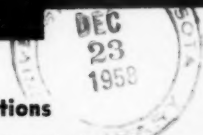


political affairs

DECEMBER 1958 • 35 CENTS



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ON PASTERNAK'S "DOCTOR ZHIVAGO"
by Five Soviet Writers [22-39]

DAMNED . . . AND BANNED . . . BUT GROWING! WHY?

Marxism has been damned incessantly and banned repeatedly—but *it has not been refuted*. Eighty years ago the butcher of the Paris Commune announced: "Now we are finished with Communism!" He was wrong. Twenty-five years ago, Hitler, taking power, shouted: "We have destroyed Communism; we shall rule for a thousand years!" In his first assertion, Hitler, too, was wrong; in his second assertion, he missed by 988 years.

While all this has been going on, disillusionment with and renegacy from Marxism have also proceeded. The disillusionment and the renegacy were always proclaimed as decisive evidences of the obsolescence or fallacy of Marxism. Yet, somehow, Marxism persists; and today has more numerous adherents than any other philosophy in the world.

In the United States there is one monthly magazine which is a partisan of that philosophy, which seeks, with the light it affords, to illuminate the domestic and the world-wide scenes. That magazine is *Political Affairs*; there, and only there in the United States, will one find the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism conveyed every month. There, and only there, each month, will the reader be able to find what the Communists think—not what George Sokolsky or Walter Lippmann or Max Lerner say the Communists think, but what they think in fact and as expressed by themselves.

We believe these thoughts are more profound, more revealing, and more truthful than any others. Be that as it may, they are significant and must be weighed by any person who wants to understand the world in which he lives. To get those thoughts first-hand, quickly and regularly, you must read *Political Affairs*.

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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER

The 1958 Elections

By Arnold Johnson

ON NOVEMBER 4, the American people voted for a change in foreign and domestic policies—a Leftward, liberal change, a repudiation of an anti-labor attack. The statistics show a Democratic Party sweep so that the 86th Congress will have 62 Democrats and 34 Republicans in the Senate, and the House will be composed of 282 Democrats and 152 Republicans, with Alaska's vote still to occur on November 25. In the 85th Congress, there were 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans in the Senate, and 235 Democrats and 200 Republicans in the House. As a result of the elections, there are now 34 Democratic and 14 Republican governors where before there were 29 Democratic and 19 Republican governors. Democrats will replace Republicans as governors in California, Maryland, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Wyoming and Nebraska. Republicans will replace Democrats in New York, Arizona, Oregon and Rhode Island. Of the thirty-two gubernatorial contests on November 4, the Democrats won twenty-four.

"RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS

The one specific issue on the ballot as distinct from the names of candidates and parties, was the so-called "right-to-work" laws. This union-busting proposal was being voted on in six states but its effect was of national significance and the whole country was involved. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, as well as big corporations and financial oligarchies with headquarters in Chicago or Wall Street, were the main backers of the anti-labor legislation. Congressional hearings with a coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats leading the attack on labor was part of the campaign. Candidates in all states were questioned as to how they stood on the right-to-work laws. Labor unions rallied every possible force to defeat the bills. While the immediate and urgent drive was in the states directly involved — California, Washington, Ohio, Colorado, Idaho and Kansas — all other states were involved. In Ohio the bill was defeated by

1,987,215 votes to 1,158,115. In California, it was defeated by almost 1,000,000 votes out of a total of 4,860,000. In Washington, it was defeated by 568,000 to 311,000, and in Idaho, the vote was 121,700 against it and 116,700 for it. In agricultural Kansas, it was approved by a vote of 340,762 to 264,257.

Other propositions or laws were voted in various states but not of the same national significance as the scab right-to-work laws.

DEMOCRATIC SWEEP

The results in the elections of state legislatures, state officials, and other local officials strengthened the Democratic sweep. New Jersey's county elections, as well as the victory of Harrison Williams in the Senate race, show that the state is no longer Republican, although the Republicans have nine Congressmen and the Democrats five, the same as in the 85th Congress.

In California, the Democrats took the governor, the state officials, both branches of the state legislature, the U.S. Senator and three more Congressional seats so the California House delegation in Washington will be 16 Democrats and 14 Republicans.

In Wisconsin, the Democrats captured the Governor's post for the first time since 1932 and for the second time in a century. They took the state assembly by 55 to 45, but not the state senate, and all but one state office.

In Michigan, Governor Williams was re-elected to a sixth term and for the first time this past century, that state will have two Democratic Senators.

Ohio voters in rejecting the anti-labor "right-to-work" law, also rejected Senator John Bricker, and all but one of the Republicans running in a state-wide ballot, including the Governor. The Democrats took control of the state senate and state lower house for the first time in nine years, as well as winning county elections. They won three additional Congressional seats so that Ohio will have 9 Democrats and 14 Republicans in the House of Representatives and two Democrats in the Senate.

In Connecticut, the Democratic sweep was a landslide for Governor Abraham Ribicoff, and included all the state officers, the U.S. Senator, six Congressmen, and control of the state legislature for the first time since 1876. The outgoing state senate was 31 Republicans to five Democrats and the House was 249 Republicans to 30 Democrats; all six Congressmen in the 85th Congress were Republicans as was also the defeated Senator.

In a similar way, Indiana Democrats defeated six Republican Congressmen and made the new House delegation eight Democrats and three Republicans. They also replaced Republican Senator Jenner with a Democrat, R. Vance Hartke. Jenner's last act as a U.S. Senator was a speech to the Dominican Senate

praising Butcher Trujillo for his leadership against Communism.

Republican Hugh Scott won the U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania over Governor George Leader, liberal Democratic governor, who was knifed by the Democratic state machine politicians. Pennsylvanians elected Pittsburgh's David Lawrence, Democratic politician, as Governor, and Democrats to all state-wide offices, a 107 to 103 majority of the state house, and three new Congressional seats so that Pennsylvania will have 16 Democrats and 14 Republicans in the House in Washington. The Republicans kept control of the State Senate by 28 Republicans to 22 Democrats.

The victory of Nelson Rockefeller, Mr. Oil Imperialism, for Governor and Kenneth Keating for U.S. Senate and Republicans for all offices except one in New York obviously hit against the national trend of November 4. In this state, the Republicans also retained control of the State Senate by 34 to 24, and the state assembly by 92 to 58. Within these results are Democratic gains of three seats in the upper house and four in the lower, and a Democratic-Liberal State Controller. Democrats gained two House seats in Congress to make the New York delegation 19 Democrats and 24 Republicans.

Arizona was also against the national trend with the re-election of union-busting, labor-hating Senator Barry Goldwater, and his running mates, for Governor, and other state

offices except for Attorney General. The two Congressional posts were divided.

SOME BASIC RESULTS

Looking at the figures in state after state, of which the above is a fair sampling, the Democratic sweep indicates a restive demand for a change. The facts also show that the Republicans are not obliterated. An examination of the statistics is not enough. There is a deeper meaning in the character of those who were defeated and in those who were elected. The defeated Senators are William Purtell of Connecticut, Frederick S. Payne of Maine, Charles Potter of Michigan, Edward S. Thye of Minnesota, George W. Malone of Nevada, John W. Bricker of Ohio, Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, Chapman Revercomb and John D. Hobtitzell of West Virginia, and Frank A. Barrett of Wyoming. Add to this those who did not run for re-election: Senators Knowland of California, Jenner of Indiana, Smith of New Jersey and Martin of Pennsylvania. They are the chauvinist, arrogant peddlers of hatred against the Soviet Union, China, socialism and the United Nations. That represents the old-guard Republican Right wing. They were the closest collaborators of the Eastlands and the Dixiecrats.

The defeat of Republican Senate leader William Knowland, the "Senator from Formosa," and advocate of the scab right-to-work law,

in his effort to become California governor, is the most significant of the gubernatorial races and of national importance because it was a repudiation of war against China and war against labor.

Of the Congressmen elected, William H. Meyer, the new Congressman from Vermont, immediately attracted national attention as the first Democrat to be elected from Vermont in over 100 years, and because he ran on a peace program, calling for an end to tests and manufacture of nuclear weapons, recognition of China, a complete change in foreign policy, an end to the draft, and for a full program of civil liberty, education, and economic security. The election of Byron L. Johnson in Colorado, who is a self-proclaimed pacifist, also had that same peace feature. This also applies to the re-election of Congressman C. O. Porter of Oregon, whose campaign for an end to nuclear tests and constant exposure of Dictator Trujillo, brought him into the national limelight.

A number of elections in the South are deserving of special analysis. The dominant feature in the South was the continued hold of the racists on positions of power. This was demonstrated most pointedly by the re-election of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas and then even more so by the defeat of Representative Brooks Hays by a rabid segregationist write-in candidate, Dr. Dale Alford of the Little Rock School Board.

One of the most significant campaigns for integrated schools was

that of Dr. Louise O. Wensel, the mother of five children, who had been a resident of Virginia for only four years. She challenged Senator Harry Byrd after the Republican Party convention made a deal with him. She polled one-third of the vote, including 42 per cent of the Norfolk total vote, 38 per cent of Arlington, and 37 per cent of the Charlottesville vote. She was opposed by all major newspapers and a powerful machine. She had no organization or money—just a program for integration.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Another significant race was that of Mrs. Charles E. White, a former school teacher, who was elected to the Houston School Board with a vote of 35,256. She is the first Negro member of the board. Integration of the schools in Houston has been ordered by a Federal Court but no date has been set. Schools have been integrated in Corpus Christi, San Antonio and El Paso, Texas.

Similarly, in Louisville, Kentucky, Woodford R. Porter, a Negro mortician, was elected to the Board of Education of that city. This election takes on additional meaning because it represents a protest against the token program of the School Superintendent Owen Carmichael.

On a national scale, the 18 million Negro people in this country will have only the same four representatives in Congress: Adam Clayton Powell of New York, C. C. Diggs,

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Jr., of Detroit, R. N. C. Nix of Philadelphia, and W. L. Dawson of Chicago. All four are Democrats. The state of Connecticut elected its first Negro, Wilfred Johnson, to the state assembly. In Michigan, nine were re-elected to the State House and one to the State Senate. That means a loss of one in the Michigan House. Missouri remained the same with four Negroes in the State Assembly, as did New York with four in the Assembly and one in the State Senate. In Massachusetts Negro representation in the state legislature increased from one to two members, one was re-elected in California, one in Kansas, two in Indiana. In Washington one Negro was elected. In Maryland, two Negro women were elected to the House of Delegates and one Negro to the State Senate. Pennsylvania elected seven Negroes to the state legislature on the Democratic ticket.

Illinois is the first state to elect a Negro to a state-wide office, with the election of Richard E. Harewood as a trustee to the University of Illinois. This election also brings the first Negro woman, Mrs. Floy Clement, a Democrat, into the State Legislative House. Three Republicans and five Democrats were re-elected to the state legislature, and one to the State Senate. Final returns from all states will add to the number of Negro legislators, judges, and other public officials, but the main fact is that the Negro still is barred generally from public office by many devices.

LABOR'S ROLE

Labor's participation in this election was the main organized force which brought about the sweeping changes. However, practically no labor representative was elected. This field is wide open and labor-in election districts and local unions can fill the gap. A large number of Congressmen and Senators are classified as pro-labor but not of labor. That is not enough for labor to hold on to its victories or for greater gains. Roman Pucinski, the new Congressman from Chicago, is a member of the Newspaper Guild, Congressman R. W. Weir of Minnesota is even more representative of labor, and Senator Pat McNamara of Michigan has a trade union background. There may be others. In relation to labor representation, the campaign of Carl Stelato of Local 600 in Detroit for the Congressional candidacy in the Democratic primaries assumed great importance. Although defeated, the initiative was an achievement. The campaign of Emery Bacon of the Steel Workers for Congress from Pittsburgh is also to the good, although he was defeated. Labor representation in Congress is essential to victory on economic demands including wages, hours, jobs, and security.

Labor representation is also mainly limited so far to the state legislatures. Illinois re-elected one UAW member to the State House. Washington has a dozen or more members of organized labor in the state legisla-

ture. Michigan also has a strong delegation. Iowa has at least three UAW members in the state legislature. Such representation is typical in most states. The big role of labor in this election did not result, however, in marked increases in representation. That is still on the agenda in the states as well as for Congress. It is immediately on the calendar for municipal elections in 1959.

"ROBBER BARONS"

The U.S. Senate is generally known as the Millionaires' Club, because of the number of millionaires or the domination of the rich in the Senate through their lawyers. The role of millionaires in this past election was the point of big publicity in the New York gubernatorial election. It is shocking that New Yorkers elected Nelson Rockefeller with his family fortune above the billion mark and a history of brutal exploitation, robbery, and murder in the background, including the Ludlow massacre in Colorado and imperialist ventures in all lands. Multimillionaire Averell Harriman, with his background of the railroad barons whose brutal exploitation crosses the country, was no success as a governor. That such members of ruling-class families enter the political scene has its own danger signals for the people. Senator J. F. Kennedy of Massachusetts is among the millionaires being most discussed for the Presidency, as is also Governor G.

M. Williams of Michigan. That trend certainly poses a major task for labor, an ideological as well as an organizational task. Fat-salaried trade union officials such as George Meany provide no answer by a comment on Rockefeller and Harriman that they are "both wealthy, both liberal, and both dedicated to public service."

During recent years every medium of public propaganda has been used to rehabilitate the robber barons into the good graces of the American people—the pulpit, press, novels and biographies, movies and plays, radio and television have been used to rewrite history and to glorify the rich. Universities, schools, art galleries, libraries, the museum and even the concert hall have all been used in the scheme. These same institutions have also been used in a campaign to develop American nationalism to an arrogant chauvinism, to equate patriotism and democracy with capitalism. All this has its effect on the course of an election campaign.

GENERAL FEATURES

Record numbers of voters went to the polls on November 4 in a non-presidential year. More than 5,700,000 votes were cast for governor in New York this year out of a total of 6,769,904 eligible voters. In 1954 about five million voters went to the polls in this state. In California, nearly five million went to the polls this year out of 6,752,421 eligible voters. Similar record turnouts occurred in other states.

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Most observers give labor the credit for getting the voters to the polls and for the character of the vote. The economic factor—unemployment, the depression and fear of a depression, protection of the trade unions from legislative enslavement and the defeat of union-busting right-to-work laws, fear of unrestricted big business rule during a period of automation and scientific advance, high taxes and high prices, and the line-up of forces around the anti-labor "right-to-work" laws, were basic forces in bringing the voters to the polls against the Republicans.

When the Republicans issued the manifesto against the Democrats as radicals under the control of labor, when President Eisenhower made one speech after the other with the highlight "fumigate labor," when Knowland and Nixon allowed the anti-Semite and notorious fascist Joseph Kamp to enter the California campaign, the country became alarmed. Richard Nixon and GOP National Chairman Meade Alcorn pushed this line and President Eisenhower abdicated to Nixon, declaring that the "dominant wing" of the Democratic Party was controlled by "radicals" who were "pursuing economic and political goals at odds with American tradition." This line clearly did not win votes for the Republicans.

Those who were most under attack as "radicals" by the Republicans won the toughest campaigns. This was first demonstrated in Ohio where Senator John Bricker, with a

100 per cent anti-labor record, campaigned for the right-to-work and a big vote as a step to the White House. His opponent was Stephen Young, former New Deal Congressman and an attorney for the defendants in the recent Taft-Hartley conspiracy frame-up trial in Ohio, who took his program directly from the Ohio labor movement. Young won.

The election of William Proxmire, Eugene McCarthy, Harrison Williams, Dale McGee, Mike Mansfield, Stephen Young and others is clearly a mandate for a program of radical measures on the economic front including repeal of Taft-Hartley, increase and extension of unemployment insurance and social security measures, increase in minimum wage, and measures to reduce the working week to 30 hours with no reduction in take-home pay, tax relief for low income groups and increased taxes on the rich, rent control and other measures. With the Federal government heavily involved in many ways in our economy, such an issue as "the 30-hour week with 40 hours pay" can become a matter of Congressional action. Unemployment has long since ceased to be a matter of an individual worker and a boss. Social responsibility is best met through legislation—and that is what the voters were saying when they voted a change on November 4.

JIM CROW AND THE ELECTION

Another major issue which deter-

mined the vote on November 4 was the fight for desegregated schools, the campaign against Jim Crow, the whole issue of civil rights. Bombings of schools, Negro churches, Jewish temples and homes shocked the people of every city into realization of the breakdown of law and order created by Governor Orval Faubus and other elected officials in their armed resistance to the Constitution and the Supreme Court ruling. Widespread terror against Negro students, violence against Negro ministers, arrests and official murder of Negroes who stood for elementary rights, all this added to the demand for decisive action. The President said "go slow" and abdicated responsibility. A call for one thousand young people to march in protest on the streets of Washington brought ten thousand in a "Youth Crusade for Integrated Schools," yet the White House refused to receive a delegation.

The election gave a mandate for a "radical" solution—an immediate halt to all Jim Crow, an end to segregation in schools, buses, parks, housing. The defeat of the very Republicans who were in alliance with the Dixiecrats can mean only one thing—oust the Dixiecrats from posts of rule in Congress, and a plague on any effort by Meade Alcorn, National GOP Chairman, to revive a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, such as the Jenner-Eastland coalition against the Supreme Court in the 85th Congress.

The vote of the Negro people against the "right-to-work" laws was a demonstration that the alliance of labor and the Negro people continued through this election, and was decisive in the defeat of the anti-labor laws, even though labor was not as active in the fight for civil rights. In Los Angeles, the Negro vote was five to one, and in Cleveland, it was three to one against the scab law. That kind of union solidarity must not be a one-way street. Labor and all the people have a big stake in civil rights legislation. The vote on November 4 was a mandate to put teeth into the Civil Rights Law and for the passage of such measures as will guarantee the voting rights of Negroes, the opening of the schools by the Federal government, and will wipe out Jim Crow.

This requires immediate action against Rule 22 in the Senate, the rule which now permits unlimited debate and the use of a filibuster to kill civil rights legislation. That rule will be up for debate and action on the opening day of Congress when the 86th Senate adopts its rules and gets organized.

The organization of the Senate and the House means much to the whole country. A new Congress, a new line-up of forces in the House and in the Senate, has the responsibility to so organize themselves and the various committees and adopt such rules of procedure so that the mandate of a people in this election will be enacted into law. Changes

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must be made in rules and procedure which are designed to obstruct the will of the people by giving an arbitrary power to Dixiecrats in posts as chairmen of various committees, a power which they have repeatedly used to satisfy their own prejudices and personal power against the Negro people, organized labor and the welfare of the country as a whole. This Senate and House has a mandate from the people to oust the Dixiecrats from their seats of arbitrary power. That can be done on the opening day.

Any careful analysis of the character of the election, especially as to the political composition of those who were defeated on November 4, must lead one to the conclusion that this is the time to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. That this committee is itself unconstitutional has been repeatedly demonstrated by its usurpation of power in violation of the Constitution. Every Congressman knows this. Chairman Francis Walter even boasts about his defiance of the Supreme Court. The first opportunity to get rid of this Committee comes on the opening day when the status of the Committee is defined. It can also be curbed under the appropriation measures. Any serious review of the work of the Committee, including an examination of the activities of Chairman Walter and his sources of income and his abuse of power, will convince any Congressman that the welfare of the country

will best be served by abolition of this disreputable committee.

THE PEACE ISSUE

The decisive issue, the one which overshadows all others, is the struggle for peace. With the Dulles policy of brinkmanship threatening war with China over Quemoy and Matsu islands, the voters showed that they wanted peace.

Only a short time before, the U.S. Marines had moved into Lebanon and the whole question of war over oil in the Middle East became an election issue.

A short time before that, the guns of the U.S. Navy were pointed toward Latin America as the people in those countries expressed their protests to Vice President Nixon.

Undoubtedly, the voter on November 4 repudiated these specific aspects of the brink-of-nuclear-war policy. The election of William H. Meyer is a much more fundamental expression on this issue and must not be underestimated. True, all was not clear sailing and big armament advocates such as Stuart Symington and Henry Jackson of Washington were elected. True the Democrats used every type of contradictory argument in trying to capitalize on the anti-war sentiments of the people. The main point in the voting, however, was that this was a mandate for peace and Congress faces the responsibility of re-examining the whole foreign policy with the

objective of fulfilling a peace mandate.

In the course of the election campaign, many peace organizations were active in reaching candidates with demands for a halt to tests of nuclear weapons and for outlawing nuclear war. Many candidates expressed support for these proposals. In the state of Washington, the halting of tests was put into the Democratic Party platform. All these proposals need to be advanced again to those who have been elected. We in the United States have a first responsibility to outlaw nuclear weapons. People of the most diverse political opinions and association can and do agree on this task. That Secretary Dulles should summarily dismiss or ignore this demand must not mean that it is settled. This is an issue which must not be allowed to rest or be sidetracked, until nuclear weapons are outlawed and the stock piles abolished. This issue can be settled in this Congress by a serious campaign around a resolution calling for an end to tests, a halt to the manufacture, and a declaration against the use of such weapons as a matter of national policy.

In the last session of Congress, a resolution against testing of nuclear weapons was introduced by Congressman Porter. It was shelved without being assigned to committees for hearings. This must not be repeated. This simple resolution can be the point of serious discussion in hearings before Congressional committees and among the masses of

the American people. The demand to end nuclear tests is a part of the election mandate.

SOME NEGATIVE RESULTS

There were certain negative results in this election which must be noted. Some forces will try to use the election of a Faubus as a call for an attack on the Supreme Court and a whole program of fascist measures. Some will use the re-election of Senator Barry Goldwater as a call for anti-labor legislation. There will be the danger of another coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats. That threat can be defeated by advancing the struggle against the Dixiecrats and by strengthening the alliance and independent political action of labor and the Negro people. An election struggle is never finished on election day. Those who are elected must feel the constant demand of the people for legislative action in accord with the needs of the people. Labor, the Negro people, the farmers, and other sections of the population are not mere spectators on what happens in the Congressional committees and sessions.

The election of Nelson Rockefeller as governor of New York is a negative feature of this election. That the Rockefellers should move right into the driver's seat and openly use state power for their program is dangerous to the welfare of the American people. In the course of the campaign, there was never a complete exposure of the Rockefellers,

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their brutal history and their responsibility for the most reactionary measures of the country. Their method of lining up support for their program is that of the imperialist school combining trickery and deceit with claims of integrity and devotion, hypocrisy and demagoguery with arrogant use of power, cracking the whip with a smile and shouting "stop thief" while committing robbery.

ROCKEFELLER'S ELECTION

With a Rockefeller in a position of power, labor cannot just wait and see what happens. Nor can labor depend on top conferences behind closed doors. Labor, the Negro people, and other progressive forces have a greater responsibility to organize movements, mass conferences and actions for the needs of the people.

In analyzing why Nelson Rockefeller was elected, many factors must be considered. While the Party made our major emphasis against Rockefeller, it could have done this more boldly and effectively. Labor did not attack Rockefeller seriously. It took a Harriman victory for granted although it issued a lot of material and did a good job on registration. When Rockefeller made his appeals to the Negro people and to the Puerto Rican people, the broader democratic forces among them were not mobilized to expose his demagoguery and trickery.

The methods used by Rockefeller in separating himself from Eisen-

hower and Nixon (and the Republican Party) when they came to New York had the effect of disclaiming Dulles' brinkmanship without doing so, of repudiating Nixon's attack on labor without doing so, of disowning Eisenhower's do-nothing policy for the unemployed and yet not saying it. His separation from the Republican Party in posters and publicity campaigns about liberalism added to the confusion. Then, there was the big slush fund, and money was freely spent.

The Democratic Party high command and especially Carmine de Sapio has great responsibility for the Rockefeller victory. This started at the Buffalo convention when they gave Rockefeller the issue of bossism and split the Democrats. De Sapio's refusal to give Harriman a strong Senatorial running mate made the ticket expose Harriman's weaknesses. De Sapio's refusal to put a Negro up for a state-wide post and his effort to dump Powell added to Harriman's difficulties. De Sapio's desire to win with Hogan and to be top man over the 1960 New York delegation was courting defeat.

Harriman's campaign was defensive and did not meet the needs of the people. His cold war policy was his downfall and handicapped everything he advocated. To defeat Rockefeller, labor had no other choice but Harriman. The Rockefeller publicity of a battle between two multi-millionaires left labor on the sidelines. Labor's independent

political action was expressed in part through the Liberal Party, but that was limited. Much more was necessary to overcome the weaknesses of Harriman.

One of the major results is a sharp internal struggle within the Democratic Party—a struggle which places greater responsibility upon labor to intervene. The alliance of labor and the Negro people in that struggle can mean an end to Carmine De Sapio.

SPLITS IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Within the Democratic Party in each of the states and on a national scale, new internal struggles are developing as a result of this election. Old machines are trying to hold their power with their eyes on patronage and narrow politics in 1960. Other forces, functioning independently inside the Democratic Party, are dissatisfied. Labor and the Negro people, in recording their role, are not content to do the work while somebody else selects the candidates and program. They resent the role of the Dixiecrats and welcome those declarations of Paul Butler, National Chairman, which are directed against the Dixiecrats. They recognize that the 1960 Presidential race will be conducted through the Democratic Party. For that campaign to have the enthusiastic participation of the independents in the ranks of labor and the Negro people, they want more voice in deciding candidates and issues and see the nec-

essity of getting rid of the Dixiecrats.

This election has given strength to the independents. They did the job which the professional politicians said was impossible in Ohio, Indiana, California, Washington, Michigan, and other states. They are not throwing away their new achievements but do have the responsibility of consolidating them both organizationally and politically through election district clubs, legislative conferences and other forms. COPE and the trade unions certainly are not going to retreat under the cry of a President Eisenhower, Nixon or Meade Alcorn to "fugitate labor."

Independent Democrats, such as Adam Clayton Powell, who won major victories against the machines, have new responsibilities of leadership in developing new alignments, new coalitions, which can win victories for the people. This new leadership cannot afford to turn the election results over to the hands of Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson, but must give life to the people's mandate.

The independent forces inside the Democratic Party will not have easy going. On many occasions, the heavy hand of old politicians will be unbearable. Treachery and backroom deals still are too common in this party. Some will be agitated to pull out and feel that they did all that was possible. That will satisfy the old-line party bosses. Those independent forces who con-

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continue to function inside the Democratic or in some cases inside the Republican Party need the perspective of a Farmer-Labor-Negro People's Party, and need to discuss it, to work for it, as a new mass party of the future. With that perspective, every experience, every campaign with the Democratic Party takes on new meaning. More experienced and progressive forces inside the two-party system need to contribute to that discussion and to avoid premature and individual splits, to keep the needs of the people, the development of mass political actions, to the forefront.

THE PARTY'S ROLE

Our Communist Party was active in every phase of this election and became a growing influence in the campaign. This was best done where we had a candidate, in Harlem with Benjamin J. Davis. This campaign is deserving of special treatment beyond this article because of the many lessons for our Party and for the mass movement and struggles around issues, especially of the Negro people. Ben Davis is a powerful campaigner. His relationship with the people, his inspiration and leadership of the New York Party, his determination to go always to the people, to speak fully and frankly at street corner meetings on every subject, had a strong effect on every other campaign in Harlem. The drive for 6,000 signatures, the thousands of

people who stood at street meetings, the leaflets and petitions helped the development of mass campaigns on immediate issues. Ben Davis gave the people a vehicle in order to participate against terror in the South, for integrated schools, to save the life of Jimmie Wilson, to demand an end to Dulles' brink-of-war policy in the Middle East, and in relation to China, issues in the neighborhood—housing, relief, a new hospital, an end to Jim Crow everywhere—and many other issues. This campaign hit home. It continues to do things in Harlem.

In places where our Party did not have candidates, it also did good work. We participated with others but also issued our own leaflets and platforms. We helped to develop some of the mass struggles around issues such as the youth crusade for integrated schools. We brought the issue of peace and the program for peaceful co-existence into every campaign. We discussed the peace role of socialist countries and the policy of the Soviet Union and the need to strengthen the peace forces in our own country, the responsibility to struggle against American imperialism.

Our Party contributed in the fight against the right-to-work laws in Ohio, California and Washington. Every party member worked in some phase of this struggle. We helped develop the alliance of labor and the Negro people in the elections. Our comrades in California worked responsibly in the Holland

Roberts campaign, with the peace forces in the election in Washington, and in other states.

In estimating our work in the Ben Davis campaign and the role of a Party candidate, we must urge much more attention to the running of such candidates in all states, and finding the form for leading or publicly known Communists to be candidates and to bring our program, including the program for socialism, to the people.

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PARTY

In the course of this campaign a combination of independent radicals, including certain forces around the *National Guardian* and some former leaders of the American Labor Party who had given years of work to independent political action, and one of the groups of the Trotskyites known as the Socialist Workers Party, together with a few individuals of a similar view, established an Independent Socialist Party with a slate of candidates of the independent radicals.

This ISP, which is neither socialist nor independent, became the topic of considerable discussion in our own ranks. We participated in many discussions with the "independent radicals" before and after the launching of the new "socialist party" at a conference in June.

We advocated the development of unity of all Left and independent forces to support a single peace can-

didate running as an independent, and we urged that Corliss Lamont be that candidate. We argued against the launching of a new party of an independent socialist character by the forces involved on the basis that it was premature and sectarian, and without any ties to substantial forces of labor or the Negro people.

Without relating the history of this development, I think two serious mistakes were made. We made the mistake of not vigorously fighting for our position in every possible camp. We should have gone to peace forces outside of the groups involved in the conference preparations as well as to the Independent Radicals and come to Corliss Lamont with substantial support from non-Communist forces for our position. We should not have depended on the independent radicals to change their course although they indicated that they were not finally committed to the course of a new party.

The other mistake was made by the Independent Radicals in their refusal to consider our proposal. The California experience on the Holland Roberts independent candidacy was a strong argument for our proposal. The campaign of Alice Franklin Bryant in the Washington state Democratic primaries as a peace candidate won 50,000 votes or 15 per cent of the Democratic vote, is another powerful argument. In New York that should have been the size of the Lamont vote. Fifteen per cent of the total seems fantastic,

being more than 750,000 votes. But an approach of that character would have been a rejection of the narrow sectarianism of the Trotskyites. It would have exposed the Trotskyite counter-revolutionary role and their current knifing of the struggle for peace. That approach would have kept the *National Guardian* in the field of the Independents instead of practically limiting its editorial endorsements of the week before elections to Trotskyites and "Independent Socialists." The development of independent political action is not advanced by premature isolated splits from the main forces of labor participating in the two-party system. The single candidate could secure independence and still avoid sectarian splits. The independent radicals would have come out of this campaign greatly strengthened had they adopted the policy of a single independent candidate, concentrating on the issue of peace.

Much attention has to be given to the forms of independent election activity, the development of forms which do not isolate from continued work in the two-party system. Every form needs constant examination such as the Independent Voters League of Illinois, the clubs and councils in California, the ADA and Liberal Party, COPE and all forms of labor participation. It is also

necessary to develop new forms to meet the needs of the Negro people, a form of a Non-Partisan League for Political Action. There is also the necessity of forms to encourage the promotion of a Farmer-Labor-Negro People's Party.

All organizational forms must necessarily be tied to activity, to legislative actions, delegations, conferences and mass movements around issues. We have referred to many of these issues and all are part of the mandate from this election.

In relation to 1960 and to the immediate tasks before the 86th Congress, these elections call for a bold new policy which will not be chained to foul Jim-Crow policies, nor to union busting in the service of big business, nor to cold war with its brinkmanship and reckless courting of annihilation by nuclear war. That means the Democratic Party has a responsibility to get rid of the Dixiecrats and to advance the peace advocates within its ranks into the Presidential race. That approach gives a new role to the alliance of labor and the Negro people, to the development of independent political action, the alliance which won the victories on November 4. That approach charts a course which requires constant participation of Communists in the politics of the country.

Cuba: Torment and Promise

By National Committee, Popular Socialist Party

On November 3, 1958, the Batista-torture regime in Cuba, sustained by United States imperialism, attempted to conduct an "election" in the midst of bayonets and civil war. On November 4, the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, that nation's Marxist-Leninist Party, issued the analysis and call to action which is published in the following pages.—The Editor.



COMPATRIOTS!

The Cuban people has said "No!" to the election farce. This is the indisputable outcome of yesterday's events. The boycott was decisive. The masses rejected the spurious ballot-boxes—set up on a foundation of corruption and lies, officially backed by Washington—and stayed away from the polls. Not even the inflated communique issued by the Superior Electoral Tribunal (inflated through fraud, through ballot-box stuffing, etc.) has dared claim that over 40 percent of the electorate took part in the farce. It is, however, public knowledge and notorious, and a fact to which all Havana can testify, that not even 25 percent of the total electorate appeared at the polling places of deceit.

The election farce was not, and could not have been a solution. It could not even open up a path towards a solution that would bring peace and democracy to Cuba. An election called unilaterally, without

free and duly constituted political parties, without guarantees of rights, with electoral documents sequestered, without a press or freedom of expression, and held while the government is carrying out a policy aimed at conquering by blood and fire those who demand a program of reform and change for Cuba; a policy of arrests, torture, bestial flogging and murder—elections under such conditions could not arouse the confidence of the electorate, nor obtain agreement nor acceptance on the part of the people, nor could they provide any solution, nor path towards a solution, but serve only to deepen the crisis which is filling our native land with tragedy.

Now, Grau St. Martin himself, in statements which the censorship has not allowed to be published, is forced to recognize the fact that the "elections" were a farce. Marques Sterling—who like Grau has allowed himself to be used as a puppet for the fake elections, and, also like the former, has peddled his line that the

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November 3rd polls were the solution—today keeps silent, overwhelmed by what has occurred.

The electoral farce of November 3rd could only serve—and has served—to continue the Batista regime, just as we had warned.

Today, after the "election," shameless and voterless, the situation continues to be the same as that which existed on November 2nd. Cuba still continues to suffer under the self-same tyranny, the same crises, the same censorship and anti-democratic regime. Cuba remains in the same crisis, without solution, and *without any road towards a solution other than the ardent struggle of the people, united in action and objectives.*

In his pre-election propaganda, in order to obtain some measure of confidence in the farcical elections, Rivero Aguero, now president through hand-picked succession, declared his readiness to go wherever it should be necessary to go seeking peace and harmony. Now, the comedy ended, he says he will seek that same "peace and harmony" through the same methods as Batista—that is, through the path that has brought the country to civil war, to bloodshed, criminal acts, to the crisis overwhelming our nation.

Today, as yesterday, we repeat: this is not the solution.

The path towards the solution for Cuba—a solution bringing peace, stability and harmony—is the path of democracy, freedom; the path of implementing the people's program

of demands, and obeying the will of the people, freely expressed and honorably recognized. Such a path—as we had stated prior to the election farces—is expressed in simple terms in the following urgent democratic demands of our nation: the immediate resignation of Batista and his government, and annulment of the election farce; the formation of a provisional government capable of guaranteeing minimum democratic rights to the people; restoration of democratic liberties; freeing of all political and social prisoners, return of the exiles, abrogation of all exceptional laws and measures; punishment of the criminals who have drenched Cuba in blood; and, on this basis, calling elections—within a short time, and with guarantees to all parties and to all opinions—in which all Cubans can go in freedom to the ballot boxes, and form the sort of government, based on a broad democratic and patriotic coalition, which our country needs, and through this, bring about the indispensable changes required by our economy.

This continues to be the solution—the solution to bring about the peace and democracy for which we are fighting.

In the meantime, it is clear we must continue, stronger because of the failure of the election farce, in order to bring nearer and finally achieve the needed solution. We must go forward in the struggle against tyranny; in the struggle

against terror and for democratic freedoms; in the struggle for the demands and rights of the workers and peasants, employees, professionals, students, the youth, the women and the Negro masses; in the struggle to aid in extending and strengthening the armed forces now battling the Batista tyranny, not alone among the lofty peaks of the Sierra Maestra, but in all Oriente, in Camaguey, in Las Villas, and Pinar del Rio; in the struggle for the unity of the workers and the union of all democratic popular, labor and progressive forces and parties.

There is not a single change in our task, unless it be to strengthen our work, shore it up, further develop all the things we have been doing towards insuring the victory of the people, which inevitably must come to pass.

Because of this, in order to carry forward the tasks of the struggle for freedom, to achieve the solution our country demands, now more than ever, the order of the day is the one word—Unite!

Unity is the guarantee of the people's triumph. Let the workers unite at their places of work; the peasants, the professionals, the students achieve

unity. Let them unite with the citizens' movement with the opposition—for their own demands and against the Batista tyranny. Unite the struggle in the cities with the struggle in the countryside; civilian action with the armed struggle and the armed struggle with civilian action, to channelize and concentrate all efforts in one and the same direction.

This is the call sent out by the Popular Socialist Party, to all opposition and democratic parties, groups and movements, in this moment when we rejoice because of the defeat the Batista tyranny and its imperialist masters have suffered at the spurious November 3rd polls.

Let the formidable example of the masses of the people, with its deeds of unity, and its vigorous rejection of farce, give light and guidance along the road towards the peaceful and democratic solution Cuba needs, and which all true revolutionaries and oppositionists long for!

For a peaceful and democratic solution for Cuba!

For independence, democracy, economic and social progress and peace!

For a government of a broad, democratic and patriotic coalition!

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China's Educational Revolution

By Iris Urwin

The tremendous speed with which the people of China are pressing forward their socialist revolution is startling all mankind. Basic to that revolution are the transformations and advances being made in education, particularly the effort to unite theory and practice, study and life, in the whole educational enterprise. In the pages that follow, readers will find a first-hand report from the pen of a Czechoslovak journalist, who recently visited the Chinese People's Republic.—The Editor.

STUDENT DELEGATES FROM 62 countries, meeting in Peking at the beginning of September for the Fifth Congress of the International Union of Students, found themselves in the middle of a mental whirlwind which could not but influence their deliberations. For what was going on outside the Congress Hall, in Peking itself, in the countryside and in the great industrial towns of Central China, was a revolution of the kind students of all ages have dreamed about—changing life from its very foundations, but without bloodshed, and with a great part in it for young people, for students and intellectuals.

Here they could see the aims for which they in their organizations were fighting—against colonialism, in defense of student rights, for democratic education, and for better conditions in which to live and study—taking shape, and being shaped by the students of China themselves.

The idea of spending a month or

two on volunteer labor, building the Ming Tombs Reservoir, as most of the Peking students have done, is not so strange for students of the socialist countries, or even for those from all over the world who have joined their fellows in building Friendship Roads and Youth Railways in many parts of the world. It is rather less usual to be able to say, as these Chinese students can: "That's where my tent was, and that's where Chou En-lai's was"; or to be able to point out where Mao Tse-tung was digging at the same time as they were. But it is even more unusual, and very attractive, to be able to say: "We made this machine out of steel from our own converter."

UNITING STUDY AND LIFE

Here we are at the very heart of the matter; what makes the exhilaration

arating atmosphere of every faculty and institute in China today is this sense of untold opportunities to do things. Not so long ago people in China woke up to the fact that students were being turned out of engineering faculties, for example, with only the vaguest ideas of factories and machines. Students of English knew more about *Beowulf* than about Bernard Shaw. For the practical application of their knowledge they had to wait until they left the university and went out into that curious thing called "life." Now this strange academic division of existence into several years of study followed by "life" has been done away with, and the slogan of the day for students is "Work while you study."

Metallurgical students in Peking University decided to try putting theory into practice, and built themselves a blast furnace on a piece of waste ground in five days. The iron from their first smelts went to build a second furnace, and both are turning out a sizeable quantity of metal, and the students are gaining invaluable experience. Engineering students built themselves a workshop and set up lathes which are being used to turn out more lathes; each month doubles the number working the month before.

Where does the fun come in? New ideas, good ideas, can be tried out. You may fail, and a searching though kindly analysis of the mistakes by

your fellow students, in which you take part, will get to the root of the matter. Next time your idea will work. Or you may have hit on a good thing right away, and in a week or two your idea is being used in factories and workshops all over this vast country, for everybody is ready to learn, and bureaucracy is one of the Evils to be Destroyed.

It's not only pig iron and steel that students are turning out, or even machines: research gadgets, musical instruments, new designs for trains and trolley-buses, a new, practical and fast method of dam-building, text-books for teaching the illiterate to read—there is no end to the ideas that have already been put into practice by these ingenious students and their teachers, ideas which in some cases have saved thousands of pounds and much valuable material, or precious working time.

There are two ways of financing this "Work while you study" campaign; if no government loan is taken, the profits go entirely to the faculty. If the workshops are built on government investments, then the state takes over the distribution of the products and the loan is repaid before profits begin accruing to the faculty.

For students of agriculture there is the whole of China's countryside waiting; they go out to the fields and the cowsheds to see for themselves, to learn from the peasants and to try out their own ideas in practice. Students of languages and literature

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go to the country, too, helping the local teachers to get rid of one of China's sad inheritances: illiteracy. The students of Peking University have set up schools in the villages, where they teach foreign languages in evening courses. Some of their work is even nearer home, so to speak; to make good the lack of simple, useful dictionaries for Chinese students of foreign languages, they have drawn up and printed their own.

There are professors and lecturers who are equally fired with the magnificent possibilities of this new approach to study; they help with advice and practical work, too. There are others who are more sceptical, but even they are coming around. There was one professor of physics who declared that not even in two years with a team of research workers could he guarantee to produce a certain cell. A group of undergraduates did it—in two days. Now this cell is helping to build the first Chinese "Sputnik." It's all a matter of getting out of a rut in your way of thinking. Students of aeronautics are building their own planes, prototypes which can go into serial production; medical students are help-

ing to spread health and hygiene-mindedness.

The students of China know the facts of their life; they know that their scholarships (which in needy cases are as high as a worker's monthly wage) their new hostels, their unlimited possibilities, have been given them by the people. They are proud to be and remain one with the people, no superior intellectual snobbery, but consciousness that they are "socialist-minded worker-intellectuals."

The one day a week they spend in manual labor helps them to be that; those who have no factory experience and do not need it, students of the humanities, spend their work-time on the land or on building sites.

They, no less than their industrially-minded friends, are proud of their own iron and steel production, their bit towards the target put before the nation by Chairman Mao last year. Students of art and music, of history and pedagogy, stand side by side with engineering, science and metallurgical students and watch "their steel" pouring out into the carefully sanded mould. They are building a new China, and in more than spirit.

On Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago"

By Five Soviet Writers

In September, 1956, the editors of *Novy Mir*, a Soviet literary magazine, returned to Boris Pasternak the manuscript of his novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, and offered him a detailed criticism of the work, as an explanation for their rejection of it. Since this was a personal communication, it was not meant for publication and was not published. However, after the novel was published abroad and made the center of a sensational anti-Soviet campaign,

the original authors of the criticism offered it for publication, and it appeared in the November 1958 issue of both *Novy Mir* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

In the pages that follow readers will find this critique in its entirety; quotations from the novel are made from the original Russian of the manuscript as first submitted by Boris Pasternak.—*The Editor.*



BORIS LEONIDOVICH:

We have read the manuscript of your novel *Doctor Zhivago*, which you submitted to our magazine, and we would like to tell you, with all frankness, what we thought after reading it. We were both alarmed and distressed.

We realize, of course, that if it were merely a matter of likes and dislikes, a matter of personal tastes or of harsh, perhaps, but purely literary divergencies, an aesthetic altercation might very well hold little interest to you. You might agree, or you might disagree and say: "The magazine rejects the manuscript, so much the worse for the magazine; the artist retains his private opinion of its aesthetic merits."

In this case, however, the situation is much more complex than that. The thing that disturbed us about your novel is something that neither the editors nor the author can alter by cuts or alterations. We mean the spirit of the novel, its general tenor, the author's view on life, the real one or, at any rate, the one gathered by the reader. This is what we consider it our duty to discuss with you as men whom you may listen to or not, but whose collective opinion you have no reason to regard as biased, so that it would be reasonable, at least, to hear it out.

The spirit of your novel is that of non-acceptance of the socialist revolution. The general tenor of your novel is that the October revolution, the Civil War, and the social transformations involved did not give the people anything but suffering, and destroyed the Russian intelligentsia, physically or

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morally. The burden of the author's views on the past of our country and, above all, the first decade after the October Revolution (for it is by the end of this decade—barring the epilogue—that the novel ends) is that the October Revolution was a mistake, that the participation in it of sympathizers from among the intelligentsia was an irreparable calamity, and that all that happened since was evil.

To those who had earlier read your "Year 1905," "Lieutenant Schmidt," "Second Birth," "Waves" and "Early Trains"—poetry which we, at any rate, thought imbued with a different spirit, a different tenor—your novel was a distressing experience.

It would not be a mistake, we think, to say that you regard the story of Doctor Zhivago's life and death as a story of the life and death of the Russian intelligentsia, a story of its road to the revolution and through the revolution, and of its death as a result of the revolution.

There is in the novel an easily discernible watershed which, over-riding your own arbitrary division of the work into two parts, lies somewhere between the first third of the novel and the rest. This watershed—the year 1917—is a divide between the awaited and the accomplished. Before it, your heroes awaited something different from what actually happened, and beyond it came what they had not expected and did not want and what, as you depict it, leads them to physical or moral death.

The first third of your novel, covering a period of twenty years before the revolution, does not yet contain a clearly expressed non-acceptance of the coming revolution but, to our mind, the roots of this non-acceptance are already there. Later, when you begin to describe the accomplished revolution, your views develop into a system that is more orderly, more forthright in its non-acceptance of the revolution. In the first third of the novel they are still contradictory. On the one hand, you admit—in a general, declaratory way—that the world of bourgeois property and bourgeois inequality is unjust, and you not only reject it as an ideal, but actually regard it as unacceptable to the mankind of the future. But once you turn from general declarations to a description of life, to actual people, these people—both the masters of unjust, bourgeois life and their intellectual servitors, helping to preserve the iniquity you admit in general—turn out to be, with extremely rare exceptions such as, for instance, the blackguard Komarovskiy, the nicest, the kindest, the subtlest of spirits, who do good, who seek, who suffer, and who are actually incapable of hurting a fly.

This whole world of pre-revolutionary, bourgeois Russia, which you disclaim in general, turns out to be quite acceptable to you when you get down to a specific description of it. More, it turns out to be poignantly dear to your author's heart. The only unacceptable thing about it is some general iniquity of exploitation and inequality which, however, remains behind the scenes while everything that actually happens in your novel turns out, in the final analysis, to be most idyllic: capitalists donate to the revolution and live honestly; intellectuals enjoy a complete freedom of thought and are intellectually independent of the bureaucratic machine of the tsarist regime; poor girls find rich

and disinterested protectors; sons of workmen and yard-keepers find no difficulty in getting an education.

Generally, the characters in your novel live well and justly. Some of them want to live better and more justly—this, indeed, is as much as your main heroes have to do with the expectation of the revolution. The novel gives no real picture of the country or the people. Nor, consequently, does it explain why revolution became inevitable in Russia, or reveal a measure of the intolerable suffering and social injustice that had led the people to it.

Most of the characters whom the author has lovingly invested with a part of his spirit are people who have grown accustomed to living in an atmosphere of talk about the revolution, which, however, has not become a necessity for any one of them. They like to talk about it in one way or another, but they can also do very well without it, and there was nothing in their life before the revolution that was either intolerable or merely poisoned their life, if no more than spiritually. And there are no other people in the novel (if we are to confine ourselves to characters who enjoy the author's sympathy and who are drawn up with anything like a similar measure of penetration and detail).

As for the people suffering behind the scenes, it appears in the first third of the novel as something of an unknown quantity, something that is supposed to be, and the author's real attitude to this unknown quantity becomes clear only after the revolution is accomplished and the people begin to act.

The first third of the novel is, first and foremost, a chronicle of several gifted individuals, living a many-sided intellectual life and self-centered on the problem of their own spiritual existence. One of these gifted individuals, Nikolai Nikolayevich, says at the very beginning of the novel that "the herd instinct is the refuge of the ungifted—whether it is loyalty to Solovyev, or Kant, or Marx. The truth is sought after only by isolated individuals and they break off with all who do not love it enough. Is there anything on earth that deserves loyalty? Such things are very few."

This thought is given in the novel within the context of Nikolai Nikolayevich's god-seeking. But beginning with the second third of the novel it gradually becomes a condensed expression of the author's attitude to the people and to the revolutionary movement.

And then comes, or rather explodes, the revolution. It explodes in the faces of your heroes unexpectedly because for all their talk, they did not expect it, and when it comes, the revolution and its working plunge them into amazement. In speaking of how the revolution enters your novel, it is even hard to distinguish between the February and the October revolutions. In your novel it all comes out as pretty much the same thing, as 1917 in general, when, at first, the changes were not too sharp and did not disrupt too noticeably the life of your "truth-seeking individuals," your heroes; and then, later, the changes went farther and cut deeper, more painfully. Their life became increasingly dependent on the tremendous, unprecedented things happening in the country, and this dependence, as it increased, infuriated them and made them regret what had happened.

Theoretically, it is difficult to imagine a novel set to a large extent in 1917, which does not, in one way or another, give a definite appraisal of the social

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difference between the February and October revolutions. And yet, this is precisely the case in your novel! It is hard to imagine that first the February Revolution and then the October Revolution, which divided so many people into different camps, should not identify the positions of the heroes of a novel about the period. It is hard to believe that people leading an intellectual life and occupying a certain position in society should not identify in one way or another their attitude at the time to such events as the overthrow of autocracy, the advent to power of Kerensky, the July events, Kornilov's revolt, the October uprising, the seizure of power by the Soviets and the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly.

And yet, the characters in your novel do not openly state their views of any of these events, they do not give any straightforward estimate of the events by which the country lived at the period. One might, of course, say that the author simply did not care to call things by their proper names, that he did not care to give a straightforward estimate of the events either himself or through his characters, and there may be some truth in the explanation. But we think that the whole truth lies much deeper than this partial explanation.

The truth, to our mind, is that your "truth-seeking individuals" become increasingly furious with the mounting revolution not because they do not accept some of its specific forms such as the October uprising or the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, but because of the various discomforts to which they personally are doomed by it.

Faced with an actual revolution which took the place of their talk about a revolution and in which they were mere by-standers, these "truth-seeking individuals," whom the author originally presented as men of ideas, or, rather, men living in a world of ideas, turn out to be, almost to a man, people who are far from having any desire to uphold any idea, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, let alone sacrifice their lives for it.

They continue, to all appearances, to lead spiritual lives but their attitude to the revolution, and primarily their actions, become increasingly contingent on the measure of personal discomforts brought about by the revolution such as hunger, cold, overcrowded living space, disruption of the cosy, well-fed pre-war existence they had become accustomed to. It is hard to name outright another work in which heroes with pretensions to higher spiritual values should, in the years of the greatest events, show such concern for and speak so much about food, potatoes, firewood and other comforts and discomforts of life as in your novel.

Your heroes, and, in the first place, Doctor Zhivago himself, spend the years of the revolution and civil war in search of relative well-being and tranquility, and this amid the vicissitudes of struggle, and general devastation and ruin. They are not cowards physically. You go out of your way, as author, to stress this.

But, at the same time, their only goal is to preserve their own way of life, and this is what guides them in all their main actions. It is the knowledge that their way of life is not secure in the conditions of the revolution and Civil War that leads them to growing resentment of all that happens. They are not property-grabbers, gourmets, or sybarites. They need all this not for its own sake but merely as a means of continuing, in safety, their spiritual life.

What life? Why, the one they led in the past, for nothing new enters their spiritual life and nothing changes it. They regard the possibility of continuing it, without outside interference, as the greatest blessing not only for themselves, but for all mankind, and since the revolution steadfastly requires them to act, to say "for" or "against," they turn, in self-defense, from a feeling of alienation from the revolution to a feeling of active hostility to it.

In those grim years, which called for various sacrifices not only by those who had accomplished the revolution but also by its enemies, by those who had fought it, arms in hand, the "truth-seeking individuals" turned out to be merely "highly gifted" philistines and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine how, say, the Zhivago family would subsequently have looked upon the revolution had they not found themselves for various reasons in the winter of 1918 in a Moscow flat so crowded and so hungry as the novel has it. However, life in Moscow turned out to be cold, hungry and difficult, and the "truth-seeking individual" became a food-grabbing intellectual, who wants to continue his existence so much that he forgets that he is a doctor and conceals this in the years of national suffering, privations and epidemics.

"There are no peoples, only individuals in that new mode of existence and that new form of communion conceived by the heart and known as the kingdom of God," Doctor Zhivago remarks on one of the pages of the novel, as yet without reference to his future existence during the Civil War. Subsequently, however, it turns out that there is a deep meaning to this remark with reference to himself. It becomes clear in these hard years of Civil War that he does not admit of such a thing as a nation. He recognizes only himself, an individual, whose interests and suffering he holds above everything else, an individual who in no way feels himself a part of a nation, who feels no responsibility to the people.

When he finds himself amid terrible nationwide suffering, Doctor Zhivago forgets everything but his own "I" and, as an appendix to it, people related to this "I," directly or indirectly. This "I," as embodied in himself and his dear ones, is not only the sole thing worth bothering about but, indeed, the only thing of value in the whole universe. It embraces all the past and the future, and if it were to die, everything would die with it.

It is no accident that Larisa Fyodorovna in complete consonance with Zhivago's thoughts, tells him in the midst of the Civil War: "You and I are like the first people, Adam and Eve, who had nothing to cover themselves with at the beginning of the world. We are just as naked and homeless at its end. You and I are the last memory of all the incalculable greatness achieved in the world in many thousands of years lying between them and us, and in memory of those vanished wonders we breathe and love, and cry, and hold on to each other, and cling on to each other."

A new page opens in the history of mankind—the October Revolution stirs hundreds of millions of people throughout the world into motion for decades to come but, it appears, the only thing of value left, the only memory of the "incalculably great" past of mankind is Doctor Zhivago and the woman sharing his life! Doesn't it seem to you that there is in this almost pathological individualism a naive grandiloquence of people who cannot and do not want to see anything

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around them and who therefore attach a comically exaggerated importance to their persons?

You say in your novel through Doctor Zhivago that "it is the end of man, being condemned to conform to type." This is the reverse side of your pretense as author that your "truth-seeking individuals" are superior people who cannot be fitted into the definition of a type, people who are above it.

It is difficult to agree with this, however. We would not want to waive the right to identify both Doctor Zhivago and other characters kindred to him as a phenomena that are sufficiently typical in time of revolution, civil war, and subsequent periods as well. We least of all want to say that such people did not exist and that the story of Doctor Zhivago is far from being typical.

As we see it, Doctor Zhivago precisely personifies a definite type of a Russian intellectual of that period, a man who loved and knew how to talk about the sufferings of the people but who could not cure these sufferings. It is the type of a man bloated with a sense of his own self-importance, of his own self-value, a man far removed from the people and ready to betray them in time of difficulty, to divorce himself of both their sufferings and their cause. It is the type of a "highly intellectual" philistine, tame when left alone, quick to bristle up when touched, and ever ready, in thought and deed, to do anything unfair to the people upon what he takes to be the slightest, real or imaginary, unfairness towards his own person.

There have been such people, and not few of them, and our point of dispute with you is not whether they have existed or not, but whether they deserve the unqualified apology your novel provides for them, whether they are the cream of Russian intelligentsia, as you seek to prove by every artifice of your talent, or whether they are its disease. The appearance of this disease in the period of confusion and reaction between the first and second Russian revolutions is easily explained, but is there any point in presenting these people, with their philistine inaction in the hour of crisis, with their cowardice in social life, and their constant evasion of a definite answer to the question "with whom are you?" as superior beings who allegedly have the right to pass objective judgment on the surrounding world, and, primarily, the revolution and the people?

It is through these people and, primarily, Doctor Zhivago, that you seek to pass judgment on all that happened, in our country beginning with the October Revolution, and it can be said without exaggeration that no character has as much the author's sympathy as Doctor Zhivago and the people who share his views, to the extent that their dialogues in most cases read like monologues.

It can be added that nothing in the novel has as much talent and care lavished on it as your description of the thoughts and moods of these people, and that characters holding different views exist in the novel but quantitatively, as a "herd," to quote your expression. They are voiceless and have no ability either to reason or to refute anything at the trial of the revolution in your novel where both the judge and the prosecutor are, in effect, united in one person, Doctor Zhivago. The author has provided him with several assistants who echo his diatribes with little variations, but there is no one at the trial to defend what Zhivago condemns.

Meanwhile, as his personal discomforts and privations caused by the revolution increase, Doctor Zhivago becomes increasingly virulent and intransigent in his condemnation. It would not be amiss, we think, to trace this lop-sided process—not for the sake of a profusion of quotations, but to enable you to see all this together, at one glance. It may be that you yourself did not realize what you had written, lost as it was among the vicissitudes of a huge novel. We would like to believe this.

At one point in the story Doctor Zhivago goes to Yuriatin and has an argument with Kostoyedov, who tells him that he doesn't know anything and doesn't want to know anything. "So I don't," Kostoyedov says, "What of it? For God's sake, why should I know everything and stand up for everything? History does not bother with me, and forces on me all it wants; let me, too, ignore the facts. You say: 'words are inconsistent with reality.' But is there any reality in Russia today? I think, that it has been so bullied that it has gone into hiding."

There is another bit of reasoning dating back to the same period (1917 or 1918, it is hard to tell from the novel), to the same trip to Yuriatin. This time the speaker is not Yurii Andreyevich himself, but his father-in-law, Alexander Alexandrovich, with whom he lived in complete agreement throughout the Civil War and whose utterances are so similar that punctuation alone makes it possible to determine what is said by Zhivago and what is said by Alexander Alexandrovich.

"Enough, I understand what you mean. I like the way you put the question. You found exactly the right words. Now, here is what I'll tell you. Remember the night you brought a handbill with the first decrees, in winter, in a blizzard. Remember their utter finality. The directness like that was overpowering. But such things live in the original purity only in the minds of their creators, and then only the day they are proclaimed. The very next day they are turned upside down and inside out by the jesuitry of politics. What can I say to you? This philosophy is alien to me. This power is against us. I was not asked for consent to this breaking up. But I was trusted, and my actions, even if forced, are binding on me."

Thus spoke Alexander Alexandrovich when Zhivago asked him how the could work out the most becoming forms of mimicry: such that they need no blush for each other. The closing words about forced actions were said in general, to no purpose, for neither Zhivago nor Alexander Alexandrovich had done anything particular for the revolution. It merely happened that they found themselves in Moscow under the Bolsheviks, served, and received a ration for it, and when the ration proved insufficient, they left in search of a better place. Equally to no purpose are the words about duty, for the rest of the novel shows that neither Alexander Alexandrovich, nor Zhivago have the least trace of a sense of duty to the revolution or to the people. What is there left? An assertion that they had been deceived, that they had, one night, liked the directness of the first Soviet decrees and that later, when that directness was translated into action and

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affected their existence, they felt the power to be against them. The line of reasoning can be explained. What cannot be explained is why the plaintiff should be passed off for a judge.

But, there is a definite philosophy behind the revolution which brought Doctor Zhivago discomforts and privations. The revolution does wrong to Doctor Zhivago. Therefore, he argues, the philosophy behind it is also wrong, and it should be declared insolvent.

"Marxism and Science?" Doctor Zhivago asks at the beginning of the second volume. "To discuss this with a stranger is imprudent, to say the least. Ah, come what may, Marxism is too poor a master of itself to be a science. A science is balanced. Marxism and objectivity? I do not know of a teaching that is more isolated in itself and more divorced from reality than Marxism."

Already this philippic against Marxism has more than a twitch of annoyance, which makes itself fully felt later, when Zhivago meets Larisa Fyodorovna in Yuriatin (in 1919, judging by certain hints).

"You have changed," she said. "Previously you spoke about the revolution with less annoyance, less pique."

"The point is, Larisa Fyodorovna, that there is a limit to everything, and something ought to have been done during this time. It turns out, however, that the turmoil of changes and shifts is the sole native element of the guiding spirits of the revolution and they'd give anything to tackle something on a world-wide scale. This construction of new worlds and transition periods is an end in itself to them. This is all they know and all they comprehend.

"And do you know whence all the bustle of those eternal preparations? From a lack of definite abilities, from being ungifted. A man is born to live, not to prepare to live, and life as such, the phenomenon of life, the gift of life is so thrillingly serious! Why then substitute for it a puerile harlequinade of immature contrivances, these Chekhovian children's flights to America?"

Thus, as early as 1919, Zhivago considered that the revolution ought to have done something, and it hadn't. What it ought to have done, we do not know. Judging by his egocentric views on what is good and what is bad, it ought to have enabled him at least to return to the normal and comfortable life he had led before the revolution. But the revolution had not done this for him and he was angry with it and passed judgment on it and its leaders: they are not gifted, they have learned nothing and are capable of nothing.

As for the civil war, he regards it as an immature contrivance, as something on a par with the flight of children to America in a Chekhov story. The humor is rather cheap, but the malice, to do him justice, is not trifling.

Zhivago sees the old life broken up and transformed around him in a brutal, costly, difficult process, the expediency of which can only be gauged from the standpoint of national interests, from the standpoint of a man who put the nation above everything else. And this is precisely what Zhivago lacks. His

position is diametrically opposite to this. He judges the people and their work by the yardstick of his own physical and spiritual well-being, and it is only natural that he should, in conditions of civil war, return more and more frequently to the thought that what he had left behind was better than the world he now had to live in. Since personal well-being is the principal criterion of all there is in the world, he has no need for the effort to transform life, and he'd rather return to the past than see the transformation go on.

Talking to Livery Averkievich, the commander of a guerrilla detachment, Zhivago said: "To begin with, the ideas of a general self-perfection, as they have come to be understood since October, do not enthuse me. Secondly, all this is still far from realization, and merely the talk about it has had to be paid for with such a sea of blood that the aim, perhaps, does not justify the means. Thirdly, and this is the main thing, when I hear of a transformation of life, I lose all self-control, I am driven to despair."

Having said this, Zhivago reverts to the theme on a later occasion: "Transformation of life! It can only be spoken of by those who do not know life, even if they have seen much of it, those who have not felt its spirit, its soul. To them, existence is a lump of coarse material which has not been ennobled by their touch and which requires fashioning. But life never has been a material, a substance. If you want to know, life itself is a constantly self-renewing, self-transforming category. It constantly refashions, realizes itself and it is far above our boneheaded theories."

Thus, there is no need to transform life, and the theories which inspire this transformation are boneheaded!

Back of the fine words about the self-renewing and self-transforming substance of life is the brute cry: don't touch me. Give me back what I had, for it is all to me, and I couldn't care less about the rest. A page later Zhivago states this with complete frankness:

"I admit that you are the luminaries and liberators of Russia, that she would have perished without you, swamped by abject poverty and ignorance. None the less, I have no use for you and I don't care if you die. I don't like you, and you can all go to hell."

It is hard to imagine a more zoological apostasy than this: it may be that what you are doing for Russia is good and useful, but I couldn't care less!

Later, upon leaving the guerrilla detachment into which he had been impressed because there was no one there to look after the wounded, and where he had shot at the Whites he sympathized with and tended wounded Reds he loathed, Doctor Zhivago returns to Yuriatin and sees new decrees hanging in the town occupied by the Reds. And he recalls what his father-in-law said about the first decrees of the revolution when they were traveling from Moscow.

"What about these?" he asks, looking at the decrees. "Are they here from last year, or the year before? Once in his life he had expressed admiration for the bluntness of their language and forthrightness of thought.

Must he now pay for this rash admiration by never again seeing anything in life but these crazy outcries and demands that had not changed for years, and became increasingly lifeless, difficult of understanding and impracticable? Could it be that he had enslaved himself forever by a moment of too ready response?"

Zhivago is so depressed by the realization that revolution is winning that he is ready to cure himself—no, not for actions for the sake of the revolution, for there are no such actions to his credit, but merely for momentary admiration for the first decrees of Soviet Power.

Such is the philosophy of the hero of your novel, a character that can no more be removed from it than the soul can be removed from a body. Such are his thoughts about the revolution. Such is his tone of a prosecutor. Such is the measure of his hatred of the revolution.

One could quote other places in the novel repeating the same thought in different ways at different periods, but it really would be superfluous: the general trend of Doctor Zhivago's trial of the revolution is clear as it is.

This trial can safely be called iniquitous, and the viciousness of Zhivago's conclusions about the revolution is intensified by his feeling of powerlessness to oppose it.

Psychologically, Doctor Zhivago is a split personality. His hatred of the revolution is enough for two Denikins, but, since he regards his "I" as the most valuable thing in the world, he does not want to jeopardize its security by indulging in any overtly counter-revolutionary actions, so that he remains physically between the two camps, though ideologically he has long since aligned himself with the other side. Chapter four of the second book of your novel is especially indicative of this.

We have already mentioned it in passing but we now deem it necessary to consider it in detail in order to show the gulf between our attitudes to Doctor Zhivago such as you show him in your novel, and your own attitude to him. It is not a big chapter, so let us read it together in full.

"The International Red Cross Convention lays down that army doctors and orderlies have no right to take part in military operations arms in hand. But it happened once that the doctor—against his will—had to violate this rule. The engagement broke out while he was with the troops and he had to take part in it and shoot back.

"When the firing started, the doctor dropped to the ground alongside the telegraphist. The guerrillas lay in a line, their backs to the taiga and facing a glade, an open defenseless clearing over which the whites advanced.

"They were already near. The Doctor saw them well, even their faces. Among them were boys and youths from non-military sections of the capital's population, and older people called up from reserve. But the tone was set by the former, by the youth, freshmen and eight-graders from gymnasiums, who had only recently volunteered.

"The doctor knew no one, but the faces of half of them seemed to him usual, familiar, seen once before. They reminded him of his old school mates. These were probably their junior brothers. He seemed to have met others in the theatre or street crowds in the days of old, and their intelligent attractive faces seemed to him somehow near and dear.

"Doing their duty, as they understood it, animated them with rapturous foolhardiness—unnecessary and challenging. They walked on in scattered formation, their shoulders thrown back, matching the pick of the Guard by their bearing, braving it out, without even resorting to running or lying down, though there were hillocks and hummocks and all sorts of accidents of terrain which provided reliable shelter. The partisans' bullets mowed them almost wholesale.

"A dry charred tree stood in the middle of the broad naked field across which the Whites swiftly moved. The tree, had, perhaps, been scorched by lightning or the flames of a fire or cleft and singed by the previous fightings. Every advancing Volunteer Corps man would cast a glance at it, eager to hide behind the trunk for a safer and more reliable aiming, overcome the temptation and run straight on.

"The partisans had a limited supply of cartridges. They had to be used sparingly. There was an order, supported by general consent, that firing should be opened from short ranges only, a rifle for one visible aim.

"The doctor was lying in the grass, unarmed, and watching the fighting. His sympathy was wholeheartedly with these children who were perishing so heroically. He wished them success with all his heart. They sprang from the families, probably kindred to him, families of the same upbringing, the same moral fibre and mentality.

"There was a thought at the back of his mind to run out into the meadow and surrender, thus gaining delivery, but this would have been a risky step, no chance at all really.

"Before he could reach the middle of the meadow and raise his hands he would be picked off from both sides—a bullet into the breast and one into the back, from his side, as a punishment for treason, and from the others, because they would not make out his intention. More than once had he been in similar fixes, thought out all possibilities, and long rejected these plans of saving himself. And reconciling himself to his duality of emotion, the doctor kept lying prone in the grass, his face turned to the meadow, watching the fighting unarmed.

"Yet contemplation and passivity in the midst of the fight to the bitter end was unthinkable and above human power. It was not a matter of being loyal to the camp to which he was fettered against his will nor of his own self-protection, but merely of following the course of things, of the obedience to the laws of what was enacted before and around him. It was against the rules to remain passive. One ought to do what others did. It was a fight. He and his comrades were fired at. He had to fire back.

"When the telephonist by his side in the line went into convulsions,

stretched out, and grew still, Yuri Andreyevich dragged himself up on his elbows, took off the man's cartridge belt and rifle, and returning to his former position, began to discharge it shot after shot.

"Pity prevented him from taking aim at the young people whom he admired and with whom he sympathized. Shooting foolishly into the air was somehow too silly and idle, and contrary to his intentions. And so snatching the moments when there were no attackers between his target and himself, he began shooting at the charred tree. He had even devices of his own.

"Taking aim more and more accurately, and increasing the pressure on the trigger imperceptibly yet without pulling it full home, as though he were not going to fire at all until the final pull and the shot followed of their own accord, contrary to expectation as it were, the doctor began, with habitual marksmanship, to raze off the dry lower branches of the dead tree.

"O God. No matter how careful he was not to hit anyone, an attacker would move between the tree and himself at a critical moment, crossing the trajectory in the instant of the discharge. His bullets grazed and wounded two of them, and it cost a third poor devil his life, and down he crashed next to the tree.

"Finally, satisfied that the attempt was futile, the White headquarters gave an order to retreat.

"The partisans were few in number. The bulk of their forces was still partly on march and partly had moved aside, engaged with the principal enemy forces. The partisans did not pursue the retreating enemy for fear the enemy would see that they were outnumbered.

"Medical assistant Angelyar brought two ambulance men with stretchers to the meadow. The doctor told them to attend to the wounded men, while he himself approached the prostrate telephonist. He vaguely hoped that the man was probably breathing and might come to. But the telephonist was dead. To make sure, Yuri Andreyevich unbuttoned his shirt and pressed his ear to hear the man's heart. It had stopped beating.

"A medallion was dangling on a silken cord around the man's neck. Yuri Andreyevich took it off and found, sown in a cloth, a piece of paper, frail and worn out at the folds. The doctor unfolded the note, nearly crumbling into fragments.

"The paper contained excerpts from the 90th psalm with those changes and deviations which the common people introduce into the prayers, gradually departing from the original after every repetition. Passages of the text in Church Slavonic had been re-written into ordinary Russian.

"The psalm says: 'The quick in the help of Almighty.' The note had this title instead: 'The quick help.' The line of the psalm: 'Unafraid . . . of the arrow flying in the day' turned into the words of encouragement: 'Don't be afraid of an arrow flying in the war.' 'As you know my name,' says the psalm, while the note: 'Has not known my name.' Instead of 'I

endure with him in sorrow and betake him,' the note read: 'I'll help you in sorrow and save him.'

"The text of the psalm was reputed to be wonder-working, giving protection against bullets. The men put it on as a talisman even in the first world war. Decades passed, and much later it was sown into the clothes of the arrested, and the prisoners repeated it over and over when summoned to the investigators for night interrogations.

"After the telephonist, Yuri Andreyevich went over to the young White guardsman he had killed. Innocence and suffering that was forgetting and forgiving were writ on the handsome face of the young man. 'What did I kill him for?' thought the doctor.

"He unbuttoned the uniform of the dead man and spread out the skirts. Serezha Rantsevich, the man's name, was written on the lining in neat, precise letters by a loving and careful hand, probably by his mother's.

"A little cross, medallion and some flat little case of gold, with a cover buckled in as if by a nail, dropped from the rent of Serezha's shirt dangling on a chain. The little case was half opened and a folded sheet of paper fluttered out of it. The doctor unfolded it and could hardly believe his eyes. That was the same Psalm 90 but in printed form and true to the Slavonic original.

"At that moment Serezha groaned and stretched himself. He was alive, but, as it turned out, he was merely shocked by a light inner contusion. The spent bullet struck his mother's amulet, and this saved him. But what was to be done with the unconscious man?

"The brutality of both sides reached climax by this time. The prisoners were not brought to the place of destination alive and the wounded were finished off with bayonets straight in the field.

"Since the composition of the forest folk army was always in a state of flux, and either new volunteers came or old-timers went or ran over to the enemy, Rantsevich could be passed for a new-comer, provided the secret was strictly kept.

"Yuri Andreyevich took off the dead telephonist's clothes, and aided by Angelyar who was initiated in his plan, put them on the young man who was still unconscious.

"The boy pulled through, thanks to the doctor's assistant and himself. When Rantsevich recovered completely, they let him go, though he never kept it secret from his saviours that he would rejoin Kolchak's troops and continue the struggle against the Reds."

After reading the whole novel we again and again returned in thought to this chapter, for it provides a key to many things. We do not think there is any need to prove that the chapter is written from the position of the author's full sympathy for Doctor Zhivago and his unqualified justification of his hero's thoughts and actions.

What are those thoughts and actions? What do you sympathize with and what do you justify as an author?

A physician mobilized against his will is forced to live among the partisans. Doctor Zhivago, according to his words, had to violate the Red Cross International convention and take part in combat action. The people who are attacking the partisans, including the doctor, are beautiful, attractive and heroic in his eyes. His sympathy is totally on their side. They are kindred to him in spirit, by moral fibre, and he wishes them success sincerely; that is, it would be no exaggeration to say that he is on their side spiritually. What then prevents him from gaining delivery, as you put it, from passing over to their side bodily as well? Only the mortal danger involved. Nothing more.

Evidently quite sincerely, you think this reason quite sufficient not only to explaining but even to justifying the double-dealing of your hero. You called it more elegantly: "the duality of emotions." But really the duality of emotions is a rather weak term for a man who is in the defense line with those whom he hates and fires at those whom he loves, solely for saving his hide.

And the subsequent events—the doctor's shooting at the charred tree, though he is unwilling to aim at anybody, and picking off three men one after another, who, according to your round-about expression, "crossed the trajectory at the moment of the discharge," smack of Jesuitry, that same Jesuitry of which Doctor Zhivago is ready to accuse any one so often and without rhyme or reason. Here your Doctor Zhivago reminds one of that hypocritical monk who observes fast, transforming meat into fish, by a sign of the cross with the difference that the stakes here are not meat and fish but human blood and human lives.

Thus, within a narrow span of time, your hero traverses a tortuous way of repeated treachery: he sympathizes with the Whites and reaches the point of wishing to run over to them, but once he has made up his mind, he begins shooting, at random at first, but finally at those Whites with whom he sympathizes. Then he feels pity not for the Whites but for the Red telephonist killed by the Whites. Then he sympathizes with the young White guardsman he has killed and asks himself: "What did I kill him for?" And when it transpires that the White guardsman is not killed, but merely wounded, he hides him, passes him for a partisan and lets him go, himself staying with the Reds and aware that the man will rejoin the Kolchakites and will fight the Reds.

This is how your Doctor Zhivago acts, arousing a feeling of downright revulsion in any spiritually healthy man by his triple if not quadruple betrayal, or simply in a subjectively honest man who once in his life may have placed his conscience above his safety—even if the difference of political opinion be discarded.

Yet you are using all the power of talent you possess to justify Zhivago in this scene emotionally, and thereby are coming in the last analysis, to the apology of betrayal.

What leads you to this apology? In our opinion, the same individualism hyperbolized to unbelievable proportions. The personality of Zhivago is the supreme value in your eyes. Doctor Zhivago's spiritual wealth is the highest stage of spiritual perfection, and for the sake of preserving this highest spiritual

attainment and his life as a vessel containing this value—for the sake of this, everything may be trespassed.

But what is, after all, the content of this supreme spiritual value of Doctor Zhivago, and what is his spiritual individualism protected by him at such a terrible price?

The content of his individualism is the self-glorification of his psychic essence, raised to the level of its identification with the mission of a religious prophet.

Zhivago is a poet, not just a physician. To convince the reader of the real significance of his poetry for mankind, as he understands it, you finish the novel with the collection of poetry written by your hero. You sacrifice the best portion of your personal poetic gift for the sake of your hero, to extol him in the eyes of the reader and at the same time to identify him with yourself as closely as possible.

The cup of Doctor Zhivago's suffering is drunk to the dregs, and here are his notes—the behest for the future. What do we find in it? Besides the verses already published, the poems about Golgotha have a special meaning for understanding the philosophy of the novel. This is an undisguised echo of the spiritual languishing of the hero, portrayed in part of the novel. The parallel grows distinct to the utmost and the key to it is handed to the reader with almost physical tangibility.

In the poem that concludes the novel, Zhivago tells about the prayer in the Gethsemane garden. Christ says to the apostles:

"The Lord esteemed you worthy

Of living in my day. . . ."

Is this not a repetition of the words the Doctor already said referring to his "friends," those intellectuals who did not act as he did. "The only thing that is alive and bright in you is that you lived in the same time as I did and knew me"?

Zhivago's entire life-story is consistently likened to the Gospel's "Lord's Passions" and the poetic prophecy of the Doctor finishes with Christ's words.

"To the court of mine, like barges of a caravan,

Centuries will float, out of the dark."

This winds up the novel. Its hero repeating Golgotha as it were, foretells the future recognition of what he has done on Earth, for the sake of redemption, with his last Christ-like words.

Did not the Golgotha of Zhivago consist in that the Doctor-poet, prophesying his "second advent" and last judgment, in life scorned the man of reality, raising himself to a pedestal inaccessible to a mortal? Did not the vocation of this intellectual Messiah consist in that he killed, betrayed, hated man, falsely sympathizing with him for the sake of saving his own "spirit" and raising himself to the level of self-idolization? As a matter of fact, the Doctor by no means fulfills his claim to the role of a Messiah, since he distorts, not repeats the prophet of the Gospels made divine by him: there is not a jot of Christianity in the gloomy road of Doctor Zhivago, for least of all he cared for mankind and most of all for himself.

Thus, under cover of superficial sophistication and morality, a character arises of essentially immoral man who refuses to do his duty by the people and who claims only the rights, including the alleged privilege of a superman, to be-trayal with impunity.

Having steered safely between the Scylla and Charybdis of the Civil War, your Doctor Zhivago dies at the end of the '20's, after losing touch with his near and dear, entering a rather dubious matrimonial alliance and degrading a great deal. A short time before his death, in his conversation with Dudorov and Gordon (they, by your grace, personify the old intelligentsia who began to cooperate with Soviet power), he awards this intelligentsia with a vicious spit.

To what lengths you go in attesting the ill-starred interlocutors of your Zhivago and disparaging them because they had not taken up the stand of a superman, but went with the revolutionary people through all trials and tribulations!

They "lack sufficient expressions," they "have no gift of speech," they "repeat the same words over and over again to make up for their poor vocabulary." They are punished with the "affliction of mediocre taste which is worse than the affliction of tastelessness," they are distinguished for their "inability to think freely and control the conversation at their will"; they are "seduced by the stereotypes of their reasonings"; they "assume the imitation of their pocket-book feelings for the universal"; they are "hypocrites" and "bondsmen" who idolize their bonds and so on and so forth.

Listening to what they have to say, your Doctor Zhivago, who, as you put it, "could not stand the political mysticism of the Soviet intelligentsia," which was its highest achievement or, as it would be said then, "the spiritual ceiling of the epoch," arrogantly thinks about his friends who joined the service of Soviet power: "yes, my friends, how hopelessly banal are you and the circle you represent, and the brilliance and art of your own names and celebrities. The only things alive and bright in you are that you lived in one time as I did and knew me."

We advise you carefully to reread these words written in your novel. The fact that they are ludicrously arrogant is only half of the trouble. But surely you feel that they are mean, apart from being arrogant! The truth is rarely a fellow-traveler of bitterness, and this is probably why it is so rare in the pages where your Doctor Zhivago is finishing his life, and in the pages of the epilogue that follows, written, in our opinion, in a very embittered state of mind and with a very hasty hand, so hasty, indeed, from bitterness that these pages are included in the domain of art with difficulty.

You are not alien to symbols and the death or rather the dying of Doctor Zhivago at the end of the '20's, it seems to us, symbolizes the death of the Russian intelligentsia ruined by the Revolution. Yes, we must agree that the climate of the Revolution is pernicious for that Doctor Zhivago you portrayed in your novel. And our argument with you is not about this, as we have mentioned, but about something quite different.

Doctor Zhivago, in your opinion, is the acme of the Russian intelligentsia's spirit.

In our opinion, he is its slough.

In your opinion, that Russian intelligentsia whose ways parted with those of Doctor Zhivago and who began to serve the people, has deviated from its true destination, spiritually destroyed itself, and created nothing valuable.

In our opinion, it is precisely on this path that it has found its true destination and continued to serve the people, and does precisely what the best part of the Russian intelligentsia did for the people in pre-Revolutionary times as it prepared the Revolution—then as now infinitely alien to that conscious divorce from the interests of the people, the ideological sectarianism, the bearer of which your Doctor Zhivago is.

We have only to add several forceful words, to what has been said above, concerning the way the people and the years of the Revolution are described in your novel. This portrayal, which is given more often than not through the perception of Doctor Zhivago, or sometimes in the author's text, is highly characteristic of the anti-popular spirit of your novel and is in profound contradiction with the whole tradition of Russian literature which never ingratiated itself with the common people but was able to see their beauty, power and spiritual wealth. The people portrayed in your novel are either kindly pilgrims who cling to Doctor Zhivago and his friends, or half beasts who personify the elements of the Revolution, or, rather, of the rebellion, the mutiny, according to your conception.

We shall cite several quotations to bear out what we have said, this time, without comments and choosing them at random, which probably would be more convincing.

"At the beginning of the Revolution when there was a danger, as in 1905, that this time the Revolution would be again a short-lived event in the history of the enlightened upper crust, without touching or taking root in the lower strata, and no attempt was spared to agitate people, revolutionize them, stir them, muddle them up and enrage them."

"In the first days, the people like soldier Panfil Palykh, who without any agitation brutally and rabidly hated intellectuals, gentry and officers as deadly poison, seemed to be rare finds to the elated Left-wing intellectuals and were highly esteemed. Their total lack of humanity seemed to be a miracle of class consciousness, their barbarism an example of proletarian firmness and revolutionary instinct. This was what Panfil was famous for. He was in the best books of the partisan chieftains and Party leaders."

"Chairs were placed for the welcome guests and they were occupied by three or four workers, the old participants of the first revolution, the morose hardly recognizable Tiversin and his constant yes-man, old Antipov. Canonized and included into the divine hierarchy, to whose feet the Revolution placed its gifts and sacrifices, they sat bold upright, silent severe idols, whose political haughtiness had eaten away everything alive and humane in them."

"This time justified the old adage: *homo homini lupus est*. A trav-

eler veered off at the sight of a traveler. A passerby killed a passerby not to be killed. There were cases of cannibalism. The human laws of civilization were no longer effective. The animal laws were in force. Men dreamed the pre-historic dreams of cave-dwelling."

Many more similar quotations may be cited but those mentioned above are sufficiently typical and give an idea of the people in your novel or at least that section of it which actively participated in the Revolution. This is what your heroes are angry about and you share this feeling with them.

So far we have not touched on the artistic aspect of your novel. Referring to it, it should be noted that the impressions of some pages do not add to the general picture and exist in isolation, the general subject threads and composition is disrupted and even disintegrated.

There are quite a few first-rate pages, especially where you describe Russian nature with great realism and poetic power.

There are many clearly inferior pages, lifeless and didactically dry. They are especially rife in the second half of the novel.

Yet we would not like to dwell on this aspect, since, as we have mentioned at the beginning of the letter, the essence of our argument with you has nothing to do with aesthetic wranglings. You have written a political novel-sermon, par excellence. You have conceived it as a work to be placed unreservedly and sincerely at the service of certain political aims, and this, which is the main thing for you, has naturally focused our attention as well.

However painful it is to us, we had to call a spade a spade in this letter. It seems to us that your novel is profoundly unjust, historically prejudiced in the description of the Revolution, the Civil War and the post-revolutionary years, that it is profoundly anti-democratic and alien to any conception of the interests of the people. All this, taken as a whole, stems from your standpoint as a man who tries in his novel to prove that, far from having any positive significance in the history of our people and mankind, the October Socialist Revolution brought nothing but evil and hardships.

As people whose standpoint is diametrically opposite to yours, we, naturally, believe that the publication of your novel in the columns of the magazine *Novy Mir* is out of the question.

As for the irritation with which the novel is written—and not your ideological position as such—we, recalling that you have works to your credit in which a great deal differs from what you have recently said, want to remind you in the words of your heroine, addressed to Doctor Zhivago: "You have changed, you know. Before you judged the revolution not so sharply and without irritation."

But then the main thing is not irritation, of course, because, after all is said and done, it is merely a concomitant of the ideas long rejected, untenable and doomed to perdition. If you are able to think about it seriously, please do so. In spite of everything, we wish it very much.

Enclosed is the manuscript of your novel "Doctor Zhivago."

B. Agapov, B. Lavrenyov, K. Fedin, K. Simonov, A. Krivitsky.

Americans View the Soviet Union*

(Part II)

By Herbert Aptheker

HEALTH

John T. Connor, president of Merck & Co., one of the largest drug companies in the United States, admits to being one of those Americans who was secure in a feeling of certainty as to the backwardness of the outlandish Soviet Union, but who, having gone and seen for himself, has changed his mind. "For too many years," he wrote in *Chemical Processing* magazine (August), "I, for one, have been focusing my attention on the weaknesses of Soviet economy and brushing off the evidence of its enormous vigor and its growing strength."

Being an expert in matters of combatting disease, that is what Mr. Connor particularly studied while in the USSR. As others noted that the campaign against illiteracy and for the broadest and highest possible educational system seemed to be primary purposes of the Socialist Revolution, so Mr. Connor begins: "Since the Revolution in 1917, the Bolsheviks have looked upon disease as an enemy of the State. So they have seen a direct connection between health, life expectancy and industrial progress."

While placing the matter in this way tends to deprive the Socialist Revolution of having any humanist intent—of being interested in healthy people, not because of a concern for people, but because of a concern for industrial progress—Mr. Connor does go on to give the facts about the great health successes achieved by the USSR. He notes a nationwide campaign of sanitation, widespread public health education, and the building of hundreds of hospitals and clinics throughout the land.

Again, as others with differing interests have emphasized that the USSR now graduates twice as many engineers as does the United States, so Mr. Connor underlines the fact that the Soviet Union now graduates 16,000 physicians a year, which is twice as many as our own country. He notes, too, that while before the Revolution, there were 17 doctors per 100,000 people in Russia, by 1956 there were 164 physicians per 100,000 people—and this was 25 per cent better than the figures in our own country, namely, 130 per 100,000.

Three-fourths of the Soviet physicians are women, Mr. Connor notes; and he finds this reflective of the enhanced status of women in Soviet society. Other commentators have tried to place this development in an ugly light—Dr. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, even remarking that such a high percentage of women physicians, and women's participation as equals in all phases of Soviet life, merely mirrored the well-known diabolical purpose that the Bolsheviks had of nationalizing all women! But then, one cannot expect sanity to return fully intact and all at once. . . .

* The first half of this article appeared in the November issue.

Others have maintained that the standards set for Soviet physicians are lower than those for American doctors. Actually, there is good evidence of a serious deterioration in medical practices in our own country and, in any case, the dependence of adequate treatment upon the patient's economic status and his ability to pay is so notorious,* that we should not too hastily assume very high standards as characteristic today in American medicine.

The complete availability of the best in medical care and health building for all citizens in the Soviet Union, free of cost, greatly impressed Mr. Connor, as it did Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Commissioner of Health for the City of New York. Dr. Baumgartner, returning from a month's study of this question in the USSR, was also struck by the "prestige, life-long security, and great monetary rewards" open to all medical workers and scientists there, as well as the abundance of technical personnel and equipment provided research workers (*N. Y. Times*, July 18).

Mark G. Field, who accompanied Dr. Paul Dudley White (the heart specialist who treated the President), on a medical study mission to the Soviet Union in 1956, and thereafter continued his studies of this field, after summarizing data akin to that touched upon above, adds an additional observation of importance. "Finally," he writes in *The Progressive* (March):

I would like to conclude with an impression that I gathered while visiting the medical installations in the Soviet Union: I was struck by the kindness, the gentleness with which patients were handled by the staff.

Dr. Field observed "a respect for the sick" that he had not found in our own hospitals. He thought a possible explanation might be in the large numbers of women doctors and women's greater tenderness; but he did not think this was the main reason. The main reason, Dr. Field believes—at least matching Dr. Gideonse in the astuteness of his analytical powers—is that medicine somehow represents a field in which "the great humanitarian traditions of the Russia of the Nineteenth Century" still flourishes. It is strange, then, that these traditions did not humanize what few public service institutions there were in old Czarist Russia, and that their humanitarian potential somehow could only become actual in the fierce, brutal Russia of the Bolsheviks!

Tables recently published in the *New Republic* (June 23) sum up the health contrasts between the Old and the New Russia. In 1913 Russia had 16.6 doctors per 100,000 people; in 1956 the USSR had 164.2; in 1913 the death rate per 1,000 population in Russia was 30.2; in 1956 it was 7.7; in 1913 Russia had 1.5 hospital beds per 1,000 population; in 1956, the Soviet Union had 6.8; in 1913, the life expectancy in Russia was 40 years; in 1956 in the Soviet Union it was

* See the very valuable articles by Selig Greenberg on these questions in *The Progressive*, Sept., Oct., 1958. Also, for a pioneering study on the relationship between the patient's income and the quality of his treatment see, A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (John Wiley & Sons, N. Y., \$7.50).

67 years. By the way, in the mortality rate the USSR stands superior to the United States; in longevity it has caught up with the United States; in the number of doctors in proportion to the population it is now far ahead of the United States; and in the number of hospital beds, while the USSR is still behind, her rate of growth since 1913 has been more than twice as rapid as has been that of our own country.

GENERAL LIVING STANDARDS

Such unprecedented improvements reflect not only giant strides in preventive and curative medicine; they are inexplicable except in terms of a tremendous rise in the general standard of living of the vast majority of the European and Asian peoples making up the USSR.

Some appreciation of this fact is beginning to reach large segments of the American public. A typical example of the way this knowledge is being conveyed is the article by Daniel Schorr in a recent issue of *The Progressive* (March). His article is charged with hostile language, and spiced with carefully selected and fully quoted complaints taken from the Soviet press; it studiously avoids any mention of World War II, even when discussing the housing situation, though during that war nearly half of all Soviet urban housing was demolished. Nevertheless, the astute and persistent reader who will manage to survive Mr. Schorr's verbal booby-traps will find data that are very impressive. Thus, market supplies of meat have risen three and a half times from 1940 to 1957; dairy products have risen three and a half times; sugar, two and a half times; eggs, two and a half times. The output of woolen fabrics rose almost five times in the same period; silk fabrics, almost ten times; garments, almost three times; footwear, almost two times; clocks and watches, almost ten times. And for the first time, following World War II, appreciable numbers of refrigerators (about 300,000), washing machines (430,000), and vacuum cleaners (300,000), were being produced in one year (1957).

Schorr, a CBS correspondent in Moscow for several years, admits further that, "The man or woman one sees in Moscow is considerably better (and more brightly) dressed than three years ago." The rapidity of this advance in general living standards is mentioned also by Mrs. Roosevelt. Returning in October, 1958, after a year's absence, she was struck especially by the surge forward in the really crash program now going on in the USSR to overcome the chronic and severe housing shortage. In Moscow, she found an impressive number of new apartment houses that twelve months before had not been there; and she saw building going forward in the same city "that would, when finished, house two million people." (*N. Y. Post*, Oct. 8.)

Further reflecting the general advance in living standards, and contributing to the enhancement of well-being, is the tremendous physical culture and mass sports program conducted in the USSR. The appearance of the Soviet Union as a first-class sports competitor in international tournaments has had great impact in our own country, where track, baseball, football, basketball, hunting and fishing, tennis and golf, swimming and boating are so substantial a part of our lives, either as participants, or—increasingly—as spectators. Indeed, this new develop-

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ment in terms of Soviet prowess has probably had almost as much impact on American public opinion as have had the revelations concerning Soviet science, technique and education.* The prime illustration of post-Sputnik breakthrough in this field is the remarkable picture-story done by Jerry Cooke which took up practically an entire issue of the leading publication in the field, *Sports Illustrated* (Dec. 2, 1957). This lavish Luce-owned weekly sent the Russian-speaking sports photographer Cooke on an extensive tour of the USSR, to bring back, as the magazine says, "a documentary not only of the vast Soviet physical culture program, but also an intimate record of the average citizen in his leisure time."

Mr. Cooke found that "sports are a very big thing in the USSR today. In fact, sports are everywhere." He was amazed (that word again) especially at the universality of the phenomenon—this was really a mass sports and physical culture program—everyone from very young to very old—girls and boys, men and women—participated, and their equipment, supervision, grounds were superb and were free.

Cooke asks, "What prompts all this activity?" He answers that the government supports it, that there is "a considerable amount of leisure time resulting from the universal eight-hour day (he neglects to mention that the seven-hour day is being introduced very widely, and that even the six-hour day, as at the Lenin Steel Mills in Usbekistan, has begun to appear), a passion for mass activity, and excellent facilities available at no cost." Here, as almost always, some anti-Soviet twist is found necessary, for the author adds "an almost deliberate, certainly conscious, withdrawal by the average citizen from the complex problems of politics and economics in the Soviet Union" as also important in explaining the uniquely mass character of the program. Certainly, it is true that the need for change, relaxation, and relief from the cares and burdens of day-to-day activity—plus the purely physical advantages of exercise—should be decisive in any program of this nature. Further than this, Cooke's insinuation is unsubstantiated, unworthy, really, of his fine reportage and photography, and—unsporting.

The main point is put in these words by Cooke himself: "You have a sports and physical fitness boom with an importance in Soviet life which is unparalleled anywhere in the world today." And his pictures in full color are marvelous—no one can forget or belie the snap of the Soviet boy luxuriating in the "old swimming hole," and of the school-kids going through their paces, or the older man working on his sailboat. No wonder Cooke closes with the observation that the Soviet peoples were "altogether likable and human," and that: "*They are quite a different people from the concept we have had of them for forty years.*"

THE CHILDREN

Cooke's story stressed the particular care taken of the children, and the delight with which youngsters were dealt with in the Soviet Union. This special tender-

* The impact has been intensified because of a rising dissatisfaction in our country with the commercialization of sports, and with the coming to the fore of a kind of bitter competitiveness that tends to take the fun out of sports. A penetrating critique of this aspect of present-day American life has just appeared in John R. Tunis' *The American Way in Sports* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, N. Y., \$3.50)

ness toward the young is something universally remarked about by American visitors. Typical were the comments of Miss Blanche Thebom, the Metropolitan Opera singer, upon returning from the Soviet Union. Reported the *New York Times* (March 5); "It was the children, with their excellent manners, their fairness and direct way, that completely won Miss Thebom." The Soviet children, she said, "seemed completely uninhibited" and joyous; only once in public did she see a child cry, and passersby "stared at the mother in amazement," commented the singer.

Mrs. Roosevelt has also noted this feature of Soviet life, in her recent columns. In one, she confessed herself distraught that American experts in child care reported that in our country "the interest in small children had greatly decreased and that less was being done for the child of pre-school age." At a conference, which she attended, discussing this matter, one of the participants "announced that she had just been asked why we should bother about pre-school children when the Soviet Union did not take its children into school until they are 7." Without rejecting the insufferable tailism that this remark connoted, Mrs. Roosevelt did comment:

Luckily, there were enough persons present to correct that statement, for the Soviet Union is particularly concerned about its babies and kindergarten children. There are nurseries for every child from two months old on, and excellent kindergartens. (*N. Y. Post*, Oct. 23.)

The fullest treatment of this particular question to appear in the American press is the remarkable eight-page article, "How the Russians Bring Up Their Children," in the October number of *McCall's*. Its author is Dr. Milton J. E. Senn, director of the Child Study Center of Yale University; it is the result of a visit to the Soviet Union by Dr. Senn, "to study Russian methods of rearing and educating children." Dr. Senn visited Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev and several rural areas in the USSR; he examined clinics, hospitals, nurseries, schools and institutes of all relevant kinds, interviewed many scientists, educators and administrators, and turned extremely skeptical, though expert, eyes on all phases of child care.

Dr. Senn admits: "I went to Russia expecting the worst." At another point, he tells how he confessed to the director of a nursery home: "When I came here, I expected to find your methods to be like the ancient Spartans. I thought you would be toughening the children from the very start to be good soldiers—hard, unsentimental and ruthless."

The director retained her patience. Dr. Senn reports: "The only thing that the Spartans advocated which interests us at all," she said firmly, 'is good physical training.' With enormous naivete, Dr. Senn confesses that he spied on the Russian children; that he sat on park benches, hiding behind a copy of *Pravda*, and peering out at the playing children to convince himself that the Soviet authorities were not hoaxing him altogether and in some magical way making the children appear happy and free and uninhibited and courteous and endearing! Frankly, for one American reader, the picture of this Yale professor spying on children from behind *Pravda* was enough to make the skin crawl!

As for "expecting the worst," Dr. Senn frankly declares: "What I found surprised and delighted me."

What did he find? He found that the children "seem to fear no one." They were "good-humored, easy-going, carefree and friendly." They are "remarkably well behaved"; they play together very well, "they never seem to whine; they cry only when they hurt themselves, and then only briefly." "They are warm, spontaneous, polite and generous." And a reader is willing to forgive Dr. Senn everything, even his spying on children, when he writes, "it is impossible to keep from falling in love with them."

Specifically, Dr. Senn reported that while the Soviet Union's population is 75 per cent greater than our own, she has 45,000 pediatricians, that is to say, seven times more than the 6,000 in the United States! He describes for his readers in some detail a particular nursery—this one connected with a Moscow textile factory. The factory operates on three shifts (apparently, the textile industry is not a "sick" one in the USSR); babies belonging to mothers on the night shift simply sleep there; others "eat, play, nap and get a little rudimentary education." There was a total of 150 children in this nursery. The cost to the parents came to from \$2.50 to \$10 a month, the fee depending upon the family income and the number of children.

Described in some detail, too, is an orphanage; this one contained 110 children up to the age of three. Dr. Senn was astonished to find that the total of personnel charged with the care of these 110 infants—nurses, physicians, maintenance staff—came to 98 full-time people. "Just considered as places for children to stay," Dr. Senn writes, "the day nurseries and the orphanage I saw can only be described as absolutely superb, far better than anything of the sort I have seen in America." Furthermore, contrary to the stereotype most often spread to the American people concerning the USSR, Dr. Senn reports of these institutions for the care of children, just as Dr. Field reported (the reader will remember) about institutions for the care of the ill:

Far from being cold, impersonal and militantly authoritarian, far from being a barracks to breed hard-hearted soldiers, these places are models of kindness and humaneness.

Concluding, Dr. Senn quotes, with manifest approval, the remark made to him by a Soviet journalist: "It is not true that we are a classless society. We have a privileged class—the children." The Yale professor in his own words states:

There can be no doubt that the Russians cherish and pamper their children. . . . In the state nursery schools, in the orphan homes, the babies are surrounded by warmth, affection, and the most patient and kindly attention. In the individual family the child gets an even more personal brand of tender, loving care.

Basic to this result is the sense of collective and creative effort, of economic security and the dignity of Soviet citizenship, which together mean socialism

in the Soviet Union. Of this, quite naturally, Dr. Senn does not write. But he does write of that closer to his immediate interest, namely, the care given the pregnant woman and the new mother. Thus, the pregnant woman visits her free clinic* at least ten times before the child's birth. And, "besides the standard prenatal examinations and care, she gets a long and insistent educational course in the facts of childbirth and in the care of children."

Finally, our author tells us, the well-being of the infant and mother are assured in terms of very practical guarantees. Thus:

As for the woman who is about to have a baby, she enjoys some substantial privileges. If her doctors decide she needs it, she gets a shorter day or a shorter work week. Two months before the baby arrives she goes home to await him at full pay. After the birth she gets two more months off with pay and is entitled to take three more without pay if she so likes, and her job is held open for her. Even after she returns to work, she is excused from her job as often and as long as necessary to go nurse her baby.

Meanwhile, a doctor and nurse visit the young mother when she has just returned home from the hospital; thereafter begin regular visits to the baby clinic, with the infant receiving shots for the prevention of polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, smallpox and tuberculosis—and, of course, "all this is free under the Soviet medical system."

Perhaps even more momentous, is the fact that this system—as the advances in child care in general, in education, in science, technique and industry—applies to the entire Soviet Union, including that half of it which is Asian. It is vital to bear in mind that while the advances represent an enormous leap forward for the European inhabitants of the USSR, for the Asians in that vast country, it represents an even greater forward surge altogether without parallel in human history; this accounts (together with the illegalization of racism) for the colossal attraction the USSR has for Asian (and African) peoples.

During the past year the American people have been told, grudgingly, it is true, that two of the worst afflictions hounding many young people and women, in the "Free World"—juvenile delinquency and prostitution—have been handled with notable success in the Soviet Union. Sometimes the truth about this development is deliberately distorted, as happened quite recently through the fine hand of J. Edgar Hoover, who (in *This Week* magazine, Oct. 26) told several million readers that juvenile delinquency afflicted the USSR as it did the United States. Mr. Hoover was wrong again.

In the United States nearly 750,000 youngsters under the age of 18 were arrested in 1957; since 1952, while the population under 18 has increased by 22 per cent, arrests of this segment of the population have risen by 55 per cent; projecting the present rate of development, by 1962 we will have the edifying

* Dr. Senn was somewhat startled to see an abortion department as a regular part of every maternity clinic. While the seriousness of abortion is emphasized, the decision is left to the woman.

spectacle at home of seeing one million youngsters arrested in a single year. In the United States, according to official figures, almost 70 per cent of all arrests for auto theft, over 50 per cent of all arrests for burglary and larceny were of children under 18.

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, as Dr. Derthick, U.S. Commissioner of Education, observed after returning from the USSR, "there doesn't seem to be much juvenile delinquency" (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 7). The fact is that while in our own country well over 40 per cent of all major crimes are committed by people under 18, in the Soviet Union the comparable percentage is 5 per cent. The fact, further, is that the rate of crime and delinquency among the young in the USSR has been decreasing, not increasing, since World War II, unlike the trend in all capitalist nations (*N. Y. Times*, April 10).

The increase of prostitution, and the spreading "call girl" profession, is notorious throughout the "Free World," especially in England, Italy, Japan and the United States. Its elimination from the Soviet Union—though Czarist Russia was "outstanding" in this field—is a fact; Dr. Harold Greenwald, author of *The Call Girl*, a study of a phase of prostitution in our country, when asked how this was accomplished, naturally (I mean naturally for a respectable American public figure) omitted any reference to Socialism, but he did say:

They did it by setting up therapeutic communities in which the girls were trained for new occupations. They did it by making it socially undesirable for men to visit prostitutes. For example, they posted signs in a factory, if a man was found out, which said, 'Ivan Ivanovich is a purchaser of human flesh.' They did it by never prosecuting the prostitutes. They prosecuted the man instead (*N. Y. Post*, April 15).

CULTURE

The cultural revolution in the Soviet Union, consequent upon the victory of the 1917 Revolution, has two main components. First, it seeks for the first time in the history of humanity, to make the intellectual and aesthetic treasures of the entire world the property of all its citizens; second, it seeks to develop an intellectual and aesthetic creativity devoted to the enhancement of Socialism. These two elements are intertwined; both are without precedent in man's past. Both entail enormous difficulties—and would do so if the country making the effort had had, to start with, a highly developed industry and technique, a highly trained and literate population, uniformly friendly and helpful neighbors, and undisturbed peace. Having none of these assets, but having rather exactly the contrary deficits, the Soviet Union nevertheless has held firm to these two great purposes, because both are essential to the building and the appearance of a socialist society.

The attitude toward cultural creativity is one which refuses to divorce it from responsibility to the social environment; it is not that of the individualism, characteristic of such activity in exploitative systems based upon the private ownership of the means of production. Here the artists' freedom has partaken of, mir-

rored and been dependent upon the freedom of the market; the greatest products therefore were those in rebellion against this prostitution. Where the whole base is transformed, however, the traditional problems of artistic creation are substantially altered. At the same time, the extreme difficulty of such creation, the ineluctably personal quality that must remain part of it, and the terrific temptations for easy solutions, via administration and fiat, pose problems and create difficulties of enormous complexity and tenacity. Sure it is that the millennia of exploitative systems could not begin to resolve these problems, but tended generally to intensify them, as the systems matured. The Socialist system, but forty years old, most certainly has not solved these problems, nor the new ones its existence has created; but it has done much to move in the direction of solution, which promises that here, for the first time, developing maturity will produce not an aggravation of the problems, but their real resolution.

With the creation of a stable and highly advanced productive base, the development of a constantly growing standard of living, and the evolution of a new Socialist personality, the knottiest tasks of uninhibited creativity are on the way to solution. Meanwhile, the accomplishments, despite setbacks and periods of partial retrogression, have been sensational. And something of this story, too, has been brought to the American public in the year since Sputnik.

First, the creation in the USSR of a high mass level of cultural knowledge and appreciation, without equal or precedent, is admitted. In discussing the material on education, we saw the American reports as to the passion for learning everywhere evident in the Soviet Union. In addition, the readers of the *New York Herald-Tribune* found themselves face to face with the report of Edward Crankshaw (in the issue dated Jan. 5): "There is no appetite in the Soviet Union more insatiable than the appetite for reading. The Russians read everything and everywhere." They learned that in the USSR there was one public library for every 1,360 people, and that this was the highest ratio in the world.

The readers of the *New York Times* (May 18) suddenly were told that "during the past few years the Soviet Union has emerged as the world's leader in book production"; and that in 1957 it rolled up two record figures: 30,000 titles issued in that one year, in a total printing of one billion, one hundred million copies. This, said the story by Marc Slonim, included not only Lenin's works in 250,000 copies, but Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, Nekrassov's *Poems*, and Saltykov's *Satirical Tales*, each in printings of 800,000 copies.

Mr. Slonim discovered that, "The Soviet citizen reads the new books, but he hardly ever rereads them, while he makes of Pushkin, Turgenev, Tolstoy and others constant companions." This is explained by Mr. Slonim on the grounds of the poor contemporaneous output; but it seems to me that a better explanation lies in the nature of classics. Who, in our country, re-reads last year's or last month's best-selling novel; and among those few who do read in our country, who among them does not re-read Melville, Whitman, Hawthorne, Poe—and Tolstoy?

Be that as it may, Mr. Slonim points out that because in the USSR there are many millions of new readers and avid book-buyers, there were sold, in sets ranging from ten to thirty volumes, 300,000 copies of Tolstoy, Chekhov, Gorky

and Turgenev, and a mere 225,000 copies of the works of Dostoevsky. About half a million copies of Sholem Aleichem's books were sold to Soviet readers in 1957.

The finest literature of the entire world is brought to the Soviet people and is demanded by them—Frank Norris' *Octopus* was printed in 100,000 copies last year; Upton Sinclair's *King Coal*, a mere 75,000. Slonim was even more impressed by the mass reading of poetry that exists in the Soviet Union. Pushkin sells, of course, in the millions every year, but the poetry of Alexander Blok, the symbolist of the early years of this century, for example, sold 250,000 copies in 1957.

This new phenomenon of the truly mass consumption of the noblest cultural products is not confined, of course, to the printed page. Hence, as Ossia Trilling, vice-president of the International Association of Theatre Critics, stated (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 26): "In no city in the world can one see so much Shakespeare, Ibsen, Wilde, Schiller, Ostrovsky, Chekhov, and so on, in one week as in Moscow."^{*}

Again, W. A. Darlington, reporting in the *New York Times* (June 8) the visit of the Moscow Art Theatre to England, stated that while he disapproved the socialization of the theatre, it was impossible to deny "that the quality of the performance was superb." Further, this writer conceded "that such a system can create an earthly paradise for the actor" in terms of security and the fullest devotion to the needs of his craft. Of course, an awareness of the breath-taking quality of the dance in the USSR has gripped large segments of the American public as a result of the triumphant tour of the Moiseyev Group. One of the most interesting comments on this experience appeared in the Catholic magazine, *The Commonweal* (Oct. 17). Richard Hayes was puzzled, and by no means entirely pleased, to find an absence of the tragic element in the dance—especially since the tragic used to be so conspicuous in Russian cultural output. At the same time, he paid tribute to the "bright zest and glow, the physical festivity." He confessed that often current American efforts reflect "a mollifying triviality," but in this Soviet offering, "the reality of life is absolute. . . . It has its authority in that final realism of the body, of physical exuberance and passionate freshness, which is no more to be counterfeited in art than in life."

Mr. Hayes caught the sense of the collectivism, of the community in the Soviet art, just as Harold Clurman had noted that "the individuals achieve freedom, power and pleasure through their being a group, sharing common sentiments, living one life, experiencing a creative unity."

John Martin, dance critic of the *Times*, was ecstatic over the Soviet performers. Getting ready to welcome the Beryozka Russian Folk Ballet, he offered the ultimate accolade—"Russians as a people may well be the greatest performers as such anywhere in the world theatre" (Oct. 26). Tributes of the same exuberant nature have appeared in the American press (with rare exceptions, as in the columns of the Slavophobe, Paul Henry Lang of the *Herald-Tribune*) concerning the unsurpassed musical creativity and performing artistry of the

^{*} The fullest recent study of the Soviet theatre, in English, appears in the British publication, *Soviet Studies* (Jan., 1958), issued by the University of Glasgow.

Soviet peoples; American artists visiting the Soviet Union have also been especially impressed with the mass character of the audience for the finest in music which exists in the USSR.

A new note has crept into American criticism of the Soviet cinema, which it must be stated, had fallen from its earlier position of being without a superior. In the post-Sputnik year, however, the American press has tended to note, more and more, the increasing stature of the Soviet cinema, particularly as this advance has resulted in the winning of numerous international competitions. Once again, a critic writing in *The Commonwealth* (Oct. 17), Maryvonne Butcher, offered a very thoughtful essay on this matter. She admitted that the films lately produced in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union made the majority of those coming from our own country "look tired and faded"; among others she was especially struck by the excellence of two new Soviet productions, "The Flying Crane" and "The Forty-First."

Howard Taubman, writing from Moscow, found the Soviet opera without a peer in his experience. It possessed "a musical and dramatic authority unmatched anywhere in the world." The facilities offered by the Socialist government for this art form were such as to make "the folks at the Met weep" again, however, Taubman was struck particularly by the music-wise audiences made up of "a preponderance of modest, simple folk," unlike those who generally frequented opera in the West (*N. Y. Times*, May 25).

It was upon his return, however, that Mr. Taubman produced five articles (published in the *Times*, June 30-July 4) on Soviet aesthetics that were so different from what American readers had been offered hitherto that the *Times* was moved to qualify and deny editorially (July 4), what its own correspondent and expert had reported.

Mr. Taubman said, "It would be easy in the old habit of discrediting everything Soviet to underestimate the significance of this phase of Soviet life." But to do so, "would be wrong," he continued. Because:

There is a genuine dedication to artistic ideals in the Soviet Union. There is a pervasive love of beauty. There is an exhilaration in the skill and virtuosity of highly trained performers. There is respect for the creative vocation. The people are being taught unremittingly to take pride in art as in learning. . . . To be cultured is regarded as one of the highest goods.

Mr. Taubman found that, "The Soviet people have an unappeasable hunger for artistic experience"; he found the Soviet government not only responsible for developing this hunger and heightening its discriminating taste, but also furiously engaged, as a matter of the highest priority, in seeking to satisfy that hunger. He wrote, that in the Soviet Union:

The arts flourish because they are also prized for the laughter, warmth, dignity, exaltation and insight they bring to life. They are supported with unparalleled government generosity because they are acknowledged to be a great good in themselves.

Of course, Mr. Taubman rejected the fundamental Socialist commitment in art, its sense of the collective, its insistence upon the social and radical quality of the greatest art; it did not make free, Mr. Taubman held, the "private creative world" of the artist. But what he did say—and the quotations above only convey a sense of his enthusiasm—demonstrate that even to the eyes of an anti-Socialist, highly individualistic American critic, aesthetically the Soviet Union has produced within a crisis-filled generation a civilization that was one of the wonders of history.

AT THE OLD STAND

In earlier pages we noted the ease with which the American news industry could slip back and did slip back into old-fashioned anti-Soviet propaganda, in the midst of the post-Sputnik awakening. While focusing upon the change, as we have done, it is important that misconception be avoided. The largest mass-circulation publications, like the *N. Y. Daily News*, or the *Reader's Digest* have not been "guilty" of even hinting at something of the truth concerning the USSR. Moreover, one gets articles like "The Truth About Russia's Weakness" in the influential businessmen's magazine, *U.S. News and World Report* (April 11), where for nine pages, the readers are back in the world of William Randolph Hearst of twenty years ago; or one gets the demand in a fairly typical suburban paper, the Nassau County (N. Y.) *Leader*, that absolutely nothing favorable be published about the Soviet Union, no matter in what field, or what the occasion or what may happen to be the truth (reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, April 29); or one gets a whole issue of the very widely distributed high-school level magazine, *World Week* (Oct. 10)—one of whose editors is a former U.S. Commissioner of Education—"exposing" the propaganda which makes of the USSR a civilized land. Here, quite typically, in this expose of the treachery of "Red propaganda" the children are shown two pictures—one of a magnificent building, and one of poorly-constructed wooden houses, and are told that the masses live in the latter and only "top Communists" in the former—except, unbeknown to the children, of course, the picture of the "luxury apartment" happens to be a snapshot of the new Moscow University!

Yet, *short of war*, the anti-Sovietees are waging a losing battle, not only in terms of the long historical pull, but even in terms of the narrower propaganda vantage-point. This is true despite the accession to their ranks of embittered and disillusioned "leftists"—somewhat ironically these johnny-come-latelys are going to find that the public market for their worn wares will be constantly contracting.

The impact of the advances being made in the Soviet Union in all areas of life can no longer be completely hidden from the American people; those advances, given peace, will continue and accelerate. Therefore, in the long haul, American public opinion concerning the Soviet Union will not be such as to satisfy Henry Luce and Richard Nixon.

A high point of this massive shift, since Sputnik, has come with the historic series of articles by Milton Mayer appearing in the liberal magazine, *The Progressive*. So far two articles have been published, in the October and November issues; a concluding installment is to appear this December. This is reportage of a depth, discernment, genuine friendship and the most splendid kind of international good-will, such as the American people have not gotten, in a broad, non-Socialist publication, since at least the best days of Walter Duranty.* I cannot refrain from quoting at least two paragraphs:

The suffering Russian is, in his own view, rich. And in mine. He hears the world's best music, sees the world's best ballet, and buys the world's classics at from one-fourth to one-tenth the price I pay at home.

And, concluding his second installment:

The bang the Russians get out of what they have got is all the bigger because it was they themselves who went and got it. They are living, psychologically, on earnings. Are we Western capitalists living, in more senses than one, on capital? Are we trying to get our bang out of America's Valley Forge two centuries ago or Lincoln's Proclamation a century ago? Lenin's Proclamation was only yesterday. So was Russia's Valley Forge, when the Bolsheviks repulsed the invasion of fourteen capitalist nations, including the United States, in the winter of 1919, or more recently than yesterday, when they fought off the Germans who walked through France.

IS THIS OUR ENEMY?

Leading spokesmen for the United States government and for the American ruling class persist in speaking of the Soviet Union as an enemy country, as befits a foreign policy geared to the destruction of Socialism and the undoing of national liberation movements. The Vice-President of the United States, for instance, in addressing the 15th anniversary meeting of the Committee for Economic Development, held in November 1957, reminds his audience of millions that the United States was at war when the Committee was founded, and he then says, having made quite explicit that he has the USSR in mind: "Just as surely as we were in a war then, we are in a war today."

Or, again, Vice-Admiral Charles R. Brown, recently commander of the 6th Fleet, addressing the Navy League on October 25, 1958, stated: "World War III has long since started, whether we'll admit it or not." And again, he names the Soviet Union as our antagonist.

* In the past year, with the overcoming of Dulles's passport blockade, American people of Socialist persuasion again have been able to visit the USSR. From some of them is beginning to appear their own extremely valuable observations, but these as yet reach only a minute fraction of their compatriots. Noteworthy is *The Brass New World*, by Helen and Scott Nearing (Social Science Institute, Harborside, Me., \$3.50).

The Admiral and the Vice-President may be impatient, but are the American people champing at the bit to attempt the destruction of the Soviet Union? Is that country, described by leading and thoroughly respectable American figures and eyewitnesses in the terms the preceding pages have documented—is that country our enemy?

Rather, in the case of most of those who have described the tremendous advances made in the Soviet Union, the conclusion drawn has been that these advances should stimulate us to improve ourselves. The physicians who frankly admire the health system in the Soviet Union, and the educators who laud their educational system, and those who delight in the care expended on children, and note their advances in overcoming juvenile crime, who report their leap forward in recreation and culture, etc.—almost all of them say let us study this and take from it what we think would benefit our own country, after making the necessary adaptation, of course. Most of them—Mrs. Roosevelt, Dr. Field, Dr. Senn, Jerry Cooke, Professor Raeff, Howard Taubman, and dozens more, all, in their respective fields urge this form of active co-existence. Is it not manifest that in such competition no one can lose anything and everyone will gain? If that is the case, must we all not put aside those who would restrain our adopting such a course, and who would even urge us to despise aspiring pioneers and to make war upon them?

I have already cited the essay by Professor Harold J. Berman of Harvard in another connection, and have expressed my profound disagreement with his basic evaluation of the Bolshevik Revolution and of the Soviet Union as evil. Yet Professor Berman manifests a high degree of realism in his recognition of the many positive advances made in the USSR; and, above all, it is necessary to agree with him completely when he concludes that the main point in the world as it is today, given the forward sweep of its socialist sector, is that here in our own country we must concentrate on the achievement of "justice, mercy and morality," and that we must match in a way consonant with our own national genius, "the spirit of service, self-sacrifice and common purpose" that the peoples of the Soviet Union in their way have brought to their country.

Here is a kind of contest that is worthy of the finest national feeling and profoundest love of country of which any of us—citizens of the United States or of the Soviet Union—are capable. Come, let us see, as friends and brothers, who can contribute the most to the happiness and well-being of mankind!

Book Reviews

FRUITFUL YEARS

No Men Are Strangers, by Joseph North. International Publishers. \$3.50.

TOO OFTEN HAVE many books—some good and some not so good—appeared at the wrong time and in the wrong place, and thereby lent themselves to the wrong cause, intentionally or unintentionally.

But one of the most satisfying features of Joe North's book is that it appears at just this moment in our country. His would have been a beautifully written, almost lyrically moving book at any time. But it takes on ten-foot-tall stature and a special importance because it appears today, against the backdrop of the two years of turmoil and dissension within the American Left and Marxist movements.

Before I had the opportunity to read *No Men Are Strangers*, I heard many people speak of its particular value to our youth to whom the experiences of the last ten or twenty years are an almost unknown era. Some of these young people have heard of the exciting and influential position of the Communist Party in the broad, democratic front struggles against the rise of fascism and in the anti-Hitler war. The majority of them know first-hand only the Cold War years of McCarthyism, witch-hunts, Smith Act persecutions, the difficult years of virtual illegalization of the Communist Party and its consequent isolation from many of its former mass relationships. All of them

have heard echoes of the sharp debate of the past two years in which some of their elders credited the achievements of the earlier years to the so-called personal attributes of the pre-war party leadership and the difficulties of the latter years to the so-called personal errors of the post-war party leadership.

In Joe North's story these young people are given glimpses of an American people in militant struggles in many different periods and situations—and a Communist Party, with a Marxist-Leninist outlook—reacting to changing objective conditions with new tactics and new forms of activity.

I have seen many young people become suddenly aware that the history-in-the-making events of which North writes are rooted in their own parents' life and that they were actively involved in helping shape those events. This is a new appreciation on the part of a whole section of progressively-oriented youth who had become cynical and even "superior" to the Left and Communist movements as a result of the groveling "mea culpas" of many of their elders in the past two years.

The older reader is, of course, of Joe North's generation—give or take a few years. Therefore he (or she) will experience a very personal identification with the author's eyewitness highlights of the 1920's to mid-1950's.

The majority of this older generation, who are readers of this magazine, will say again and again "I was there!" If not on the identical spot, and perhaps not in the same role, certainly fighting in the same cause—in another

city or state, but part of the same great movement and struggle.

What Joe North has done in his book is something which so very many have wanted to do in these past two years, and were perhaps less equipped to do as effectively. The bookjacket of *No Men Are Strangers* says "this is a book of affirmation, rare in these troubled days." Many are the people in the past two years who have sought to affirm and re-affirm again and again the years of their lives spent in the service of the class struggles and social aspirations of their people.

Joe North does this in the very personal terms of what he did with thirty years of his life. And out of his story come the sensitive descriptions of working people—all kinds of people—in actions and struggles which helped mould our country; and also his faith and affirmation in the onward drive of all that is truly progressive in America and in the world.

Early in his story comes the author's realization that "Marxist thinkers were men of towering dimension . . . because they plumbed the innermost truth of their time and they built upon that; they were nurtured by the same social forces which created the working class and they affiliated their lives to the class destined to embrace all of humanity."

In that same chapter he writes of the pioneer American seekers of the socialist goal—such as Edward Bellamy, Gene Debs, William Dean Howells (editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*); and of Horace Greeley and Charles Dana who employed Karl Marx as *Tribune* correspondent, and of Samuel Gompers who sought Engels' advice on labor matters (in the early years before Gompers became a foremost advocate

of class collaboration).

And as he read and studied and tested this newly found knowledge against his own life experience, Joe North writes "for the first time in my life I gained a sense of certainty, a sense of history. . . . Others strove to understand the world, Marxists sought to change it. . . . It was a heady jolt to realize that I lived in the age of the turning point. . . . I accepted the dictum of Lincoln Steffens who, from Russia, wrote that he had seen the future and it works."

Joe North's thirty years within the people's and Marxist movements no doubt were more colorful and had taken him to more exciting and faraway places than others may have experienced. But the power of his story is that it is the story of the working people; it is the story of America's real progressives who cared; it is the story of America's Communists who dared.

When North describes how his "Road Turns Left" his adult readers will be prompted to reminisce of those experiences which brought them, too, to the Leftward turn in their lives. Many will say "That was me, too" when North writes of the devoted group of workers he joined in the International Labor Defense who shared equally the available money for the week's wages—amounting to \$4.50 each; and of the Aarons and Sarahs and their friends who worked in the shops all day and spent their evenings in meetings and Marxist classes, whose homes were bare of furniture but rich in books and the cartoons of Ellis, Minor, Gropper and Gellert; who helped win relief for the family downstairs, and helped put back the furniture of the evicted family next door.

When North writes of the 1930 un-

employed struggles for work and unemployment insurance in New York, many are the readers who will recall actively participating in similar struggles in Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, and points north, south, east and west.

So it is when he writes of the sit-down strikes in auto, the organizing drives which gave birth to the CIO, the Gastonia and Scottsboro struggles, and his almost clandestine, underground trips into the Deep South.

It is true that the majority of his readers did not get to Spain or to Cuba or Mexico or Europe as did Joe North. But many are his contemporaries who will re-live again, at his telling, the heroic role of the some 4,000 Americans who fought in loyalist Spain. They will recall, too, their own participation here in America to help build those truly popular, united front activities in support of the International Brigades and the Spanish people who fought against the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini fascists; the powerful "Hands Off" movements and demonstrations in support of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Mexico and Cuba; and the other great anti-fascist people's movements and coalitions which emerged in our country around the life and death struggles to defeat fascist aggression and to win World War II.

The reader recaptures once again the memory of the strong democratic winds that blew in our country when he reads of North's exchanges with the great and near-great personalities in the arts, politics, professions, labor, of those early years, who spoke candidly and freely with this Communist journalist and respected his Marxist views even while disagreeing with some of them.

The last chapter, "Resurrection in

Dachau," is a masterpiece of writing and brings to life, once again, that culminating horror which characterized the Nazi years. Stark in its reality, yet beautiful and heartrending in quality, this chapter ends the book with the author standing amongst hundreds of the newly liberated, living ghosts of Dachau who "in their rags, their heads shaven, bony, corpse-like, their numbers assuming an immeasurable strength as though all mankind were assembled here on a day of resurrection—I felt life's invincibility and wept."

As one closes the book on that chapter, the thought comes that the memory of the Dachaus and Buchenwalds and Belsens has already grown too dim. For even many who yesterday called themselves Marxists today seek more comfortable "alternatives" to the harsh realities of the class struggle. They seek easier "alternatives" to being in the difficult vanguard position of responsibility to recognize the face of the class enemy—even when that face is not as brutalized as the fascist concentration camp; and of having the responsibility to help develop new methods of struggle and leadership as conditions and situations change—but policies and methods based upon combining the Marxist-Leninist scientific truths with the realities of the American class struggle.

No Men Are Strangers brings Joe North's story up to the mid 1940's. But because it appears today and at this particular moment in our country, this book has a definite relation to the present. It is a direct and eloquent refutation to those who wail out that "we have wasted the best years of our lives" in the Communist movement. Struggles and defeats, victories and setbacks, achievements and mistakes, tears and

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sacrifice, bungling ineptness and great feats of heroism—all of these went into the great struggles of our class and our people which Joe North depicts in part. Nothing was all gain, nor all loss. And who can read this one story of just one person's participation, multiply it by many, many thousands—and really claim that even a single one of those lives was wasted!

There will be many today who may read North's book only with the nostalgia reserved for the reminiscences of "the old days." Amongst such will be the new crop of "tired radicals" who, despite past contributions, are now placing personal comfort and security as their goal and way of life and now embrace the time-worn bourgeois adage that "radicalism belongs only to one's youth."

There will be also those readers who "glamorize" the past and forget the many problems and frustrations, the sharp political differences, the ineptness of one or another individual leader—all of which was part of the struggle then as well as now to move forward with greater Marxist-Leninist clarity and policies to help meet the great demands of all mass struggles and movements.

The many Communist readers of North's book who are working, in small ways and big, to rebuild and re-unify their party will experience a renewed pride in their Communist Party and will be encouraged to look ahead with confidence and perspective. This they will experience because they will get a fresh view of their party's militant and fruitful past, and because they know that their party has begun to pull itself together into a united party and back onto the track of mass activities and struggles today. This they know be-

cause they are the ones who are doing it.

This party membership, which has come through eight years of the class enemy's persecution and through two years of inner crisis and factionalism, know that their Communist Party, as an American Marxist-Leninist, working-class party, is indispensable in helping to spark and influence the vital struggles of today, to help shape the struggles ahead, and to help the American working class and the Negro people march forward to secure peace and democracy, equal rights, and socialism.

PEGGY DENNIS

THE REV. KING'S OUTLOOK

Stride Toward Freedom, by Martin Luther King, Jr. (Harper & Bros., New York, 230 pp., \$2.95).

THE IDEA OF equality, of freedom from the chains of Jim Crow laws and white supremacy practices, has long animated the hopes and aspirations of the Negroes in America's South. Again and again, via a thousand pathways and movements, they have risen up in the face of fearsomely unequal odds to lay at their chains and roar defiance at their tormenters. The long history of the Negro people's struggle against their oppressors has not been in vain: each major battle has brought its modicum of relief—meanly and grudgingly yielded in the smallest possible measure. Yet the status of the Negro remains that of the most all-sidedly exploited, socially ostracized, and politically disfranchised of Americans. Therefore, each concession gained can only mark the point of departure for still another phase of the struggle.

The Montgomery story is such a milestone in the Negro people's *Stride Toward Freedom*. It was here in Montgomery, Alabama, the former capital of the Confederacy, of the slaveholders' oligarchy, that, on December 5, 1955, the bus boycott began. From December 5, 1955 until December 21, 1956, the Negro people of Montgomery, 50,000 strong, some 40 per cent of the total population, conducted such a demonstration against the indignity and oppression of segregation that their struggle has already become a shining star of inspiration to oppressed peoples in battle against tyranny everywhere. This year-long boycott of the segregated buses was an active, militant and united mass movement which held its ranks solid and its banner high until victory was won in the face of bombings, mass jailings, shootings, KKK and White Citizens Councils, terrorism and economic reprisals. The foremost leader of the movement of mass resistance to Jim Crow was the youthful Baptist minister, Martin Luther King.

It is the chronicle of these events, the narrative of the heroic and triumphant year-long protest march of the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery, against segregation and for human dignity and equal rights on the public carriers of the city, that is the essence of Dr. King's book. When he is thus occupied with the heart of his theme, Dr. King is a rewarding writer and an inspiring challenge to his readers. Of interest also is the "stream of consciousness" confidences which he shares with his readers as he reveals the inner conflicts and reactions he experienced in confronting the exacting claims on personal courage and self-sacrificing denial demanded of those leaders who

would make their identity with the cause of the poor, of the oppressed, and the humiliated masses of the Southern Negro.

It is when Rev. King enters upon lengthy side trips into the bogs of idealist philosophy and theological mysticism that one must take leave of him.

He takes the reader on a whirlwind excursion through the age of enlightenment as he pays name-dropping tribute to the great thinkers of that period for the influence on his own thinking. While honoring Thomas Hobbes, the seventeenth-century English materialist and vigorous anti-theist and the anti-theological materialist John Locke, the Rev. King can only echo the staled canards of bourgeois prejudice when he treats of Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin, and Communism.

"I considered it [Communism] basically evil," King writes. And again he charges that "Since for the Communist there is no divine government, no . . . immutable principles, consequently almost anything—force, violence, murder, lying—is a justifiable means to the 'millennial' end." There is more commentary by King on communism in the same vein (p. 92-95). It reveals that Dr. King, notwithstanding his claim to having read *Capital* and *The Communist Manifesto* during the Christmas holidays of 1949, is without adequate first-hand knowledge of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. And it reveals that Dr. King is a victim of what he calls "the interpretive works on the thinking of Marx and Lenin."

The main indictment King makes against Marx is on the grounds of his philosophical materialism. At the same time he praises the materialist Hobbes.

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It was Hobbes, not Marx, who wrote that "the word 'infinite' is meaningless. . . . Only material things being perceptible to us, we cannot know anything about the existence of God."

When King writes as the theologian-philosopher, he often theorizes in contradiction to the greater wisdom of his practice. It is indeed regrettable for one who has joined his signature to that of other notable defenders of humanity against the ominous peril from the manufacture and testing of A and H bombs to have written in his book the following far from pacifist sentence: "War, horrible as it is, might be preferable to surrender to a totalitarian system—Nazi, Fascist, or Communist."

Dr. King's book reflects the fact that he is a theological idealist in need of a much greater knowledge of, and deeper moorings in, the political, social, and historical developments of our country and our world. For it is in this milieu that the Negro people's freedom problem has its being, the terms in which its status is defined, and its development unfolds. Dr. King's book demonstrates inadequate awareness of the richness in the history and literature of Negro struggle.

Dr. King stepped forth with great personal courage and uncommon lead-

ership ability at that time and that place when *mass action* was on the order of the day for securing the aims of the Negro people's freedom movement.

His historic merit is seen in his role as a symbol and reminder to Negroes that only that leadership which acts to catalyze the Negro people into mass action and struggle can serve the ends of progress.

Rev. King's performance as an able leader at the head of Deep Southern Negro masses in struggle against Jim Crow laws and oppression is far more profound and important to the cause of Negro freedom and social progress than are the philosophical elements of the "King Doctrine" of neo-Ghandism garnished as it is with divisive prejudices of anti-Communism.

His emphasis upon mass action and his practical example of forging a united leadership behind the initiative of the Negro masses in struggle for their urgent "equality and freedom" needs is the vital, rational kernel in Dr. King's work. This is the use value of King's book to the thoughtful reader, notwithstanding the withered husk of unsound and harmful philosophical trappings which surround this meaningful message.

JAMES E. JACKSON

Party Program Discussion

The following statement was adopted by the Draft Program Committee, after a discussion on the programmatic significance of the fight for democracy. In the course of the discussion, Comrade Alexander Bittelman introduced the following motion: "The programmatic objective of the Communist Party of the United States, in the struggles of the American people for the defense and extension of democracy, is the further development and extension of the democracy of Lincoln and the New Deal, an anti-monopoly form of democracy, a Welfare State, operating within the confines of the capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois state system, this being a historic stage of social progress on the American Road to Socialism." Accordingly, the Committee felt it necessary to define as clearly as possible what is meant by defense and extension of democracy, and at the same time dispose of Comrade Bittelman's "Welfare State" theory of the road to socialism, which had been under discussion in the committee since its formation. The statement was adopted, with one vote against, and two abstentions:

BY DEFENSE OF democracy we mean (1) the defense of labor, Negro, and people's rights and of social reforms already won as a result of popular struggle, including rights and reforms recognized in the Constitution and the laws of the land but still to be realized in practice; (2) the defense of the representative institutions of the democratic form of government under the bourgeois system, against the constant efforts of monopoly and reaction to undermine and destroy these institutions, to militarize the state and regiment the people, raising the danger of a fascist-type government.

By extension of democracy we mean (1) the deepening and broadening of labor, Negro, and people's rights and of social reforms already gained and the winning of new rights and reforms, including the democratic transformation of the South and the abolition of the Jim-Crow system, that will strengthen the forces of labor and the

people, enhance their direct participation in government at all levels, and curb and restrict the power of monopoly and reaction; (2) structural reforms in the government, under our Constitution, that will strengthen and enrich those governing institutions that are directly representative of the people—local, state and Federal—as the central pillar of government, and that will open wide and keep open the channel for the expression of the will of the people through a party of their own, a labor-led people's party, directed against the power of monopoly.

The struggle for the defense of democracy against reaction and for the extension of democracy go hand in hand. In our history, every successful defense of democracy led to the further extension of popular sovereignty, building up a powerful democratic tradition associated with the names of Jefferson, Lincoln, Douglass, and F. D. Roosevelt. Each major advance resulted from

a successful struggle of the people against the forces of reaction which sought to limit and curb democratic rights and representative institutions. Today, the threat to democracy is the concentrated power of monopoly, and its domination and militarization of the State. It devolves upon labor, which represents the common interests of the people, to lead the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy.

The strategic objective of the struggle for democracy in the present stage of development in this country is to curb monopoly power, an objective which leads toward an anti-monopoly coalition government, led by labor. Such a people's government, as we now envision it, would mark the culmination of an entire stage of struggle against monopoly, and would attain the maximum popular sovereignty possible under capitalism. At the same time, it opens up the way for the next stage, the struggle for a working class government that will carry through the socialist revolution, in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing at the time, and establish majority rule—government of, by, and for the people. Such a working-class government will transform the state and its institutions, in accordance with the desire of the people, from instruments of monopoly capital into instruments serving the welfare of the people. On the base of new socialist property relations, it will establish socialist democracy, by far a higher form of democracy than is possible under capitalist private ownership and exploitation.

Reaffirming the approach of the "Initial Report on Basic Program," we reject the view that the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy leads to "an anti-monopoly form of

democracy, a Welfare State," corresponding to "a historic stage of social progress on the American Road to Socialism." The thesis embodied in this position confuses and diverts the people's fight for democracy by projecting erroneous views on social development and the nature of the state under capitalism and under socialism, as follows:

(1) The "Welfare State" thesis envisions a new-type democracy in between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy, corresponding to an intermediate stage of society in between present-day capitalism and socialism, whereas there is no such intermediate stage, the transition from one to the other being accomplished by a social revolution. While different forms of the bourgeois-democratic state exist, and it may be possible by the struggles of labor and other anti-monopoly forces to extend bourgeois democracy within a given state, the only new-type democracy of our era is socialist democracy, which establishes majority rule in fact.

(2) It envisions a new state, corresponding to an intermediate stage of society and of democracy, whereas the only new state in this epoch of history is the working class state, whatever its form, which inaugurates the transition from capitalism to socialism, and from bourgeois democracy to socialist democracy.

(3) It would replace the objective of a labor-led, anti-monopoly coalition government, within the present state system, which would curb and undermine monopoly power, with the aim of the so-called Welfare State, which is an illusion and a deception under capitalism. In reality, the "Welfare State" as it exists in all highly developed

capitalist countries, including our own, is a monopoly state that has been forced by the power of the labor and people's movements to concede social welfare measures, which it always tries to delay as long as possible, keeping them to a minimum and seeking to pare them down once granted. At the same time, monopoly capital utilizes such measures, once forced upon it, as insurance against basic social changes and as a means of preserving the capitalist system in the face of the general crisis. On the other hand, a people's government of anti-monopoly coalition would seek to advance, not hinder, basic social change, and thus pave the way for the fundamental shift in political power by which the working class and its allies can undertake the transition to socialism.

(4) The theory of the "Welfare State Road to Socialism" is a reflection of various bourgeois and reformist views of the state, which serve to disguise and make more acceptable the rule of monopoly. Present-day reformism and revisionism prolong the illu-

sion that through measures associated with the "Welfare State," which are supposed to be creating a "new capitalism," our present society will gradually grow over into socialism. The idea that the "Welfare State" represents "an anti-monopoly form of democracy" and corresponds to a new stage of progress under capitalism is an expression of the same general outlook. In particular, it is closely akin to the revisionist view developed in the Yugoslav Draft Program that in the United States socialism can be attained through state capitalism and the direct political role of the trade unions within the present state, and without the necessity of a vanguard party of Marxism-Leninism. The theory of the "Welfare State Road to Socialism" feeds and supports reformism and revisionism in the working class movement.

The Draft Program Committee rejects the "Welfare State" thesis as a basic departure from Marxism-Leninism and as an expression of modern revisionism in the United States.

Readers are invited to contribute to the discussion of Party program. Such manuscripts should be addressed to: James S. Allen, Secretary, 23 W. 26th St., New York 11, N. Y.

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