists, [Chinese appellation for the Soviet Union], while making a big fuss about European 'détente,' 'peace' and 'security' have not in the least eased up in their military build up." The Chinese journalists sum up the situation as follows:

Situated in highly sensitive Central Europe, the FRG has to face the reality that a superpower has massed huge forces near its eastern borders. It

feels that it must rely on the other superpower, rely on the armed forces of the United States and those of Britain and France stationed on its soil to attain a military balance and security. During our visit, representatives of the FRG ruling and opposition parties made it clear that though they had big differences over their Soviet policy, they were unanimous in wanting US forces to remain in the FRG.

This statement carries its own comment. All this shows clearly that placing oneself in opposition to the USSR and the socialist world necessarily results in being in the service of imperialism. The progressive forces in the world are learning this lesson.

US-Soviet Youth Exchange: Round Two

WHEN the young people who attended the US-USSR Youth Conference in Minsk, 1972, left for home, they promised their Soviet hosts a reciprocal visit of Soviet Youth to the United States. It was a promise based on the deepest goodwill and enthusiasm—and not much else. After all, the USSR Conference was hosted by Soviet organizations with the backing of the Soviet Government. In the US, all arrangements had to be made by volunteer, unofficial efforts, without sufficient financial backing.

That is why we salute the American-Soviet Youth Forum—the ad hoc US organization, consisting of former delegates to the USSR conference and other young people interested in the exchange idea, which took on the task. From August 19 to September 2, some forty Soviet young people came and saw the US and met with groups of their peers, in Washington, D.C., in Chicago (where a first, worker-oriented conference was held), at Marymount College, in Tarrytown, N.Y. (where the conference agenda was broadened to include topics ranging from individual values to the future of the world), and in New York City for a final fling before returning home.

The Soviet delegation, headed by Gennady Yanaev, Chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, came from many parts of the country, including Byelorussia, Latvia and Uzbekistan, the Siberian part of Russia, and the Tatar and Daghestan Autonomous Republics. From Daghestan came a folk dance company, which attended a Joffrey Ballet performance and met with the dancers afterwards for a memorable exchange of ideas and mementos. This group and other talented members of the Soviet delegation, put on full-scale concerts in Washington, Chicago and Tarrytown. Members of the US delegation report that the spontaneous response of Americans to the visiting Soviets was one of cordial hospitality and friendship—such as the welcoming tribute, made with no prior notice,

by the Temptations, at the Arie Crown Theater in Chicago, before an audience of 9,000 rock fans!

The dialogue between the two sides at the conferences was intimate—few formal speeches, much free-wheeling discussion. We hope in future issues to bring NWR readers samples of the sessions as they actually occurred, from tape recordings. Neither side pulled its punches, and everyone came away more convinced than ever before of the need for more and better friendship and exchange of this kind.

October 5

YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO

Chile—My Grief

LIKE A VIOLENT wind that scattered the rough drafts of lyrics on my table, the news of the bloody coup in Chile battered against my windows. Having visited Chile twice, in 1967 and then after the Popular Unity victory in 1970, I remembered Allende's speech after one of the periodic Terrorist attacks. "We are being pushed into Terror, but we shall not take that path."

Now he is no longer with us; the fascist military clique has slain him. The pages of the Chilean Constitution are now scarred by the ribbed tracks of vengeful tanks. They are arresting and killing my comrades—students, workers, writers—intent on eradicating every vestige of the people's victory. But we know that in the end victory will return to triumph; and standing together with the Chilean people in their struggles, are the people of the Soviet Union and its poets.

THE EXECUTIONS IN SANTIAGO

*When my comrades in Santiago
are taken out to be shot,
the words on the paper before me
turn into heaps of dead bodies.*

*When my comrades in Santiago
are taken out to be shot,
I am not omnivorous enough to swallow
these deeds of treacherous butchery.*

*When my comrades in Santiago
are taken out to be shot,
one thought more dreadful to bear than all others:
the world has not yet ripened into brotherhood.*

*When my comrades in Santiago
are taken out to be shot,
you, sports fans, nice guys that you may be,
stop and think a little, you fools, and grieve.
Only that man who doesn't fritter away his time,
escapes being a slave, a lackey;
"nice guy," be a rooter for humankind,
not only for football or hockey!*

*When my comrades in Santiago
are taken out to be shot,
just the feeling of shame is philistine,
he who is callous now is truly criminal.*

From *Literaturnaya Rossiya*, September 21
Translated by BERNARD KOTEN, with the
editorial assistance of NAN BRAYMER

CHILE

WE SHARE the worldwide outrage at the overthrow by a fascist military junta of the lawful Government of Popular Unity of Chile, headed by the martyred Salvador Allende. The basic guilt remains with our government, the CIA, ITT and other US corporations who tried to block Allende's election and then undermined his government, paving the way for the fascist takeover. While the junta was brutally crushing all democracy, arresting and shooting thousands, and outlawing the trade unions, the Communist, Socialist and other parties, our government and Israel—and now China!—rushed to recognize it, while the USSR was quick to break relations.

The world mourns the loss of Pablo Neruda, the golden tongued, glory of our age, whose poetry summons people everywhere to the struggle for freedom and celebrates brotherhood and human love.

A storm of protest must rise against the threatened execution of Louis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. After the abortive July coup, Corvalan called for intensified struggle: "More than for us, the adults, who enter the social struggle knowing the risks we take, more than for ourselves, I say, for the sake of the mothers of Chile and their children, we Communists must stand now with more determination than ever, with more energy and more resolution to fight. The patriotic and revolutionary slogan must be: **NO TO CIVIL WAR! NO TO FASCISM!**"

This Chile, the Chile of Allende and Neruda, will triumph.

JESSICA SMITH

For the Fortieth Anniversary Of US-USSR Diplomatic Relations

"I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

THESE HISTORIC words were written by President Roosevelt on November 16, 1933, forty years ago, in an exchange of letters in Washington, D.C., announcing the decision to establish normal diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. They were addressed to Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, sent here by President Mikhail Kalinin, on Roosevelt's invitation, to negotiate the agreement. Mr. Litvinoff addressed identical statements on behalf of his own government to President Roosevelt.

This exchange took place at the end of ten days that those of us privileged to be close to the proceedings liked to call our own "Ten Days that Shook the World." With full awareness of course that they were but a footnote to the great original Ten Days immortalized by John Reed, that culminated in the great Russian Socialist Revolution itself, whose 56th anniversary we hail this year.

Sixteen years had passed since then. In that period the Soviet Union had defeated its main enemies, within and without, and most of the countries of the world had recognized its growing strength and stability and established diplomatic relations with it. But the liberal Woodrow Wilson and the three reactionary Presidents who followed—Warren Gamaliel Harding, Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover—all continued the policy initiated by Winston Churchill of trying "to strangle the infant in its cradle," fearful of the challenge to the capitalist system represented by the world's first socialist state.

Roosevelt, more far-seeing than his predecessors and more responsive to the growing pressures for recognition, realized that Soviet socialist power was here to stay. He had contemplated from the beginning of his administration a change in the self-defeating policy of refusing to recognize the existence of a great nation occupying

one sixth of the earth's surface containing, at that time, 160 million people. Soviet Russia, on its part, had sought normal, friendly relations with the United States since the first day of its existence, considering such relations important for the development of socialism and essential for the maintenance of world peace.

Early Support for the Revolution

WHILE FDR was the immediate instrument for bringing about normal diplomatic relations, the groundwork had been prepared by many years of struggle.

From Russian literature and émigrés from Tsarist terror, the people of the US had a general knowledge of the Tsarist regime as one of the most reactionary in the world, with its brutal oppression of workers and peasants, the poverty, backwardness and illiteracy of the masses of the people, what Marx and Lenin called the "idiocy" of the countryside, the religious and national persecution, the bloody pogroms against the Jews. So the bourgeois-democratic March Revolution and the abdication of the Tsar were hailed joyously by the US left and labor movement and middle class and intellectual groups. At the same time there was considerable confusion in the ranks of the Socialist Party, at the time the mass party of the American workers, about the various forces the March revolution had brought to the fore. With the entry of the United States into the World War, the Socialist Party split, the right Social Democratic Wing supporting the war and the left wing, which later became in the main the Communist Party, opposing it. With Lenin's return to Russia from exile in April 1917, and his leadership of the Bolsheviks (the majority of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party; the Mensheviks were the minority), the course the Revolution had to take and the need for peace became clear to the more advanced elements of the US working class and the intellectuals.

US liberals, right-wing Socialists and government officials who wanted to keep Russia in the war against the will of its people, for whom it meant unbearable suffering, threw their support to the weak and short-lived Provisional Government, headed by Milyukov and later Kerensky, who wanted no fundamental change in Russia's social structure and sought to keep it in the imperialist war. Kerensky failed in his efforts to organize a military offensive; the army, with no will or weapons for fighting, disintegrated and the economy collapsed. The masses of the people, under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and through the instrumentality of the Soviets, decided to take the revolutionary road. With the storming of the Winter

Palace and the flight of Kerensky, the Revolution won, with very little bloodshed, on November 7, 1917, and the next day at the Congress of Soviets, Lenin uttered the immortal words: "We will now begin to construct the socialist order."

In our country and around the world, the full scope and grandeur of the Russian Revolution and the formation of the first socialist government was widely recognized. The new government restored the land and its rich resources to those who inhabit it and work it. It placed the means of production in the hands of society itself, ending the profit system and the exploitation of man by man. It initiated new government forms through which the multinational Soviet peoples could become a family of equals and determine their own destinies. With Lenin's Decree on Peace as its first international action, the young Soviet regime opened a new era in world relations, seeking to end forever the crime of war as a means of settling differences among nations. This meant the beginning of a real struggle against imperialism, the root cause of modern war, and the promise of freedom for all colonial peoples.

With the victory of the Socialist Revolution and Russia's withdrawal from the war, the US press let loose a venomous flood of propaganda against the Russian Revolution and its leaders, echoed through radio, pulpit, school system and various forerunners of the later witch-hunting Congressional Committees. Among the worst offenders, in those times even as today, was *The New York Times*. As Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz pointed out in the *New Republic*, August 11, 1920:

One of the major themes in the news from Russia was the prophesy that the Soviets were tottering. Not once or twice—but ninety-one times—in the two years from November 1917 to November 1919, it was reported in *The Times* that the Soviets were nearing their rope's end, or actually had reached it. Naturally this steady repetition left its effect upon the reader.

Against the background of propaganda and lies, the fantastic stories of the "nationalization of women" and all the rest, came bright flashes of truth from people like John Reed, Albert Rhys Williams, Louise Bryant, Bessie Beatty, Lincoln Steffens ("I have been over into the future and it works.") and other US journalists in Russia during and following the Revolution. Col. Raymond Robins, head of the Red Cross Mission in Russia, a staunch capitalist, was one of the foremost of the truth-sayers. He remained a loyal defender of the Revolution and Lenin, whom he knew personally, until his death in 1954, writing frequently, as did many of the others mentioned, in the pages of this magazine. Another who wrote and spoke the truth was Dr. Jerome Davis, head of the YMCA in Russia during the Revolution. One of the

few living Americans who were eye-witnesses of those historic events, he still regularly takes groups of people for seminars to the Soviet Union almost sixty years after his first visit there, and reports on the vast transformations and progress he has found.

Opposition to Intervention; The Fight for Recognition

WOODROW WILSON failed to act on his own announced stricture in his famous 14 points of US foreign policy—"The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will. . ." Instead he joined the international armed intervention of 14 states that marched into Russia in the wake of the German invading armies and from 1918 to 1922 tried to overthrow the Soviet regime. Without any declaration of war, American troops were landed in Archangel, to aid the British intervention in North Russia and another US expeditionary force was sent to Siberia.

US armed intervention in Russia aroused sharp opposition among wide working class and middle class circles, and the left and peace movements of the time. Meetings, parades, demonstrations calling for Hands off Russia, an end to intervention, and recognition of the new Soviet state were held, joined by leading people.

Lenin's *Letter to American Workers* first appeared in the United States in the December 1918 issue of *Class Struggle*, published by the US Socialists. Even in its incomplete and somewhat garbled form, it had a tremendous impact on the US workers. It was a report to the American people on the problems and objectives of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet people. Lenin explained the imperialist nature of the war and the attempts of the capitalist nations, including the United States, to destroy the young Soviet Republic. He appealed to the US workers, in their own interests, not to let this happen, and expressed his confidence that they "will not follow the bourgeoisie."

The words Lenin then wrote about the resistance to the Revolution of the exploiters and their supporters, which he said *would grow with the growth of the revolution*, are still applicable today:

Let the kept Bourgeois press howl to the whole world about each mistake made by our Revolution. We are not afraid of our mistakes. Men have not become saints because the Revolution has begun. . . . For every hundred mistakes of ours heralded to the world by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys (including our own Mensheviks and Right Social Revolutionaries) there are 10,000 great and heroic deeds, the greater and the more heroic for their simplicity, for their being unseen and hidden in the everyday life of an industrial quarter or provincial village.

Lenin's words were heeded by US workers. Seattle workers es-

pecially were among the most militant supporters of the Revolution. In 1919 Seattle longshoremen, followed by many other American waterfront workers, refused to load arms being shipped by US Government sources for the Kolchak counter-revolutionary regime.

Also in 1919 the various early efforts in support of the Revolution began to coalesce into the first national organization, the American Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia, formed at a conference of delegates from trade union, socialist and other organizations. Thousands of endorsements were received from local trade unions who recognized, then as today, that trade with Soviet Russia would mean jobs for the unemployed, whose numbers were increasing.

The efforts of this organization brought about the first public hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on recognition of the Soviet Government, on a resolution by Democratic Senator Joseph I. France of Maryland. While President Samuel Gompers of the AFL aligned himself with reactionary forces and sought to hamper the work of the Alliance, the question of recognition was brought up regularly at all AFL conventions.

Eugene V. Debs, the great Socialist and labor leader, serving a jail sentence for his opposition to the imperialist war, and winning nearly a million votes in the 1920 Presidential campaign, wrote on the third anniversary of the Russian Revolution: "The emancipation of Russia and the establishment of the Workers' Republic is an inspiration to the workers of the world."

Aid for the Young Soviet Republic

FROM THE early days of the Revolution groups of US workers and farmers went to Soviet Russia to help in reconstruction work and building up Soviet industry and agriculture. They raised money for tools and supplies and offered their services. Some went with stars in their eyes, expecting to find a workers' utopia full-blown, quite unprepared for the inevitable immense problems and hardships they would face, and returned disillusioned. But thousands of others made a real contribution and had rewarding experiences.

Sidney Hillman, for example, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, visited Soviet Russia, and on his return organized the Russian American Industrial Corporation (RAIC), which invested money, later repaid, for tools and machinery to establish experimental clothing factories and help teach methods of mass production. An important contribution was made by the US Industrial Colony Kuzbas, in Siberia, in coal mining and building a chemical plant (described in NWR, No. 4, 1970).

During the disastrous Volga famine of 1921-22, a great movement of famine aid arose in this country. A society for medical aid raised funds for medical supplies for hospitals and clinics. Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, headed the American Relief Administration. He saw food as a weapon and hoped to win over local governments in Soviet Russia by means of US food supplies during the Volga famine. Lenin saw to it that conditions were established under which Hoover could not carry out his counterrevolutionary purposes. So the ARA's help was welcome, in spite of Hoover's motives. It saved many thousands of lives, and is gratefully remembered to this day.

The Quakers, through the American Friends Service Committee, raised funds for food, clothing and medical supplies and sent a group to the Volga area to distribute them. Through them I had my own first experience with the great Soviet land and its wonderful people. At this time Harold Ware was engaged in the memorable project described on page 23 of this issue, bringing the first American tractors to Russia. Later, I had the privilege of working with his second project in the North Caucasus, where he brought more machinery and a group of US farm specialists to help in the early stages of the mechanization and collectivization of Soviet agriculture.

Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes called Soviet Russia "an economic vacuum" and, along with Hoover sought to discourage US business from trading with Russia. But testimony from people like Col. Robins and later Col. Hugh Cooper, who supervised the building of the great dam on the Dnieper River, as well as other US engineers who helped various Soviet projects, weighed more heavily with realistic US businessmen, and in 1924 trade began to grow, reaching \$100 million dollars during the depression years of 1930-31, when Soviet orders for machine tools and other items meant jobs for many US unemployed. (Later, as we have recorded, US anti-Soviet policies created so many obstacles that trade fell sharply, to the detriment of US interests, and only last year, with the beginnings, of détente, began to grow again. See NWR, No. 2, 1973.)

The movement for trade and diplomatic ties was joined by workers' groups, growing numbers of liberals, intellectuals, scientists, religious leaders, professional people and rank and filers, who visited the USSR in increasing numbers and brought back reports of progress. It was strengthened by the voices of Black leaders and writers such as Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Paul and Eslanda Robeson, Langston Hughes and others; by important leaders in the peace movement, deeply impressed by the consistent role of the Soviet Union as the world's

greatest advocate and defender of peace—people like Florence Kelley, Emily Green Balch, Helen Keller, Jane Addams, many of the brightest and best people in our land. Moral support by pen and brush and voice was given by leading writers, artists and cultural figures.

Year in and year out, opening of diplomatic relations was championed by the more progressive members of both Houses of Congress. Senator William E. Borah, Idaho Republican, first as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and later as its chairman, regularly introduced resolutions in favor of recognition and spoke vigorously in its favor, supported by Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin (Republican, later Progressive), Hiram W. Johnson (Democrat, of California), George W. Norris (Nebraska Republican) and others.

A number of organizations were helpful not only in directly mobilizing public opinion for recognition but in laying the groundwork for it through educational work. These included the Friends of Soviet Russia (later Friends of the Soviet Union), the American Russian Institute, which specialized in cultural relations, the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, the American Council on Soviet Relations, and several publications like *Soviet Russia Today*, our own predecessor, and many useful articles appeared in magazines like *The Nation* and *The New Republic*. Many leading socialists worked for recognition, although not the Socialist Party as such, and organizations like the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and its successor the League for Industrial Democracy, in its earlier years. And of course the Communist Party was a constant and vigorous advocate of better relations. Among its leaders who played outstanding roles was that dynamo of energy, the late Alexander Trachtenberg, head of International Publishers for many years.

Of special importance were the trade union delegations which were regularly invited by Soviet trade unions to visit the USSR and brought back useful reports.

The Negotiations for Recognition

THE ELECTION of President Roosevelt finally brought about the change in US policy so long overdue.

Before the establishment of diplomatic relations, there existed in Washington a Soviet Information Bureau headed by Boris Skvirsky which served to keep open some avenues of communication between the two governments and peoples, although it had no diplomatic status. One of its functions was publishing an information bulletin, the *Soviet Union Review*, which I edited, as one of the American

employees of the Bureau. The offices of the Information Bureau on Massachusetts Avenue, the only Soviet organization in the US capital, became the headquarters of Ambassador Litvinoff and his mission to establish diplomatic relations. Litvinoff was very fluent in English and needed no interpreters or translators. However, there were inevitably differences in word order as well as the frequent necessity of finding the precise English term needed. Thus it fell to my lot to take down from Litvinoff the first draft of his proposals and to help in their editing. Minor and technical as this task was, it gave me tremendous satisfaction to have even so small a part in the fulfillment of the long struggle for recognition.

At last the great day came. On November 17 there was the heartwarming announcement in the morning press of the agreement reached ten minutes before midnight on the 16th. Guests and congratulatory messages streamed in to the Information Bureau. Towards evening the keys of the old Tsarist Embassy were delivered to Litvinoff. Litvinoff invited the staff of the Bureau to accompany him, and we trooped along after him to the old Pullman mansion on Connecticut Avenue.

The mansion, a scene of decayed grandeur when we first saw it, was completely restored in time for the arrival of Alexander A. Troyanovsky, first Soviet Ambassador to the United States, in January. William C. Bullitt, a good friend of Soviet Russia in the early days, was appointed first US ambassador to the USSR.

In these days of détente—and attempts to interfere with détente—it is interesting to examine the agreements made forty years ago, which remain at the basis of US-USSR relations. The special conditions of those days required a number of mutual agreements of a unique nature. One of the most important of these involved reciprocal pledges of Non-Interference in Internal Affairs.

While our country was guilty of the ultimate interference in internal affairs in its actual attempts to overthrow the Soviet Government, the anti-Sovieteers raised constant alarms that the US Government was in danger of being overthrown by the Soviet Union or agents acting on its behalf. Thus the United States insisted on this pledge for its own "protection." Certainly the USSR was in agreement on such a pledge, which it has always considered basic in its relations with all countries.

Thus, in one of the notes exchanged, each side promised the other to *respect scrupulously the right of the other to order its own life in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the other's internal affairs.* It further contained, among other points,

mutual pledges to refrain from any action liable to injure the other or encourage any action or any group aiming to overthrow or change by force the political or social order of the whole or any part of the other.

This solemn agreement might well give pause to Senator Jackson (D.-Wash.) and his supporters, including Sakharov, who want to make granting most-favored-nation treatment to the USSR dependent on its relaxation of emigration regulations.

Another question that Roosevelt had been strongly pressured about was that of religion, opponents of recognition having insisted that US nationals in the Soviet Union would be persecuted for any religious activities. Litvinoff answered Roosevelt's request for guarantees on this score with citations from the Soviet constitution of the basic law that "Every person may profess any religion or none," and assurances of the right of US citizens, under Soviet law, to conduct religious rites and ceremonies in accordance with their religious faith, as well as assurances that US clergymen, priests, rabbis or other ecclesiastical functionaries required to minister to their spiritual needs would never be refused visas because of their ecclesiastical status.

Financial claims and counter-claims raised problems too knotty to be settled at once and had to be left to long and futile negotiations in the future. The Soviet Government had repudiated both Tsarist and Provisional Government debts, but was prepared to make some kind of settlement. Against US claims for these debts, the USSR had legitimate and morally justified counter-claims for the destruction and death caused by the US Government in arming the counterrevolutionary generals and sending US troops to overthrow the Soviet Government.

When Ambassador Alexander A. Troyanovsky presented his credentials to President Roosevelt as the first Soviet Ambassador to the United States on January 8, 1934, he declared:

I trust, Mr. President, that the new era of normal and friendly relations between our peoples may contribute fundamentally to the development of the widest cooperation in the most varied fields of human endeavor, but first and foremost to the cause of the peace of the world.

In the years that followed the Soviets indeed gave ample proof of their determination to carry out this peace policy. Their fight at Geneva for universal disarmament, and for any preliminary steps toward that end, had won the admiration and support of leading world peace advocates. Now the menace of fascism was rising,

and the thirst for world conquest of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. With the war clouds gathering over Europe the Soviet Union sought day in and out to build a structure of collective security that could have stopped the Nazis.

The establishment of US-USSR diplomatic relations had been followed by a honeymoon period, warm but all too brief. Anti-Soviet forces kept up their ceaseless propaganda through all those dangerous pre-war years, and the men of Munich did everything in their power to turn Hitler's aggression against the USSR. There were important forces in our country who understood the role of the Soviet Union and remained faithful in their support. But too many others fell away in that period when the USSR faced serious internal problems after the years of unprecedented hostility from the outside world, and when grave distortions of socialism and socialist legality took place. For many, the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, which they wholly misunderstood, was the last straw.

At no time was there the slightest doubt of the Soviet Union's strong and unswerving anti-fascist position. All during the summer of 1939 the USSR negotiated with England and France for an alliance against Hitler. But England and France were not serious in their negotiations, their emissaries were not empowered to reach agreement, while Britain in fact was continuing its efforts at collusion with Hitler, still hoping to turn his aggression eastward. When it was clear that the British and French wanted no alliance, only a one-way bargain in which they could call for Soviet military help but offered no assistance if the USSR were attacked, the USSR took the only alternative open, the non-aggression pact with Hitler. Only when Hitler finally turned East, swollen with his gains in Western Europe, and Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war, was the great Alliance brought into being which finally destroyed Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito and saved the world from fascist slavery.

The immensity of the world's debt to the Soviet Union for its decisive contribution to the victory over Hitler, its incalculable sacrifices—a third of its industry destroyed, 1,700 towns and cities laid waste, 25 million people left homeless, 20 million human beings killed—must never be forgotten.

President Nixon has brought death and destruction to the people and the land of Indochina. He has brought our nation the shame of Watergate, utilizing and exposing the foulest aspects of our social system. He has saddled our people with the highest prices in history, wiped out social gains for the needy while profits soar for the rich,

putting the greatest burdens on the working class, the Blacks and other minorities. His administration stands condemned before the world for the fascist coup in Chile.

There is no forgiveness or condonement for what Nixon has done. There is no balancing off of these things by the opening up of new relations with the Soviet Union and China. But because of the bad things he has done, should the Soviet Union refuse to negotiate with him on matters that will benefit the peoples of both countries, and make the world a safer place to live in? Because of the campaign about Soviet emigration policy and its treatment of a Sakharov and a Solzhenitsyn (whose present activities are no service to their country or world peace) shall we make conditions which could endanger all our gains and move the world closer to the horrors of nuclear war?

For Nixon to agree that there is no other basis for US-USSR relations in the nuclear age than peaceful coexistence is a great victory for the Soviet policy of peace. We celebrate this victory on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of US-USSR ties. It is up to the people of our country to see that these relations remain forever normal and friendly and never again threaten the peace of the world.

V. PANKRATOV
V. CHERTKOV

American Tractor Brigade Leaves Warm Memories

DIMITRI AGAFONOVICH KHARLAMOV tramped through the dew-covered field of clover with the halting footsteps of an old man.

His spade-shaped beard, once black, was lavishly sprinkled with white. Time had bowed his shoulders, but now they were straightening again, like those of a young man. Dmitri Agafonovich had trod this very field fifty years ago and since then had not been back again. He quickened his pace as though to stir up his memories.

V. PANKRATOV AND V. CHERTKOV are special correspondents of *Pravda* in Perm Province, Ural Region. This is a translation of their article published in *Pravda* June 18, 1973.

“... The outstanding work of the tractor brigade headed by Harold Ware on the ‘Toikino’ sovkhos (state farm) in Perm province has been established by a special commission.

“In order to encourage the organizers of this project I have written a letter of gratitude to the American organization, Friends of Soviet Russia, and the American Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, in which I noted that no other form of aid has been as timely and important as the aid they have given to our agriculture.”

(From Lenin's letter to the Presidium of TSIK.)

Together with the Americans, Dmitri had turned the first furrow on this land. He told us about this as we sat and talked in the village of Verkh-Potka, which nestled in a corner of Perm province not far from that very Toikino of which Lenin wrote.

“There's where they stayed, the Americans,” said Kharlamov, pointing toward a mound in the field where there were still traces of a dwelling.

On that very spot in that hard year of 1922, the American Harold Ware and his comrades upheaved the first hard layer of virgin soil. And that very layer of soil became part of the foundation of the mutual relations between our two countries, although this thought could hardly have occurred to Ware at the time. He has left warm memories among the local peasants. They still speak of the field worked by his tractor brigade as the “Amerikansky” field.

“At that time,” Kharlamov recalled, “foreign machines were regarded here like some kind of magic. People came from far-away villages to have a look. And how I wanted to learn to drive an American tractor!” The old man was silent for a while, carried back into the past. “Harold Ware himself, and his wife, Clarissa, taught me.”

Yes, the memory is still there. In many villages of Perm province the story of the American tractor brigade is known. The young people hear about it from the old people who had walked many miles to have a look at the “steel horses.” We had come in search of these memories. And in the various district centers—in Okhanske, Ochere, Bolshoy Sosnove, when our odometer showed we had traveled some 250 versts (one verst = .66 mile), they gave us the names of families who would remember the brigade.

“In Toikino you'll be sure to meet some of these people,” we were told.

It was toward evening when we arrived at this old Ural village. Some of the old inhabitants were gathered in the office of the sovkhos, which now bears the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

“We should send for Zina Roffredo,” someone said.

Roffredo? This foreign sounding name fell strangely on our ears, the more so since so far no one else had mentioned her. We had heard of Ivan Ivanovich Vasev, who had been a Red Army man in the Civil War, of the eighty-year-old Ivan Mikhailovich Zhelezov, of Akima Fedorovich Pustovalov, one of the first village activists—but this was the first time we had heard of Roffredo. Perhaps she had some documents and letters connected with the work of the tractor brigade? We immediately went to look for Zinaida Petrovna.

We found that she was one of two sisters living in a large house—Roffredo and Nadezhda Petrovna Yurova. Both had been widowed during the World War, both had lost their sons in the war, and now the two solitary women lived harmoniously together.

“Where did I get the name Roffredo, you ask? I was married to one of the tractorists who came to us with Harold Ware. We Toikino people became very friendly with the Americans. We visited back and forth, held parties together, once we had a big joint New Year's celebration. The Americans even learned our special Ural dance, the Vdovushka. Their life here wasn't an easy one. That was a famine year, and it was very cold. Yet they stayed with us a long time, living and working under difficult conditions.”

It turned out that we had come to Toikino over the very same road the tractor brigade had come. The Americans had traveled for two days through the ruined villages and over bridges just barely repaired in time for them to cross, until they reached the sovkhos station at Veraschagino. The brigade brought with them 21 tractors and other agricultural machines purchased with funds collected by the American Friends of Soviet Russia.

From the first day of its arrival on Perm soil, the brigade had the constant attention of Lenin. This is what he wrote to the deputy chief of the Main Fuel Administration of the VCNX (Supreme Economic Commission), V. A. Trifonov:

I have been informed of the very considerable success achieved by the American tractor expedition for the mechanized cultivation of the land of the sovkhos “Toikino,” Perm Province, Okhansky County.

The Perm Province Ispolkom (Central Executive Committee) reports that the successes would have been still greater if there had been a sufficient quantity of gasoline and oil (I am told they received kerosene instead of gasoline). I request that you immediately instruct the Perm District oil organization under your jurisdiction which is in charge of the distribution and sale of oil products in the district, that they turn over for the use of the American expedition working at the Toikino sovkhos, the necessary quantity of gasoline and oil, under maximum tax-free conditions. . . .

The American brigade was thereafter given the greatest help possible. On October 15, 1922, Harold Ware wrote in *Pravda*:

We have suffered not so much from a lack of fuel, but from the great difficulties in transporting it . . . We must mention the efforts of those comrades in Perm Province who have worked day and night to overcome this problem. This is true especially in the case of the Communist Party organization in Okhanske. We have been warmly welcomed everywhere, our work has aroused general interest and was only possible due to this all-round cooperation.

It is difficult to reconstruct completely the events of fifty years ago. Zinaida Petrovna Rofferdo showed us photographs of the Americans with a bear cub that had been given them. Looking out at us from the photograph were: Seaborg Ericson, Joseph Broecker, George Iverson, Charles Geck, John Schlonberger, Otto Anstrom.

An interesting incident was recalled by Ivan Mikhailovich Zheleznov. Once a contest between a tractor and a horse was organized on the field. The whole village gathered to watch. Clarissa Ware wrote about this:

Especially exciting was the contest between a tractor and a horse-drawn plow. This visual lesson was a clear demonstration of the superiority of mechanized soil cultivation. For the autumn sowing we plowed and cultivated 1,500 dessiatins (one dessiatin = 2.7 acres) and in addition prepared the land for the spring sowing. We used the seed sent us by the American Friends of Soviet Russia, which had raised \$50,000 to purchase it.

Today's Toikino is a far cry from those days. On the sovkhos land today we found that there are 59 powerful tractors, 23 grain harvester-combines, 22 automobiles and trucks. The sovkhos has 3,300 pigs and 1,500 head of longhorn cattle.

In these achievements of today's Toikino, the American brigade played a part. It is of special interest today to read the letter of V. I. Lenin to the American Friends of Soviet Russia, published in *Pravda* October 24, 1922:

Dear Comrades:

I have just examined the special report of the Perm Province Ispolkom containing the extremely favorable information, which has been published in our press, on the work of the members of your society, headed by Harold Ware, with the tractor brigade of the Toikino sovkhos in Perm Province.

In spite of the enormous difficulties, especially the great distance from the center of the place where they worked, and also due to the destruction wrought in that area during the Civil War, you have achieved results which must be recognized as absolutely exceptional.

I hasten to express our profound gratitude, with the request that this be

published in the organ of your Society and also, if possible, in the US press.

I am requesting that the Presidium of the VTSIK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee, corresponding to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR) designate this sovkhos as a model one and that they provide it with special and extraordinary help, both in regard to construction work and in supplying it with gasoline, metal, and other materials essential for the organization of a repair shop . . .

Inspired by the support of Lenin, Harold Ware went home in order to collect funds for still another tractor brigade. On the basis of his proposal, a Russian-American Company was organized and given a tract of land in the North Caucasus, in Maslov Kut, Prikumskaya district, near Mineralnie Vodi. Here, on Ware's return in the autumn of 1924, another model farm was organized, which served also as a training school in mechanized agriculture for peasants from all over the country. Ware brought with him a group of various agricultural specialists for this venture. When it was a going concern, it was turned over wholly to Russian management. Harold Ware then spent a year helping in the mechanization of the sovkhos Zernograd, in the vicinity of Rostov, as its production manager and assistant director. Following that, he acted as a consultant to the All-Union Commissariat of Agriculture for a period, traveling around the country to inspect the sovkhoses and give advice on their mechanization.

Thus this enthusiastic young American, a Communist, an agricultural engineer, became devoted to our country and gave some ten years of his life to the reconstruction of Soviet agriculture after the destruction wrought by the first World War and then by the counter-revolution. Ware said at the time:

"We came here in order to teach, but we ourselves learned much more than we taught. We know that Russia has sufficient strength, resources and patience to cope with all its problems and difficulties."

At the present time trade between our countries, and cooperation in various fields, are expanding. We are today exporting across the ocean goods made in our country, including goods from the province of Perm. In the United States they are familiar with turbo-drills made in the Soviet Union, with titanium and magnesium from the Urals, with high quality plywood from the Kama region, with the products of the Berezina Chemical Combine.

Among the far-away Ural valleys, among the blue spruce forests and life-giving streams of Perm province, that "Amerikansky" field, which fifty years ago the friends of the young Land of Soviets cultivated with their labor, still lives and flourishes, part of the foundation of the relations of friendship and peace being built today.

US-USSR Friendship Societies— The People's Role in Closer Ties

WE TAKE UP the question of US-USSR relations in the postwar period through the story of the work of the various organizations which remained faithful through all the cold-war years and worked diligently to keep open avenues of communication between our peoples for the sake of peace and human progress.

Foremost of these is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which grew out of the great Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 7 and 8, 1942. The Congress was the first mass expression, aside from the nationwide Russian War Relief gatherings, of the deeper meaning of wartime cooperation and the promises it held for the future. Greeted by President Roosevelt and General Eisenhower, and sponsored by top leaders in Washington from Secretary of State Hull down, it was a fitting salute to our great Soviet ally then in the throes of the Battle of Stalingrad. During the weekend, panel meetings and discussions drew the cream of US cultural, scientific, economic and social life and public figures, with Soviet counterparts whenever available, for fundamental presentations and exchange in the numerous fields where cooperation would richly benefit both countries and the peoples of the world.

The great arena of Madison Square Garden glowed with an aura of warmth and friendship as a distinguished roster of speakers paid tribute to the courage and sacrifices of the Soviet people. The Vice President of the United States, Henry A. Wallace, noted especially that the Soviet Union had gone further than any nation in the world in practicing ethnic democracy. He spoke of his hopes of a new democracy arising in the world after the war, and enduring peace through the United Nations, and concluded: "I am here this afternoon to say that it is my belief that the American and Russian people can and will throw their influence on the side of building a new democracy which will be the hope of all the world."

These hopes, deferred by the cold war, have been kept alive through the years by such organizations as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship before which new opportunities now arise with the beginnings of détente.

Space does not permit the enumeration of all the wonderful peo-

ple who have contributed to the work of this organization. The first NCASF national chairman was Dr. Corliss Lamont, long associated with the work of US-USSR understanding and still its active advocate. He was succeeded by the Reverend William Howard Melish, still active in the Council leadership as Chairman of its Board of Directors. From 1949 until his death in 1956, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, pioneer in US public health programs, was national chairman. He was followed by that outstanding artist and great human being of many gifts, Rockwell Kent, who devotedly served the cause of American-Soviet Friendship until his death in March, 1971. NWR has been proud to be associated with this Council leadership. Also closely associated with us editorially was Theodore Bayer, who later was NCASF Administrative Secretary.

We wish also to mention the outstanding Black leaders associated with the work of the National Council and *NEW WORLD REVIEW*: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and his wife, Shirley Graham Du Bois, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Paul and Eslanda Robeson (our UN correspondent and editorial consultant on Negro and colonial affairs for many years until her death), among others. We are happy today that George B. Murphy Jr., is a member of the Boards of Directors of both the NCASF and NWR. We were privileged to carry the account of the first mainly Black delegation to the USSR, which he led in 1971, and the report in this issue of his second delegation, in honor of Paul Robeson.

This year we pay special tribute to Richard Morford. Executive Director of the National Council since January, 1946, he has made an unequalled contribution to international understanding and friendship. With devotion and self-sacrifice he has kept the Council alive through the most difficult years, sometimes almost single-handedly. While thousands have supported the work of the Council over the years there has never been enough money to provide the kind of staff needed to carry on the work he describes below. Working unceasingly, days, nights, weekends and holidays, he has given superhuman strength to this noble work—and still found time to take part in activities for peace, for help to Council members and friends in trouble and illness—and even for an occasional skiing trip!

Richard Morford's great contribution to mutual understanding between the American and Soviet people, his unceasing struggle for peace and friendship, were recognized by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in June, 1973 in awarding him the Order for Friendship among the Nations, one of the highest distinctions in the Soviet Union.

A public tribute to Richard Morford is being held October 14th under the slogan "Seventy and Thirty," with a distinguished list of

sponsors and speakers. We of *New World Review* are happy to join in this celebration of the 70th birthday of Richard Morford and the 30th anniversary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. May they both live a thousand years!

THE EDITORS

RICHARD MORFORD

*Executive Director, National Council
of American-Soviet Friendship*

TEN YEARS after the establishment of US-USSR diplomatic relations, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship came into being. Its aims were at once political, educational and cultural.

It was February, 1943, soon after the Stalingrad victory. With the Soviet Union bearing the major brunt of the war, the founders felt that if the United States was to be a fully responsible partner in the allied struggle against fascism there could be no further delay in opening a second front in Europe. Therefore the NCASF saw as its first task participation in the campaign for the immediate opening of the second front.

Staking its hopes on ultimate victory in the war against fascism, the Council at its very inception set cooperation of the US and the USSR after the war as the long term goal in the best interests of both countries and promising most in safeguarding the peace of the world.

Through all the cold war vicissitudes we have remained steadfast for thirty years in our conviction that in this nuclear age the only course possible is that societies holding different political views must agree on cooperative peaceful coexistence. Our government has finally accepted this position, although assurance of peace between us still depends upon specific agreements not only to control and limit but to reduce armaments, including nuclear weapons.

Educational Work of the NCASF

ONE OF THE PRIME purposes for which the National Council was organized was to overcome the vast ignorance in our country about the life and activities of the USSR. Its Committee on Education at first made considerable progress in challenging educators not only to learn the facts about the Soviet educational system but to make a place for studies of all phases of Soviet life in American

schools at all levels. But when the cold war took over in 1945, the anti-Soviet campaign became so virulent that colleges and universities were fearful of displaying an interest in Soviet society. Orders for educational materials from professors and departments engaged in Soviet studies would be countermanded by the college's administrative authorities. The prevailing political atmosphere made it unwise to deal with an organization whose name spelled out the unacceptable objective of American-Soviet friendship. The Soviet Union was communist; it was our enemy. Such studies as there were made anti-communism their target.

Through many rough years the Council persevered in circulating materials telling the truth about progress in the Soviet Union and about its people. Schools and colleges gradually accepted the fact that Soviet society was here to stay, inevitably exercising major impact in world affairs. Beginning with Russian language and Russian literature, slowly there emerged courses on Soviet contemporary history, its multinational society, its educational and cultural development as well as the new technology applied in vast industrial and power construction.

The National Council's educational services have steadily expanded to meet the requests of educational institutions for books, pamphlets and audio-visual aids. In the course of an academic year we now supply materials to some 400 secondary schools, colleges and universities. From a library of 250 documentary films we send out up to 30 films a week for showing in classrooms. The channels are open. Much more could be done to provide the American people with a positive story about life and activities in the Soviet Union if we had the financial resources.

People-to-People and Cultural Exchange

THE PROMOTION of cultural and scientific exchange was a principal objective of the NCASF. When it was organized, in the midst of war, national committees headed by distinguished persons were formed in the fields of science, medicine, theater, art, music and dance, for the exchange of information and ideas and aimed toward bringing people in these fields together. There was a plan that the Boston Symphony Orchestra, then under the direction of Serge Koussevitsky (who was chairman of the National Council's Music Committee), would play in Moscow, and that Moscow's orchestra would come here. The very active Medical Committee soon formed an independent organization, publishing a substantial magazine devoted to articles by both Americans and Soviets on progress in Soviet medicine,

and sending many manuscripts to Soviet medical authorities on developments in US medicine. But these committees and their splendid efforts were phased out by the cold war and McCarthyism in a matter of four years, before there could be much exchange in these cultural and scientific fields. In truth, the era of people-to-people exchange only began in earnest in 1955, when Soviet farm leadership accepted the invitation of Iowa farmers to come for a tour of Iowa and Minnesota farms.

Growth in people-to-people exchange was gradual from 1955 on. US authorities did not regard the National Council as an "appropriate agency" for conducting exchange. But we remember with pride several exchanges that did take place independently, late in this period, in which the NCASF was catalytic agent.

By 1958 the governments of both countries were ready to make exchange official, and it was spelled out in a two-year agreement. This agreement has been renewed biennially to the present; the latest agreement was undertaken during the visit of Mr. Leonid Brezhnev in June of this year.

From 1958 to the present the National Council has been very active in bringing together individuals and delegations of the two countries for friendly and professional intercourse. National Council-sponsored adult tours to the Soviet Union began in 1959. After a lapse in the early 1960's the National Council renewed this program in 1967 and has been sending out four or more adult tours every year.

Delegations of tourists from the Soviet Union have been welcomed by the National Council and met our own people through many years. We have also aided Soviet visitors, many outstanding in their fields, to meet their counterparts in this country and to lecture in colleges and universities. We have arranged for the reception in the USSR of delegations from US high schools, colleges and universities engaged in Soviet studies. They go with their instructors to the Soviet Union not primarily to sight-see but to learn about the Soviet society and meets its young people. This aid has been made possible through the Institute of Soviet-American Relations in Moscow and the Friendship Societies in various Soviet cities, with whose leaders we have long enjoyed friendly relations and cooperation.

The Youth Division of the Council has sent out summer tours of high school and college age, and older young people for both summer and winter holiday tours. For a half dozen years younger teen-agers have been the guests of the Soviet Pioneer Youth Organization at its international Camp Artek on the Black Sea. The Pioneer Youth orga-

nization is considering sending a group of Soviet teen-agers to the USA in the summer of 1974.

Last summer the National Council was co-sponsor with the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Soviet Union of the first-ever American-Soviet Young People's Conference, held in Minsk, Byelorussia. A report of this conference appeared in this magazine (Vol. 41, No. 1). In the summer of 1973 a second conference took place, this time in the USA, sponsored by the young people who had been delegates at Minsk, organized independently as the American-Soviet Youth Forum.

To Deepen the Meaning of Friendship

DIPLOMATIC recognition in 1933 was a first step in American-Soviet relations. The next steps were clearly indicated: to promote knowledge and understanding, to develop appreciation of that society's efforts to advance the welfare of its people, not blinking the shortcomings. The same responsibility would rest upon the Soviets: to know, to understand, to appreciate our country, not ignoring our evils. It is on this basis that friendship between the nations can grow.

The political détente that has been given a new thrust forward in recent times is welcomed by us all. Trade relations are expanding, advantageous to both sides. But the relations that count most in the long run are between the peoples. This will be the heart of our program in 1974.

Our aim is to encourage more and more coming together of the people, particularly young people, and to give it greater depth. With no *a priori* sacrifice of convictions or ideology on either side, yet without evasion of the issues, to pursue the frankest kind of open dialogue, minds open to persuasion, recognizing the possibilities of true friendship even with differing opinions. A friendship that will flower in joint efforts to end imperialism, racism and poverty and to establish justice and peace in the world.

The meetings we have in mind require advance preparation. Let the leaders from both sides meet to plan the meeting of whatever kind—a tour, a conference, a sojourn in a youth camp, or whatever. Then share the planning with all those who are to participate. We find both Soviet and American young people ready to participate in this kind of experience. The first testing of this relation in depth has been made in 1972 and 1973. It will take time to develop, but it holds great promise.

Well into its 31st year, the Council holds steadily to all areas of its educational and cultural program, in which it foresees considerable

expansion. But it sets itself with new determination to the task of realizing the end objective: *friendship*. Not alone between the nations but between the peoples. And we mean *personal* friendships. Suppose it is in the hundreds now, a pebble dropped in the water. The circle of influence will spread to the thousands. And we shall be well content with our efforts to promote friendship.

HOLLAND ROBERTS

President, American Russian Institute

WE WATCHED the attractive young couple window shopping before our new Soviet artwork and literature display facing McAllister Street, in the center of San Francisco, where hundreds pass daily. After a lively interchange, they walked briskly in.

"Do you have anything on Eisenstein and his great film *Potemkin* or on *Ten Days that Shook the World?*" the young man asked. We did and they were jubilant. They looked around our well-filled shelves at the exhibits: amber ornaments from the golden shores of Lithuania, folk art from the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, the Central Asian and Transcaucasian Republics; the delicate Palekh hand painting in the tradition handed down by the icon painters, transferred to the needs of daily life.

When they had made their selections we took them to the literature section and introduced them to the notable new best-selling Soviet novel, *Siberia*, by George Markov, which we have stocked, along with Farley Mowat's current popular paperback, *The Siberians*, about how the Yakut, Chukchi, Yukagir, Russian and other native Siberian peoples are breaking the age-old shackles of that vast once ice-bound land. Also a complete set of Lenin, our treasured *Bolshoy Encyclopedia* and a wide range of current magazines in English and Russian on Soviet life.

All this opened up a new world for them, and they were amazed to learn that what we had showed them was only a subordinate part of our American Russian Institute, now in its 41st continuous year of work for friendly, peaceful US-USSR intercultural relations. They asked to be placed on our mailing list and promised to come back.

We get "walk-ins" such as this young couple every day, along, of course, with many old friends who have known and supported our Institute for years. Among our visitors are a growing number of Black people, Chicanos and Asians who want to know how brown and black

citizens of the USSR are treated and if it is true that discrimination against ethnic minorities prevalent under the tsarist regime has now been abolished. We give them such reprints from *NEW WORLD REVIEW* as Joseph Carter's "A Black Man Looks at the USSR" and recent reports by George B. Murphy Jr., of Black Americans' visits to the USSR. For trade unionists we have the NWR reprint, "Higher Quality of Life," by UE leader Ernie De Maio and for those interested in the Jewish question, NWR's "American Rabbi Meets Soviet Jews" by Sidney Rackoff.

It is our experience over many years that there is a large and growing need for an organization like ours in the cities of America, where anyone can walk in casually to browse or to get direct, knowledgeable answers to questions about the Soviet land and its peoples. Now that the spirit engendered by the Brezhnev visit is spreading, the forces of peace and friendship have an unprecedented opportunity. Many Americans are eager to discover and know the Soviet people. We open many doors to them.

Our Institute provides a variety of services to schools, colleges, universities, libraries and other social organizations from whom we receive constant requests. We supply thousands of books and pamphlets to students and teachers every year about all fifteen Soviet Republics and all phases of Soviet life. This year we distributed by gift and sale some 35,000 items from Soviet sources like *Novosti* and *Progress Publishers* as well as American sources. We also supply speakers on request from our Speakers' Bureau and send out many 16mm. films in full Soviet color and black and white from our growing film library on a wide range of subjects.

Politically and economically the most important event of the year for our Institute was the visit of Leonid Brezhnev and the conclusion of the wide ranging US-USSR agreements worked out at the Summit talks here, added to those of the Moscow Summit talks. Many of these agreements concern our work.

Cooperation with Soviet Agencies

"CONTACTS, exchanges and cooperation" in education and culture, joint undertakings and exchange between social and civic organizations, including youth and women's groups, are all encouraged. Thus the kind of work done by our Institute as well as similar organizations, which for many years was considered suspect in some US circles, has now been approved by the highest government authority.

The cultural division of the USSR Embassy has been of special help to our Institute. Through them we learn of Soviet visitors

coming to our area and through them we are able to help Americans who wish to travel or study in the USSR. The newly established San Francisco Consulate has opened up a new source of information on questions of travel, legal problems, trade and educational opportunities for US citizens in the USSR and they in turn often refer people to us for help.

Our American Russian Institute has for 40 years kept in touch with its parallel group in the USSR, formerly VOKS, now the Institute of Soviet-American Relations, part of the All-Union Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. They are helpful in providing materials and information and arranging hospitality and aid in special interests to US visitors to the USSR who we refer to them. Through the Friendship Societies in the different Soviet Republics we carry on our exchange of literature, handicraft and art.

This year we have been host to several groups of distinguished Soviet visitors through the Institute of Soviet-American Relations. Of special interest was a meeting we arranged with about 20 General Motors workers, who engaged in a spirited discussion about the life of Soviet auto workers with a group of visitors which included a YCL Secretary from the Moscow auto works.

Relations with US Friendship Groups

OUR INSTITUTE is in constant touch with Rev. Richard Morford of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in New York. His hospitality to West Coast representatives is invaluable, especially since most of our delegates go through New York to the Soviet Union. We work with the NCASF on many joint projects.

We also work closely with the other cultural and friendship organizations described in these pages, in Los Angeles, San Diego and the new one in Seattle which we helped to set up. We also have prospects for closer work in the future with the society in Chicago.

As Jessica Smith is among the few pioneers now actively promoting closer US-USSR relations, we value her experienced editorship of *New World Review*, which is a unique and indispensable asset in the work of the Institute. We promote the circulation of NWR through our bookstore and by Institute mailings. We also cooperate with NWR by notifying them about visitors returning from the USSR who might write for the magazine.

Other ARI activities include securing carefully selected applicants for annual summer scholarships for teachers of Russian, held at Moscow University in August. We provide research services to writers,

publishers and speakers, and photographs from our expanding library.

Every year since the establishment of US-USSR relations in 1933, we have held public celebrations of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the outstanding event of contemporary history. In this way we symbolize the growing success of this new social and economic system which has transformed the lives of millions in the USSR and made an indelible mark on the social system of every nation.

Our 1972 USSR Anniversary program was developed in close cooperation with Professor Jorge Acevedo of the Department of Chicano Studies of the University of California at Berkeley, with whom our Institute had worked in sending the first Chicano delegation ever to visit the USSR. They reported on their return the success they had observed in bringing the many minorities of that multinational country into full equality. This program had an important impact in opening up the meaning of the Soviet Union to the Chicano Community.

We are now at a great turning point in history. Opportunities to inform the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union about each other have never been so favorable.

The future of the world and of each one of us depends upon understanding and trust in our joint work of raising health and educational standards, producing the necessary food, reducing pollution, advancing culture, protecting natural resources and above all disarmament and safeguarding peace. We invite everyone to join in this creative work.

For the Staff: Sally Cooper, Sonia Karosa, Zoia Martinoff, Ruth Orloff, Dena Beers, Michael Zieper, Edward Owen, Roger Owen, Sam Berlin, Pauline Fiedler, Martha Brenner.

EUGENIA WOLFSON

Secretary, Association for Friendship and Cultural Relations/USA-USSR

IN THE BEGINNING of 1942, while World War II was already raging, the American Russian Institute was formed in Los Angeles. Among its founders were prominent Hollywood personalities, writers, people from academic and medical circles. The eminent Soviet writer, Konstantin Simonov, on a tour of the US for Russian War Relief at the time, was present at the opening of the ARI in L.A. and predicted that the work we were undertaking would be "the corner-

stone of better understanding and friendship among our peoples."

With the end of the war the ARI looked forward to the development of further friendship with the USSR and its people. But the cold war and the McCarthy period, the harassment by Congressional Committees, undermined the forces in our organization, though its doors never closed. With the opening of the first US-USSR cultural exchange program in 1958 the Institute foresaw an increasing role in supplementing this program and the development of people-to-people contacts, and changed the name of the Institute for this purpose to Society for Cultural Relations.

Following its basic aims, the reception of Soviet delegates and tourist groups began to play an important part in our activities. We arranged public affairs, press conferences, TV appearances and informal people-to-people contacts, opened doors to movie studios, universities and newspapers. We can justly say this helped to break the barriers of ignorance and misconceptions on both sides. Our community now accepts these visits as a matter of course.

Adopting a more descriptive name, we are now The Association for Friendship and Cultural Relations/USA-USSR, and a membership organization. In cooperation with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and independently, we organize tours to the Soviet Union, believing nothing can be a substitute for personal contact and seeing with one's own eyes.

The Port of Long Beach is next door to Los Angeles. With the new trade agreements, what was a mere trickling of Soviet trips to our shores has become a continuous stream and we hope to form a community-wide "Hospitality Committee" to open our arms to many more sailors, both men and women. We visit the ships and invite members of the crew to see our city and visit our homes. Visits following the Summit became real celebrations of our new bonds of friendship.

We made a beginning in work with youth this past year, furnishing material to a group of students organized independently in a local Community College. Several of them joined youth tours to the USSR this summer.

One of our proudest functions is film services to schools, colleges and community organizations through our growing film library. We are now cooperating with another cultural group in promoting a first-ever Soviet film festival in Los Angeles. Seven feature films will be shown at a central city theater in October. This venture reflects our motto, "Friendship Through Understanding," which we hope will make it a memorable event in the cultural life of Los Angeles.

The proximity of the new Soviet Consulate in San Francisco will,

we feel sure, mean an increase in US-USSR cultural exchanges and people-to-people contacts on the West Coast, which we shall do everything possible to promote. Not since we were partners on the battlefield in World War II did we so need to get to know each other better. We cannot afford to neglect this need.

(The current President of AFCE is Leo Kolski, First and Second Vice Presidents Sam Aronoff and Alan Flanigan, Treasurer Sophia Locke, Executive Director, Melvin Katz.)

LESTER WICKSTROM

Chairman, Chicago Committee of American-Soviet Friendship

THE PRESENT Chicago Committee for American-Soviet Friendship is the successor to the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, organized in 1938 under the leadership of the late Mandel Terman, whose outstanding inspirational qualities gained for him the title "Mr. American-Soviet Friendship" and national and international prominence. The outstanding achievement of the Council was its success during World War II in its campaign for Russian War Relief, in which it collected \$500,000 in clothing and money.

The present Chicago Committee for American-Soviet Friendship, functioning under the guidance of its chairman, Lester Wickstrom; its vice-chairman, George Sharak, and its secretary, Ann Faigen, follows the path charted by its predecessor—promoting tourism, directing and encouraging hospitality for visiting Soviets and promoting educational activities through the circulation of literature, movies, etc. Among our activities is the annual November Anniversary tribute to the great October Revolution, which is usually dedicated to an outstanding American who has contributed to American-Soviet friendship and peace. This year the Chicago Committee proudly dedicates the Anniversary observance to Mr. Paul Robeson, whose magnificent and profound artistry has illumined the path of American-Soviet friendship.

The active corps of the Chicago Committee is few in numbers and does not reflect its importance and significance. The principal base of mass support continues to be the people's organizations in the national group field. The Ukrainians, Russians, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Poles, as well as organizations and groups of the Jewish people and many individuals in the Black community.

In this new era of US-USSR relations we intend to intensify our manifestations of friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

JOHN BAKER

Secretary, Washington Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union

THE WASHINGTON Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union was organized in March, 1972, with the assistance of Dr. Holland Roberts, President of the San Francisco ARI. Frank Batterson was named president.

The purpose of the organization is to further cultural relations and peace through literature, movies, arranging tours and reports from people who have been to the Soviet Union. Plans are on the drawing board for a West Coast drive for US-USSR trade and cultural relations, and branches in Portland, Anchorage and Honolulu are in prospect.

Baker and Batterson had been to the Soviet Union through Anniversary Tours in 1971 and the following year, with help from NCASF's Richard Morford, we selected a groups of delegates, including a student of the University of Washington who attended the 1972 Youth Conference in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet exhibit predominated at UNIMART, the Seattle trade fair of August, 1972. A copy of the Lunar Rover was the main attraction. Furs, jewelry, precious stones, watches, cameras, radios, a shuttleless loom, books, paintings, pictures of Soviet life were all in view. Governor Dan Evans, Mayor Wes Uhlman, trade unionists and many others came and expressed their appreciation.

The Soviet Exhibit and its friendly personnel had a great impact on the people in this area. The trade that developed, the sale of a half million bushels of wheat, raised cheers among the wheat farmers of the West and Northwest.

About 90 per cent of the high schools, colleges and universities in the state have received educational literature on the USSR, in many cases followed up by film showings.

Visits to the Soviet ships which tie up at Seattle ports have been organized. Groups of students and unionists and professionals have welcomed Soviet sailors and been entertained on board with inspections of the ships, movies and refreshments, while Soviet sailors have been entertained in Seattle concerts and other affairs. On the *Anton Chekhov* this summer we were given red carpet treatment, accom-

panied by two assistants of the mayor and four trade unionists and their families. I was happy to be able to reciprocate the ship's hospitality with a quantity of strawberries from my garden! They showed a wonderful movie on Siberia to a group of high school students. I had difficulty in getting that class away from the ship, especially the girls, who went for the sailors. The Pacific International Freightliners' agent sent buses to take parties from the Soviet ships on trips ashore and arranged a volley ball game at the University of Wisconsin between crew members and students.

We circulated a lot of literature during the Brezhnev visit, and were instrumental in getting the governor and two trade officials to send a cable inviting Brezhnev to visit Seattle.

We are hoping to further cement US-USSR ties by a "Sister City" relationship with Leningrad.

HARRY S. STEINMETZ

Chairman, San Diego Society for Cultural and Trade Relations with Eastern Europe

IN RESPONSE to the visit to San Diego in early June, 1973 of the "First Annual Good Will Tour" of 14 tourists of the Moscow Institute of Soviet-American Relations, a decision was reached to form a San Diego Society for Cultural and Trade Relations with Eastern Europe. In view of the generous welcome to the visitors from the mayor and city council and both public universities, it is certain that a group of some civic significance will be functioning by Fall, when we expect our first public event, an appropriate recognition of the birth on November 7, 56 years ago, of the world's first socialist state, and of the fortieth anniversary of US-USSR diplomatic relations.

The first "Sister City" relationship we shall seek will be between San Diego and Sochi, for reasons of acquaintance and of both similarity and difference. We trust that other public events and international municipal relationships will broaden American consciousness and perhaps the consciousness of all to whom we relate. We seek to fortify and to popularize a multilateral policy of peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist countries outside of official channels. The immediate problem and need, we believe, is to build bridges—individual and group—for trade and cultural exchange between states with different economic systems, competing ideologies and, of course, quite similar human needs and democratic aspirations.

MIRIAM MORTON

To Find a Human Being

This moving story of the search for long lost relatives of Soviet people, who have been separated from their families as very young children, has become celebrated in the USSR. Beautifully told by Miriam Morton, in an article written especially for NWR, it is based on the book To Find a Human Being, by Agnya Barto, published in Russian by Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, in 1969, as part of its paperback series Roman Gazeta (Documentary Novel). The book has an introduction by Konstantin Simonov, has 88 large (two column) pages, and costs the Soviet reader 19 kopeks; it has since been made into a film.

IN RUSSIAN the title of this unique document—a book-length record written by the Soviet children's poet, Agnya Barto—is *Naiti che-loveka*. The two-word title is not, however, easy to translate, for "che-lovek" is sometimes difficult to render into English. In certain contexts it means much more than "person," because it connotes the *distinctive* traits of the human creature in the universe of living beings. It connotes, particularly, his ability to think, to remember the distant past, to suffer, to experience joy, to love, to act with great concern for others. The extraordinary emotional involvement of the author, the searched ones and the searching, and the Soviet public, demand that the title be translated as *To Find a Human Being*.

Also, only superficially is this book a documentation of the search for long lost relatives on the part of Soviet citizens who were separated from their families in their very early childhood. The separation occurred during the worst stages of the occupation, bombings, sieges, mass imprisonments, exterminations, deportations, and evacuations during World War II. This alone would make it a heart-rending subject. Clearly, though, it is also a special fragment

MIRIAM MORTON is widely known as author, anthologist, and translator, especially of works for and about children. Among her award-winning books are *A Harvest of Russian Children's Literature* ("a notable book"—American Languages Association); *From Two to Five*, by Kornei Chukovsky (named Book of the Year by the American Child Study Association); *Fierce and Gentle Warriors*, stories by Nobel Prize winner Mikhail Sholokhov (a *Book Week* Honor Book); and translations of works for young readers by Chekhov and Leo Tolstoy, as well as by major French authors.

of the history of that war, a deeply moving saga of the tenacity of parental and children's love, a harrowing record of the brutality toward children by the Nazis, a drama of the deep compassion toward strangers of which the Soviet individual is capable, a delighting evidence of the gifted use of language with which common people are so often endowed, repeatedly discovered in the numerous letters with which the book is documented, selected from the 40,000 letters received in connection with the searches. Lastly, *To Find a Human Being* is extraordinary in that it is authored by a woman who is not only an outstanding poet for the young and a humanitarian, but one who also personifies a unique cultural-sociological phenomenon—the Soviet poet for young children as their perceptive guide, protector, and enduring friend.

Agnya Barto, after devoting forty years almost exclusively to writing for children, conceived and for four years directed a nationwide search, over a radio network program, to help relatives long lost in the war to find each other. At the writing of the book (first published in *Roman Gazeta*, No. 14 (636), in 1969), she had reunited 420 families, although the search was attempted 20 to 25 years after the war and with the most meager identifying information. Agnya Barto is indeed part of a unique cultural-sociological phenomenon. Along with Samuel Marshak and Kornei Chukovsky, each of whom had devoted four to five decades of his creative life to writing children's poetry, she was a leader in humanitarian work to lessen the suffering of children on whom the worst horrors of the war were inflicted.

Samuel Marshak was for many years the director of orphanages filled with children who had lost their homes and families in the First World War, the Revolution and the ensuing Civil War and foreign invasions. Kornei Chukovsky, in Kuibyshev, one of the evacuation centers in World War II, headed organized efforts to reunite lost children with their parents. Agnya Barto, younger than her two poet-colleagues, came to her work in behalf of lost relatives when all concerned were already adults but human beings deeply craving reunion with their kin nonetheless.

This phenomenon of three leading children's poets—and by virtue of their other literary achievements leading figures in Soviet letters, each one the recipient of the highest honor, the Lenin Prize—immersing themselves for years in so atypical a form of war relief work, speaks volumes on a number of vital sociological themes: Soviet humanism, social values, social concerns, social priorities; the profound consciousness of the Soviet poet of his responsibilities toward his fellowmen, so much in the tradition of Russian writers of all times.

The children's poet in Agnya Barto was closely associated with the genesis of the idea she pursued in helping the offspring, who lost their parents and siblings 25 years earlier, to find them. It was her poet's perceptiveness and intuition about the mind and heart of the little child that no doubt inspired the idea. She based her plan on the authenticity of the early memories of the child. She ignored the claim of contemporary psychologists that the recollections of early childhood are not reliable, that they are mostly wishful thinking and are, moreover, influenced in large measure by expressions heard from the adults surrounding the child. She went ahead, urging radio listeners in search of lost family to write her what they did remember which might serve as a clue to members of the family older than the lost child.

A number of agencies and organizations in the Soviet Union have helped thousands of lost relatives to find one another. But these were people old enough at the time they lost contact to remember *vital* identifying facts. Agnya Barto, on the other hand, tried to reunite individuals who had lost their families when they were younger than four or five. In many instances, they did not know their surnames and were not even sure of their mother's given name or the name of their home village or town. She also took on cases where the person in search of a lost relative could supply almost no clues. She would begin the search on the basis of such pitifully meager information as:

"My five-year-old daughter the Germans killed in front of my eyes. . . . My son, Tolya Ferapontov was sent to a children's evacuation center. No records sent have been preserved, all traces of my son have disappeared."

"During the evacuation, my nine-year-old son, Pyotr Khitriania couldn't catch up with the departing train. On his right hand one of his fingers is missing—it was severed by shrapnel."

"One of my daughters perished in the ovens of Osventsim. . . . For the past 20 years I've been searching for my second daughter—Shura Koroleva. On her left arm, below the elbow, she was branded with the number 77325."

"My three-year-old son was sent somewhere from a burning hospital in Smolensk."

"I have a flickering hope that my Kolya and Valerik grew up somewhere with the aid of good people. . . . Help me find my sons."

"I, a Spanish political emigrant and mother, beg you to help me find my daughter, lost during the siege of Leningrad."

Many children raised in state Children's Homes were given the surname of "Neizvestny" ("Unknown") or "Bezfamily" ("Nameless"), and in the case of children so young or so traumatized that they didn't know their first names, new ones were chosen at random. At times a whimsical staff member of an orphanage would choose the

name of a heroine in a famous novel for a tiny girl waif. "It's incredible," reads a diary entry by Agnya Barto (she kept the diary during the four years of the project), "but I received a letter today from Anna Karenina in quest of a lost relative: 'I, Karenina, Anna Arkadyevna, was lost in Kharkov, was raised in an orphan's home. I now work as a turner, etc.'"

In another diary entry, Barto wrote: ". . . the little child is observant, he sees sharply, precisely and often remembers what he sees for the rest of his life. The thought occurred to me—couldn't early childhood recollections help us in this search?" Relying on this hope, she kept encouraging searchers over her radio program to write in their recollections. Thousands of letters began to pour in:

"Grandmother's cottage stood on a hill, and when you came down the hill, there was an orchard planted right on the river bank. I still see, as if this were now, the roof of our little house. One side of the roof was covered with red tiles, the other with some other material. This is all I remember."

"My brother and I—I think he was younger and his name was Seriozha—we swung on the garden gate, it squeaked and we made believe it was a musical instrument."

"We had a dog, Julebars. When I followed my mother to the shed for firewood, I'd give Julebars a log to carry between his teeth and he brought it into the house. This was a great delight for me. . . ."

"I was very disobedient. Once I fell into the well. I have a scar between my eyebrows—a rooster pecked at me. I loved to sleep with the cat."

"My mother and I once went to the woods to pick raspberries and when we met a bear I ran away, losing one of my new slippers."

"My father was a carpenter. When he kissed me, his mustache pricked. We had a pet baby seal. One night my father caught it with a hoop-net."

Oddly, most of the letter-writers recalled pleasant memories although each one had subsequently had most harrowing experiences and suffered the loss of mother, home, and family. Some, however, remembered the horrors which imprinted themselves on their minds forever as symbols of fascism and war.

Hundreds of thousands of youngsters made homeless by the war were taken care of in Children's Homes. Many of them were later adopted. But thousands upon thousands grew up, were educated, trained in skills and professions in these state institutions, and then took their place in society. "But it is important to know," comments Barto, "how these homeless children grew up without the love of parents or siblings. It is not enough to have knowledge, a trade, or profession—one also has to have a soul. Today they are already grown-ups. The careers of many are well established—they have work, their own young families, children. It would seem that the need to concern

themselves with close kin has been satisfied.' But still, Barto notes, they beseech us:

"Help me find my mother! She is now probably old, she must need my help."

"Help me find my grandmother Nastya. (I don't know her patronymic.) If she's still living, she must now be seventy. She can probably use my help."

"We live well, but we miss the joy of knowing that my father is alive and finding out who he is. And perhaps he needs our help."

"As I grew up, the government helped me. But now, when I am twenty-seven, I'd like to know my family. Maybe they need my help?"

The often recurring expression "perhaps they need my help," presented Barto with a stylistic problem in her broadcasts—the expression was so repetitious. "But what a lovely repetitiousness!" she comments.

An eagerness to be of help was also amply expressed by thousands of citizens—pensioners, busy parents of young families, and students or children. They wrote Barto that they would like to participate in the search and some did, very effectively. Individuals took upon themselves the task of connecting vague bits of recollections with circumstances which eventually helped reunite the long-lost families. Children wrote in:

Tamara: ". . . when I am big, I'll definitely look for lost persons." Vasya:

"If I don't succeed in finding lost persons, I'll do something else that's good." Tanya: "I'd very much like to find a human being. It is such a joy!"

Natasha: ". . . Trust me, I'll turn the whole town upside down."

Who then participated in the searches? "If this question had been put to me by children," wrote Barto, "I'd have answered: 'We were many. In a long line we strived to reach the Blue Bird. . . ."

"But we were led not by the Fairy of Light but by the radio program "Lighthouse" ("Maiak") and we moved not to music but to the sound of heartfelt appeals. In front, instead of the One Hundred Fairies, moved the whole staff and their volunteer helpers of all ages, from students, to pensioners, to busy scientists. Furthermore, we were not just thirteen, as in the fairy tale of the Blue Bird, we were thousands. We moved, hand in hand, the editors, operators, and, most important, participants in the search—the radio listeners. We proceeded in an endless line in pursuit of the Blue Bird. . . . This is what I'd have told the children."

Each of the thirteen case histories of lost and reunited families which the author traces in great detail, had its own happy ending, its own pathos, suspense, and its special commentary on the endurance and courage of the Soviet people caught in the net of the cruelest

war in modern history. Seventy million souls lived in the Soviet territory occupied by the fascists. Millions of them perished at the hands of the invader who was determined to exterminate the population—men, women, and children.

A sociologist would find a number of significant implications in these thirteen case histories. For instance, the continuing closeness of family ties in Soviet society comes through clearly. The author relates that several years before she began the project, an Austrian woman asked her: "Is it true that in your country the foundation of the family is dying out?" In answer, Barto writes, she could place before this woman the mountain of letters which witness to the fact that the family is not dying out—on the contrary, even when it was ruined

" . . . a deeply moving saga of the tenacity of parental and children's love . . . a drama of the deep compassion toward strangers of which the Soviet individual is capable . . . "

by the war, parents, children, brothers and sisters strove to reestablish it. Some people search not only for close family members but even for distant ones—a deaf-mute, great-aunt, uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces.

The concern that the war had hardened many people, made them stolid and self-centered, is proved unfounded by the outpourings of love in the 40,000 letters. The "mountain of letters" also reflects the humaneness of the Red Army soldier. The recollections of the lost children repeatedly evoke the image of the soldier as a kind and helpful friend.

The case histories, the letters, the author's diary notes are touching and fascinating. Regrettably, space is too limited to excerpt from all of them. I'll chose three at random:

Nelly Neizvestnaya (Nelly Unknown). No one knew anything about this little girl. In the Children's Home they had only one entry on her record—"Neizvestnaya, Nelly. Father at the front. Mother unknown." She was four years old when she was brought to the Home. Now she's grown up but wants to know where she was born, whose child she was. She doesn't remember her mother but thinks that perhaps her name was Nadya. All her early recollections are fragmentary but they imprinted themselves clearly on her memory. She wrote, ". . . Night time, the roaring of planes. . . . I remember a woman. She carries a nursing infant in one arm and a heavy bundle in the other. We are running somewhere, pushing our way in the

crowd. I hold on to her skirt, alongside run two boys, one of them I think was named Roman." That was all that Nelly could recall. There was little hope, but Nelly's story was so brief that Barto decided to allot the few minutes that it would take to broadcast it.

Amazingly, these few moments changed Nelly's life. Her parents heard the broadcast and within a few hours a telegram was received at the radio station from Feodosia: "Nelly is our daughter. Signed—the family Fershter." Just the same, proof was needed. Barto sent the Fershters a photograph of Nelly as a child taken at the Children's Home. This photograph she had enclosed with her initial letter. A week later a second telegram arrived, this time from Nelly herself: "I'm in Feodosia with my family." How the little girl had gotten lost was clarified later. A train was leaving under heavy bombardment to take evacuees to safety. Nelly's mother, with an infant in her arms and with two boys—one of whom was indeed called "Roman"—barely pushed their way into the overcrowded train. It moved off without the little girl. When the mother noticed that she wasn't with them, she had to make the tragic decision not to leave the train to look for her since it meant risking the lives of her other three children. The strafing of the refugees was continuing and the Germans were already at the outskirts of the town.

Now, at the age of twenty-three, Nelly found out that her surname was Fershter, that her mother's name was Ada, not Nadya, and that even "Nelly" was not her own name but "Mary." It meant that even the little she thought she remembered was not exact. The only remembrance that was precise was her childhood memory of the frightful night.

And this is the story of the little girl, Shura, with the number 77325 branded on her in a concentration camp in Germany: A telegram was received by Barto: "Beltsy—Moscow. Read in the magazine 'Znamia' your story, 'To Find a Human Being,' that Mother Koroleva is looking for her daughter, Shura, with a branded number on her left arm. The first figure is not at all clear, the rest match. My name is Shura, my surname I don't know. I beg you to let me know what I am to do next. I can hardly stand the waiting."

The first attempt to find Mother Koroleva's lost daughter had resulted in mistaken identity. The geologist, Shura Koroleva, who was located did not have the right number on her arm and she remembered clearly that her mother had died in the concentration camp in Osventsy. Barto therefore hesitated to give the Shura of the telegram premature hopes. She phoned her to find out if she remembered anything else that might help before she contacted the formerly disap-

pointed Mother Koroleva and her daughter Liuda. But, no, Shura could remember nothing of what happened before she went to live with her adoptive parents in Beltsy. Barto was barely able to persuade Shura to wait a few more days for further inquiries to be made. Barto telephoned Liuda, not wanting to give the mother what might be false hopes. Liuda assured her that the mother had indeed been in Osventsy with three small daughters. One of them died there, another she's been looking for all the postwar years, the oldest, Liuda herself, was found soon after the war, and now lived in Vitebsk. When Liuda was told about the branded number and the indistinct first figure, she cried into the phone: "This is our little girl! Mama remembers that when they branded the number on Shura's arm, she pulled it away and one of the figures remained blurred."

Now Barto's doubts disappeared and she urged Liuda to break the news carefully to her mother who had once been so grievously disappointed. This is how "carefully" Liuda did it: "When I ran home from the telephone office and told Mother about our conversation, she felt so faint that I gave her some smelling salts and water and she wailed as if for a dead one and trembled all over." Liuda sent Barto a photograph: three emaciated, dismal children aged three to five coming out from behind a barbed-wire fence as the inmates of the concentration camp at Osventsy were being freed. The children looked frightened and distrustful. In front was the dark-eyed, scowling Shurochka (Liuda had marked a little cross over her sister's head). But how had the picture fallen into the hands of the mother?

"Nikto ne zabyt, nichevo ne zabyto—No one is forgotten, nothing is forgettable."

It happened that a few years after the end of the war, she was watching a documentary film about the "Liberation of Osventsy" and recognized her lost little girl. She managed to get a still of that film frame.

The next few days, after the first conversation between Barto and Liuda, the telegraphic lines between Moscow-Beltsy-Vitebsk were overloaded. In the course of a single evening the sisters put through several calls to each other. They wept rather than talked into the telephone. Barto had to get in on the calls to act as a sort of decodifier-interpreter, to make clear the necessary further arrangements for meeting while the young women mingled words with sobs. "It was amazing," Barto recalls, "how like their voices were, each of the two exclaiming in exactly similar intonations: 'Oi, I can't bear it! I can't—"

I'm so happy!" Finally the mother and sister got on the train for Beltsy to come to Shura.

"At this time," reminisces Barto, "a new worry came to mind: how will Shurochka's adoptive parents react to the reunion? I knew that Shura was utterly devoted to them. I never asked them whether I was their real daughter. But when I began to work, my mother told me everything and advised me to try to find my real mother. Now I didn't know how to reveal the good news to them. Papa began to sob and so did mama. I tried to convince them that everything would remain as before."

At last the day came when they all gathered in Beltsy, and they all talked into the telephone at once, telling Agnya Barto that Shurochka was the "spittin' image" of her mother, that even without the dreadful brand they would have recognized her in an instant. And Shura, herself not yet accustomed to having two mothers, addressed her real one with the formal "Vy"—"you," instead of "ty"—"thou." "Vy, mamochka, dont cry."

BARTO often speaks in her book about the continuation of strong family attachments in the Soviet Union. The reunions she managed reconstituted not only the nuclear family. In many instances they brought together extended families as well. When one of her "clients," Nikolay Belevtsev, was reunited with his four brothers and sister, their children, and with all his uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces, it was a celebration of a family reunion of one hundred souls. Nikolay had forgotten his real surname and had been given the name "Bezfamily" (Nameless) at the Children's Home. Later, because of the nature of his trade, he took on the name "Zavodchikov" (a factory worker).

His first communication with Barto said: "In the beginning of the war I lost track of my kin, my family, my nationality, and the place and year of my birth. All this happened somewhere in the Pskov region (maybe not even exactly there). I remember a winter day. We, the children, stood at the stove in a row, according to our height. There was I, Kolya, the smallest, my sister Niura and brother Sasha. Mother lay very still on the bed. I was three-and-a-half years old. My sister told me that Mother was very ill and mustn't be disturbed. I was too young to understand this. I went over to her and pulled her by the sleeve, saying, 'Mother, get up!' But I couldn't wake her. Niura and Sasha also tried to wake her and couldn't. Sasha ran to the factory to get our older brother, Vassily. Mother was dead. Soon the war came. Father went to the front. Our town was bombed.

Vassily's factory went up in flames. Later the director of the Children's Home where I was cared for told me that I had been evacuated from Saventsy in March 1942.

"I was adopted and was raised by good people. I'll always be grateful to them, but all of us would like to find my family, to know how fate has dealt with them. My heart cannot know peace until I find them."

Barto continues: "When Nikolay arrived at the station where his brothers and sister were waiting for him, he approached the oldest of the waiting men and saw him turn away from him. 'Is it possible that you don't recognize me, Vassily,' said the aggrieved Nikolay. Vassily had turned away momentarily to keep from bursting into tears. . . . For twenty-six years he and the rest of the family had been looking for the lost Kolya, whom they remembered in their village on the *kolkhoz* to which the war came and tried to destroy all that was alive. But its flames could not destroy the love of children and parents, sisters and brothers and the love of all for their country."

Now and then one hears criticism, especially outside the Soviet Union, that there is too much still being written in that country about the Great Patriotic War. It is insinuated in the West that the theme is used as a safety valve against writings disapproving of contemporary Soviet realities. Those who hold such views understand little about the matter. They ignore the fact that there are still among the Soviet people millions of war widows, of parents bereaved of their soldier-sons, of men and women who had lost their children, parents, brothers, sisters. There is still untold heartbreak, numberless unmarked graves, volumes of untold sorrows. The saying remains only too meaningful: "*Nikto ne zabyt, nichevo ne zabyto*"—No one is forgotten, nothing is forgettable.

To Find a Human Being, both as a unique humanitarian project and an excellent book unforgettably demonstrates the compelling reasons for the saying.

CORRECTION

In connection with the article by Dr. Harry Steinmetz in our last issue (Vol. 41, No. 3) we apologize for some serious errors in his biography. He writes: "I have never been mayor of San Diego or Superintendent of Schools of California, nor ever claimed to be, but find it quaint to win the elections of 1935 and 1954 in 1973." Dr. Steinmetz is Professor Emeritus of California State University at San Diego, and former President of the Association for Friendship and Cultural Relations of Los Angeles.

THELMA DALE PERKINS

A Letter to Paul Robeson On Our Visit to Mt. Robeson

DEAR PAUL:

As people throughout the world continue to celebrate the 75th anniversary of your birth, I want to bring you some very special birthday messages from many dear friends in the Soviet Union. I felt honored to have been asked by our good friend George Murphy to join an Afro-American delegation for two weeks in the Soviet Union in August 1973. One of our major goals was to see Mt. Paul Robeson and to thank the Kirghiz people for perpetuating your memory by naming the highest peak in the Ala-Tau mountains for you. Bertrand Phillips, a fine young Black artist on the faculty of Northwestern University and a member of our delegation, painted a magnificent likeness of you which was our permanent "thank you" to the Kirghiz people.

We were met in Frunze, capital of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, by a delegation bearing armfuls of flowers and headed by the chairman of the Friendship Society, Shukhurbek Beishenabayev, a children's book author; Madame Detegen, editor of the Kirghiz edition of *Soviet Woman*; Mr. Acahbek Tokombayev, Vice President of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet; and Mr. Duishekyev Moldoisa, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later we were received by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, with Mr. Gapar Aitiyev, Deputy Chairman, presiding. Mr. Aitiyev, we learned, is the first Kirghiz painter to achieve country-wide fame. He told us that Kirghizia is one of the newer members of the USSR. Under the Tsars the area was one of warring national and religious groups living in poverty and ignorance. Today, over 100 national groups are equal members of the family of nations forming the Kirghiz Republic.

THELMA DALE PERKINS writes of her impressions of the Soviet Union on her first trip there in the form of this letter to Paul Robeson, which we know our readers will be happy to share. Long active in peace and equal rights movements, Ms. Perkins was General Manager of Paul Robeson's Newspaper *Freedom* and aided in the successful campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport and right to travel.

MT. ROBESON

While in Frunze, we were given a tour of the 40th Anniversary children's clothing factory, led by its director Madam Sherkuleva. The factory employs 2500 workers, 90 per cent women, from 32 nationalities. Only one of the four shops was working—the others were on vacation—so we did not see the two nurseries and a kindergarten that takes care of 400 children normally. Our delegation was impressed with the clean, light, airy conditions of the factory and with the quality and style of the woolen outer-garments being made. We also visited the 50th Anniversary State Farm, with 2,000 working families whose cradle-to-grave coverage includes housing, education, health, cultural and sports facilities.

The zenith of our stay in Kirghizia was the trip to the base camp from which the young mountain climbers first scaled the heights of Mt. Robeson in 1949. Along with us was 80-year-old Madame Olga Manuilova who did a splendid bronze bust of you which has been placed at the top of the mountain. We were the first of your countrymen to see this majestic mountain and to extend our appreciation to the Kirghiz people for so honoring you! Recently, they have named another peak for Angela Davis. Madame Manuilova gave our delegation plaques which she cast of you and Angela.

Our second goal was to meet the Soviet citizens of African origin, descendents of African slaves brought to Tsarist Russia. With the help of Slava Tynes, a Novosti Press Agency journalist, and the good friends in the Gouta Uta Collective Farm outside Sukhumi, capital of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia in Soviet Georgia, we met three sisters and a brother and their families high, high in the mountains and spent a delightful day with them. In the evening we visited still another family of African origin, Dr. Nutsa Abash and her cousin Shamil Chamba and their families and neighbors. Dr. Abash is a well-known gynecologist on the staff of the maternity hospital in Sukhumi; her cousin is a bus driver. We were the first Afro-Americans to meet with these friends and the instant identity, especially of the women with the four Black women in our delegation, was most touching. And Paul, everywhere we went, the immediate flash of recognition when your name was mentioned, even through double translations (the official languages in the Soviet Central Asian Republic are Kirghiz and Russian; Uzbek and Russian) was heartwarming.

An unexpected stop on our itinerary was Tashkent, that beautiful, almost new city, built by all the peoples of the Soviet Union after the earthquake of 1966 destroyed major portions of the city. Walking in the park across from our hotel, one saw many nationalities enjoying Sunday afternoon. Some wore traditional clothes, but most were in

Western dress, as in other Russian cities we visited. In this park, which was in front of the Uzbek Opera building, there were children's rides in a pony cart and on a small train as there are in many amusement parks in the US. Each ride looked like a Madison Avenue advertisement for United Nations Week! Blue-eyed blondes, green-eyed redheads, dark-eyed black-haired beauties all were having a great time, completely oblivious of outward differences. Time and again, it was brought home to us Afro-Americans, that in less than 50 years, centuries-old barriers which formerly divided national, tribal or religious groups have not only been eliminated legally by the USSR and Republic constitutions, but in actuality, by universal education and conscious efforts for understanding.

On entering Friendship House in Tashkent, we were most pleasantly surprised to be greeted by your smiling countenance from a large charcoal drawing done by Bert Phillips and presented to the Tashkent Friendship Society by a previous Afro-American delegation in 1972. This time, I had the honor, on behalf of our delegation, to present an art portfolio to Madame Shukurova, Chairman of the Uzbek Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign countries. The portfolio of Afro-American artists contained a statement on 150 years of contributions by Black artists by the late James Porter and included brief sketches by artists Charles White, Augusta Savage, Ernest Crichlow and others. Our citation read:

"No life without songs and poems"* and art . . .

We present this portfolio in celebration of the 75th birthday of our great leader, Paul Robeson, whose life is dedicated to freedom for all oppressed people; to peace and friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Afro-American Delegation to the USSR August 1973

Signed: George B. Murphy, Jr., leader, Mary Ellen Bell, William Johnson, Sr., Louise Murphy, Madeline Murphy, Bertrand Phillips, Thelma D. Perkins.

In all three of the Soviet Republics which we visited—Abkhazia, Uzbekistan and Kirghizia—we saw indications of remarkable progress in improving the lives and general well-being of their peoples. Rapid social change has accompanied the phenomenal growth in economic and industrial development. For example, Uzbekistan is next to the US and China in cotton production. It has a higher proportion of students than the US, France or the Federal Republic of Germany. The people have grown in outlook and in understanding of each other. They are also very healthy looking and no wonder! There was such an abundance of food and drink everywhere that we were sometimes

* Uzbek national slogan.

embarrassed because we could not consume more. We never encountered a beggar or anyone who looked too poor to buy from the mounds of melons, fruits and vegetables in the public markets. We were told that cars are out of the reach of the average Soviet citizen. One result is that their air is a lot less polluted.

And so dear Paul, all the wonderful people we met in Sukhumi, Tashkent and Frunze sent you their warmest greetings and best wishes for many more birthdays. We left with them gifts in celebration of your birthday which will keep alive for them and generations of Russians the enormous contributions which you made toward developing American-Soviet relations.

After a week in Soviet Asia, we returned to Moscow and took the luxurious night train to Leningrad. We were gently awakened on the train by lovely music. In the refurbished Leningrad station in the cool bright morning, people all around us were carrying bouquets of flowers or mesh bags of melons, apples, tomatoes, coming to spend the weekend, as were we. We were met by Tanya Zhukova, secretary general of the Leningrad Friendship Society.

We women delegates had wondered why we had not met the wives of most of the officials we had seen. On reflection, we think it was because women are not used just as social hostesses or official appendages to their husbands in the Soviet Union. It was a great pleasure to meet the many women occupying important positions in education, health, factories, commerce, culture and two whom we saw on a scaffold helping to build a house in Frunze. On a state farm we had met with a solid phalanx of men and dinner was more of the same. We *brash* Americans asked that the women (and men) who had prepared and served the dinner join us in a toast. So the evening was ended on a note of real appreciation and equality!

In Leningrad, we had a tour of that most beautiful city with its canals and rivers and stately old buildings followed by lunch at the very splendid mansion that houses the Friendship Society. Roman Tukhanen, vice chairman of the Society, showed us the assembly hall where a program was given to celebrate your birthday on April 9.

Prior to the luncheon, we had gone to the Memorial Cemetery and paid silent respect to the two million who died during the 900-day siege of Leningrad in the war against Hitler fascism. Thousands of people were there with small bouquets of flowers which they placed at the base of the main statue or on the tombstones marking the enormous graves, each holding the remains of 30,000 soldiers or civilians. With great reverence, families and other groups walked or stood listening to the music piped in well modulated tones over loudspeakers.

ers. We were told about the poet Olga Bergoltz who spoke over the radio to encourage the people to continue the struggle against the Nazis and the terrible winter elements that tortured so many people whose homes had been destroyed and who had insufficient food and clothing. Trying to imagine such sacrifice makes one realize why so many people in the Soviet Union fight so tenaciously to protect their way of life.

At the luncheon it seemed an appropriate time to pay tribute to you, Eslanda, Jessica, Dick Morford, the Melishes, our own George Murphy and the many others who worked tirelessly through the years in the US to keep the doors of American-Soviet Friendship open despite the cold war, jail and other threats and problems.

During our second day in Leningrad, we were given a memorable tour of the Hermitage by a lovely, well-informed young English-speaking guide named Eve. In the afternoon, Madame Granovsky, Curator of the Pushkin Museum at Pushkin Village outside Leningrad, gave most of us a new perspective about Pushkin and his place in the hearts of Russians. In the evening, we walked around the corner from our hotel to a magnificent production of Khachaturian's *Gayne Ballet*. After the performance, we met the entire cast and production staff backstage, including the prima ballerina, a beautiful and talented young Uzbek!

When we returned to Moscow, we found our hotel *Rossia* filled to the brim with many Americans and others who had come to attend an ecumenical conference, or one of two gynecological conventions or the University games which started August 15. Hearing southern drawls, mixed with New Yorkese, mid-west twangs in the lobby and dining rooms of the hotel, I was reminded of my job whenever I heard a Southern drawl in the progressive movement in that long-ago time when we fought for integration in the US. So it was good to know that many Americans are availing themselves of the opportunity to visit the first socialist country of the world.

Slava Tynes had met us in Sukhumi with a camera crew that had made a film of our delegation meeting the Abkhazians of African origin. He also arranged for us to have a delicious duck dinner and a delightful evening with his father George and his sister Amelia. As you may recall, George Tynes went to the Soviet Union more than forty years ago as an agronomist. His knowledge and abilities were used not only in Moscow but in Uzbekistan, the Crimea, Georgia and the Krasnodar Territory as an instructor in animal and poultry breeding. According to his son's account, he became fired with the enthusiasm of the formerly backward peoples of Central Asia as he

worked with them to create a new society, in which there was truly equal opportunity for all. He returned to the US after the first five years—to make sure he had chosen wisely, for by then he had married a Russian woman. What he experienced in 1936 in his hometown of Roanoke, Virginia and in that post-depression year in the US hurried him back to continue his important work in a land where the color of his skin was not a barrier to his full participation in the building of the new country.

I got the feeling that George Tynes has missed his US family and friends and welcomes the present world situation which is bringing about some relaxation of tensions and allowing for more visits between our two peoples. If given a visa, he expects to spend a month in the US this Fall. He got our pictures of you and Essie taken on your last concert tour to Moscow and reminisced about the warm and wonderful times you had together. He has now retired from the management of the poultry-breeding section of the Leninsky State Farm. He receives a pension and lives in a modern apartment development outside Moscow, near his daughter and son and their children. He still spends a great deal of his time at the duck farm.

It was in Moscow, too, that our delegation met with staff members of the USA Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. One of our guides on the Central Asian trip, Victor Linnik, a young Ph.D. in US Politics—whose dissertation was on the Eugene McCarthy 1968 campaign(!)—works for the Institute. Here again we found a woman chairman and several women heading areas of study. What was most impressive to me was the knowledge and information such people had about the US and their ability to communicate with us in perfect English.

Also in Moscow, we had a most informative session with editors of *Izvestia*, the official newspaper of the Soviet Government, as differentiated from *Pravda*, the organ of the Communist Party. In this meeting, we began to realize how people thousands of miles away from Moscow knew so much about what was going on in the "outside world." We were told that *Izvestia* has a circulation of 8,300,000 copies; is published in 34 cities and that foreign news occupies about one third of the space.

The editors of *Izvestia* reflected the same concern we had heard in other parts of the USSR about creating an informed public. Leaders of factories, farms and other enterprises showed us wall-newspapers, libraries and "red corners" which workers were encouraged to use. Interestingly, every Soviet family subscribes to about four and a half publications. There are special publications for youth, women,

national groups, labor, children. *Izvestia* has a family magazine section that publishes 25 million copies every Friday. We also met with the editors of a new youth magazine *Aurora* in Leningrad, which in only four years has built a circulation of 130,000 subscribers as it seeks to tackle many of the practical problems of today's youth as related to education, the scientific and technical revolutions, creativity, cultural expression, etc.

James Patterson, the Soviet poet of Afro-American descent, was our host for lunch at Literature House in Moscow. We were all pleased to meet him and to hear about his life as a successful poet in the USSR. He had just returned from a tour of Italy where he read his poems. He told us an amusing story about the time when Eslanda came to visit his family. He said: "She comes to the door—we talk to each other—each in a different language—but we soon understand each other." He sent very special regards to you, Paul.

Our final luncheon at the Friendship House in Moscow with Zoya Zarubina, Chairman of the Pedagogical Division of the Institute of Soviet-American Relations, Alexey Stepunin, Valerian Nesterov, our wonderful guide-interpreter-friend Vladimir Molchanov (*Volodya*), and others, climaxed two of the most memorable and meaningful weeks of my life.

For our farewell dinner in Moscow, we invited George Tynes, his daughter, Amelia, son Slava and others to join us for food, drink and dancing. On our first night in Moscow, the band had greeted us by playing a number of Duke Ellington compositions and so they gave us more of the same for our farewell party. After the festivities, I got my first opportunity to see and ride on the Moscow subway. It is unbelievable: clean, quiet enough to converse in normal tones and the decor of each station is a work of art. It was suggested to us by several persons that the massive ornateness of the Stalin period is over. The clean modern lines of some of the newer subway stations and new buildings reflect this current architectural trend, as did the splendid new buildings in Tashkent. It is also worthy of note, that everywhere we went there was much building going on—much of it restoration of the old—churches being turned into museums, former mansions and palaces restored for use as meeting places, rest homes, and so on.

With deepest affection and respect, I forward to you these greetings of appreciation from our Soviet friends. We wish you good health and many more birthdays.

All the very best to you,
THELMA

ISIDORE ZIFERSTEIN, M.D.

Group Psychotherapy In the Soviet Union

ON TWO RECENT research sojourns in the Soviet Union, in 1970 and 1971, I spent several months making direct observations of Soviet group psychotherapy, familiarizing myself with its history, theory, and development. (The Soviet psychiatrists whose work I observed prefer the term "collective psychotherapy," to distinguish their work from the Western type of treatment in groups.)

In tracing the origins and development of collective psychotherapy, I found that four persons stand out as major contributors: S. S. Korsakov (1854-1900), V. M. Bekhterev (1857-1927), A. S. Makarenko (1888-1939), and V. N. Myasishchev (1893—).

Several significant factors lend to collective psychotherapy its distinctive characteristics:

1. The decisive influence on the essence of collective psychotherapy was exercised *not* by the three psychoneurologists listed above—Korsakov, Bekhterev, and Myasishchev—but by the educator, Anton Semyonovich Makarenko: i.e., the basic influence on the theory and practice of collective psychotherapy came *not* from psychiatry, but from the field of education. This means that a major aspect of collective psychotherapy is education and reeducation—employing the powerful influence of the peer-group collective under the guidance of the therapist, who is the "teacher of life." Both the group and the therapist are the representatives of society and the carriers and transmitters of society's values.

2. Collective psychotherapy developed simultaneously and in conjunction with scientific individual psychotherapy. The origins of both scientific individual and collective psychotherapy are traced by Soviet psychiatrists to Korsakov and Bekhterev, whose life-spans coincided with much of Freud's. In this respect the history of collective psychotherapy contrasts sharply with that of Western group psychotherapy.

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In the West, Freud and his pupils, the founders of dynamic psychotherapy, did not engage in the practice of group psychotherapy, and for a long time official psychoanalysis stood aloof from group psychotherapy.

Perhaps one reason for this difference is the fact that Freud spent most of his professional life outside the mainstream of medicine and psychiatry. He developed his theory and its applications in his private office. Korsakov and Bekhterev, on the other hand, were always in the mainstream of Russian medicine and psychoneurology. Both were therefore keenly aware of the interactions of patients in groups and of the profound influence that their patients exerted on each other in the hospital, in the therapeutic community.

In the second edition of his *Kurs Psikhiiatrii* [A Course of Psychiatry] (published posthumously in 1901), Korsakov wrote: ". . . The other half [of our therapeutic armamentarium] consists of our patients themselves. The patients, when they are in the hospital, are not only undergoing treatment, but also promote the cause of curing the other patients. Patients sometimes observe this and say: 'We cure each other.' . . . And, indeed, many of our patients are the indispensable allies of the doctors."

In this connection, the Russians claim a slight priority over Western psychiatry as originators of group, or collective, psychotherapy (although the former tendency of the Russians, during the Stalin era, to claim priority in all areas, including the invention of the airplane and the radio, is no longer in evidence). The Russians point out that the second edition of Korsakov's *Kurs Psikhiiatrii*, which preceded by eight years the work of L. Marsh, delineated several basic principles of collective psychotherapy: the use of the collective as a psychotherapeutic influence; the role of the doctor as a unifying factor; the significance of intragroup relationships; the close connection of collective psychotherapy with work therapy and culture therapy; the place of collective psychotherapy in the system of the therapeutic regimen of the hospital; and the unity of collective and individual psychotherapeutic ("moral") influence.

Bekhterev carried forward and broadened both the theory and practice of collective psychotherapy. In collaboration with M. V. Lange, he attempted to formulate a theoretical basis for collective psychotherapy by carrying out a series of laboratory experiments with groups of students. In this work Bekhterev and Lange demonstrated some of the positive influences of the group on its members. They found that studying in a group increased the area of knowledge of the individual members more effectively than studying individually.

They also demonstrated that the influence of the group softened the attitude of individual members toward faults and transgressions in their fellows and enabled members to withstand stronger irritants. Experimental work in groups also brought to light the diverse relationships of each of the members with the collective.

Bekhterev also broadened the application of collective psychotherapy by applying it to groups of patients in an outpatient setting.

For a time, group psychotherapy in Russia concentrated on groups of individuals with common presenting symptoms. Thus in 1904 I. V. Vyazemsky treated alcoholics in groups of five or six patients. In 1909 G. D. Netkatchev reported on the collective psychotherapy of groups of stutterers. The groups met daily. To begin with, Netkatchev had the patients bring in a written history of their lives and their illness. On the basis of these life stories, he led

"The patients, when they are in the hospital, are not only undergoing treatment, but also promote the cause of curing the other patients."

a discussion about the specific mechanisms of stuttering, its causes, the role of the emotions, of anxiety, and so forth. He then asked the patients to write out, in their individual journals, their opinions about these discussions. In subsequent sessions the stutterers read these opinions aloud from their journals.

Between group sessions the patients continued to write down their reactions to the sessions as well as their state of mind between sessions. At a more advanced stage of treatment the patients no longer read from their journals but carried on free-flowing discussions.

To this day, there is in the Soviet Union a widespread and effective use of collective psychotherapy for the treatment of stutterers. During my recent stay in Leningrad, I observed a session of psychodrama with adolescent stutterers. The youngsters worked eagerly and imaginatively, improvising scenes from their family and school life. They demonstrated gusto and wit in spoofing parents, teachers, school principals, and government officials. During these scenes of psychodramatic catharsis, the youngsters did not stutter.

Much work has also been done in group psychotherapy with addicted smokers and in treating groups of pregnant women in preparation for painless labor. A later development was the use of group treatment of psychoneurotics with different diagnoses and presenting symptoms, i.e., mixed groups. In the past six or seven years group

psychotherapy has begun to be used in rehabilitative work with psychotics.

Makarenko: Crucial Role of the Collective

WHILE tracing the origins and sources of collective psychotherapy to the pioneering work of Korsakov and Bekhterev at the turn of the century, Soviet psychiatrists consider that true collective psychotherapy began after the Revolution of October 1917 and that a basic contribution to this development was made by the educator A. S. Makarenko.

After the Revolution of 1917 and the civil war that followed it, Makarenko was assigned the task of helping to rehabilitate and re-educate the bands of homeless and parentless youth (the *besprizornnye*) who were roaming the country, many of them engaging in delinquent and criminal activities. Makarenko set up a number of cooperative colonies, where many of these young people were successfully rehabilitated. In the course of this work Makarenko formulated principles of child rearing, education, and rehabilitation that have strongly influenced not only Soviet pedagogy, but also psychotherapy, and especially collective psychotherapy.

On the basis of his experience with the collective *besprizornnye*, Makarenko postulated that the character of the child, and later of the adult, is formed and developed (for better or for worse) in the collective. He felt that human character is determined in large part by the growing child's experiences in relating to significant people in his environment. Makarenko emphasized the role in character formation of the various collectives of which the child was a member, including the family, peer group, school, and the various organizations and institutions of society. The family is the earliest such collective in the child's life. *But the most decisive influence is exerted by the peer group.* (This is a crucial point in Soviet theories and practices of child rearing, education, and psychotherapy.)

Makarenko further emphasized that the impact of the collective, whether it is the family, the peer group in school, camp, or factory, or the therapeutic group, is significant because the collective is the carrier and transmitter of the values and morality of the society. He felt it was important that the child learn, through his actual life experiences in the collective, that his needs and interests are those of the collective, and vice versa. The proper social upbringing of the child, as well as the rehabilitation of the emotionally disturbed person, can best be effected in the collective.

Makarenko's ideas strongly influenced Soviet psychiatry. A major

criterion of cure in Soviet psychiatry is the restoration of the patient's ability to function as a member of a collective and to engage in socially productive work. The combination of collective therapy and work therapy became one of the hallmarks of Soviet psychotherapy.

Collective vs. Group Psychotherapy

IHAD MANY discussions with my Soviet counterparts about the distinction between true collective psychotherapy and Western group psychotherapy. What I understood them to emphasize was that collective psychotherapy of a group of patients is directly in keeping with the collective spirit of their society. According to the Soviet psychiatrists, collective psychotherapy is a continuation of the everyday life experience and work experience of the patients: i.e., working collectively for a common goal. In the case of the therapeutic collective, the goal is to help each other get well. Furthermore, the collective spirit achieved and reinforced in the therapeutic collective is naturally carried over into the everyday relations of each member of the therapeutic collective.

The Soviet group psychotherapists seemed to be saying that in Western individualist society, there was a contradiction between the attempt to create a collective spirit in the group and the prevailing individualistic, alienated spirit in the surrounding culture and that this contradiction complicated, thwarted, and perhaps distorted the course of group psychotherapy. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the collective spirit in the group was facilitated by the spirit of the surrounding culture.

In a paper, "A Soviet View of Group Therapy," Professor N. V. Ivanov, Chief of the Department of Psychiatry, S. M. Kirov Institute of Medicine, Gorky, USSR, stated this proposition thus: "The principal objectives of group psychotherapy abroad—the establishment of more harmonious relationships among human beings—are achieved in our country by our society's organizations, and the fact that man participates in a collective during all periods of his life."

On the basis of this proposition, Ivanov drew the following distinction between Western group psychotherapy and Soviet collective psychotherapy:

In place of the retrospective emphasis of group psychotherapy abroad, the Soviet psychotherapist is concerned with the active mobilization of the personality and its compensatory powers on the basis of the elaboration of new connections, the conditioning of nervous processes, and the objective of creating new, powerful dynamic structures which, insofar as they are the more powerful, are capable, in accordance with the law of induction, of

extinguishing and destroying the pathologically dynamic structures that have given rise to the illness.

One of the psychiatrists whose work in collective psychotherapy I observed described his techniques of "active mobilization of the personality" and of reeducation in terms that closely resemble behavior therapy. He stated:

The basic idea of reeducation consists in creating a real correlation of forces, a dynamic of relationships, which makes it advantageous for the patient to change: in other words, which would give him the incentive to change.

In this connection, I had success with the following device, which is analogous to the developing of a conditioned reflex: I reinforced the positive behavior of the patient by encouragement, praise, and certain rewards. On the other hand, behavior connected with negative character traits was not reinforced, but on the contrary was subjected to criticism and censure in the sessions of collective psychotherapy. In the collective psychopedagogic chats with relatives of the patients, we advised them to pursue the same tactics in the family. We suggested that every manifestation of activity, of concern and attention to the needs of others, of participation in work, should be encouraged, even exaggeratedly; and that antisocial manifestations should be ignored or unanimously censured. Experience has shown that in a series of cases, the systematic application of this technique (in the beginning within the framework of collective psychotherapy and later at home in the family) substantially corrected many character traits of our patients. But the very best results were achieved when we combined this technique with conscious self-education.

The type of collective psychotherapy that I observed at the Bekhterev Institute was based on the teachings of V. N. Myasishchev, the fourth of the major contributors to the development of collective psychotherapy. Myasishchev, a pupil of Bekhterev, has during his long professional career formulated and "propagandized" the basic principles of pathogenetic psychotherapy, a form of dynamic psychotherapy that I observed intensively during a 13-month visit at the Bekhterev Institute in Leningrad in 1963-1964. Myasishchev maintains that an uncovering type of dynamic psychotherapy is the treatment of choice for psychoneuroses and the main modality in the psychotherapist's armamentarium.

However, in contradistinction to psychoanalysis, the therapist in pathogenetic psychotherapy assumes an active role in guiding the direction of the treatment; in giving the patient emotional support, help, and guidance in solving his daily problems; and in reordering his priorities and his values. As Myasishchev puts it, the doctor must be a "teacher of life" to the patient. Furthermore, the doctor intervenes actively in the patient's reality situation, helping the patient

change those circumstances in his life which the doctor considers to be causative factors in his illness. He may help the patient obtain a change of residence, a change of job, and even a change in profession.

As collective psychotherapy began to be applied more widely in the treatment of mixed groups of psychoneurotic patients, the principles of pathogenetic psychotherapy were applied in this area.

The philosophy, theory, and practices of collective psychotherapy in the Soviet Union are related to two basic factors:

1. The motto "Never be a bystander." This means that in any interaction, the citizen who knows what needs to be done is expected and required to instruct, correct, and guide the citizen who has erred. This I observed in 1963-1964 in individual psychotherapy, where the role of the therapist as a teacher of life was very clear.

2. The collectivist philosophy, which teaches that the collective life is the best inculcator of values, attitudes, and principles. Therefore, just as in individual psychotherapy, the guiding role of the therapist in the patient-therapist interaction is a natural carryover into the therapeutic situation of the everyday social attitudes and mores. Thus in the collective psychotherapy setting the group quickly, naturally, and spontaneously assumes the role of a correcting and healing agent. When the personality problem of a given patient is

"In the Soviet Union, the collective spirit in the group is facilitated by the collective spirit of the surrounding culture."

being examined all the other members of the group, no matter how disturbed they may be inwardly, are expected to rally together to guide the member under discussion.

For example, in one group that I observed, a married woman announced her intention never to have any children. She explained her decision thus: 1) Several years of experience in children's camps had convinced her that all children are monsters and that one can expect no joy out of having them. 2) Life is hard. The world is unjust. And she saw no point in bringing children into such a world.

The group promptly united to persuade this patient that her views were erroneous, that children were the future of the nation and of humanity, that we all have a responsibility to procreate and give our children the best we are capable of, and that surely she must be mistaken in her evaluation of the children in the summer camps.

When asked for my opinion (I was not permitted by the group to be a nonparticipant observer), I suggested that perhaps the patient should be granted the right not to have children, that perhaps there are people who can have a better life without children than with them. The group considered this a provocative statement and reacted to it by turning on me. They accused me of introducing an antitherapeutic note, which, instead of helping the patient overcome her unhealthy stereotype, encouraged and reinforced it. They stated that this was particularly reprehensible coming from a psychiatrist, whose word is a powerful stimulus because it comes from a person with the authority of learning.

It can be seen, then, that the basic philosophical-theoretical orientation and practical applications of collective psychotherapy that I observed correspond, *mutatis mutandis*, to what I observed in individual psychotherapy seven years ago. An effort is made in both settings to elucidate the psychopathogenesis of the symptoms and personality problems (hence the term pathogenetic psychotherapy). But major emphasis is on emotional support, guidance, and re-education. This emphasis is particularly strong in collective psychotherapy because it is felt that the collective can exert a powerful positive emotional impact on the unhealthy emotional stereotypes and behavior of its members.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Sakharov-Solzhenitsyn Fraud

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IVOR MONTAGU

The Impact of Soviet Culture, 1922-1972

This is the second installment of an address to a meeting of the British Society for Cultural Relations; the first appeared in our 3rd quarter issue. The author has adapted this version for NWR readers.

I SHOULD like now to turn to another *general* aspect. For the mass of people outside the Soviet Union, those who have not visited the Soviet Union on a tour, nor have enjoyed the brush-off of indirect benefits derived from the direct contacts of specialists with specialists, nor have had the pleasure and the luck themselves to come in contact with the visits of artistic and sports groups—that is, those who know Soviet culture only through third-party, and often not very friendly, comment, the repute of Soviet culture has passed through three stages.

In its first stage it made, at the time, the impact of being a period of tremendous experimentation in all the arts. The second seemed a period of pressure for conformity. The third, and present, stage—thanks to tremendous cold-war efforts in this field, is not seen at all clearly.

I am going to make a point about the first stage. It relates to a book by a Russian author, published in the West but not in the Soviet Union. The author was a talented writer, an artist in words, and in this, his first novel, no one can deny the vividness of his description of nature and personal feeling. I refer to *Dr. Zhivago*.

In passing, I will admit to a prejudice against this book. I dislike it because of what the hero does, or rather, what he fails to do. I am not against hippies; they are youngsters who contract out of modern society because they feel frustrated, can find no worthwhile ideals

IVOR MONTAGU, scion of a wealthy British banking family, has had a varied career as zoologist, journalist, film director and head of the International Table Tennis Federation for 40 years. He has been film critic for five papers and assistant editor of the London *Daily Worker*. A Lenin Peace Prize Laureate, he has visited the USSR some twenty times. The first volume of his autobiography was published under the title *The Youngest Son*. This year he was elected President of the British Society for Cultural Relations.

and have never found out how to work constructively with other people to change it. The hippy is one of the victims. But I must say that a person who contracts out, as Dr. Zhivago does, and goes off to grow potatoes when he is a doctor, a man trained and relied upon to do his utmost to combat disease, at a time when all around is plague and famine, he seems to me not to be the sort of man worthy to be a hero of any sort of story. He has no sympathy from me, and I was sorry he evidently had the sympathy of his author and of quite a lot of Western readers.

But what was particularly startling about the book is that it seemed generally to be accepted as truthful and historical. The immediate post-revolution and civil war period in the USSR—despite its hardships—was without doubt the freest period, so far as lavish and diverse experiment in arts and literature are concerned, that has occurred anywhere in any part of the world so far. Its author has apparently forgotten this and made the kernel of the book his own mental confusion that transferred to those days the conformity that did not occur until later. And no one among its readership abroad, and the many critics concerned to praise it as a revelation, seemed at all to notice this confusion—such, presumably, is the power of the cold-war brainwashing to which they have been subjected.

Incidentally, and as a salutary digression, I may note that an honest man, an English clergyman active in the peace movement, told me of this book, being so much lauded by persons hostile to the Soviet Union, and said that until he had read it he never so much understood, appreciated and respected the Soviet Union as he did afterwards. It had opened his eyes, he said, because he never realized, before, the ordeals of the people of the Soviet Union in the revolution and the efforts they had to make to succeed in overcoming them. Certainly, and this is perhaps a useful thought, it is very difficult to anticipate what effects literary, artistic or other cultural works are really going to have on people.

It is right to observe that, whereas the cold war is declining a bit in certain other relations, has even worn away in the diplomatic and political fields, with conferences now at least on the agenda, and in the military field pacts beginning to be signed, with new relationships and cultural agreements beginning to be broached, this *détente* has not occurred in the West in literature.

It is the case that in most "Western" countries any book, whether published in the Soviet Union or not, that comes from a Soviet author and can be construed as critical is immediately sure of publication and welcome irrespective of literary merit. It will be written up as

though it typified everything of any value being produced in the Soviet intellectual world—a cold-war fiction carefully preserved because no other type of Soviet literary production is granted like access to the reading public. Is it possible to find a dozen literary works by Soviet authors published over here in the last ten years, a half a dozen in the last five, other than the denigratory ones?

I do not believe that no such books worthy of translation and publication have been written. I do not read Russian easily and cannot tell from my own knowledge of Russian literature who are the best authors of today. I do know that during the war, in the interval between the initial hostility toward the Soviet Union and the cold war that began later, there were published in Britain and America numerous books by Soviet authors giving a picture of the people and their strivings, some in peacetime, some in wartime settings, but all of which fascinated the public and were eagerly read by them. It is difficult to believe that suddenly in the Soviet Union all the worthwhile writers have gone dry and that there are no books like that worth reading being published there any more.

I make this point so strongly because, in spite of my leg-pull battle with Ehrenburg, I recognize that the writer does, or at least can, serve an important function in cultural relations and the making of cultural impacts. I remember Stalin's words about the writer being "the engineer of the soul." These words of course described an attitude toward the writer in Russia characteristic even long before Stalin's day, because, much more than here, Russian writer, reader and critic have all appreciated the formative role that the writer plays in creating the mind and soul of his reader and his consequent responsibility. But now we are being deprived of proper contact with the Soviet people and their culture through their literature. There is a big gap here still to be filled.

These gaps help the cold-war warriors—alas, such still exist and perhaps in this field more than any other—to maintain for the general public here the impression that nothing at all has changed since the time of greater uniformity and to use the faults of another period to insinuate identical intolerances today. The operation of censorship in the Soviet Union is an easy target in this respect, and it is quite true that many of us in this country do not understand why it should be necessary nowadays for it to be operated in certain ways that are reported. But we do know that the issue is presented with a monstrous ignoring of fairness and of a number of highly relevant facts. It is too easy to be conscious of the notes in the other fellow's eye.

If comparisons are made in practice, rather than in form, quite different conclusions are apt to appear. For example, in the Soviet lands of laws and collective and government responsibility for social decisions based on—right or wrong—interpretations of community health, there is certainly a much wider acquaintance with recent and modern English language writers than is current in England or the USA, where restrictive laws are few but the effective choice lies freely with editors and publishers, in respect to corresponding Soviet writers.

The practical side is useful in properly judging opportunity of creation, too. An example from the cinema. I have just seen a very important Soviet film. I regard it as a masterpiece. The second film of a young director, *Andrey Rublev*, it was held up by the Soviet censorship for two years. A lot of people in the Soviet Union, who had seen it, thought this wrong. And a lot abroad, who had not, used it as a stick to beat Soviet culture. I kept an open mind for the time being. Now it has been released—with some cuts that I am confident have not diminished it—I can perfectly understand the hesitation just as I am delighted with the release. The impact of the film is one of immense beauty, power and horror. The Soviet public has greeted it with interest, outcry and argument—just as a similar production would arouse here (if it were to reach the screen). But here the cruelty is no self-indulgent exercise of the imagination, no catchpenny exploitation as would so often (I do not say always) be the motive here. It is a deep examination of the problem of the artist: how should he act, how can he create, in a world of horror he cannot avert? This is an intensely modern problem; truth both to its essence and to the chosen medieval setting require the ruthlessness. I am for the film.

But the point is this film-maker did not spend the period idle but was continually working on further picture-making with the same enormous resources at his disposal, and to such purpose that the new work has already won international prizes. I am quite certain that in practice, and whatever reservations we British cultural characters care to cherish because the set-up there is so different, there is far more chance for creation in the Soviet cinema, with its schooling and training in regular production for successive generations of talent, than there is for any sort of film-making in this country where, of 5,000 members of my Union, the ACTT, skilled in film-making, only 500 are in regular production, where half the area of the only three remaining studios is about to be hired off for more profitable "development," where many who do, against all

obstacles, try to make films may have to wait longer than in the Soviet Union for showing, even when they have pre-arrangement for distribution and, without a release from a big circuit, may find their films unavailable to the generality despite critical acclaim.

Experimentation in Graphic Arts

OF ALL the prevailing tendencies, during the period of encouragement of uniformity in the Soviet Union, that I found hardest to take, was the vigor of the indignation against experimentation in the graphic arts. I am not myself an enthusiast for non-representational art, but I have never been able to understand—and have said so to my Soviet friends—why it should be acceptable to have non-representation horizontal, in a pattern on a floor carpet, but the same principle applied vertically, to a picture on the wall, became almost an instance of counterrevolution. One can understand there is a real problem, always, about novelty, and it is not simple at first to distinguish between what may be a new, brilliant way of seeing and what may merely be charlatanism to mask incompetence. Even a sound innovation sometimes requires subterfuge.

I recall a delightful story Ehrenburg told me. He had an enormous number of Picassos given to him in the days of his youth and they were hung on the walls of his flat. One day a constituent called on him and was waiting in his sitting-room. The picture behind the visitor happened to be one of Picasso's set of illustrations to Buffon, the picture of the toad—it looks most revolting. As Ehrenburg came in he discovered his visitor squinting at it over his shoulder in some trepidation. "Remarkable, is it not," said Ehrenburg. "A caricature of American imperialism." "Oh yes, wonderful, Comrade Ehrenburg, wonderful, a true likeness," the visitor hastened to agree.

Our clever boyos of today would like to forget some of the ludicrous and now shameful-to-look-back-upon episodes in the art histories of their own countries, the mockery, boycotts and even virtual persecution by the art establishments of the clearest work of the impressionists that the public finds normal and delightful almost everywhere today. (And the vigorous denunciation of post impressionists by such pundits as Munnings and Churchill even into the middle of this century.) It is much easier to jeer at the Soviet Union, whose art establishment was similarly slow-moving, and to burke the real developments that do occur.

Liveliness is all. I remember in the early days when I went to the Soviet Union in the twenties, the impressionists were even then

causing debate. In the marvelous museums where the best only were kept, there was a fascinating book of comments. One visitor had written: "This exhibition shows the decadence and degeneracy of the bourgeoisie." And the next one (who appended to his signature the name of his YCL branch): "This opinion shows the idiocy of the person writing it."

There followed a period when these pictures became "unkosher." No one seemed quite to know what had happened to them. There were rumors that the Picassos at least had been done away with.

One day, just after the war, the Dean of Canterbury, Professor Bernal and I were in the Soviet Union for a peace gathering and we took the opportunity to go to the Pushkin Museum. The director, a gigantic man with a huge beard, who made no less huge statues—named Merkurlov—nearly burst with indignation when we told him of the rumor: "How can people think us such barbarians!" He showed us photographs of the many rooms in the museum that had been destroyed by German bombs. He assured us that everything was safe, and the museum was being rebuilt; gallery after gallery was being brought back into service. He explained that a start had been made with the primitives for the French gallery, and that, period by period, all rooms would be restored. Picasso? Well, he was still some way ahead, but the Barbizon room might be opened soon. He took us to have an advance peep. At the end of one gallery there was a little door in one corner with a heavy plush curtain concealing it. The giant director flung back the curtain, but a tiny cleaning woman, who had been standing near, about a third of his size, rushed forward and grasped his arm: "Comrade Director, you know it is forbidden to go in there."

Anyway, anyone who now goes to the Pushkin can see all these pictures, and more, displayed in all their glory. There have been special exhibitions; the Pushkin has them continuously. There have been Picasso retrospectives, and now Guttusos. I can assure you that young Russians, and the activity of artists elaborating on the wholly different traditions of the non-Russian peoples, are responding by variety, initiative in style, originality more diverse than—alas—has yet impacted on us abroad. There is plenty of bunk, too, of course. In what country is there not? What we need to see, and read, but as yet do not, is the whole living essence, and the curtains that obscure it must be torn down.

For my conclusion I should like to take something said by an economist famous on both sides of the Atlantic, by no means soft on "Reds," J. M. Keynes, at a cultural meeting when he came back

from a visit to Russia in 1925, that is, nearly 50 years ago. To cite the report: "He said that he could not subscribe to the new official faith of Russia, nor agree with much that was occurring, nor did he consider that the actual form of the economic experiment gave much help towards solving the problems of Western Europe. But the vigorous life that was showing itself, and the efforts to create standards of value in which desire for individual wealth had small part were striking and he desired to help and not hinder. He concluded by saying that he believed that during the next 50 years Russia would make a larger contribution to the world than any other country."

If we throw our minds back to that prediction, how does it stand now? What has been the major impact—not the little detailed impacts or those in the many fields of sociology and politics that we have not looked at—but what is the major feature that emerges in looking back over the fifty years? Is there something that the Soviet Union has brought to the world in cultural life that could make a parallel, for example, to the shake-up caused in its day by the French Revolution, associated with the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"? There were of course many respects in which the society that emerged after the French revolution did not truly realize these values. Its colonial attitude, for example, was a denial of liberty, equality and fraternity in many things. But it served as an inspiration that was not limited to France and that threw tyrants everywhere on the defensive. It was an inspiration that lasted.

What has been the inspiration emerging from the Soviet Union in the cultural field?

I think it was one of the most important things in the history of the world, and I hope that you will not think that the answer I am going to give is trivial.

Opening the Way for the Human Potential

YOU SEE, I don't think it very important which great sportsmen make their mark. Geniuses can be born anywhere. I shock some of my Soviet friends when I say that I do not think it to be important whether an American or a Russian is champion of the world at chess, or who gets the most gold medals at the Olympic Games. What I do think is important is opening the gates to talent; the arousing of interest and the provision of opportunities for everyone willing and able to express themselves in all the various ways open to man.

The first time that it was impressed on me that this was beginning to happen occurred already in the twenties, when I happened to

be in the Soviet Embassy in London when Capablanca came in to get a visa for the first big chess tournament in the Soviet Union. I followed this up when Capablanca and Lasker were in the Soviet Union for the tournament. They played a series of simultaneous exhibitions and never won a majority of games. It was quite unheard of in chess that a master meets enthusiasts in chess clubs and does not win the vast majority of games; perhaps two or three drawn and only one lost. It created a sensation that there were so many people who had taken interest enough in a subject and become so good at it. This incident extended our understanding of the capacity latent in human beings.

In the 1930's, I was in the Soviet Union again and I went to a meeting in a clubroom where a young man came to tell us of an ascent he and others had just made in a balloon. This was long before the days of sputniks. I do not remember how high he had reached, but it was incredible for those days. He told us about the achievement with pride. One remembered however that Piccard had been pretty high, and also that it was the fashion in those days for claims constantly to be made that the Soviet Union was the first. Many people abroad did not accept these claims as true—even when in fact they happened to be right as, for example, with Popov and Marconi. They seemed to have a chauvinistic tinge. But as the talk went on I realized that this young man's pride had quite a different basis. The significance of the feat was that this young man and his companions had done everything about it, design, building, training, and so on, and that only a few months before they had all been railway apprentices.

Yet one more instance came from war time. We learned of Chukchis—northern people from the veriest Far-East Polar region of Siberia—a people whose culture up to the revolution was practically Neolithic, a people whose whole development and acquaintance with modern technique and instruments advanced from that only with the establishment of the Soviet Union—and their part in the war. There were Chukchis piloting planes, Chukchi commanders leading parachute regiments, and then, with peace, Chukchis operating the most delicate scientific instruments under the frozen ground.

Herein lies the cardinal example of the cultural impact of the Soviet Union. Though few people may know of these particular instances I have given, people do know—somehow it has filtered through—that Soviet achievement has forever destroyed the class myth that there are certain classes that have a monopoly of ability, and certain classes who would only keep coal in the bath if you were

to give them one. It has destroyed the myth that there are races of men not as capable of achievement as any other human beings.

This is the supreme step forward in terms of humanism. Let there be no misunderstanding about humanism. Lenin wrote against humanism in the sense that it was a mistake, if one wanted to benefit humanity, to obscure or ignore the reality of the division of humanity into classes, and what he regarded as the necessity for awareness of class conflicts in existing society and the role of the working class in bringing about a future that would see liberation of all mankind. It was in this sense that he spoke against "humanism." But humanism as the inspiration of those who, throughout centuries, have stood for a belief in man's capacity, without aid outside himself, to reach not only satellites and planets but any goal, to achieve anything—this is progressive.

What is worse than any mistake that can be made in any country over this or that being right in art or literature, or this or that method of coping with it—what is infinitely worse—is the total cutting off from creative opportunity of masses of people based on a distinction of race or class. I find it quite incredible to see the arrays of signatures of personages in letters to *The Times*—persons who are giants maybe in cultural achievements in their own countries—but who have nothing to say about the hosts of mute inglorious Miltons, mute and inglorious because they have never had a chance to be Miltons, everywhere where there is no socialist society, and who make mountains out of what are incomparably small molehills compared to the injustices and other restrictions still inflicted, in their own type of society, upon the majority of mankind.

The Soviet Union is constantly showing that there can be no barriers to the achievements of man. By removing the suppression of class and race potentials it has made the world that we know different from what the world was fifty years ago. It has made all the oppressors of class and race go on the defensive. It has lit a candle, to use the old historic phrase, that can never be put out and that remains the most brilliant light in our times today.

Courtesy Anglo-Soviet Journal

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Impressions . . . and Communications

U.S. AND SOVIET AUTO WORKERS GET TOGETHER

WHAT can a US worker do when the management of his plant refuses to abide by the contract, or stubbornly rejects more advanced demands during the contract renewal? He can resign himself to a long strike which might result in some compromise. In the meantime the family income usually sharply decreases and the press and community leaders will most likely tell this worker that his demands are unreasonable. They might even tell him that he is lazy.

In May, about 20 auto workers at the General Motors Assembly Plant in suburban Fremont, California heard how such contract violations are handled in trade unions throughout the Soviet Union. Two auto workers from the Moscow Auto Works (ZIL) visited General Motors as guests of the United Auto Workers, Local 1864, and a meeting was called, after a nine-hour mandatory shift, in order to have a discussion with the Soviet visitors. Increasing opportunities for exchanges like this are one of the big pluses of improved US-USSR relations.

Victor Davidov and Andrey Yakimov told how contracts are renewed yearly in the Moscow plant's trade union meetings. All the plant's personnel are trade union members, including the management personnel and even the Director. Since the man-

PAULA GARB, a young worker from San Francisco, acted as interpreter at the meetings described in this article. She has visited the Soviet Union several times.

agers are only a minority, the rank-and-file workers can always win the vote in case of a disagreement on contract terms. If there are members of management who refuse to agree to those terms, a strike is not necessary. Workers' complaints can lead to dismissal of management personnel who violate the contract. Of course, Soviet workers have the right to strike by law if all else fails.

The General Motors workers were amazed to hear this. Could they dream of firing their plant manager?

What makes this possible is socialist ownership, they explained. No one person or family owns a Soviet plant. The profits go back to all the workers, so there is no reason for management personnel to be antagonistic to the rank and file workers. Besides, as Victor pointed out with a proud grin, if the Director did not belong to the union he would not get paid sick leave, nor the other numerous benefits from union membership.

Of great concern to the UAW members was the question of health care on the job. Auto workers in this country bitterly complain about the poor service of the company doctors. Andrey and Victor said that their plant and most large plants in USSR have fully staffed polyclinics on the plant site. These doctors work for the Ministry of Health, the same as every other doctor in the USSR. Thus, the doctor is interested only in the individual's health, and does not depend on "company" wages. If a worker is injured on the job or unable to continue working due to a health

AUTO WORKERS

problem, the doctor has the final say over the foreman or director. However, if a worker disagrees with the doctor and still insists that he is not well enough to work at his regular job, no one can force him to work until he feels ready.

The same is true of overtime and work on faulty machinery. There can be no overtime without the union consent. Thus a worker does not jeopardize his job by turning down overtime. He also cannot be forced to work on a machine if he considers it unsafe, although the mechanic may claim that it works well. Another job must be found for this worker until he is satisfied himself with the machine's safety.

I continue to refer to the workers as "he." In fact about 45 per cent of the 60,000 workers at the Moscow Auto Works are women. Approximately 500 of the 5,400 General Motors workers are women and most of them have been hired only recently. The Moscow plant has separate dressing rooms and showers for men and women in each department of the plant. Along with the regular health checkups, the women also have gynecological exams. There are childcare facilities on the plant site for each worker's child, which of course are of most benefit to the women workers.

"How do you handle racial conflicts?" a GM worker asked. The Soviet guests explained the absence of racial discrimination in their country and said that almost all of the nationality groups in the USSR, which vary greatly in culture and historical background, are represented at the plant.

The Soviet visitors were astonished when they learned that the General Motors plant has no recreation or cultural center. Victor and Andrey described their sports stadium and Palace of Culture at the plant. Every worker has the choice of joining any of the 26 sports clubs. Now there is a campaign on in the plant to encourage

100 per cent participation in sports activities. Various theater and dance groups in the cultural center are open to every worker as well.

The Komsomol (Young Communist League) organization in the plant sponsors dances, theatrical performances, and weekend camping trips. Nearly every young person under 30 participates in this organization. Victor described these activities with warmest enthusiasm. He is a leader of the Komsomol at the plant and described the annual bonfire camping trip which was being organized in his absence. It was easy to imagine how workers in the plant could develop wonderful friendships participating together in all these activities outside of work. The plant seems to be an entire community in itself with its own democratic government.

For the GM workers, who receive only a one-week paid vacation for up to five years in the plant, it was a revelation to learn that every Soviet auto worker is eligible for a minimum of one month paid vacation yearly and that depending on the difficulty of the job and seniority, he or she can receive from six to eight weeks.

After the tour of the plant Andrey and Victor, a UAW zone committeeman, myself and Stephanie Allan from the *People's World* visited the lovely Fremont City Park. Victor was focusing his camera to take a picture of the rest of us when a woman walked past and enthusiastically offered to take the picture for him so we could all be together. Her ten-year-old son asked her if we were friends of hers. She answered, energetically, "Everyone is my friend." She snapped the picture. She heard us speaking Russian and asked what country Andrey and Victor were from. We explained their visit to the General Motors plant and their jobs at the Moscow Auto Works. She took it well in stride as if it hap-

pened everyday to her. Victor gave her son their pin with the Moscow plant's insignia on it and indeed we parted friends.

To me this woman represented the best of the American spirit; her generosity, openness, and sense of friendship towards all people. I keep thinking about that encounter and wonder what sport she would go in for, or what cultural group she might join if she worked in a place like the Moscow Auto Works, and what kind of a trade union activist she might be in a plant which has nearly 100 per cent trade

union membership among the entire personnel.

Under present circumstances, US workers will never know what it feels like to fire or discipline an unfair foreman. And the pleasure of belonging to a factory community with its thriving cultural and social life will remain as a vague desire that no one would yet think of proposing in a new contract agreement. US workers today will be quite fortunate to win their demands for higher cost of living raises to keep up with the soaring inflation. The demands for voluntary overtime

UE GROUP STUDIES THE SOVIET SYSTEM

TYPICAL was a session at the offices of Viacheslav S. Andreyev, president of the Central Committee, Power and Electrical Workers Union, which had invited the UE to send a delegation. It has about 2.5 million members who produce electrical generating equipment and operate the power stations which supply electricity to this huge country.

Pres. Andreyev outlined the system of elected shop "organizers" for every 20 to 30 people; of shop committees, regional and national committees.

While the structure of the unions in both countries is apparently similar, their activities arise out of fundamental differences in the economic and political systems of our countries, the Americans were repeatedly reminded. As Pres. Andreyev put it: "We are primarily interested in production. This is the characteristic of the socialist system. If we want to live better we must produce better. Everything depends on us."

Responding to this, Pres. Fitzgerald said: "That's the most difficult thing for Americans to understand. In the US we are adversaries of industry. The companies we do business with

try to get as much work out of the worker as possible and pay them as little as possible. We do not feel we are working for ourselves."

Andreyev added: "The very existence of millionaires who acquire part of your earnings—here we don't have it. The profits are spent to meet the state budget, to expand wages."

The UE representatives were told, in response to a question, that when strikes occur, and they are rare, our informants said, it is because the trade union has failed to do its job of protecting its members. Part of that protection, both union and management people emphasized, is the union's power to have a manager removed should he fail to meet his responsibilities to the workers' satisfaction.

"Over here a boss is not a boss in the same sense we know it," James Kane, president of UE District 2, commented on hearing this, while other members of the delegation said they could think of some managers they would like bounced.

JAMES LERNER
in *UE News*,
December 11, 1972

and provisions that would help decrease on-the-job injuries will be a great victory, if met.

Victor and Andrey wished US auto workers success in their contract re-

newals and hope to see some US workers at their Moscow auto plant. Perhaps both wishes will become a reality in the near future.

PAULA GARB

A MONTH ON M/S MIKHAIL LERMONTOV

TO return home is a blow, after a visit to a socialist society.

Starved for beauty because of the ugliness and deterioration in our daily lives I signed up for a voyage on the Lermontov. June 12, 1973 was a hot day in New York. There was a holiday air among the many longshoremen at the port. Happy, no doubt, for the jobs.

Getting aboard ship is a busy time. Luggage carried, passports checked, security measures were in effect. In the excitement I'd had no breakfast. It was a welcome surprise therefore to hear, in mid-morning, that breakfast was being served.

Helicopters taking pictures of the historic event of this new shipping line between the US and USSR, followed us out of the harbor.

At the Captain's "cocktail party" that evening the music lounge was set up like a movie studio with lights, cameras. Passengers lined up to shake hands and be greeted to the ship by Captain Aram Oganov and his officers.

After the first few days of rushing about the ship, getting acquainted, trading thoughts with people, you settle down to a slow, calm, lazy life on ship-board.

Each day you are given a program of the day's events. Of activities there are many. There are daily dancing lessons, Russian language lessons, balalaika lessons, lectures on subjects of history, art, Leningrad. There is a library, gymnasium, beauty parlor,

ANN MARKIN, a Chicagoan, reviews Soviet literary works for NWR.

swimming pool, clinic and hospital. The ship is like a city. It even has shops where lovely gifts are sold.

At night there is entertainment. The people who by day are waiters in the dining room, sailors washing decks, a nurse in the clinic are the very same people who now are the entertainers, dancers and singers. One sees here how, in the Soviet Union, the many parts of the individual are permitted expression, encouraged to flower.

The cinema shows films three times a day. If you are a movie buff you learn that the form of films stresses development of character, in contrast to films of chance meetings of people. Fairy tales are filmed, are popular, the actors are often old people and children.

Over the cabin radio comes classical music and it is a relief to hear no advertising.

It is impressive and beautiful to see so many women officers on the ship. These were all young women. Take for example Tatyana, head of the entertainment committee. She speaks Russian, English and French. She sings, is a good orator, dances well. With all that she is charming, friendly, warm, kind.

There is not that playing up to men, the flirting, which is the role of women in the US. There is equality, respect for each other is very obvious.

In old time literature a sea voyage was recommended to cure a long illness, or some problem of grief, or a broken romance. It is true that a sea voyage is pleasant. It is pleasant to sit on deck in the warm sun, the breeze is cool, you watch clouds, clouds some-

times so low you can nearly touch them. Waves swing up and down, hills and valleys, making white caps which look like running horses with tails flying in the distance. Sometimes there is mist and fog. Sometimes rain falls and you stay in your cabin reading. All this produces ease, relaxation. Life on land, home, family, friends melt, almost disappear from the mind.

Ports of Call. On June 20, gulls appeared and we sailed into Le Havre. A bus tour of the city took us through narrow, winding streets. Gardens and wildflowers were bright in a downpour of rain.

On June 22, Bremerhaven. A clean city, prices high. Many Germans waved from the docks a friendly farewell, the ship's band played, people waved back and forth as the small tugs pushed and pulled us out to sea again.

Sailing around Denmark and Finland we dawdled away the next four days before Leningrad, playing bingo, visiting at four o'clock tea, reading in the library, sitting in the sun on deck.

Leningrad. People weren't sleeping, we were told, because these were the "white nights" with festivals held along the Neva River and where people walked hand in hand all night.

People walk a lot. Streets are crowded with people. Some carry flowers. There are not many autos.

Petrodvorets is way out in the country. On the way there are many small country houses with kitchen gardens, uncut lawns, wild flowers, dirt roads and foot paths, wooden bridges over streams. At a railroad crossing the gates came down. We waited and waited. Finally a short train passed. Safety measures are good, and everyone waits patiently.

A park is being built in this huge area. Long pipes drain the swampland. Many buses and trams bring people to Petrodvorets, now a recreational area, and completely restored from the devastation by fascists in World War II.

Road signs read: "Peace to the world—Glory to Labor—Don't smoke."

The people are healthy, happy, they are friendly, warm, want peace. "We are not so rich as the United States," they said to me, "but intellectually we are better off."

The Sea Again. Our time in beautiful, romantic Leningrad is up. The ship takes on fuel, food. The crew, on leave for two and one half days of visiting home, returns. The mooring ropes are loosened, the tugs chug, push, pull the huge ship. There are shouts, blasts, bells ring. No band plays on leaving home. The ship is pulled through a narrow channel of ships on both sides.

Returning, we stop at the same ports, letting passengers on and off.

About passengers. Sailing East these were mainly Soviet citizens, families of diplomats returning home for vacation, or for higher schooling, or for visiting. Returning West, passengers were mainly professors coming to jobs in the US, and students, African and Algerian who had been to university in Moscow on the student exchange program. Mainly they got off at Tilbury, a few went on to New York, for visiting.

Food? One of the first Russian phrases I learned was "slishkom mnogo"—too much. The food is made by a chef who is not only a cook, but is a graduate of a school of applied arts in Leningrad.

The fresh daily towels are thick and the size of a small blanket. Pillows are of down and sleeping is excellent on this ship which rocks gently, as in a cradle.

The very wind that pushed us East, we had to buck sailing West.

Though I have been home some days now I still see in my eyes the beauty of the Beryozka dancers, and my ears hold the tune of "The Birch Tree" to which they dance.

ANN MARKIN

BOOKS in review.

THE POLITICS OF ZIONISM

Zionism: Its Role in World Politics, by Hyman Lumer. International Publishers, 1973. 156 pp., paper, \$2.45.

DR. HYMAN LUMER has written a brilliant book, illuminating Zionism's role in world politics today. It is a scholarly, well-documented and skillfully interpreted treasury of facts.

This book shows that political Zionism, with the goal of creating and maintaining a Jewish state, has superseded the old religious Zionism, which foretold an eventual return to the Holy Land with the coming of the Messiah. Aided by leaders such as Moses Hess, Leo Pinkser, and Theodor Herzl, political Zionism developed in the late 19th century—given impetus by the rise of modern imperialism and an increase in anti-Semitism. Political Zionist ideology maintains that Jews all over the world comprise a nation and that anti-Semitism is ineradicable. Since Jews could therefore never hope to be assimilated, a homeland for Jews was imperative. Herzl launched the World Zionist Organization in 1897; political Zionism's organized drive for a homeland continued until, eventually joining with religious Zionism, the Holy Land was chosen.

Lumer considers the basic tenets of political Zionism erroneous. The Jews of the world, says he, do not form a nation; they do not have a common territory, language, and economic and cultural life. He sees belief in the permanence of anti-Semitism as in effect capitulation to anti-Semitic poison.

The State of Israel was born No-

vember 1947, with a UN Resolution partitioning Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. Britain and the US did not support the creation of Israel; the Soviet Union favored the creation of either a Jewish-Arab state, with equal rights for both, or of separate Jewish and Arab states. The Soviet Union never favored a theocratic state which gave orthodox Judaism a privileged status and Arabs second-class citizenship.

Lumer recounts the tragic story of the discriminatory treatment of Arabs within Israel, the flight of many Israeli Arabs to neighboring countries in the 1948 war, Israel's rejection of the UN call for reparations to the refugees, and the discriminatory treatment even for the Sephardic or Oriental Jews within Israel.

As for "socialist" trends within Zionism, Lumer finds Zionists historically less than earnest about building socialism. Nor does he see Israel today as moving in socialist directions. The *kibbutzim* involve less than five per cent of the population, and are becoming less socialist in character; the working class of Israel does not have political control and private profit reigns.

Lumer traces Zionism's cooperation with the forces of imperialism from the time of Herzl to the present. Israel joined Britain and France in the invasion of Egypt in 1956, after Nasser had nationalized the Suez Canal and was supporting the Algerian liberation forces. Israel supported British and US troop landings in Lebanon and

Jordan in 1958. In 1966, Israel became increasingly identified with US antagonism to anti-imperialist Syria and the UAR, and bought Skyhawk bombers from the US. Israeli-Syrian border fights increased. By May 1967, Levi Eshkol was forecasting possible strong military action against Syria, U Thant objecting vigorously. Egypt then removed UN forces from her borders with Israel, occupied the Straits of Tiran, and mobilized the country to help Syria if necessary. Israel used this as an excuse to invade Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in the Six-Day War, although there is ample evidence that Israel knew she was in no danger of invasion. Since the war, Israel has maintained a steady annexationist stance, thwarting UN and other efforts to find political solutions, making it clear by word and deed that she would not withdraw to her proper original borders.

Israel's cooperation with imperialism extends to Africa, with aid (military and paramilitary) to neo-colonialist governments and training of African personnel to fight native liberation forces. Economic aid has taken forms furthering US economic penetration of

Africa. Israeli-South African ties, growing since 1948, have contributed to comparative silence on the subject of *apartheid* in the world Zionist movement. South African Jews have contributed heavily to Israel.

Millions of dollars for Israel are raised in the US. A powerful pro-Israel lobby, connected to the Israeli Embassy, functions in Washington. Yet US Zionists have not emigrated in large numbers to Israel, there being only about 35,000 US Jews there; and 25,000 Israelis have become US citizens since 1956.

Big Business, once anti-Zionist and assimilationist, today gives leadership to the US Zionist movement, though Jewish capitalists are subordinate to other US capitalists in the penetration of the Israeli economy. US capital dominates the Israeli economy and represents more than half of all foreign capital in Israel. Israel owes 80 per cent of her foreign debt to the US. The extensive Israeli intelligence network cooperates with US intelligence. Israel's course is suicidal, says Lumer; imperialism uses Israel but cares nothing for her welfare.

Lumer differentiates the Marxist and

AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

ALVAH BESSIE, noted publicist and writer, was one of the Hollywood Ten, and spent a year in prison for being in contempt of Congress during the worst cold-war years. His participation in the Spanish Civil War led to a number of books: *Men in Battle*, *Bread and a Stone*, *The Heart of Spain*. He is the author of a novel, *The Un-Americans*, and *The Symbol*, about Marilyn Monroe; numerous stories, plays, etc.

LEONARD BOYER is an educator with wide experience in public education on all levels.

D. F. FLEMING, author of the seminal two-volume work *The Cold War and*

Its Origins, is Emeritus Professor of International Relations at Vanderbilt University.

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON is a well-known labor historian. His most recent book is *Robert Owen in the United States* (Humanities, 1970).

HELEN PARSONS is a social worker, and has done graduate study in history, specializing in anti-slavery history. She has for many years been an active worker for peace, freedom causes and social justice. She has traveled in various socialist countries — Yugoslavia, USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Zionist views of anti-Semitism: The Marxist sees anti-Semitism as one of several related forms of oppression used by reactionary capital to divide and conquer peoples, but nonetheless, a condition that can be overcome. The Zionist sees anti-Semitism as a unique kind of oppression, unrelated to other forms, wielded without any basis in class, and impossible of eradication. Although anti-Semitism, overt and covert, is a serious problem in the US, Lumer notes, Zionists do not struggle noticeably against it, accepting the premise that Jews must always be a people apart, alien and isolated, fearing assimilation and "loss of identity," and promoting migration to Israel as the solution.

Since the 1967 war, many Zionist forces have become ultra-rightist. Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League, exhibiting Nazi-type hoodlumism since its inception in 1968, is a logical consequence of Zionism's rightward movement, says Lumer. The goals of Zionism and the JDL are markedly similar (both pressing for migration of Soviet Jews to Israel, endorsing Israeli expansionism, and opposing Black militants at home); it is only the methods that differ, the JDL promoting terror and violence. Lumer contrasts the lenient and permissive treatment of the JDL by the US Government and the courts with the unmerciful abuse of Angela Davis and others opposing oppression. Although many Jewish lead-

ers have criticized the JDL, the Zionist movement has not made a concerted effort to stop its outrages.

Lumer readily acknowledges that some US Zionists have disapproved of certain aspects of US State Department imperialism, including the Vietnam War. But, he says that does not wash away Zionist support for a racist-type, exclusively Jewish state, for Israel's imperialist policies, or for the lying campaign against so-called "Soviet anti-Semitism."

THE USSR today is accused by Zionists of supporting Arabs in order to destroy Israel, and of persecution of its own Jewish citizens. The charges have become so wild that various writers (for *The New York Times*, for example), Jewish leaders, and even the State Department have cautioned that the Soviet Union is not officially committed to a policy of anti-Semitism. Nahum Goldmann says categorically that Jewish citizens are given equal rights with other Soviet citizens.

Lumer refutes the manifold assertions in the American Jewish Congress "Fact Sheets" that Soviet Jews are discriminated against and Jewish culture suppressed. He gives data on Soviet Jews in public office, on the teaching of Hebrew, the translation of Jewish classics, the flourishing of Yiddish theater and publication of Yiddish newspapers, the wide translation of Jewish writers into the various languages of the Soviet Union. By contrast, notes Lumer, the US has far fewer Jewish books in print and no real Yiddish theater today.

As to Soviet denial of religious freedom to Jews, Lumer says that today in the USSR any group of twenty or more people can found a synagogue and ten or more a minyan. Kosher foods and religious objects are available, and the number of rabbis is much larger than that claimed by the AJC. If interest in Judaism is on the decline in

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the USSR, so is interest in all religions, observes Lumer.

An occasional publication with anti-Semitic overtones in the USSR does not spell official anti-Semitism, asserts Lumer, for there is no omnipotent board of censors controlling all publications despite popular belief in the existence of such. He cites the instance of a book published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1963, which was later sharply criticized and removed from circulation after Moscow authorities became aware of its anti-Semitic content. Deploring the publication of *any* anti-Semitic material, Lumer observes, however, that anti-Semitic writings in the USSR are "but a very minute fraction of the total Soviet literary output" compared to the "torrent of anti-Semitic filth" published in the US.

Lumer makes the following points about the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel: The great majority of Jews do not prefer to go to Israel; this has been affirmed by many, including Nahum Goldmann and Rabbi Irving Lehrman, President of the Synagogue Council of America. The number of Jews wishing to go to Israel is about one per cent of the total Jewish population, not very different from the percentage in the US and all but a small number are granted exit visas. Emigration is not an automatic right of any Soviet citizen, and Jews face the same rules that all Soviet citizens face in this respect. Questions of national security, certain types of military training, break-up of families, replacements for vital jobs are all involved in the restrictions. Capitalist countries have tried to pirate skilled and highly trained Soviet scientists; these Soviet citizens have been given free education and have some obligation to their country.

Large numbers of Soviet Jews in Israel have returned or applied to return to the USSR. Some have been disappointed at the disruption of their

socialist mode of living, have not been able to live near the relatives they came to join, or have been relegated to backward areas devoid of cultural advantages they had known in the USSR. They have struggled with other problems that did not afflict them in the USSR: financial insecurity, poor housing, inadequate health care and educational opportunities, bad working conditions, etc.

Lumer asserts that the basic Middle East conflict is not an Arab-Israeli conflict, as seen by Zionism, but a conflict between the forces of imperialism and national liberation.

Oil is a key factor. Mideast oil represents two thirds of the capitalist world's oil reserves and one third of its production. Eight huge oil companies, five of them US, control nearly all the oil. Profits are enormous due to low wage scales and the ease of obtaining oil so near the surface of the ground.

Since World War II seven Arab countries have produced constant revolts against imperialist control. Some of these are moving in socialist directions. The US, in a series of moves, has tried to halt liberation forces and the nationalization of natural resources, beginning in 1953 with the overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran for nationalizing the oil industry. Israel has consistently lined up on the imperialist side.

Soviet policy, in contrast, has been one of giving arms aid to Arab countries *only* for defense against imperialist aggression. Long-term economic aid has been given to help Arab countries build modern industrial economies and thus move toward political and economic independence. No private corporations from the USSR extract huge profits from the natural resources of Arab lands; the USSR instead helps to build an Aswan Dam. Soviet policy has been one of peace, working also at times to restrain Arab belligerence,

trying to prevent the 1967 war and then to end it quickly.

Lumer sees the beginnings of opposition to Zionism, and of understanding that it is disastrous to Israel, among Jews in the US but believes it is not yet broad or well-organized. He finds a decline of non-Jewish support of the Zionist cause, and he praises the Quaker booklet, *Search for Peace in the Middle East*, 1970, which is very critical of Israeli policies.

Lumer believes that the masses of Jewish people are not consciously Zionist in belief, that they merely have feelings of national pride and affection for Israel, that they have been seriously wounded by Hitlerism and ma-

nipulated and twisted by the Zionist movement.

Within Israel, Lumer finds growing opposition to government policy and believes that the development of unity among peace groups there could bring real change to Israeli foreign policy. It is important for all progressive forces, he concludes, to work for a just solution of the Arab refugee question and for a "de-Zionized" Israel—that Israel may become a land of equal opportunity for *all* its citizens, fully integrated into the Middle East region and cooperating with the anti-imperialist forces there, and enjoying full economic independence.

HELEN PARSONS

VIETNAM: A HISTORY OF RESISTANCE

Vietnam's Will to Live, by Helen B. Lamb. Monthly Review Press, 1972. 344 pp., cloth, \$10.00, paper, \$3.95.

THIS IS AN interesting and worthwhile book by a long-time student of Asian affairs. Its subtitle describes the scope of the narrative: "Resistance to foreign aggression from early times through the nineteenth century." It is a very important contribution to understanding the Vietnamese people and their heroic resistance to the foreign aggression they have suffered in the twentieth century.

Among the multitude of Vietnamese names some personalities stand out particularly. There was Le Loi for one, who established a mountain base in the early 1400s, wore the Chinese down along the border and magnanimously sent them home in provisioned ships. He established a dynasty which lasted from 1428 to 1788. A new code of laws granted daughters equal rights with sons and the great Emperor Le Thant Tong brought many

diverse elements to work together for the common good. He was never in any danger of losing his Mandate of Heaven. And of course Ho Chi Minh, who 500 years later faced the same problem, in Dr. Lamb's words, of "how to stage a successful resistance when the country was under foreign rule and the people disarmed," and who became both the George Washington and the Lenin of his country.

Catholic missionaries and traders, with their arrogance, were a threat to the rule of the Mandarins. The Church proved to be "completely indigestible" for four centuries and remained a divisive force, its schools cutting off the young from both the Vietnamese script and the Chinese characters used for all public documents.

It was the American military which first used force in Indochina in an attempt to free a French missionary, when in 1845 our most famous ship "Old Ironsides" terrorized Danang.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 contain a good account of the French conquest of Cochinchina and the two following

chapters detail further French aggressions, often by the use of native mercenaries and Blacks from France's African colonies. The Vietnamese also had no arms to match the French artillery.

In 1885 Vietnam became a nation fighting for its life against the French. Chapter 10 describes the Can Vuong (Rescue the King) Movement and Chapter 11 the Scholars' Resistance, during which the French charged indiscriminately throughout the Delta "leaving a hornet's nest of furious peasants in their wake." The invaders used wholesale terror, once beheading 64 people without trial, but to little avail.

Chapter 12, "The Twilight of Resistance," details the heroic guerrilla resistance of the Vietnamese and the French use of Catholic converts to further their conquest. The two closing chapters assess the failure of the resistance and the impact of Vietnamese attempts to resist. They find that "Vietnamese Catholics must bear much of the onus for the defeat of Vietnam," along with the animosity cre-

ated by the efforts of a small Catholic minority to convert the Vietnamese (pp. 282-3).

The savagery of French repressions perpetuated French rule for several decades. In 1930 they began the practice of air bombardment of entire villages and "so many of Vietnam's patriots were tortured, jailed and executed that the French public at home became quite aroused." (p.316) The French bombing of Haiphong, which killed 6,000 Vietnamese civilians, was the occasion for Ho Chi Minh's famous call to resistance, even with sticks if necessary. Communism, too, proved to be an aid to native victory. A leading authority concluded that "something happened to Communism that made it an integrated movement in a disintegrated society." (p. 324)

Vietnam's Will to Live is an excellent survey of a long and troubled period. It will be invaluable in helping us to understand the necessity of aiding a heroic little people. It should also help to shame us for our recent conduct in Vietnam.

D. F. FLEMING

SPAIN: THE ENDURING MESSAGE

Half of Spain Died: A Reappraisal of the Spanish Civil War, by Herbert L. Matthews. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973. 276 pp., \$10.00.

"MEN AND women who lived through the Spanish conflict can never forget it, whatever it was to them—tragedy, adventure, dedication, crusade, hatred, horror, pity or glory," writes Herbert L. Matthews, one of three *New York Times* correspondents who covered the war. Of the three he has returned most often in his writing to that major turning-point in world history, and he makes it plain that to him, every one of the categories above still applies, except one, of course: "adventure."

Matthews notes that nine out of ten American and British historians favored the Republican side. The same was true of most of the journalists who covered it but it is doubtful that any other correspondent received a cable from his paper that read: "WHY DO YOU SAY THERE WERE ITALIANS AT GUADALAJARA WHEN CARNEY DENIES IT?"

Matthews of course was on the battlefield and interviewed Mussolini's "volunteers" right after they had been routed. William P. Carney—who never risked his skin near the front—had by that time moved over to Franco's side (where he was more comfortable and where he remained), after having printed the location of almost every anti-aircraft battery in Madrid

Therefore it is good to have this reappraisal of the Spanish conflict by one of the two honest correspondents who covered it for *The Times*. The other was Lawrence Fernsworth, like Carney himself a Roman Catholic—but with a difference. Fernsworth regularly protested the obvious intrigue against his efforts to report the truth—an intrigue in which *The Times* itself seemed implicated—and he finally received a cable from his managing editor saying: RESIGNATION ACCEPTED.

Neither of these stories is told by Matthews but his reappraisal achieves greater force and is even more valuable today because we have been inundated in recent years by a spate of books written by other liars (like Carney) who are objectively pro-Franco and have evaluated the war the way that Christian gentleman wants it done.

One of these books is beautifully demolished by Matthews, and it was written by an American professor of English who made the most vicious attack on the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade ever achieved by anyone outside Franco Spain.

Matthews' opinion of the American and other Internationals who fought for the Republic remains the same: they "made one of the truly grand gestures of modern times. They will live in history for this, more than for the heroic, but vain, military contribution they made to the Spanish Republican cause."

Matthews makes no pretense of being a historian; he is a scrupulous and painstaking correspondent who lived the experience, wrote daily about what he saw, heard and felt, kept notes and compared them with other observers and participants. He maintained contact for decades with such exiled leaders as the late Juan Negrín, Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic and its greatest war-leader; and Alvarez del Vayo, its last foreign minister, as well as with many of the military and political figures who survived.

It would be possible to question some of his conclusions: about the role of the Soviet Union, for example, as well as his contention that Franco's regime is "not Fascist in the new, classic and historic definition of the term."

On this latter point Matthews cites the definition supplied by Mussolini himself rather than one that says that fascism in power "is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." This is a Marxist definition, of course, but history seems to have confirmed its accuracy.

Again, Matthews feels that Prof. Stanley Payne's conclusion that Franco's postwar murder of thousands of Spanish Republicans was undertaken as a "thorough social and political prophylaxis" is "too diabolical a calculation." Payne of course is actually pro-Franco but Matthews seems momentarily to have forgotten the notorious interview The Most General gave to the *London News-Chronicle* at Tetuan ten days after his rebellion had apparently failed (July 29, 1936):

"Q. How long . . . is the massacre to go on?"

"A. There can be no compromise. . . . I shall take the capital. I shall save Spain from Marxism at whatever cost.

"Q. That means that you will have to shoot half Spain?"

"A. I repeat, at whatever cost." Too diabolical?

The retired *New York Times* man frequently says the USSR reluctantly and too slowly came to the aid of the Republic, but it is difficult, logistically, to see how it could have moved much faster: the rebellion began July 19; recruiting for the International Brigade (a Comintern project) began in mid-September and the first group of volunteers arrived October 14. The farce of Non-Intervention—

to which he at first adhered—rapidly became plain to Stalin and the first military aid arrived in Spain that same month.

On one more point, Matthews says this assistance ended in mid-1938 but Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros, commander of the Republican Air Force, reported in his *Memorias* that several days before Franco unleashed his final offensive against Catalonia (December 1938) Prime Minister Negrin sent Cisneros to Moscow to ask for further help—and he was immediately granted a loan of \$103,000,000 in military hardware which left Murmansk in seven ships—and was held up by the French government until it was too late to be delivered.

Says Cisneros: "If we think of the often onerous conditions to which certain governments were obliged to submit to obtain credits, and compare this with the attitude of the USSR in advancing—on the basis of a single signature (*his own, A.B.*) and with no collateral whatsoever—more than a hundred million dollars to a nation at war

and on the brink of defeat, we will understand that to speak of disinterestedness and generosity is scarcely in vain in this context."

These few debatable points aside, what *cannot* be questioned is the enduring passion and integrity of this distinguished journalist who risked his life daily during the Spanish war and has risked his reputation ever since: defending not only what he learned in Spain but what he has learned in Cuba as well. For Cuba and its leader have been slandered in precisely the same way that the Spanish Republic and its leaders have been lied about ever since 1936. In Herbert Matthews both revolutions have found a staunch champion who saw what was going on and told the truth about it.

There are many historic photographs in this book, which still do not justify its outrageous price. We can only hope a paperback edition will bring it within the reach of multitudes who will appreciate its solid examination of a crucial time and its unmistakable message for today.

ALVAH BESSIE

IF YOU COULD ONLY SET A BOOK TO MUSIC!

The Incomplete Folksinger, by Pete Seeger. Edited by Jo Metcalf Schwartz. Simon and Schuster, 1973. 596 pp., \$12.50.

THIS BOOK almost reviews itself. I am tempted just to pass on my own favorite chunks of it, until the space is filled, because to describe it is like describing a song—far better 'twould be to sing the thing.

But to keep this organized a bit, let's start by saying that this is Pete's personal testament, carefully and beautifully edited, and lasting. It is not a newly written manuscript; much of it is drawn from articles and record liner notes written over many years, and the historical flavoring is preserved, so that

you feel the turning of the seasons as you flip the pages. It is not a biography, although it is chock full of biography; the Seeger modesty intervenes, so that there is no attempt to provide a continuous "life story," and the many photographs are mostly of other people. It is not a folk-song anthology or instruction book, although there are many songs, words and music, and material about folk instruments, from the now-familiar 5-string banjo and 12-string guitar to the less-familiar instruments of distant lands. There are charming line drawings by the author of things, animals, places (in case you didn't know the author had skills in this area too). In short, the book doesn't read at all like a book—it reads

the way a Pete Seeger concert would read, if you could read a concert. The many bits and pieces fit together like a homespun mosaic of thoughts and feelings, simple yet enriching.

There is the spirit of the union-organizing days, and many valuable tales of the struggles and the people who made them and sang about them. Also, about the giants, Woody and Leadbelly, all in a section headed "Old Songs and New People." Other sections: "A Folk Revival in the Atom Age," "Making Homemade Music," "The World That Music Lives In." Interspersed throughout are the interwoven themes of Pete Seeger's thoughts on music, politics, people, copyrights, censorship, TV blacklists, racism, human communication, the beauties of the many cultures of mankind, and much else. Seeger, in addition to everything else, is an accomplished collector of anecdotes and quotes, from the written and oral traditions alike, and these are used effectively throughout the book.

NWR readers may be particularly interested in his chapter, "A Question of Patriotism," in which the sordid happenings of the Joe McCarthy days are rehashed, complete with transcripts of testimony before HUAC and the song they would not let him sing! Seeger was sentenced to one year in jail for contempt of Congress, but the decision was later reversed on appeal and the case dismissed. The section on "The World . . ." details travels to many lands, including Czechoslovakia and the USSR; in the latter country, a visit to the town of Dzhanikoy in the Crimea, whose mainly Jewish collective farmers are immortalized in a now-classic Yiddish song. This visit left Seeger with mixed feelings, especially concerning the indifference of younger people to their own ethnic traditions, and he hopes for a folk song revival among these Soviet Jews, as among all Soviet people—and indeed among all people.

It's no use; I can't possibly describe it all. Here, then, are those chunks I spoke of; I don't know if they are my favorites, because the more I read, the more I find.

"Iranian girls have a nice courting custom: they tie knots in the living grass. Still rooted and growing together."

"Like most would-be poets, I've written my share of blank verse. But I keep coming back to Robert Frost's opinion on free verse vs. rhyme: 'I'd as soon play tennis without a net.' And Woody Guthrie once penned a memo to himself: 'I must steer clear of Walt Whitman's swimmy waters.'"

"A farmer once left a tall can of milk with the top off outside his door. Two frogs hopped into it and then found that they couldn't hop out. After thrashing around a bit, one of them says, 'There's no hope.' With one last gurgle he sank to the bottom. The other frog refused to give up. In the morning the farmer came out and found one live frog sitting on a big cake of butter. It pays to kick."

After Pete was sentenced for contempt, his wife, Toshi, assuming that

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there would be many cancellations of concert engagements, accepted every booking that came in. As it turned out, no cancellations. Pete was never so busy. "Never again," said Toshi. "I was counting on you going to jail and getting some peace and quiet around here. Instead, all my plans for getting some of my own projects done had to be canceled. Next time I'll know better. No appeal."

LANGUAGE AND HUMAN DIGNITY

They Found a Common Language, by W. Cameron Townsend. Harper and Row, 1972. 12 pp., photos, \$5.95.

THERE CAN be little doubt, as the author of this small volume states, that illiteracy protrudes as a formidable obstacle to technical progress and to international peace. Prof. Townsend, a noted American educator and linguist, and his wife, have been the leaders of the Summer Linguistics Institute. They have spent more than thirty years, especially in Latin America, in an attempt to reduce the discouragingly high rate of illiteracy, mainly among the rural poor. They have urged governments to adopt a bilingual approach to remedy this serious problem. That is, they contend that people who live in regions that have a local language only should first be taught to read and to write in that indigenous tongue, regardless of the number of people involved. Following that, they should learn the language of the country itself; in that way, they become bilingual. Prof. Townsend recounts the limited success of his approach in remote areas of Mexico, Peru and Australia. But, he insists, there must be a genuine, sustained concern by the governments involved before the problem can be met and solved.

One would assume that the problem

And, in conclusion of what cannot be concluded: "Our songs are, like you and me, the product of a long, long human chain, and even the strangest ones are distantly related to each other, as are we all. Each of us can be proud to be a link in this chain. Let's hope there are many more links to come.

"No: Let's make damn sure there are more links to come."

DAVID LAIBMAN

of illiteracy does not exist in this country. Yet, Prof. Townsend states: "There is need for the USA to awaken to its own problem. I do not refer only to the millions of children who cannot speak English properly but to the millions who cannot read functionally. The report to President Nixon's National Reading Council on September 10, 1970, indicated, within the margins of statistical error, that *as many as 18.5 million Americans over the age of sixteen are functionally illiterate*" (p. 106, emphasis added).

Further, he quotes from an article in the December 1971 issue of *Reader's Digest* which states: "Unless public education is changed, some nine million children, now enrolled in the public schools of the USA, will enter the labor market as economic illiterates. . . . For want of their ABC's, they will not be able to earn their daily bread."

Applying his theory of bilingualism, Prof. Townsend urges that their own native language should be used in teaching members of US minority groups to become literate. After that, he says, they can be taught our dominant language.

However, the truly surprising part of his experience lies in his discovery that in the Soviet Union the problem of illiteracy has been virtually eradicated. Furthermore, the Soviets have accomplished this great feat through

the very method he advocates—bilingual education. One must, incidentally, admire the author's honesty and enthusiasm; a deeply religious man and not a socialist, he still reports his findings without any bias.

He and his wife made fact-finding trips, one in 1968, and again in 1969, to the three Transcaucasian Union Republics of Georgia, Azerbaidzhan and Armenia, and Daghestan, an Autonomous Republic within the RSFSR. They had heard that these regions, formerly colonies of the Tsar and, typically, full of illiterates, had made remarkable progress, bilingually. These regions had been forbidden by the Tsar to use their native languages; alphabets and dictionaries were largely unknown in any language. Often villages adjacent to each other could not communicate with each other because of a difference in language.

After the October Revolution, and even while the civil war was raging, "Lenin's strong regard for every man's tongue" (to quote the author) provided the inspiration that initiated a bilingual approach to the pernicious problem of illiteracy. Where a language lacked an alphabet, those able to speak the language of each separate region wrote one. Books that reproduced the oral literature were printed; native scholars were taught methodology in the big cities, and they returned to teach their own people. In the newly formed schools, children were taught in their local language for the first three years; after that they were instructed in Russian, with their native language still being used on a partial basis. This bilingual approach, of course, has been used in all of the fifteen Soviet republics.

The remarkable achievements of the republics drew high praise from Prof. Townsend, who got firsthand information observing all types of schools, from lower grades to secondary, from institutes to universities. Former semi-

colonial, feudal regions, peopled by huge masses of illiterates who had been scorned as inferiors, have now been transformed into prosperous areas, with a highly literate population that has retained its older culture and that has provided the regions, and the entire country as well, with a newer culture and with professionals, doctors, artists, skilled workers, agronomists, etc. Each is treated with dignity and with respect, and since all speak Russian, as well as at least their native tongue, the nation is able to become integrated, for the language barrier no longer exists. The many excellent photos in the book provide visual proof of Prof. Townsend's glowing reports.

Prof. Townsend regards the elimination of illiteracy as a prerequisite to world peace, and we must agree that this aspect is essential. On the practical level, he also argues that the English language has too many variations of sound for the same symbol. There are, for example, some 15 ways of pronouncing *oo*. This variation makes learning to read and to spell unnecessarily difficult, and he praises both the Spanish and the Russian phonetics for their comparative simplicity. Prof. Townsend advocates the use of a phonemic alphabet; that is, each symbol should have one sound, and each sound should have one symbol. When one considers the many disturbing reports about the poor reading ability of US students, it is certainly worthwhile to consider his approach. But it appears to us that the failure of our young people to learn to read functionally is also based on severe social and economic inequalities. He does also indicate that the Soviet Union was and is concerned with education, and the success of the bilingual approach resulted from its allocation, even in times of stress, of huge sums for the raising of the educational level of the entire population. (The Soviet Union has set as a goal for 1975 that

every youngster will be at least a secondary school graduate.)

This illuminating book is highly recommended not solely to educators, but to the general public, for it brings to our attention a critical problem, and it shows how that problem can be solved if money and concern are provided. It is also vitally imperative that

this country allocate part of its huge resources to the elimination of an ominous trend—illiteracy. And boards of education throughout the land might very well employ the bilingual approach. The program should be based on the languages of our minority groups, with English as their second language.

LEONARD BOYER

JOHN REED: HIS PROCESS OF BECOMING

The Education of John Reed. Selected Writings, by John Reed, with an Introductory Essay by John Stuart. International Publishers, 1955; new edition, International Publishers, and Seven Seas Publishers, Berlin, 1972. 224 pp., paper, \$1.45.

THE TITLE of this book, *The Education of John Reed*, is perfectly chosen, for that is exactly what it portrays, not only in Mr. Stuart's biographical introduction, but in the arrangement and content of the selections. The reader will note that the order of Reed's works singled out here is chronological, from 1913 at the outset of his career, after graduating from Harvard, to 1919, when *Ten Days That Shook the World* was already a classic, a year before his untimely death (see p. 270). One after another, these writings reveal the political growth of this extraordinary author's mind and of his allegiance to the working class. In Stuart's words, they show him as "a symbol of the writer fused with the man of action." In six short years John Reed rose to the height of a world figure.

The introductory essay is by itself undeniably perceptive and constitutes a splendid prelude to the selections. John Stuart was an editor of the weekly *New Masses*, and when this book was in preparation he was gathering material for a full-length biographical study of John Reed. But Stuart too died before his proper time. It is

fortunate that we have at least this significant contribution from his brain. I met John Stuart in the office of Labor Research Association at 80 East 11th Street at the time he was carrying on his research, and I was struck by his earnest spirit of dedication.

I am proud to say that I had some personal contact with John Reed as well. I was a fellow delegate to the Left Wing Conference of June 21, 1919, which met at the Manhattan Lyceum, New York. Of the 94 delegates present from 20 cities, I was one of four from Detroit. In the crowded hall, it happened that I sat directly behind John Reed. Next to him was a short and talkative delegate named Zucker whose speech later appeared in *The Revolutionary Age*.

I could not help admiring Reed's majestic yet comradely personality. After all, he had sat in discussions with the great Lenin. Here at this Left Wing Conference he was recognized as one of the three or four giants among the delegates, and I was torn between a feeling of awe in his presence and a determination to observe him closely. I smiled when, impatient of legalistic quibbling, he told the sputtering Zucker, "Sit down!"

In his introduction, Stuart notes many interesting and meaningful facts, as that Reed belonged to the Harvard Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and had his fling at such esthetic theories as Cubism and Imagism.

In his first days in New York (1912), he satirized the supposedly liberal *Outlook* magazine in an amateur musical, as follows: *I'm a moderate reformer/Just because reform's the thing./I've a practical religion/And my hat is in the ring./I'm a catch-as-can uplifter/With a strong belief in jail./It's a policy that gathers in the kale.*

And very early, as Stuart shows, he took the side of strikers and rebel guerrillas. "He could never be neutral," but was always a partisan. This was shown by his reporting of the strike of silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey (1913), and of the Mexican revolution led by Pancho Villa (1913-1914). Still more was he a partisan at Ludlow, Colorado, where the mine strikers were the hapless victims of the unspeakable Rockefeller tyranny (1914).

It is fascinating to watch John Reed's progress in the world-war years that followed. The irony of "The Traders' War," in which he perceives and unveils the real causes of World War I: "The real war . . . began long ago," he states, at the outset (p. 88). "It is a clash of traders." Going further, as a correspondent at the presidential nominating conventions of the Democratic, the Republican, and the Progressive Parties, he excoriates the nominees in "Sold Out" (p. 191).

He goes still further leftward in a sharp-tongued account of "The I.W.W. in Court," where we have an exposé of how a capitalist court ignores its own constitutional provisions. In this piece John Reed powerfully combines restrained social anger with historical knowledge. He quotes the Great Charter of King John in its requirement that the "lawful judgment of his peers" be needed for conviction. But the King's throne here is held by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, and the 101 accused strikers are all convicted and sentenced to from four to thirty-eight years and fined thousands of dollars.

It was not only his political acumen that developed, nor even his activity as a partisan and participant, but his remarkable writer's skill. The sardonic fantasy "The Peace that Passeth Understanding," in which he depicts hilariously the duplicity of Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and others as they discuss the peace terms at Versailles, is both extravagantly entertaining and—for us today—extraordinarily timely. I don't understand why it was not long ago staged and televised.

Of course Stuart's final selection, from *Ten Days That Shook the World*, is the most convincing and the most moving. One special quote in this section stands out, from Lenin as cited by John Reed: "Above all, we want to finish the war." That was World War I that Lenin insisted on ending. Ever since then the Soviet Union has fought for world peace, by defeating the Nazis in World War II, and by seeking as a first priority to frustrate United States provocations to World War III. This book by John Stuart is a notable contribution to that effort.

Unfortunately, in his effort to expatiate on each identifiable step forward in Reed's political progress, Stuart understandably (and justifiably) dwelt on many lesser works in Reed's life before the writing of *Ten Days*. Nevertheless it is most regrettable that this great classic is represented here by a mere 14-page excerpt. Written in 1917-18, this outstanding work was the single most eye-opening book of the whole revolutionary period. It carries that scintillating, electrifying report from Lenin at Smolny: "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order." It was the book that fired me into lifelong Marxism on a college campus at Ann Arbor; it was what enthused Sergeant Mary Lea Jackson, member of a former slave-owning Louisiana family, at a Marine Barracks in New Orleans, who is now my wife. (One of 400

women Marines in World War I.) She and I are two persons only of thousands who learned about the birth of the Soviets from Reed's *Ten Days*. Thousands more were moved in the same way by the film version of Reed's book.

I am delighted to see, on page 222 of *Lenin's Impact on the United States* (NWR Publications, 1970), the information that Lenin wrote an introduction to John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* and recommended that work-

ers in all countries read it. Workers in this country surely did read it, and from it learned to love the Soviets.

Before I conclude, I am obliged to point out that certain ghoulish misinterpreters of history have sought to give the impression that John Reed changed his allegiance during his final illness. Stuart's succinct and simple account here, and his able unfolding of Reed's mental growth, will, I am sure, effectively counter all such propaganda.

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON

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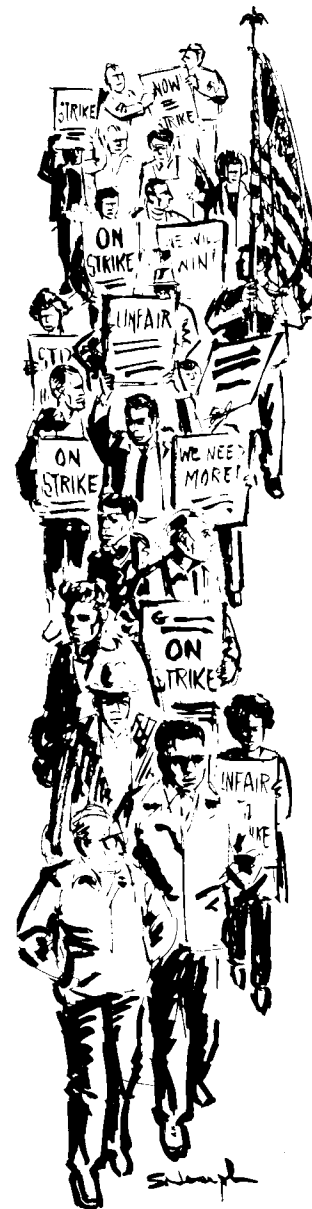
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