

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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SPECIAL ISSUE: YOUTH OF THE NEW WORLD

NORTH VIETNAM, SUMMER 1969 Rennie Davis

CUBA'S ACCENT ON YOUTH Gil Green

SOVIET JOURNEY David Laibman

U.S. STUDENT IN USSR Sara Harris Kamenshikova

SOUTH VIETNAM YOUTH Nguyen Ngoc Dung

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BLACK PANTHERS, MUHAMMAD SPEAKS,
HARRY BRIDGES

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THE FALL ANTI-WAR ACTIONS • USSR-CHINA TALKS

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JESSICA SMITH

Youth's Stake In US-USSR Relations And Peace

THE EYES of the world today are on the militant youth of our country, struggling against the evil war in Vietnam, for Black liberation, and for a renewed society.

In devoting this issue of NEW WORLD REVIEW to youth we are not essentially departing from our usual custom of marking the two anniversaries that fall in this period.

This November 7 marks the 52nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution that gave birth to the world's first socialist state. November 16 marks the 36th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Youth's Heritage in the Russian Revolution

THE MEANING of the Russian Revolution, opening the era of socialism and providing the stimulus for national liberation movements everywhere, will be more fully explored in our Lenin Centenary issue. This coming issue will deal with the impact on our own country of the work and words of the great revolutionary leader.

The heritage left by Lenin through his successful guidance of the socialist revolution and the early difficult years of the development and growth of the first workers' and farmers' state, belongs above all to the youth of today, black and white, students and young workers. This heritage is a living thing, accessible to all in Lenin's works and in the great body of Marxist-Leninist literature. This is increasingly recognized in current literature and discussions of the New Left, reflecting the views of a large section of US youth who previously felt they could change the world without any ideology. Lenin's heritage also lives in the reality (not the distortions!) of the mature socialist society in the USSR, now 52 years old, and in the development of the socialist community of nations, embracing a third of the world's people.

Who has said that the teachings of Lenin and the experience of

the Russian Revolution have no relevance for the problems of today? Listen to what Lenin wrote in the midst of the 1905 Revolution:

We need young forces . . . all that is needed is more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, again more widely and again more boldly to recruit young people, *and not to be afraid of them*. This is war time. The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth and still more the working-class youth. (*The Young Generation*, V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, p. 12.)

Along with revolutionary theory and practice it is of course essential to understand fully what the people have gained by the actual building of socialism. What we are seeking to do in this issue is to help bring an understanding of the life of youth under socialism to the youth of America so they may judge for themselves what the socialist way of life has to offer, not in the sense of copying it, but of learning from it, exploring how youth's problems are dealt with in a socialist society, how socialist patterns of living might be applied under our own needs and conditions. This issue is only a beginning. We urge your help in continuing our search for answers to the many questions that keep arising.

Youth's Stake in US-USSR Peaceful Coexistence

PEACEFUL coexistence is closely bound up with the question of American-Soviet relations. The stake in peace of the youth of today, brought up in the shadow of the atom bomb, the draft and the war in Vietnam, is very great. Let it not be forgotten that the first act of the Soviet Government in international relations was the decree of peace, and that its struggle for peace has never ceased to be the core of its foreign policy. The USSR and the socialist community of nations are undoubtedly the most powerful force in the world today for peaceful solutions and for the prevention of world thermonuclear war.

Normal US-USSR relations are an essential safeguard against new imperialist adventures. That the Soviet Union is the foremost enemy of imperialism is shown by the unending anti-Communist, anti-Soviet drive which is the heart of our country's policies, frantically continued by the Nixon Administration which at the same time has been forced by the American people's desire for peace to move reluctantly toward better relations with the Soviet Union. The greatest obstacle to an improvement in relations has been US intransigence in pursuing its worldwide militarist and imperialist policies and most of all its aggression in Vietnam. The USSR has shown its goodwill and insistence on measures to end the arms race by reaching agreement with the US on prohibiting use of the seabed for nuclear arms,

although it would have preferred a more far-reaching treaty.

The Soviet Union has long expressed its readiness to enter into negotiations with our country on disarmament questions, especially concerning strategic weapons. The delay has been due to the fact that the Nixon Administration ignored all the warnings that pushing through the Safeguard ABM system and starting manufacture of MIRV (multiple independently-targeted reentry vehicle) could only make US-USSR negotiations more difficult. In spite of this the USSR has indicated that it is prepared to set a date for such negotiations.

At this writing, it has just been announced (October 25) that preliminary US-USSR discussions to curtail the strategic-arms race, will begin on November 17, in Helsinki, Finland. The announcement was made simultaneously in Washington and Moscow. It followed by a few days a visit by Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to the White House to inform President Nixon that the Soviet Union was ready to proceed with the talks.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers, at a State Department news conference the same day, said that whenever representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union talked, it tended to improve relations. He said that the preliminary discussions would determine the weapons to be discussed in later sessions (*The New York Times*, October 26).

Throughout its history, the USSR has fought consistently for complete and universal disarmament. Its latest sweeping disarmament proposal, addressed to all the nations of the world in July 1968, with a call for a World Disarmament Conference to consider this and other proposals, remains as a challenge to mankind.

Gromyko on Soviet Peace Initiatives

THE MOST comprehensive current review of Soviet initiatives for peace was presented by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko at the opening session of the UN Assembly, September 19. He called urgently for immediate concrete steps to strengthen international security and avert the threat of world nuclear war.

He stressed that the Soviet Union is ready at all times to settle international issues by negotiation, but with full understanding that his government will continue its invariable support of victims of aggression and the liberation struggles of people fighting for their freedom and independence.

As the chief and most immediate expression of this policy, he cited Soviet aid to Vietnam, increasing its defensive might in its "arduous and heroic struggle" against US aggression. Gromyko de-

clared that the United States could not expect to achieve at the conference table in Paris what it had failed to achieve with a half-million men on the battlefield, that is "to entrench itself strategically and politically in other people's land in Vietnam and to impose the corrupt Saigon puppets on the Vietnamese people." He said the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Republic of South Vietnam set up by the people's liberation forces and their allies, had put forth constructive terms for settlement. He hoped that on that basis, and the renunciation by the United States of "military and all other forms of interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people" a settlement could be achieved; the end of the aggressive war in Vietnam is essential not only for the sake of the Vietnamese people, but for the sake of the people of the rest of the world, and those of the United States as well, he declared.

He called also for an end to all suppression of national liberation movements everywhere, the withdrawal of all troops holding back such movements, and liberation of all remaining colonial territories and of Black victims of white supremacist policies in such places as the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

The Soviet Union, as is known, has made strong efforts to achieve a settlement in the turbulent Middle East, holding several meetings with US, British and French representatives for this purpose.

The Soviet Foreign Minister reiterated the Soviet position that the indispensable condition for peace is for Israel to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories in accordance with the resolution of the UN Security Council, and recognition of the "right to independent existence for all the states in the Middle East including Israel," as the decision also stipulates.

Gromyko warned sharply of the dangerous situation in Europe "saturated with armaments, including nuclear ones" and bisected by a line of direct contact between the armies of NATO and Warsaw Treaty states. He recalled Warsaw pact and Soviet proposals during the past year to replace those two opposing blocs with an all-European security arrangement, to be worked out by a conference of all European states.

He also called for the checking of the dangerous militarist and revanchist trends in the Federal Republic of Germany while at the same time expressing readiness to improve relations with the FRG if it would abandon efforts to revise its postwar borders and recognize "the immutable fact of the existence of the socialist GDR." (With the defeat of the Kiesinger Government, the failure of the Neo-Nazis to win any seats in the Bundestag and the formation of the Social-

END THE VIETNAM WAR NOW!

America *was* beautiful from sea to shining sea as the people in their millions raised their voices to demand an end to the war in Vietnam. In all our country's history nothing has equaled the massive October 15 protest against our government's war on the Vietnamese people. America's conscience came alive. All the best of our country surged into the streets and meeting places of a thousand cities and towns across the nation.

Every kind of people took part. Black and white, long-haired and short, old and young, hippies and squares, people from every walk of life—and most of all the youth.

The Moratorium started with young people active in the Presidential campaigns for Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy, joined by campus groups, student leaders, faculty members and others. But it soon passed far beyond its originators and became the possession of the whole people. Senators and Congressmen joined, governors and mayors, Nobel laureate scientists, writers, actors, college presidents, religious leaders and high school kids, bankers, housewives and thousands and thousands of ordinary working people.

Many colleges and schools canceled classes or turned them over to discussions of the war. Biggest demonstrations were in East and West Coast cities—100,000 in Boston, 50,000 in New Haven, many thousands in San Francisco and Los Angeles, thousands marching past the White House.

In New York Mayor Lindsay proclaimed a day of mourning, with flags at half mast and church bells tolling. He addressed a dozen different meetings as people with black arm bands gathered all over the city to hear top-flight speakers all through the day and then filled the streets with candlelight processions, singing, talking, praying for an end to the war, Broadway shows closing, their stars joining the mass vigil at St. Patrick's cathedral.

The American Labor Alliance, combining almost four million workers in the United Auto Workers, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Chemical Workers, declared in a *New York Times* ad, "We take our stand with the millions of our fellow Americans who call for an end to the war in Vietnam." Unions representing a quarter of a million workers took part in New York.

Counter-demonstrations were few and ineffective. Widely disparate views were expressed by speakers. There seemed to be a tacit agreement that this was a day when all should have their say, with the demand for ending the war *now* transcending all the rest.

October 15 leads on to November 13, 14 and 15, with the New Mobilization Committee, a broad coalition, organizing great national antiwar demonstrations, the Moratorium group concentrating on local actions and mutual support announced. The New Mobilization actions open November 13 with a March against Death, from Arlington Cemetery to the Capitol, led by Mrs. Coretta King, memorializing both Americans and Vietnamese slaughtered in the war. November 14, a student strike, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and others. November 15, big protest day in San Francisco and Washington. The whole world is watching and joining in the protest.

We urge every reader of *New World Review* to take part in these ongoing, escalating activities, never ceasing until the war in Vietnam is ended.

Democrat/Free Democrat coalition government, the Soviet Government has already indicated that new possibilities exist for normalization of relations with the FRG.)

Other important steps outlined by Gromyko included normal international economic and trade relations, an end to discriminatory trade practices, coupled with constructive economic aid to developing countries, free of all imperialist efforts to impose neo-colonialist policies on them; and also the setting up of regional security systems, including a collective security system for Asia, fulfilling the Bandung conference principles of peaceful coexistence based on sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability, non-interference in internal affairs and the rights of all peoples freely to choose their social system.

Mr. Gromyko dwelt on the need for further disarmament measures, such as the expansion of the Moscow Treaty partially banning nuclear weapons tests to include the banning of underground tests, the extension of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty to additional nations, and more resolute measures to end the arms race. He repeated the unswerving Soviet demand for ending all production of nuclear weapons and abolition of all their stockpiles, so that nuclear energy could be used only for peaceful projects, the creation of nuclear free zones and measures to end the rising new threat of chemical bacteriological war.

The main proposals outlined by the Soviet foreign minister were given concrete form in a proposed draft Appeal by the UN Assembly to all the states of the world "for strengthening international security," and a draft convention "on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on their destruction." In these two important initiatives to further international peace, included in the UN agenda for discussion and action, the USSR was joined by the delegations to the UN of the socialist countries : Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Soviet Socialist Republics of Byelorussia and the Ukraine.

No recent move can give greater satisfaction to supporters of peace and socialism than the determined initiative of the Soviet Union, described in the following article, to end the tensions between the USSR and China. The process of normalization of Soviet-Chinese state relations is already under way. The healing of the tragic breach between the two great socialist powers would be the single greatest contribution to world stability and progress, the strongest of all blows against aggressive US imperialism, the best kind of aid to all liberation movements everywhere.

DANIEL MASON

The Soviet-Chinese Negotiations

Since the account below was written, the Soviet-Chinese negotiations have begun. On October 18, Tass announced on behalf of the Soviet Government, that First Deputy Foreign Minister Vassily V. Kuznetsov, had flown to Peking as head of the delegation to open talks with the People's Republic of China on October 20. The Tass announcement said that the Soviet Union and China had agreed to discuss "questions of interest to both sides." The Chinese news agency announced that the Chinese delegation would be headed by Chiao Kuan-Ha, a Deputy Foreign Minister.

THE FIRST response to the Soviet initiative for the lessening of tensions between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union became known October 7, when the Chinese Government released a statement agreeing to meetings with the Soviet Government to resolve the problem of the Soviet-Chinese boundary dispute and indicating its desire to resume normal state relations and trade with the USSR.

The result of that Soviet initiative could very well be the beginning of a shift in Chinese policy toward a detente with the Soviet Union, which could only be a great step forward in promoting world peace. It unquestionably will have a tremendous impact upon the course of international relations because it strengthens the diplomatic hand of the socialist world in dealing with the governments of the capitalist sector.

The initiative was undertaken by the Soviet Government just before Soviet Premier Kosygin went to Hanoi early in September for the funeral of Chairman Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Soviet Government asked the Chinese Government for talks in Hanoi between Kosygin and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. But the Chinese Government did not accept until Kosygin had already left Hanoi for Moscow. Kosygin's plane was diverted from Tashkent and he met with Chou En-lai in Peking September 11.

At that meeting, Kosygin proposed a three-point program, including speedy negotiations to stop the border clashes, resumption of

diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level and also trade talks.

The first report on what occurred at the Kosygin-Chou En-lai talks came in an interview with Harrison Salisbury of *The New York Times* (September 24) by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Hall based his report on what had taken place in the Kosygin-Chou talks on discussions he had held with Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist leader, September 16 in Moscow, where he had stopped on his way back to the USA from attending Ho's funeral.

Hall said that many Communist leaders had become gravely concerned over the rapidly deteriorating relations between the Soviet Union and China and feared that unless immediate steps were taken toward resolving the disputes they could lead to a war which could become worldwide in scope. The US Communist leader asserted that he and other Communist leaders felt that a Kosygin-Chou En-lai meeting would prove to be a turning point away from war and toward improvement in Chinese-Soviet relations.

Kosygin's proposals at that September 11 meeting in Peking, according to Hall, called for:

- Immediate negotiations at the deputy foreign minister level to halt the border clashes and resolve the boundary dispute.
- Speedy return of the Chinese and Soviet ambassadors to their embassies in Moscow and Peking.
- Meetings to discuss resumption of trade and economic relations between the two countries.

Hall expressed the view, which he said was held also by many other Communist leaders, particularly those of North Vietnam and North Korea, that both internal and external pressures were impelling the Chinese leaders to seek a shift in their policy toward the Soviet Union. According to Hall, the internal pressures stressed by the Asian Communist leaders are grave economic problems, including the malfunctioning of their industrial system, widespread apathy among the Chinese people and outbreaks of actual armed battles between factions in their country. External pressures, particularly from the socialist countries and other Communist parties, Hall said, were also having their effect.

IN ITS October 7 statement, Peking accepted the Soviet proposals for immediate negotiations at top level to eliminate border clashes and to settle the boundary issue, declared that there was no reason for China and the Soviet Union to go to war over the border issue, and apparently expressed a willingness to return to normal diplomatic,

economic and trade relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

This does not mean, however, that all existing disputes between the two countries will come to an end swiftly, not even the resolution of the boundary dispute. A document distributed by *Hsinhua*, the Chinese news agency, October 8, makes it clear that, even on the border question, long and arduous bargaining can be expected. And there remains a wide disparity of views between China and the Soviet Union concerning the application of Marxism-Leninism to present-day conditions, how socialism can be developed in various countries and on international affairs. That the present Chinese leaders are not ready to move for the resolution of these questions was emphasized in the October 7 Peking statement, which declared:

The Chinese government has never covered up the fact that there exist irreconcilable differences of principle between China and the Soviet Union and that the struggle of principle between them will continue for a long period of time.

Nevertheless, the October 7 statement marks a significant shift in Chinese policy toward the Soviet Union. It should be recalled that there have been no negotiations at a high level on the boundary dispute since they were broken off in November 1964, when Chinese Premier Chou En-lai was in Moscow. The fact that Peking now declares its agreement to move back to the negotiating table in itself reflects a change.

The Chinese action will undoubtedly have international repercussions. The Nixon administration's foreign policy has been predicated upon the continuance and further exacerbation of tensions between China and the Soviet Union, including the possibility of war between the two great socialist powers. Up till now, Nixon and his advisers appear to have believed that they were dealing from strength in negotiations with the Soviet Union on the major international questions because of the grave Chinese-Soviet tensions. Now, Washington will have to recalculate its strategy in talks with Moscow on such problems as disarmament and trade.

The Nixon administration may also have to reexamine its Vietnam war strategy, where at least a part of the basis for the stalling on complete withdrawal of US troops from that invaded country has been the belief that the continued tensions between the USSR and China would weaken the ability of the Vietnamese people to resist.

It can be expected too that the lessening of tension between China and the Soviet Union will strengthen the solidarity of the socialist countries and increase their power to deal with the grave international problems now afflicting mankind.

The October 7 statement was the first public Peking response to the Soviet initiative. It indicated that the first stage in the negotiations between the two countries will be over the question of the Soviet-Chinese boundary and how to avert further border clashes. But there was some indication that China might be interested in further steps to relieve tensions between the two countries. While emphasizing the existence of "irreconcilable differences of principle between China and the Soviet Union," the Chinese statement asserted that "this should not prevent China and the Soviet Union from maintaining normal state relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence."

Such "normal state relations" have not existed ever since Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao began their struggle for power against their internal opponents and especially since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966.

The Chinese Government statement of October 7 was the response to the Soviet initiative, presented by Kosygin in Peking September 11. It must be noted that it had many harsh overtones. Most of it was concerned with reiterated justification of China's actions in the border clashes, and placing the blame on the Soviet Union. It argues that the "Chinese Government has consistently stood for peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through negotiation. On May 24, 1969, the Chinese Government issued a statement in which it reiterated this stand."

It should be noted, however, that the Soviet Government on March 29, almost two months earlier, after the bloody border clashes, had called for general talks to settle the entire border dispute. This proposal had been spurned by Peking.

But all this does not weaken the positive aspects of the Chinese statement. It asserts that there is no reason whatsoever for China and the Soviet Union to fight a war over the boundary question.

The statement concludes by announcing:

The Chinese Government and the Soviet Government have now decided through discussion that negotiations are to be held in Peking between the Chinese and Soviet sides on the Sino-Soviet boundary question at the level of Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. The date for restarting the negotiations is now under discussion.

It must be stressed that these negotiations will probably be long in duration and that the border question will not be easily settled. But, on the basis of the information now at hand, it would appear that this could be the first step toward normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China.

October 8, 1969

SARA HARRIS KAMENSHIKOVA

A Letter from Moscow

Sara Harris Kamenshikova is an American who first attended Moscow University in 1963-64 for a special training course in the Russian language, following her graduation from Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh. After her return to this country, she worked for two years as director of the Youth Division of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. A trip back to Moscow in 1966 included marriage to Alexander Kamenshikov, culminating a romance that started when they were fellow-students at Moscow University. Andre Kamenshikov, age two and a half years, is the beautiful fruit of this example of American-Soviet friendship raised to its highest level. Sara is the daughter of Lement Harris, well known to our readers through his articles for New World Review on questions of Soviet agriculture. This letter describes Sara's new life as a student at Moscow U.

DEAR JESSICA:

I'm a sophomore again! But here there is no registration. All I had to do was get a new signature on my student pass. Then I got all my books from the library in an hour's time! The economics courses this semester are challenging. I'm taking Political Economy, Dialectical Materialism, History of the CPSU, Linear Programming, Theoretical Statistics, and French. There are electives only if one wants to take them beyond these course. I chose to stick with these six whoppers.

Rather than each student having an individual program, we are split into groups of about twenty to twenty-five. All our classes are together, except for language classes which depend upon the country in whose economics we are going to major. Mine is the United States.

The big difference between studying here or at a US university is in the attitude toward the student. Once you enter the university here you are considered an adult with responsibility. That goes for the dormitories as well as the classroom. If you want an education you'll get it—and a darn good one. But it's up to you. All the equipment is here—but there's no one going to spoon-feed it to you.

The course is a combination of lectures, seminars and individual study. Lectures are given once a week in each subject to the whole sophomore class. The seminars involve just your group of twenty to twenty-five students. During the seminars we often but not always rehash what was presented in the lectures and then take on new

material. Here we solve mathematical problems and can discuss any questions that come up in the course of our reading.

Seminars are where you really get to size up your classmates. The teacher does almost no talking. He merely asks leading questions, so that it's immediately clear who has understood the reading material and who is faking it. A fair amount of "praying" goes on too if you're not prepared that day. But there are always one or two angel students who raise their hands when no one else can and save the day. They are the students who get an education to be envied.

It took me a long time to get the hang of seminars. Even now a lot of it goes over my head. It's not just a matter of remembering what you have read—but of understanding it. For example, in our Dialectical Materialism class we not only discussed the substance of Kant's Subjective Idealism but got into a wild discussion when asked how we would disprove his theory, that the world is unknowable in its pure state, as all man's knowledge of the world is interpreted through man's five senses.

Studying is a serious matter. It's not frosted over with a lot of rah-rah campus life jazz. But don't think the students don't have their fun. It takes a saner form than the party-raids and pledge pranks. You go to the university to study and not when you're merely after a social life. Nonetheless, when you have thousands of students in one place and all imaginable sports and cultural facilities available you can't help but have a social life. It's just not the planned insanity of faculty egg rolls, spring carnivals and homecoming queens. Although, I must admit even those time-stealers have their merits if it means that you can find a more relaxed approach to Professor Barkley than before you saw him crawling on all fours with his nose in the mud. However, I prefer the idea of student-faculty lunches where you can approach Professor Barkley in a more sober atmosphere and discuss seriously questions that didn't or wouldn't come up in class. Some day I'll try to initiate them here.

Hiking and camping out are favorites among the students here. The university has a rental office for sleeping bags, tents, etc., where you can get fully equipped for a weekend for a couple of rubles. Right now canoeing has become the most popular sport. The rivers near Moscow have become a traffic problem in the summertime. Skiing and skating are favorites from November through March. A rink is made out of any yard by hosing it down in November.

Let me tell you about the main Moscow University dormitory and some of the extra-curricular activities that go on there. It took me a long time to get used to seeing a row of baby carriages in the

foyer. The second surprise was to learn that this building is a city in itself. It contains food stores of all types, kiosks which sell school supplies, books, drug store supplies, sportswear. There are all possible sports facilities (sports equipment is usually for free or low rental), a movie theater, concert halls, even several museums. There is a post office, a bank and a polyclinic. In other words it is possible to live through the winter and never go beyond the courtyard of this one building!

But the biggest surprise was realizing that the attitude of "once in the university you're an adult and responsible for yourself" applied here especially. Saying good-bye to housemothers and curfews was a most welcome relief. This dorm is more like an apartment house with private and semi-private rooms. There are two or three kitchens on each floor. Every pair of rooms has a private bathroom and shower. Most revolutionary of all, from my memories of dormitories at home, is that men, women and whole families live on each floor.

The dormitories are the scene of constant spontaneous parties. A party can involve from two to twenty people all squashed into the tiny individual dorm room. The only required ingredient is something good to eat. The guests and the occasion determine the nature of the evening—whether light and gay with emphasis on dancing or of a more serious nature where discussions and debates drown out the record player. But one thing I've always encountered, whatever the nature of the party, is a warm relaxed atmosphere where you needn't wonder "Do I fit in?" or "What should I say to keep the conversation going?" You can relax and be yourself!

Dating too is a simpler, more spontaneous phenomenon. Rather than calling up on Wednesday to make a date for eight o'clock on Saturday to go to the local movie, Yury will stop by your room about five on Saturday, or any other day for that matter, and say "I've got two tickets for the seven o'clock showing. Got some free time tonight?" Or he'll stop by without any tickets to chat for awhile. If you've got some salami or cheese you put it on the table and make a pot of hot tea. More often than not he brings some fruit or something to add to the supper.

This casual approach to dating and parties is one illustration of a certain self-assurance which I have observed in Soviet young people. They don't seem to be tormented with the same confusion and doubts as to their purpose on this earth. I remember all too well the painful questions, "Who am I?" "Where am I going?" "How can I find myself?" which seem to inflict all American young people, with the exception perhaps of those movement youth today who are so

wrapped in the real world that they don't have time for "self-analysis." These questions that buzzed over me and over my Carnegie College colleagues like an ornery fly never leaving us alone and never landing on anything more than briefly, were a constant torment. "Where am I going?" "How can I find myself?" I've never come across this confusion here. Young people seem to know where they are going. If you ask a student he'll say something like, "I'm studying economics so that when I get my degree I can do research in one of the new economic institutes. Economics is a popular field these days. They need young specialists. I'm most interested in industrial planning."

Part of the difference is that Soviet young people complete in their ten-year elementary schooling the equivalent of high school plus two years in a liberal arts college in the States. This makes it considerably easier for them to choose their area of future study (whether a university course or a technical training institute). By the time they enter the university, between the ages of 18 and 22, they are ready to major in their chosen field. This is why elective courses are not a necessity.

Soviet students seem to come to this decision with fewer growing pains than at home. Besides regular school, the Pioneer palaces and clubs make it possible for children to experiment in all areas of culture and handicrafts so that by 18 they know where their interests and capabilities lie.

If you ask a student of that age, "Who are you?" he's likely to think you're half mad. "What do you mean, who am I? I'm a student. I'm a male (or female). I'm a Soviet citizen. I'm a future physicist. I hope to become a scientist and advance some branch of physics. I want a family; I'd like to travel. But what do you mean, who *am* I?"

The biggest factor, which can't be overlooked, is that young people here feel that their abilities and labor are needed. They are building a society for which they are responsible. The society is in sincere need of honest workers, engineers and scientists. Therefore, they don't have to look far to find themselves.

I must say I find great satisfaction in the Soviet students' interests in American youth. I'm not alone in wishing the American movement well. It's exciting to see with what enthusiasm my Soviet classmates want to learn about our youth movement, especially the Black Freedom struggle and the anti-Vietnam war movement. They have just about worn out my "Autobiography of Malcolm X" and Cleaver's "Soul on Ice." It is hard for students here to understand the depth of the freedom struggle. Despite the existence of over 100 different nationalities within the Soviet Union, there is nothing here that even

begins to compare. I am constantly asked, "Can the situation really be as bad as we read about?" It's worse! "But *why*?"

Their next question is about the peace movement. "How effective is it?" "Are there ordinary people who actually support the war?" and again, "*Why*?"

The other day a seven-year-old friend of mine described to me how at the beginning of the school year each child in each class in each grade in each school in Moscow brought in two notebooks, two pens, three pencils, an eraser and a ruler which were sent to the school children of Vietnam. Can you imagine the effect on American school children if they could do the same? That is assuming that every American school child could afford to participate!

I've wandered on at some length, and there's still a lot I'd like to write about. But I've still got to read and digest 50 pages (in Russian!) for tomorrow's seminar. What I really wanted to say, Jessica, is that despite the pleasures of summer, I'm sincerely glad to be back at the grind. This is the first time in my nineteen years of schooling that I am really excited by studies. It's a great feeling!

I wish you all the best and hope that you will keep sending me clippings on our student movement at home. I may be thousands of miles away—but I'm with them all the way!

Love to you all,
SARA

NCASF YOUTH ACTIVITIES

YOUNG people are in focus in the program of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Universities, senior, junior and community colleges, public and private high schools are all expanding their curricula in Soviet studies. The Educational Services Division of the NCASF is hard pressed to meet the requests from several hundred such institutions across the country—books and pamphlets, photographs and slides, documentary films for classroom use. Scores of students preparing term papers are given research assistance in specific areas of Soviet life. Forums on the Soviet Union, American-Soviet relations and peace are arranged on the campuses.

We are also promoters of person-to-person contacts between American and Soviet young people. Going to the USSR each year are student tours and special delegations including both students and young workers; our teenagers are guests in Soviet summer camps. We hope the way may be opened soon for Soviet young people to visit our country.

Regional societies cooperate in this program and also carry out independent activities among local youth: American-Russian Institute of San Francisco, Society for Cultural Relations USA-USSR of Los Angeles, and the Committee for Friendship of Chicago. (For further information write NCASF, Suite 304, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.)

RICHARD MORFORD, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

DAVID LAIBMAN

People, Ideas, Places: A Personal Account of A Soviet Journey

THERE are easier things to do than to travel in the Soviet Union for a month, then come back and write "about Soviet youth." But I would find it even harder to say nothing at all, and readers will just have to weigh my impressions, as they come leaping onto paper, against their own and those of other travelers. Imagination and reason are always mixed in with raw experiences, especially if one is trying to penetrate the experiences, reach the reality underneath.

I was in the USSR as a guest of Novosti Press Agency; later I was joined by my wife and three other young people, forming a delegation on behalf of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Our purpose was to meet Soviet young people, to meet them at work, at play, as they live; and to bring back ideas and ways of opening up wider contacts between youth of the two countries. We visited Moscow, Volgograd, Leningrad and Baku, and found young people in those cities eager to talk, highly knowledgeable about the United States in general, but especially anxious to know about us as individuals: what work do we do, how much do we pay for rent, education, books, theater, what careers do we plan, etc.

Within the limits imposed by tight schedules and the language barrier, we also tried to learn about them. What follows is a personal report, with individual and group experiences mixed together. The interpretations especially are all in the first person singular.

My first Russian youth, of course, turned out to be my interpreter-guide, Tanya, who absolutely insisted that she was not "typical" of Soviet youth. (I never did meet a "typical" one—they were all different.) Tanya is 24 years old, works at Novosti Press Agency, and releases the secrets of her life one by one over a period of time.

Her first job was to show me Moscow, and we walked along its wide streets, the stately yellow, green and blue buildings creating

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a subtle symphony of color; through the fascinating back streets and courtyards, where the real living and working goes on; along the banks of the Moskva river. Tanya grew up here, and I think she loves the city more than she admits ("It hasn't got the aesthetic charm of Leningrad," she says). We walked through Red Square at night, experiencing the mystery-colored domes of St. Basil's Cathedral, the intricate cornices of the Kremlin Wall, the solemn dignity of the Lenin mausoleum, all bathed in a crimson hue from the red stars atop the Kremlin towers. We joined the human and avian activities on the square, the people and pigeons strolling in twos and threes. It was solemn-gay, and the singing of a merry group of teenagers did not jar against my inevitable thoughts of closeness to history.

Tanya seemed to sense that I was groping for history, taunted and teased by these Byzantine domes and ancient buildings with their wonderful secrets. She hit upon one of the best ways to start learning Russian history—the Tretyakov Art Gallery. This remarkable Russian and Soviet collection begins with painters of the early Renaissance and goes right up through the contemporary period. Russian painters have a tradition of recording their history in imaginative ways; as you walk through the halls of the Tretyakov the story of Russia under the Tsars—the plots and counterplots, the agony of the serfs, peasants and workers, the luxurious life of the nobility—unfolds itself.

The collection from the Soviet period seems quite representative, from the heroic imagination of the early revolutionary painters to the stark political representationalism of the thirties and the searching, fervent moods of recent decades; from Serov and the burst of fire upon the Winter Palace in 1917 to Saryan, who captures the bright colors of his native Armenia in every cup and flower he paints.

I talked at length about socialist realism with Tanya, who turns out to be a warm and sensitive girl with a lively mind, an active belief in socialism and its creative development, and a quick hatred for anything false. She believes that the future of Soviet art lies with socialist realism, but in its correct, deeper, meaning: art whose *content* lies in the communication and interpretation of the inner and outer reality of Soviet life. She argued passionately against those painters who restrict socialist realism to the representational *form*, and who slur over the complexity of human emotions and events with a false heroism.

It was in a fulfilled and reflective mood that we left the Tretyakov to wander along the bank of the Moskva river. Here we stopped and looked across to the stately facade of the building housing the USSR Supreme Soviet, with the letters CCCP glistening along the top. Look-

ing down from this building with its impressive associations to the river embankment underneath, I noticed that some cheerful soul (a creative specimen of Soviet youth) had painted, in true graffiti style, "Ya lyublyu tebya"—in the familiar form, "I love you." Since Tanya had been looking the other way, I decided to try it out on her. She blushed just a little, missing the joke, and said that love just doesn't come that easily ("love coming hard" is an important element in the Russian youth culture). After I saved the situation by showing her the graffiti, she smiled an utterly untranslatable smile, and we continued on our way. The following day, when we took the "Raketa" (boat ride) up and down the Moskva, "Ya lyublyu tebya" had been efficiently erased.

A CAREFUL, leisurely walk through the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest reveals many facets of Muscovite life. The park is a favorite recreation spot for working people. Admission is ten kopeks, and as you wait on line for tickets a band plays Russian music. As we walked past the bandshell, an old man was doing an impromptu comic dance, and an appreciative crowd had gathered around, clapping in time to the music and encouraging him (not, as it seemed to me, laughing at him). Inside, the park consists of wide dirt paths, reddish-brown in color, with flower beds on all sides. There is a modern-looking cafe serving refreshments, and many young people inside, grooving while we were there to strains of Chuck Berry. There are amusement-park rides, with long but pleasant lines of parents and children waiting in turn: ferris wheel, airplane spin.

Most interesting to me were the assorted amphitheaters, each with an activity in progress. One was filled with people listening attentively to a young poet, declaiming in the distinctive, emotional Russian style about life and feeling and love. In another, a quiz-show competition was in progress, with mirthful audience participation. In still another, the audience seemed especially young. Here a very different kind of competition was going on. Two young men each assume the identity of a nineteenth-century Russian writer. They reveal their identity to the master of ceremonies, but not to each other or to the audience. They then question each other about their philosophies of life, and in the conversation each is pledged to interpret faithfully the philosophy of his chosen writer as he understands it. The object: To guess each other's identity, of course.

This would have been a little heady for me even were I fluent in Russian, so we didn't wait for the outcome, although I did get a sense of how deeply the Soviet people love their writers. We wandered

on, past athletic competitions, to a children's kiddie-car race. Here, boys and girls in turn get in their shiny blue vehicles and pedal to a pole about fifty yards distant, turn and come in for the home stretch. The children, as always, are indescribably beautiful, but the wonderful thing about this event was the warm way in which the adults were involved, standing around the race area, enjoying the events for the intrinsic pleasure which they afford. In Gorky Park, I felt that the parents and children did things together, and enjoyed each other in a way for which an American childhood had not prepared me. Such genuine excitement as the cars come in to the finish!

The slowest of the three contestants in one race, however, was a little girl, littler than the others, and she took the race just a bit too seriously. Abandoning her car halfway to the finish line, she ran weeping to her mother's lap. Mama stroked her hair, saying, "Vsyo khorosho, vsyo khorosho" ("Everything's fine, darling, nothing to cry about"), and in a few minutes this medicine worked and the incident was forgotten in the sun and the flowers and the trees.

IT IS hard to judge the intellectual atmosphere of the city in a short time, but the experiences I had belie the common impression that there is anything stilted or stifled about it. After some hesitation, Tanya agreed to invite me to her home, which turned out to be a modest third-story apartment (we would call it "three-room") in an old but clean and comfortable building on Gorky Street. The only member of the family who was not present was Tanya's father, who is a professor of history. Tanya's mother, a simply-dressed, kind, unassuming woman, turned out to be a professor of chemistry.

The parents are involved in an exciting project. They are in process of moving to the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, to be part of a team setting up a new university there. The Kalmyks are the descendants of nomadic inhabitants of northwestern China, Buddhists who migrated during the seventeenth century to their present home on the western bank of the Volga. Numbering about 125,000 people, the Kalmyks built up their autonomous republic on the basis of cattle-raising and fishing. Recently, plans have been set forth to intensify the development of the republic, and part of the development plan beginning in 1970 is the establishment of a state university there. Tanya's parents were among those answering the call for participating scholars, and the family seems imbued with the inspiration of a new institution of higher education for a people that was nomadic and illiterate a bare two generations ago.

Tanya's older brother is an economist, who specialized in Latin

America, but is switching back to the problems of socialist economy. "Developments in the economic reform and the changes in methods of management are just too exciting for me to ignore them," he says. His wife is also an economist, a quiet girl with a shy smile whose field is mathematical economics. She works in a laboratory of the Central Economico-Mathematical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, chipping away at difficult problems of integer programming.

We talked for an hour or so, until I had to leave, about socialist economics and Moscow economists. Since my own field is economics, I appreciated their casual opinions about the various personalities and schools and projects under way. The entire family participated in this discussion—no narrow specialization here, and the fact that the economists had their own technical knowledge didn't keep the chemists and literary scholars from getting their two kopeks in.

I had already talked with Prof. Mark Galansky at the Economico-Mathematical Institute, listening to his excited elaboration of work on models for price formation and criteria for investment planning, for individual economic sectors and for the socialist economy as a whole. The spirit was thoroughly critical, and Galansky and his assistants were intimately acquainted with the work of American economists. They felt that Marx was now, as always before, the basis for modern economic work, but that some crude, "textbookish" interpretations of Marx had to be rejected, and that new approaches were required for the socialist economy, modifying the classical formulations in many respects. Economists in various institutes in Moscow emphasized, in different ways, the distinctness of the market mechanism under capitalist production relations, and the market mechanism subordinate to socialist planning; the real dogmatism, they insisted, is to import simplistic concepts of market economics into a complex situation.

The reform of planning and management, now under way in the USSR and other European socialist countries, reflects the complexity of the task set: to improve and develop systems of total socialist planning, with no historical precedents or guidelines. The atmosphere is quite exciting, since much of the work is necessarily experimental, and economists state frankly the feeling that they are only beginning to master their subject. The pace of change is breathtaking; one Moscow economist, asked whether he would describe to me the latest steps in the economic reform, demurred, saying he had been away on vacation for two weeks, and so was not really up on the latest developments!

One clear impression, from economists of different institutes with

different emphases and areas of concern, is that the economic reform in no way weakens planning. Enterprises are now increasingly responsible for planning many targets—often concerning product assortment, labor productivity increase, material use, etc.—that were formerly planned by central bodies. This increase in the planning responsibility of the enterprise should insure better precision planning and more precise information flows to the higher bodies, especially since economically substantiated plans increase the funds at the enterprise's disposal. The higher bodies are left free to concentrate on better substantiation of the main proportions and rates of development, which remain in their jurisdiction.

It was emphasized that, while charges for the use of capital equipment were being introduced, and experiments even begun in the area of direct contracting with material supply organizations, the enterprise continues to "rent" its basic equipment from the state, which is the sole owner of means of production. Although they have some autonomy in the planning and use of capital resources, the enterprises do not own these resources, and cannot "buy" or "sell" them in the ordinary sense of these words. Decisions over resource allocation and use are political decisions—this in fact is a crucial element in the definition of socialism. The purpose of the economic reform is to draw wider circles of working people into the making of these decisions, and simultaneously to create the means for making them in a more systematic way, according to more effective criteria.

A week with Soviet economists is enough to get a beginner like me only a bit more confused than he was before; but I have a new fascination for the subject of socialist planning, and a new inspiration to study more.

I would like in any case to record my profound feeling of awe, standing beneath the portals of the building which houses Gosplan, the State Planning Board of the USSR. Somewhere in this incredible beehive, the Five- or Seven-Year Plans, and the yearly and quarterly operative plans, of the Soviet economy are created, and the giant machinery is made to turn, the world's first *intentional* economy, man's first step toward scientific control over his relation to nature. And the sense of awe is not diminished by the knowledge that the machinery sometimes turns too slowly, that certain parts need oiling or replacing. One Gosplan economist, when asked to explain what goes on inside this building, implied that he wished he had a complete answer to that question! But one cannot help wondering at the enormous and fast-growing and highly productive economy presided over by the thousands of workers of Gosplan.

TANYA, who is not an economist like her brother and her sister-in-law, preferred to talk about literary subjects. She is studying for the degree of candidate (comparable to our doctorate) in American literature, and is planning a thesis on T. S. Eliot. You couldn't throw a stick in her apartment without hitting some dog-eared, annotated piece of Eliot writing or criticism, from the USA, England, or elsewhere. I'm afraid she found me disappointingly weak in literature. She would mention works of Salinger, D. H. Lawrence, Faulkner, Hemingway, Dreiser, etc., etc., and all too often I would have to admit that I hadn't read this or that work. She would look at me with big, sad, disapproving brown eyes. Once I said to her, "You know, you really are an intellectual snob." Not a bat of an eyelash. She thought a moment and said, "No, I'm not being a snob if I ask you whether you've read something by Lawrence or Carson McCullers. Now, if I asked you whether you had read Henry James, *then* I would be a snob."

I really grew to love Tanya's delightful sarcasm, her quick, critical wit. Walking in front of the Hotel Rossiya one day, we watched a Moskvich plow crunchingly into the rear end of a Volga. The drivers got out of their cars, and like drivers all over the world began arguing and gesticulating. Tanya's eye twinkled, and she said, "It must have been an illusion. Such things don't happen under socialism."

She had her opinions about other things also. The Lenin mausoleum: "Going through there doesn't make you a better Leninist," we agreed quietly. (Many Russians do not share her attitude, and the huge lines waiting to see the founder of their socialist state, winding down from the mausoleum, past the Museum of the History of the Revolution, past the eternal flame for the unknown Soviet soldier, and around along the park outside the Kremlin wall—this is a moving and impressive sight in itself.) On the subject of patriotic songs Tanya felt that "no patriotism is better than false patriotism. When they jazz up the songs of the Revolution, they weaken the meaning and lose the significance." "We've got to find musical forms which are new without being commercialized."

The Soviet young people I met were, for the most part, actively involved in their work, serious in the search for truth, very hungry for their own country's history, hostile (sometimes with a certain naivete) to superficiality, falseness, bureaucratic behavior; and deeply committed to socialism, perhaps more than they themselves sometimes realized. I spoke with Sasha, who also works at Novosti Press Agency. After greeting me with that inexpressible Russian warmth, he pumped me hungrily about the United States: Is it true that the antiwar move-

ment is weakening, or is there some hope that it will pick up? What is the attitude of American workers toward the Vietnam war? What does the SDS convention mean; where is it heading? Tell me about the united front conference against fascism called by the Black Panthers. Do US students really think they can win their demands?

We got around to the Soviet Union again, this time the conflict between the two literary magazines for young people, *Molodaya Gvardia* and *Yunost*. *Yunost*, the Writers' Union monthly on youth questions, has grouped around it some of the more critical writers; *Molodaya Gvardia* is published by the Komsomol (Young Communist League), and is often thought to be very rigid and orthodox. I was sure that Sasha would side with *Yunost*. Once again, as often on this trip, my simple notions were shattered. "The issues in the debate over the young writers are very complex," Sasha said. "Actually, I take a third position, closer to *Molodaya Gvardia* than to *Yunost*. But you can't answer one kind of superficiality with another."

Sasha found it hard to explain just what he meant by that. It's a very hard thing to understand from the outside, you have to live with it, be part of the debates as they unfold. Some of the literary discussions concern the correct appraisal of a writer or piece of writing, such as, for example, Nekrassov's novel about World War II, written in the early postwar period. Do you write about the war "from the trenches," conveying your message through the medium of mud, blood, fatigue, boredom, tension? Is this the "truth" about the war and its meaning for Soviet people, or is it just empty formalism? On the other hand, how do you "rise above the trenches," grasp and convey the deeper meaning of the struggle against the fascist invader, without becoming false, depicting a sort of heroism and grandeur which is lifeless and unreal? *Molodaya Gvardia* tends to ask one kind of question, *Yunost* asks the other. Young Soviets like Tanya and Sasha seem to be deeply involved in the debates, believing that the approach to historical and literary truth lies in the contest of the several approaches. And they do not hope for some simple "golden mean" or "synthesis." The struggle for truth, they seem to be saying, will always impale us on this sort of contradiction, and it should—you accept it if you accept life. This is also implied by Yevtushenko's famous dilemma: To be forever suspended between the "city of yes" and the "city of no."

We talked with the editors of *Molodaya Gvardia* about the "angry" young writers. They spoke about this circle critically and sadly, claiming that their protest was by nature shortlived, a "candle brief and bright." They admired the talent and energy of some of these

young people, but argued that their individualism, their unwillingness to go to the Soviet people and write for them and through them, have drained away their creativity, and that in such a situation, an artist will cease to function artistically. They expressed the hope that the potentials of these young writers would find new life, and they did not seem to be trying to "demolish" anyone—these were honest opinions. We all laughed when I said we would now go over to *Yunost* to get the other side (we never did get there, due to a full schedule).

The problem of bureaucracy is very much in the consciousness of Soviet young people and Soviet society generally, and the struggle against it seems to be a part of the people's cultural life. A Volgograd water circus, combining the regular Soviet circus with acts and acrobatics on water, included social satire sketches. Example: Three young fellows with guitars, singing a song of satire. One then says, "Hey, here comes the director of my factory. Help me out, maybe I can get a promotion." He grabs his guitar and leaves. When the director enters, the other two, behaving like real Soviet hooligans, to the strains of Trini Lopez, throw the director into the water with a comic splash. The first friend comes back, mockingly surveys the situation, pulls his boss out of the water, dries him off fawningly, and then, with indignation, "beats up" and scolds his friends (who cooperate in the prank), and chases them off. The director, who has a characteristic big paunch, then says, "My boy, you're a fine fellow I see, I'm going to make you an engineer. How's that?" The audience laughs approvingly at all this, not so much in appreciation of the successful prank as in knowing condemnation of the director's standards for promotion.

IT IS somewhat difficult to find out about student life in the USSR when schools are not in session, but the way Prof. Kovalev of Leningrad University described it to us, it is an awful lot of hard, serious work. Leningrad University is the second largest in the country, with 20,000 students, the first being Moscow University. Which is better? "It's disputable," says Prof. Kovalev. "They have more buildings and such, but we have better professors." Would the people in Moscow agree with that? "Of course not. You see, we are sort of like Harvard and Yale, or Oxford and Cambridge. Nobody ever wins these disputes."

What is the life of the student like here? Major fact: All tuition is free, and all students get modest stipends. Still, it's a hectic five years, beginning with stiff competition for admission (25 applicants per place in Prof. Kovalev's Philological Faculty), and ending with

public defense of a diploma project which must represent original research. The basic curriculum is compulsory, with all of the courses in the student's field of study prearranged for him. Are there electives? Certainly, after the core requirements have been met, but in practice there is insufficient time for elective work, after the required lectures, seminars, laboratory work, twice yearly oral exams, etc. "The average student needs about a 25 hour day," says Prof. Kovalev. "We don't have that many hours in a day, of course, so how do the students survive? It's easy: They take evasive action." The "evasive action" apparently refers to techniques of compressing, dovetailing, shortcutting work; but after learning the course of study in the English department for the freshman year (which we took as an example of a typical student year), we were convinced that no evasive action could enable the student to avoid total immersion in his studies.

We asked whether students can choose their courses or participate in planning courses in any way. Prof. Kovalev: "Students play a creative role in the seminars. That's what seminars are for. But they do not as a rule determine their own course of study, and they do not choose from among alternative courses in the program they are following. We listen to the students' complaints, try to meet their needs. In a word, we are compassionate. But the staff has experience, is in a better position to know what subjects the students will need, and can make these decisions better than the students themselves can. I think the students here understand that. Students do participate in the running of the university, through student organizations which have representatives on the Dean's Council, the University Council and other leading bodies. They advise the faculty and administration on all questions, and can arbitrate questions of student tenure, special scholarships, hostel rules, the budget for cultural events, and so forth."

If the staff sets the course on the basis of its experience, what purposes guide its decisions? What does the university try to accomplish? "Our goal," Prof. Kovalev continued, "is to create specialists with deep understanding of their speciality, and to do it with maximum efficiency in a minimum of time." We ask: In the United States, the student movement demands the opposite—that the university pay attention to the needs of the whole person, instead of stamping out narrow specialists. How do you react to that? "The job of the university is to produce scholars with a specialty, prepare students for a scientific career. Graduates of pedagogical institutes, for example, make better teachers, as a rule, than our graduates do, but ours are better equipped to do original research, to be scholars. We don't try to stuff in a given amount of knowledge, but to impart techniques,

tools, an approach to a subject matter. That's our job. Now about your 'whole man.' In your situation in the United States, the student demands may be correct. But I don't think any university, acting on its own, can create a 'whole man.' The totally educated man, the 'new man' we are trying to evolve, is inevitably a product of the entire society, and his development involves the entire structure of social life and activity. You can't cut the university off from the society, treat it as an entity unto itself. In our society, the university is tied in with a whole network of institutions—cultural organizations, sports organizations, student organizations and trade unions, the Komsomol and the Party—all of which work together in creating rounded and cultured individuals. It would be wrong to place all that in the lap of the university."

Prof. Kovalev described what he called the "petrified period" in Soviet academic life, the period during Stalin's rule when "everything worthwhile had already been said." "This principle is a thing of the past, but we did find that it is easier to change the rules than to reform the teachers." I asked about the Marxist-Leninism course, which is obligatory for all students. I had heard that many Soviet students did not like the course, feeling that it was taught in a rote and uninspired manner by insufficiently trained instructors. "No, my experience is that most students now like the course," said Prof. Kovalev. "Of course, it is harder now. Before all you had to do was memorize the correct answers. Now Marxism-Leninism is again regarded as a living, growing philosophy, and students are asked to *think*."

We had another surprise when Prof. Kovalev defended the "publish or perish" dictum. We told him many students and faculty members in our country were against the requirement that professors constantly publish in order to keep their jobs or get promotions. Doesn't this encourage useless, careerist publishing efforts? "No, we feel that a university teacher must be more than just a teacher; he must do independent research of some kind. Now, we aren't fussy about the form, but a person can't just carry the results of his work around in his head. In some form, if good work has been done, it should be published."

We also spoke to Ismail Ali oğlu Ibrahimov, Rector of the Petroleum and Chemistry Institute in Baku, capital of Azerbaidzhan. He too emphasized the role of students in decision-taking, citing student participation in (but not a student veto over) decisions on the elaboration of the courses, within the outlines laid down by the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR, the timing of the production prac-

tice sessions that are part of the polytechnical education, results of exams, criticisms of teachers. Are there ever any student protests? we ask. "No. But this is not due to oppression, but to the fact that we respond to problems, and not by administrative decisions but by consulting with the students themselves. For example, when the students arrived on campus yesterday, the canteen in the students' hostel was closed for repairs. I was there last night, and again this morning, and we have taken the necessary steps to open it. Students know that we are aware of shortcomings when they exist, and that we try to overcome them." I did sense a warm, give-and-take relationship between the rector, a Doctor of Technical Sciences, and the students who were with him.

We later spoke to some of these students, including participants in student construction teams. These are groups of students who volunteer for work at construction sites during the summer. The program started in 1957, and this year 500 young people, boys and girls, left Baku to work at the Fiat auto plant site in Togliatti. Some of the teams are international, and one of special interest is a Vietnamese-Soviet team that was working in Shemakha, a town of Azerbaidzhan.

Why do the students volunteer? First reason given is the romantic aura attached to these projects, the camaraderie and excitement of living together with other young people, all engaged in work involving a social cause. Also, the teams provide students with an opportunity to earn their own living, away from home, something many of these students are doing for the first time. In addition to the relatively high rates of pay (for students), there is the opportunity to travel, see interesting places, meet interesting people. Of the students in the Petroleum and Chemistry Institute who were free during the summer, 60 per cent joined the construction teams.

The Komsomol organization here, as elsewhere, takes the construction teams very seriously. As early as January and February, meetings are held and the volunteers form into teams, usually 10 to 12 strong, and begin organizing according to skills and interests. The teams meet continuously throughout the spring, getting briefed in labor skills and information about the area to which they are to go. By the time summer rolls around and the teams leave, some for Siberia and parts North, others for diverse regions in the Russian and other Union Republics, the students are more than mere "volunteers"; in speaking to students from the Baku teams, one senses the seriousness of their purpose, the feeling of importance, even grandeur, that comes from their knowledge of being a vital detachment in socialist construction.

And we learned that the labor performed is far from "busywork."

It's for real. In one year (1968) a quarter of a million students put up projects valued by the economists at 320 million rubles, divided among over 7,000 individual installations, from apartment houses, schools, kindergartens, clubs and stores to large production premises. Some teams drain marshes, lay highways, string up high-tension power lines. At the sites of particularly important projects, such as the world's largest hydroelectric station at Bratsk, young people actually found cities, which come to be known as "youth cities."

It's not an easy life. The very idea of it all is to go where it is extremely cold, or where there are no electric or plumbing facilities (that's what you are doing, bringing in the first high-tension lines) or places like the Virgin Lands. So even the students of an advanced socialist country don't grow fat and lazy, because there is always more advancing to do. The teams also view themselves as political and cultural teams, running cultural events and educational classes in conjunction with the local population in their work area. Others, who don't necessarily brave the Siberian cold, do what might be called "socialist social work": Tutoring rural secondary-school graduates to bring them up to urban levels and ease this still-existing gap, staffing Pioneer Camps for children of collective farmers and state farm workers, or forming medical detachments to work in rural areas.

Sometimes the students volunteer for unpaid work; in harvesting emergencies on collective farms; to meet special targets at construction sites; in case of natural disasters; and in fulfillment of political pledges, such as labor donations to send aid to Vietnam.

THE construction teams form a link in life-experience between student youth and young workers in factories. We met many young people working full time who seemed to have the same sense of involvement as the students on their adventures. At the Krupskaya Textile Factory in Volgograd, the average age of the workers is about 25 or 26, and they showed us around the place like they owned it (which of course they do), demonstrating the latest equipment, explaining the wall charts containing the individual workers' pledges for the current plan period, pointing out the leading workers, telling about the economic reform and the new responsibilities this places upon the collective leadership of the enterprise and the trade unions.

We were impressed by the position of young women at this enterprise, where the chief technologist, the economist, the Komsomol head and many of the brigade leaders are girls in their twenties. Young women appeared everywhere in the working world we saw: As curator in the Leningrad Hermitage; atop a trolley car in Moscow untangling

a rat's nest of wires; scampering around on the beams of a Volgograd construction site. In Azerbaidzhan, the posts of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, Minister of Higher and Secondary Education, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as other high posts, were all filled by women.

We were shown around the magnificent Volgograd Hydroelectric Station by Nina Tikhomirova, an engineer who had worked at the station almost from the beginning of the project. She is a young woman, whose natural beauty is enhanced by her radiant enthusiasm for her work, and for the power- and life-giving hydroelectric station. The station, blocking the Volga river, prevents the sturgeon from swimming upstream to spawn. How did we solve this problem? Come, says Nina, and she takes us to the "fish lift," a giant elevator which lifts the fish to the higher level so they can continue their swim upstream. Nina describes the process to us in vast detail, and shouts with joy as she points out to us the giant sturgeon squirming and squiggling in the lift; soon the mighty engines turn and swirl the sleek caviar producers out toward their breeding ground. Nina is indeed a beautiful socialist engineer, an engineer who is also intimately concerned with the relation of her engineering miracle to the entire process of nature, which she loves. This, I thought, must be one of those "narrow specialists" turned out by Soviet universities.

Nina's city of Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) is of course a symbol of the Soviet Union's travail and triumph, and experiencing this city overall is a way of grasping Soviet reality in miniature. Volgograd is, in a way, a "youth city," because its large, bright, buildings and wide, green thoroughfares are all the same age as the young people who sing in its streets and work in its factories. In the battle of Stalingrad, winter of 1942-43, the people of this city held it against the Hitler fascists, and finally turned them back, but not until many hundreds of thousands had died, in battle or from cold and starvation; and when the German divisions were finally encircled and forced to surrender, they left the city literally in ruins, without a single structure in usable condition.

It was youth who fought in the front lines in the battle for Stalingrad, and their heroism is imprinted deeply into the consciousness of the city. There are numerous markers, in the form of small tanks, along the line marking the front, and any Volgograder can tell you where the line was broken, which buildings were held by the fascists and for how long, and the particular acts of heroism that took place along particular streets, or in particular areas of the city.

All of this is recorded in what may be the most massive and moving memorial monument in the world, Mamayev Hill. Here a giant statue, representing the Motherland with her sword raised and her eyes screaming defiance as she passes the torch of victory on to Berlin, overlooks a complex of memorials: a pantheon in which the names of 7,000 who died are inscribed around an eternal flame, a pool of tears, a statue portraying "mother and son," and the "walls of ruins." This last consists of two faces of rock, in which are carved depictions of battles, heroes, symbols of heroism. "There is no land beyond the Volga": There is no retreat; we will stay and defend the Volga. Here are immortalized the Komsomols who carried their Komsomol membership cards against their hearts as they went into battle; cards with bullet holes through them were later found among the debris. If one can visit a city and know such a thing, one knows here that the spirit captured on Mamayev Hill lives in the hearts of the rebuilders and survivors, the working people of Volgograd. "There is no land beyond the Volga . . ."

It would have been easier to plow under the ruins and build again somewhere else; but the people who defended and died for this city would not abandon it. Today it stands beside the Volga, buildings glistening, power lines humming, paradoxically new and at the same time soaked in its tragic yet heroic history; a monument in itself to the Soviet people who have built, against terrible odds and in a short time, a beautiful modern society with almost unimaginable promise for the future.

YOUNG people lived and died for this promise. For those who defended Stalingrad and later rebuilt it life was hard—also unimaginable to those of us who have never lived through such experiences—but the way forward was clear, and the meaning of life did not have to be sought after consciously—it was embedded in one's every thought and action. Young people in Volgograd today, such as the young workers at the Nadezhda Krupskaya Textile Plant, seem to share this sense of purpose, of belonging, and at the same time tackle new, complex problems. Soviet youth may at times be troubled about shortcomings and failures in Soviet society, but the experience of war and reconstruction gives their criticism a certain depth, and the busy run of activities in which they are involved always seems connected by a red thread with the labor of construction and reconstruction and with the defense of their country against invasion, and informed by an aura of experiment that must accompany the experience of building a pioneering socialist society.

ALMONT LINDSEY

Life in the USSR: The Reality vs. Mr. Shub

HAVING twice been in the Soviet Union in recent years, spending several months traveling in that country and visiting over 20 cities, some in Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Siberia, I become disturbed at observations such as those of Anatole Shub, which were set forth in a series of articles published by *The Washington Post* in July of 1969. His remarks on the economy and living standards present a lack of balance and objectivity, and raise a serious question as to his motive for writing so disparagingly.

From his comments, the uninformed reader would get the impression that the Soviet retail markets have virtually no meat and few vegetables, that living conditions have improved little since the war, that the economy is stagnant, and that the housing situation is especially bleak. His reference to the "sullen faces" and the "dead souls" of the "Soviet masses," like all such stereotyped characterizations, is as absurd as it is meaningless. And the allusion to Soviet women "still working as hod carriers, street cleaners, house-painters . . ." projects a completely false picture of their role in society.

The Soviet Union is an enormous country with eleven time zones and a population of 240 million people. For such a nation it would appear that the meager evidence that Mr. Shub had marshalled to support his sweeping allegations ill serves the cause of truth, good journalism or a more meaningful understanding of the Soviet people.

Neither my observations nor the information I have gathered would sustain his conclusions. I found the Soviet people friendly and optimistic. The markets visited seemed reasonably well supplied with food, and in the stores there was an impressive quantity of goods.

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I had the opportunity to take a careful look at some of the other facets of Soviet life such as farming, manufacturing, mining, hydro-electric dams, schools, medical and health institutions, housing projects, palaces of culture, youth camps, nurseries and kindergartens. What were some of my findings with supporting data?

What particularly impressed me was the scope of the social services. Such matters as diet, housing, education, working conditions and recreation are of vital interest to the Soviet Government, but no less important is the adequate protection for all citizens against the hazards of life. A comprehensive scheme has evolved to provide for the welfare of mothers and children, the aged, disabled and sick.

The coverage in all areas of social welfare are broadened from time to time as the resources of the nation permit; and as the national income grows, the material benefits improve for all segments of the population. Since salaries and wages are largely determined by the worker's contribution to society, there is a marked disparity between the highest and lowest levels of remuneration. But this inequality in income is being minimized by the increasingly important role assigned to the Public Consumption Fund, which is that part of the national income utilized for research centers, pensions, disability grants, medical services, education, scholarships, cultural services, paid sick leave and other welfare grants, and as subsidies for state housing, sanatoriums, Pioneer camps, nurseries, kindergartens, and homes for the aged.

Since the Public Consumption Fund provides free cultural and material benefits, it constitutes a distribution of a part of the national wealth based upon need.

In real wages the average monthly pay in 1960 was 80 rubles; in 1968, 112.5 rubles; and is scheduled to reach 115 rubles in 1970. Including benefits and payments from the Public Consumption Fund, the total amount received by each worker would average monthly for these years—103 rubles (\$114.33), 151 rubles (\$167.61), and 156 rubles (\$173.16) respectively, which would represent an increase of over 50 per cent in real wages and benefits during the decade of the 1960s. Since most wives work, the average income for most families would thus approach twice this sum.

Medicine, Health, Maternal Care

IN A program designed to promote the well-being of the people, no phase is more important than health. Maintenance "in old age and also in case of sickness or disability" is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. The establishment of a free health service goes back to

July 11, 1918 when the medical service was nationalized and the Ministry of Health was created.

The program is financed from national funds, and all services are free with the exception of a nominal charge for dentures, nurseries, frames for glasses, and prescriptions dispensed by the drugs stores. Everything is free in the hospital including the most intricate surgery or prolonged treatment, and there is no charge for any services rendered by the medical personnel. Medicine is free when furnished in the hospital or sanatorium, or when given on a two or three day basis in the polyclinic, or when prescribed for certain diseases such as diabetes, tuberculosis and dysentery.

In the care of teeth, all conservative work is free in the polyclinics. Dentures are furnished without charge for invalids, pensioners and disabled war veterans.

Polyclinics, which exist all over the Soviet Union, are of three types: for children, for adults, and those maintained by the more prestigious industrial concerns for the benefit of their employees. Some polyclinics are attached to hospitals, but the majority are not, and yet all cooperate closely with the hospitals, there being an interchange of personnel. Staffed with general practitioners, surgeons, dentists, opticians, nurses, technicians, radiologists and other specialists, and having its own X-ray, dental, laboratory, surgery and nursing departments, the polyclinic can diagnose and treat most ailments.

A health program as comprehensive as that of the Soviet Union requires a large medical staff. In 1967 there were 580,000 doctors and three times that many nurses, which equaled one physician and three nurses for every 425 citizens or less. With only seven per cent of the world's population, the USSR claims one-fourth of all the doctors in the world.

Preventive health plays an important part in the medical program. Many factors are recognized as contributing to health as diet, housing and sanitation, but no less important is the early detection of disease. Medical examinations are required for all people every two years, being conducted in the polyclinics. Pregnant women, tubercular patients, and those with ulcers and cardio-vascular or rheumatic diseases are examined more often.

Mr. Shub claims: "Educated young women who, despite the hardships of Soviet life, insist on the experience of motherhood, often tend to regret it during the baby's first squalling years. . . . Nurseries are neither so easy to enter nor so beloved by Soviet parents as official myth maintains. Household help is difficult to obtain, diaper service a Utopian dream."

The care of children begins long before birth. The physical well-being of women before pregnancy is safeguarded by forbidding them to be hired for certain types of industrial jobs known to be injurious to health.

Pregnant women and mothers while nursing are not permitted to labor overtime or at night; and if the work is heavy, they are assigned to lighter employment at the same compensation. There is paid maternity leave of 56 days before and the same number of days after confinement, and the woman is still entitled to her regular paid vacation.

Pregnant women are under the medical supervision of antenatal clinics, and those requiring additional care are usually sent to specialized health centers. All of the babies in the cities and at least three-fourths in the rural areas are born in maternity hospitals. When the mother's milk is insufficient, special mixtures are supplied through milk kitchens without charge; and where children need special food, it is free, if recommended by the doctor. If the wages of the parents are low, the child gets food during the first year at no cost to them.

The pediatrician will see the baby three times during the first month, and once a month thereafter until the baby is a year old. The child will be vaccinated or inoculated for smallpox, whooping cough, tuberculosis, diphtheria and polio. If the child needs orthopedic, orthodontic or any other treatment, he will receive it. Hearing aids and artificial arms, legs and eyes are furnished free. After one year of age, the child is examined annually, but at the ages of three and seven, he will receive a much more thorough examination with various medical tests. In the schools, there is a medical check-up every three months for each student, but whenever a child complains of not feeling well, he will promptly be given a medical examination.

The Health Service in the USSR has established a record which the people can point to with pride. Before the Revolution, the mortality rate of peasants was high. More than one-third of the babies did not reach the age of one. Today this is all changed. The general mortality rate has changed to one-fourth that of 1913 and is now 7.2 per thousand—the lowest in the world. Infant mortality has fallen to one-tenth of its pre-World I record. The death rate for children under five is 4.7 per cent or 90 per cent below what it was at the turn of the century. Life expectancy for women is 74 years and for men 66 years. At no time have the Russian people been so healthy or the provision for the care of women or children so comprehensive.

Education, Children's Activities, Women

IF THERE is a privileged class in the USSR, it is the children, whose well-being is of primary interest to the government. This is evident not only in the field of medical care, but also in education and a broad spectrum of other services and institutions available for boys and girls of all ages.

A carefully integrated program has thus evolved which stresses ethical values and provides purposeful direction for the energy of youth. The family and the schools are important in the development of the child, but there are other influences designed to fill the vacuum that might arise after school hours. To help the children develop mentally and physically during their spare time, there are reading rooms, technical hobby centers, playgrounds and sports facilities. There are children's music and dancing schools. Trade union clubs have their children's sections. School clubs for teenagers flourish in substantial numbers in such subjects as art, dramatics, music, nature study, athletics, chess and model-making.

For the use of children and young people in 1967, the Soviet Union could point to 2,535 stadiums and sports centers, 3,500 palaces and houses of culture for Young Pioneers, 7,000 Pioneer camps, 123 theaters, 200 parks, and 685 technical stations and young nature-lovers' stations. Thirty-three railways were being operated by adolescents. During the summer of that year, 16 million young people went to tourist and excursion centers, sanatoriums, and Young Pioneer and school camps.

In addition to the libraries at each of the public schools, there were in 1967 several thousand special libraries and reading rooms for children with 120 million books. In no country in the world were there as many children's books published, and they were produced in as many as 60 national languages, many of which were not even written before the Revolution. There were more than 200 youth magazines with a total circulation of over 43 million copies.

Mr. Shub says: "Women are 'guaranteed the right to work' in the Soviet Union, and since Stalin's time have had to do so simply to make ends meet. They are still working as hod carriers, street cleaners, housepainters, in heavy and light industry, as well as the professions."

Concerning female employment in the USSR, there is equal pay for equal work, and no apparent discrimination in employment opportunities. With the educational facilities and all jobs (except dangerous ones) open to women on a non-discriminatory basis, it

is not strange that they are found in virtually every branch of the economy. Representing 58 per cent of those gainfully employed in 1967, women comprised one-third of all qualified engineers, 63 per cent of the economists, 68 per cent of the teachers, 72 per cent of the doctors and about one-half of the industrial and office workers. Fifty-eight per cent of all professionally trained people were women; and in that year, they occupied 425 seats in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 3,000 seats in the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and they constituted over 43 per cent of the delegates in the local soviets. All of this was in striking contrast to the pre-Revolutionary era when 80 per cent of the Russian working women were domestic servants and agricultural laborers.

A Westerner, after observing female employment in the Soviet Union, declared: "They complain that their husbands don't help them enough . . . but they do not complain about being unfulfilled or about not having meaning to their lives. They do not have the vacant, tense, unsatisfied look of many Western women."

Mr. Shub charges that "on the most optimistic projection of Soviet plans, the housing space per person in 1999 will still be less than that available to the imperial subject of 1909."

Housing Construction

THE TALL cranes that dot the skylines of the cities attest to the massive housing program. It is in the field of housing where Soviet industry has made its greatest effort to meet consumer needs. The colossal demand for this commodity arose from the phenomenal increase in the size of the urban communities—from less than one-fifth of the total population in 1926 to nearly one-half by 1960. The restoration of the 70,000 villages and 1,700 towns and cities left in rubble by the Nazis was in itself a herculean task. Among other factors was the policy to replace substandard dwellings with modern ones, and at the same time to provide shelter for a burgeoning population.

A crash program was instituted and a sustained effort has been maintained year after year in seeking to deal with the problem. The magnitude of the achievement becomes apparent when it is recognized that during the ten-year period, 1957-66, almost half of the population moved into new or renovated accommodations. In 1967 and 1968, 4,575,000 new apartments and dwelling houses were erected, and the total for the entire 1966-70 period is expected to reach an estimated 13,500,000 units, sufficient to provide new or better housing for over 65 million people.

The apartments are small, but the trend is toward larger units, and those now being erected have more living space than formerly. Some are efficiency apartments, and others have as many as three bedrooms, but the one and two bedroom units predominate. Exclusive of bathroom, kitchen, hallway and storage facilities, the floor area of the average apartment (bedroom and living space) is between 300 and 400 square feet. Divided bathrooms, cabinets, built-in closets, a range, refrigerator and sink are standard equipment for most apartments. Some of the old apartments share the same bathroom, but this is not true of the new ones. The plumbing is inferior by American standards, and the finishing work reveals rough edges, which may be the price paid for speedy construction, but the structures are solidly built. Although still rather crowded, the new apartments are comfortable. The per capita living space for the Soviet people in 1967 was said to average 97 square feet, and by 1980 is expected to approximate 161 square feet.

The rental cost is fixed by law and may not exceed 13 kopeks per square meter of actual living space. In the case of pensioners, the charge is often reduced one-half. The rent is less than six rubles per month or not over five per cent of the family income.

In 1968 the US Department of Housing and Urban Development in a report asserted that the Soviet people have the "most progressive reinforced concrete building techniques in the world." And in the same year, Under Secretary Howard J. Samuels of the Commerce Department said that the USSR has "far surpassed the US in solving the low-cost housing needs of the people and may well be on its way to becoming the first nation in the world to eliminate the blight of slums."

Consumer Goods and Capital Goods

IN THE production of consumer goods, the Soviet Union has made appreciable progress. In the manufacture of cotton textiles and other fabrics, for example, the quantity increased by threefold between 1928 and 1965. In linen and woolen goods, she led the world; and although behind the United States in the output of cotton cloth, Soviet production was growing steadily. In 1968 it exceeded six billion square meters.

In some of the other areas of consumer goods, the figures were even more spectacular. The production of leather footwear, for instance, enjoyed a phenomenal increase of over 10 times during the forty-year period ending in 1968, with nearly 600 million pairs being produced in that year. But only in recent years have durable goods

come into substantial production, and this has been particularly true since 1960 when the manufacture of consumer goods became one of the main priorities. By 1968, the annual output of radios and radio-phonographs had risen to seven million units; television sets to 5,700,000; refrigerators to 3,200,000; washing machines to 4,700,000; and furniture to the value of 2.4 billion rubles. The overall rate of increase for durable consumer goods in that year was 12 per cent.

During the 1961-65 period, heavy industry had a 50 per cent higher rate of development than that of light industry, but with the new five-year plan, 1966-70, the proportion would be more favorable for the production of consumer goods. Light industry would have an average annual growth rate of 7.7 per cent instead of the 6.3 per cent which it had before, while the rate of increase for the capital goods industry would be 8.7 per cent instead of 9.6 per cent. Retail trade for the 1966-70 period was expected to rise 43.5 per cent above the level of the preceding five years.

Mr. Shub insists that "nearly five years after the advent of Brezhnev and Kosygin, the Soviet economy remains an incredible mess."

In 1913 the industrial output of Russia was only four per cent of world production; in 1966 it was 20 per cent. During that period the industrial production of the Soviet Union increased sixty-six times. In the two decades following World War II, the average annual rate of industrial growth, as reported by the Soviet Government, was slightly over 11 per cent; and for the years 1966-68 it was nine per cent. The volume of industrial production in the USSR rose from 30 per cent of the US level in 1950 to nearly two-thirds in 1966.

In the seven years ending in 1967, the production of coal in the USSR increased 19 per cent; electric power, 100 per cent; ferrous metals, 70 per cent; non-ferrous metals, 78 per cent; chemicals, 100 per cent; construction materials, 75 per cent; processed foods, 50 per cent; soft goods, 34 per cent; civilian machinery, including electronics, 106 per cent; and civilian industrial production in the aggregate, 66.5 per cent.

In the production of such items as housing, glass, timber, machine tools, diesel and electric locomotives, harvesting combines, cement, coke, coal, iron ore and precast concrete, the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States, but not in the output of electricity, automobiles, oil, gasoline, mineral fertilizers, plastics, steel, pig iron, cotton textiles, footwear, refrigerators and a large number of con-

sumer goods. In some of these products the United States has maintained an impressive lead but in others the gap is narrowing.

In any comparison between the two countries, it should be remembered that none of the US cities or any of her countryside was laid waste by war or civil strife during the last half century as was true of the Soviet Union. And in 1917, Russia was an impoverished country with a small industrial base and little technical knowhow while the United States at that time was emerging as a creditor nation and one of the great industrial powers of the world, with nearly a century of industrial growth behind her.

In comparing the average annual growth rate in the years between 1956 and 1967, all of the more important industrial countries with the exception of Japan suffer by comparison with the Soviet Union. In the periods 1956-61 and 1962-67, neither France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom nor the United States could claim a higher average growth rate than that of the USSR, and in almost every instance they trailed, and in several cases by a wide margin. Among the economies of the world, the Soviet Union had come to occupy a position next to the United States, and the two closest rivals to the USSR for second rank were West Germany and Japan, each of whose gross national product in 1966 was about two and one-half times smaller.

The gross national product, however, does not necessarily reflect living standards, and in the case of the USSR, owing in part to her larger population, the per capita share of the GNP in 1966 was only \$1,532 or well under half of the \$3,777 figure for the United States.

The Soviet people, however, have reason to believe that this disparity in per capita wealth will shrink as the Soviet economy continues to surge forward. In viewing the past, they can perceive the substantial gains achieved in their living standards measured in consumer goods, improved housing and a better diet.

Mr. Shub writes that "their oppressive, anarchistic system cannot produce meat, apartments or even happy smiles."

Improvement of the diet was characterized by the consumption of more quality foods such as meat and milk and less starchy foods such as potatoes and bread. In 1965, the per capita consumption of meat was 90 pounds or 57 per cent more than in 1950. The figures for other items were: milk and dairy products, 554 lbs. (46 per cent increase); fish and fish products, 28 lbs. (80 per cent increase); sugar, 75 lbs. (194 per cent increase); vegetable oil, 16 lbs. (163 per cent increase); vegetables and melons, 158 lbs. (43

per cent increase); and 124 eggs (106 per cent increase). The per capita consumption of potatoes was 41 per cent less, and bread nine per cent less. Between 1966 and 1968 there was a further significant rise in the production of such items as meat, fish, milk and dairy products, eggs, fruit and vegetables. Mortality rates, life expectancy, the healthy appearance of the people, especially children, would hardly suggest any deficiency in the diet, which is around 3,200 calories.

The 1968 publication of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress of the United States conceded that "the level of welfare of the Soviet population has improved conspicuously in recent years. Statistically the rate at which consumer welfare improved during 1966-67 has been exceeded only by that of the early 1950s, which was a period when consumption was still recovering from effects of World War II." Relative to the health and educational services, the report acknowledged that "the Soviet Union has made rapid advances. . . . The supply of these services, in terms of available medical and teaching personnel, has exceeded levels in the United States since the mid-1950s."

WHILE major problems still confront the USSR, and shortcomings exist in planning and production (which a serious effort is being made to resolve), this does not mean that the economy of the Soviet Union is not moving steadily ahead, and the living standards are not becoming progressively better for the people. In view of the industrial potential of the USSR with its incalculable riches in mineral resources, and the present drive of the Soviet system with its long range social goals, what can be expected? Within the foreseeable future, the prospects seem good for the achievement of an economy of abundance. Once attained, the program of distribution based upon need can be fully implemented, and the USSR may very well be the first major power to completely eliminate want and poverty for all of her people.

Sources of facts and statistics in above article: *Moscow News* and its *Supplements*; *Soviet Life*, *Reports of the USSR Central Statistical Board*, *USSR: Questions and Answers*, *The Soviet Union: Everyman's Book*, *Report of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU*, 1966, and such publications of Novosti Press Agency as *Health Service: USSR (1958-70)*, *Health Education in the USSR*, *In Addition to Wages (1958-70)*, *Industry (1958-70)*, and *Our Privileged Class*. Also: *Soviet Economic Performance: 1966-67*. (Materials prepared for the Subcommittee on Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States.) And of course the many people interviewed personally during my travels in the USSR.—A.L.

CLARA JACKSON BROWN

Enough Is Enough!

(A Letter)

Dearest Youth of the World:

I am a proud grandmother (wait! don't turn me off yet . . .) who is fully aware of the generation she belongs to, but humbly activates in the present day movement.

Don't retire all of my generation, don't reject all of us. Be suspicious of us—then use us!

I enthusiastically relate to you under-30-ers, because I have dared to assess the measure of the success for which many of my pompous, chauvinistic, hypocritical, power/money-driven upper/middle-class contemporaries are scrambling at the same time as they ignore the fact that too many others remain prey to more and more exploitation and utter hopelessness.

Hence, purposefully, I've turned to where the action is, to see, to hear and understand what your generation has to say. It's great! I get your message, and you must continue saying it, because your concerted, vocal protests are long overdue.

At your ages, many of us were speaking similar truths and "doing our own thing," but failing to check often enough to determine if we "doers" were acting on the "brothers-keeper" philosophy or the "soul-saver" or "winner-take-all" hypocrisies.

Therefore, now, you're correct in being suspicious! Look well at us older activists, see to it that we who profess to be with you in 1969 are activating only with the Brother-theory (basically rejecting the other two). And make certain that we understand the serious need for overt action *now*—not always in front of, but beside and behind the youths.

CLARA J. BROWN is an Afro-American, a former teacher, an education consultant and black liberation activist. Her international affiliations are through the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American-Arab Relations Action Committee, the Committee on Africa, the World Council for Peace. She was President of the Commission on "Education for Peace" at the 1969 World Assembly for Peace in the GDR. She is married to a professor and athletic coach, mother of three children aged 25, 20 and 10 years, three grandchildren. Mrs. Brown has travelled to Nigeria, Senegal, Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, Jordan, Iran, India, Ceylon, the Soviet Union, many European countries and 44 states of the USA.

If we thus prove that we have your message of "Enough is Enough," so that we can accept fellowship as well as leadership roles—don't turn us out, the immediate need is too great—use us! With the values of your generation and ours combined, then perhaps we could put this world on its right axis. (Note: "Right" here means "correct"!) Don't do with us as the Establishment does and retire us at our chronological age. Give us the contemporary once/twice over and accept or reject us by our quality of relatedness in 1969 activity. Then let's get on with the business of peace and security for all!

Extensive, worldwide contacts, work and travels have made me quite hopeful. As I have heard the brilliant young Africans outline their plans for self-determination; and seen those numerous Arabs strolling under palm trees, eagerly reading and studying. Then as I received greetings and flowers from the young people in the German Democratic Republic, who know so well our own Paul Robeson, and proudly included his contribution in their 20th anniversary celebration for peace and freedom. And when I chatted with the 20-year old Soviet youth sitting beside me en route to Tashkent and heard them expressing the same desires for a better world that were expressed by the 20-year-olds in Watts and Chicago, I realized that it is on all these youths that I stake my activism and hope. The world *must* get your message!

You have convinced me that youths know the true meaning of a very old child-rearing proverb: "Enough is enough, and too much makes a dog sick." As a matured Afro-American activist in this world during the past half century, I've witnessed and learned too much of the "too much" to permit me to react as the proverbial "sick dog."

So, for more reasons than one, I'm proud of you world youths who determine that "Enough will be Enough—and Now!"

BLACK STUDENTS FROM SOUTH VISIT USSR

"WEARIED FROM THEIR TRAVELS but bubbling over with memories of a once-in-a-lifetime trip, 13 Negro high-school students returned here early today after a three-week trip to four Russian cities." This was the opening of a story datelined Atlanta, Georgia, in *The New York Times*, August 25.

The students, who had studied Russian at Atlanta's Booker T. Washington High School, had been taken on the tour by their teacher, Billie Davis, who declared she would probably arrange another such trip. The students, 16 and 17 years old, spoke of their experiences with the people they met in Russia. "It was the friendliness of the people," said Glenda Gilmer, telling of meeting Russian youths of similar age in "counterpart" sessions. The trip was under the auspices of the Citizen Exchange Corps.

MIKHAIL PROKOFIEV

The Soviet School: Current Problems, Future Goals

THE Soviet school has a right to be proud of the fact that out of every thousand people employed in the country's national economy 564 have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education.

But the further progress of the country's economy and the resulting enhancement of labor productivity, as well as the growing living and cultural standards of the people call for improvement of the school and of the entire educational system.

One can talk of concrete methods of school improvement only on the basis of an analysis of the social, economic and technical processes at work in modern society. The school is called upon to serve society, promote its progress. At the same time, it is a social institution bearing the imprint of the social system.

The problems of continuous, never-ending education has grown particularly acute nowadays. Knowledge, understanding of the laws of social development cannot be acquired once and for all. One must improve one's knowledge all the time.

This necessity arises also from the rapidity of scientific-technical progress. Some sociologists maintain that every 25 years half of the existing scientific data loses its validity and is replaced by fresh information. One must also keep in mind that the modern development of production calls for workers with high cultural and educational standards, able to master new technology quickly.

What is the position of the Soviet school in the light of these problems?

A minimum of eight years of schooling has been the law up till now in the Soviet Union where there are 210,000 schools attended by some 50,000,000 children. Active preparation is under way at present for transition to universal ten-year education in 1970.

MIKHAIL PROKOFIEV is the USSR Minister of Education.

The existing network of the country's elementary and ten-year schools therefore calls for serious examination. The fact that attendance is rather small in a considerable number of these schools, situated in sparsely populated rural areas, creates considerable organizational and pedagogical difficulties. The process of increasing attendance at such schools depends, to a large degree, on the growth of these areas. This is naturally a slow process. Consequently, in view of the actual situation, the educational bodies focus their attention on the improvement of functioning of such schools, particularly elementary schools with a small number of pupils.

Universal education, of course, can be implemented in various ways, and not only through the system of secondary schools. One method already tried out successfully in a few places is vocational schools for teenagers, where general educational subjects are also taught within the framework of an eight-year program. The existence of a certain number of trade schools where pupils learn a simple trade and get the general educational minimum as well, has also justified itself in practice.

From 80 to 82 per cent of last year's (1968) eight-year school graduates continued their education in the upper two grades or at specialized secondary schools providing both specialized and general secondary education. Admission of our students to specialized educational establishments will continue to grow.

As for vocational schools, the number of those admitting ten-year school graduates will also grow. One further way of acquiring education is also possible: through a trade school functioning on the eight-year schooling basis and providing general education in addition to specialized training. Our educational authorities are now engaged in searching for the best system of coordinating these different educational methods.

The transition to obligatory ten-year schooling is in preparation. Especially qualified pedagogical commissions have worked out optimum curricula for general ten-year education. New programs have been compiled, or are in process of being compiled, on their recommendations, and Soviet schools are gradually introducing them. Preparations for going over to new programs in the junior grades are particularly important.

The initial experience and extensive experimental work of the laboratories of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences show that the replacement of four years of primary schooling by three years, which has been under discussion for some time, is a useful and feasible undertaking. This makes a whole additional school year

available for general educational subjects on a higher than elementary plane. The same experience has already shown the great importance of the preliminary training of teachers for junior grades. We cannot overestimate the need for good school textbooks, study aids and textbooks on methods.

The Soviet school develops as a general educational and polytechnical school. Polytechnical training is one of the basic principles of the Soviet educational system. It means that every child must acquire knowledge of the basic processes underlying all labor, both industrial and agricultural. The science of pedagogics is faced with the task of finding ways of improving polytechnical training which is not only of great practical value but of vast educational importance as well. It seems obvious that diversified manual training would be good for junior grades while a senior grader should be given an opportunity for concentrating on more specialized types of work for which he feels particularly inclined.

Polytechnical training at the Soviet school is not divorced from the basic general educational subjects. The classics of the Soviet system of education warned against such a divorce in their time. Polytechnical knowledge is made a natural part of the school subjects explaining the laws of the development of the material world. A bridge from theory to practice, to life, is built precisely in the process of instruction in the fundamentals of science: for example, from the theory of elementary nuclear transformations to an atomic power plant, from the theory of plant nutrition to applied agrochemistry.

The Soviet school has accumulated a wealth of experience in methods, but the problem of improving methods is eternal. It is important that the methods of education should be such as to awaken in a pupil inquisitiveness and creativity, to impart to him the ability to think and understand instead of simply learning. Instruction in school subjects is inseparable from moral education. A lesson should have both informative and moral educational value. Moral educational work at school lies first of all in the pedagogical process itself. Such moral education through the pedagogical process is complemented by a system of extracurricular and extramural activities for which independent initiative of the pupils and their organizations is particularly important.

The teacher's efforts should be bent towards awakening in his pupils a wish to add to their knowledge continuously, even after graduation.

Courtesy Novosti Press Agency

PETE SEEGER

All My Children of the Son

Pete Seeger, well-known folksinger, has sent us a message for our youth issue, in the form of a song about a young man sticking up for his convictions, acting in the interest of all, and paying the high price for it. "We thought he was only trying to destroy," the adults said. We've tried the song out here in the NWR office, and suggest a straight rhythm accompaniment, singing chant-style, with lots of participation on the chorus line.

*Freely, with intensity
(Add beats as needed)*

*Words and Music by
PETE SEEGER*

1. The nav-i-ga-tor said to the en-gin-eer, "I think our ra-di-o's dead.
I can hear but I can't send, and there's bad weath-er a-head." The
pi-lot said to the co-pi-lot, "Our right en-gine's gone. But if
we can make it o-ver these moun-tains, per-haps I can set her down."
All my chil-dren of the son.

2. Five hundred miles from nowhere
We bellylanded on a river,
We bid a quick goodbye
To that ship of silver.
Twenty-five piled out the window,
Twenty reached the shore,
And turned to see our metal bird
Sink to rise no more.
All my children of the son.

ALL MY CHILDREN OF THE SON

3. We found some floating logs,
We found some sharp stones,
We cut some vines and made a raft,
It was our only hope.
The navigator said he thought there was
A town somewhere downstream.
So now each man tried to do his best
To paddle as a team.
All my children of the son.
4. All except one young guy
Who kept arguing with the navigator.
He said he'd read about a waterfall
We would come to sooner or later.
At a river's bend he persuaded us
To bring our raft to beach.
But a search party found the river mouth
As far as eye could reach.
All my children of the son.
5. Once again he persuaded us to stop,
We cursed at the delay.
Once again we found the river
Flowing on the same old way.
We said, "Shut up your arguing,
You give us all a pain.
Why don't you pitch in and do your part,
Do something constructive for a change?"
All my children of the son.
6. Still egghead kept on talking
In the same longwinded way.
We said, "If you won't paddle,
Get the hell out of our way."
We told him to go sit
Far back at the stern.
Then we strained to paddle harder
And then the river made a turn.
All my children of the son.
7. One paddler heard sound of tapping.
What he saw when he did turn
Was egghead with a sharp stone
Cutting the vines that bound the stern.
With a cry of rage the paddler
Leaped up to his feet.
He swung his long pole,
Knocked egghead into the deep.

} Repeat tune of
1st four lines.

NWR, 4th QUARTER, 1969

But now the logs were splaying out,
The raft had come unbound.
Like mad we paddled for the shore
Before we all would drown.
All my children of the son.

8. A search party went to find more vines
To tie the raft up tight
In twenty minutes they returned,
Their faces pale with fright.
They said a quarter mile downriver
We found a waterfall.
It's over a hundred feet in height,
We'd none of us lived at all.
All my children of the son.
9. And that is why on the banks
Of a far off wilderness stream,
Which none of us, none of us
Will ever see again.
There stands a cross for someone
Hardly older than a boy,
Who, we thought, was only
Trying to destroy.
All my children of the son.

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BULGARIA ANNOUNCES 1970 BALLET COMPETITION

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL BALLET competition will be held in Varna, Bulgaria, from July 12-25, it has been announced by the Bulgarian Committee for Arts and Culture. Ballet dancers of all nationalities are invited to take part. The competition is divided into two sections:

a) Girls and boys from 15 to 19 years old, i.e., born not earlier than January 1, 1951 and not later than January 1, 1955. b) Ballet dancers not older than 28, i.e., they must not have been born after January 1, 1942.

The participants in the two sections compete in separate groups and are classed separately. Classification is individual no matter whether the candidates appear as soloists or in duos. The candidates who appear in duos may be of the two different sections "a" and "b."

The competition will be held in an open air summer theater. The jury will be composed of world-renowned ballet masters, dancers, ballet experts from 16 countries. Applications must be submitted not later than May 15, 1970, accompanied by full details on education, ballet training and artistic career, a copy of birth certificate, four glossy photos, two in costume.

For further information, write to: Secretariat of the Fifth International Ballet Competition, Blvd. Stamboliisky 17, Sofia, Bulgaria; or write *New World Review*, Suite 308, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

VYACHESLAV KOSTIKOV

Student Power In the USSR

The following report on student participation in the running of universities in the USSR should provide student activists in the USA with some food for thought. The author is a staff writer for Novosti Press Agency.

LAST YEAR saw large-scale student unrest in many countries of the West. In some of them the unrest continues. At the same time such developments did not occur in the Soviet Union, although the student body here, 4.5 million strong, is quite a large segment of society and plays no little part in the life of the country. Does this mean that the educational system in the USSR is perfect, without any faults?

Hardly any Soviet specialist in higher education and student problems would claim that the system of higher education in the Soviet Union is ideal. This is shown, for example, by the fact that every year, on the eve of the academic season, heated discussions flare up and critical articles are published in the national and student press. Some of the controversial subjects on which the Ministry of Higher Education is subjected to most scathing criticism are: imperfection of the system of selecting and assigning the graduates, optional attendance at lectures, overloaded curricula, student self-government problems, etc. All this shows that Soviet schools of higher learning have quite a number of problems calling for solution.

Features of Student Self-Government

MANY foreign specialists in the field of education and youth problems have visited the USSR in recent years. On getting acquainted with the Soviet system, most of them conclude that at present the educational system in the old university centers of Western Europe and America is far more complicated and difficult than in the Soviet Union. These old systems are burdened by traditions which have grown stagnant in the course of time. These heavy chains of the past, firmly established in university statutes and rules, inhibit the advance of the whole educational system. At the same time the

young system of higher education in the Soviet Union is better adapted to the dynamics of modern life.

Indeed, following the victory of the socialist revolution in 1917, the old system of university education, with its class character, police surveillance and the students' complete defenselessness in face of the university authorities, was eliminated. Guidance of education was taken over by the most progressive scientists and teachers, including many young people. They introduced into both the old and new universities all those ideas and bold schemes for which, before the revolution, representatives of the advanced university intelligentsia were thrown into prison and deprived of the right to teach.

The social composition of the student body likewise underwent a radical change. The lecture-halls of universities and colleges were filled with workers' and peasants' children, in place of children from aristocratic and bourgeois families. Together with the progressive teaching staff they saw to it that the new university statutes and regulations would incorporate everything of a progressive nature that could be suggested by the revolution. Thus the overhauling of the system of higher education, which the rebelling students of the West are now urging, took place in Russia 40-50 years ago.

The new university regulations have assured the students' participation in practically every walk of life: they take part in drawing up curricula and mapping out research work in the departments and colleges; they themselves run the student scientific societies; there is complete self-government and students' control in their dormitories, etc.

Observance of all these aspects of self-government is guaranteed by student representation in every official administrative organ of the university. Public student councils function in the chancellor's and dean's offices, and they are fully informed about all the activities of the administration. The councils exert a considerable influence and, if necessary, emphatically uphold the students' interests.

Young Communists at the Universities

SOVIET students make extensive use of the freedom to form social organizations of which the Komsomol (Young Communist League) is the most numerous and popular. Komsomol now has a membership of 24 million young people, representing over 100 nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Since the Komsomol entrance age is 14, the overwhelming majority of Soviet students are members of this organization. The administration of colleges regard the young communists as the vanguard

of the student body, and does not inaugurate a single campaign without the counsel and support of the Komsomol committees. The activities of the student Komsomol combine general university interests with satisfaction of the specific needs and requirements of the young age group, which in turn coincides with the general interests of Soviet society.

The wide representation of Komsomol in the life of students enables it to serve as a huge forum, allowing students to express their opinions and views on the various aspects of college development, to criticize the shortcomings of the university administration, including the chancellor, and to take part in discussing local and all-university questions at meetings and in the student press.

Representatives of the student Komsomol are always included in the entrance examinations committee and in the committee assigning the graduates.

Outside the higher educational establishments, the Komsomol helps secondary school pupils to choose a trade. In some towns there are "universities" for senior pupils of secondary schools, where the teaching staff is made up of students, members of Komsomol. They assist the senior pupils in their professional orientation and prepare them for entrance to schools of higher learning.

Participation in Komsomol activities enriches the young people with experience in practical organizational work, the ability to raise and resolve questions and to take part in the proceedings of a collective body.

Protected by Trade Unions, Not Cops

OF NO little importance to student democracy in the USSR is the fact that both students and teachers have the right to join a trade union, or found one. Affiliation of most students to trade union organizations is an important guarantee of their rights: since no question of any importance can be resolved in the USSR without the knowledge and participation of trade unions, the students' membership in trade unions provides them with additional access to the control levers.

Participation in trade union activities is advantageous to students from yet another point of view: the trade union may provide an allowance to a student who finds himself in an awkward financial predicament, as well as accommodations at health resorts, tourist centers, sanatoria, holiday homes or sport camps managed by trade unions. Such assistance is used most of all by married students.

Trade unions partly reimburse the expenditures of educational

establishments on all kinds of cultural and educational social events: recreation parties, concerts, and the upkeep of amateur student groups, musical and theatrical companies. This is of great help, considering that the students' trade union dues are of a purely token nature, amounting to 0.5 per cent of their scholarships.

The trade union committees which function at each department, the majority of which are students, take an active part in assigning accommodations in the dormitories and supervise the distribution of scholarships. In a number of colleges they participate in drawing up examination schedules and determine the time required to prepare for a specific subject.

Over all the five years of my student life (the present author was himself a student three years ago) I have never seen a militiaman in a university campus or building. The students themselves actively assist the authorities in keeping order. Many of them join the volunteer brigades for keeping order in the district where they live or in places where large numbers of young people gather. If a student violates public discipline (provided his conduct is not very evil), the "case" is taken up by a students' court functioning in each department. Students take an active part in deciding whether or not a student should be expelled for systematic poor progress in his or her studies or serious violations of discipline. Naturally enough, this calls for a considerable consciousness and self-discipline on their part.

Can Student Power Be Misused?

THE PROBLEMS connected with assignment to work are the most exciting and sometimes the most dramatic for graduates. In such instances too the possible conflicts are resolved with students participating in every case.

The system of job placement is the same at every educational establishment of the country. Here is how it works:

The list of vacancies (demands for graduates come from state institutions and industrial enterprises in need of specialists) is handed over to the council of the last-year students. Apart from this the list is of course posted for general information. Such lists outline in detail the nature of the suggested employment, the pay, the living conditions, the amount of the bonus granted for settling in a new place, etc. The students fill in applications for the jobs that they have chosen. The administration, the students' council, and representatives of the Komsomol and trade union committees, meeting jointly, examine the applications. In assigning the places of

work, account is taken of the graduate's individuality, his capabilities, state of health, family status, etc.

Thus students are given the right to decide by themselves a rather wide range of problems. Nonetheless, many specialists maintain that the granting of too great autonomy to students, however paradoxical this may sound, may infringe upon the rights of individual persons. And they have their reasons.

A second-year student, Boris Levin, for example, was expelled from Moscow University on the recommendation of the students' council, approved by the All-University Council. His colleagues in the same course accused him of possessing offensive egotistic qualities, of arrogance, etc. The dean of the department, who had great difficulty in reinstating him, believed that in this case the reverse side of student democracy had manifested itself, a sort of "collective despotism." "A student should not be expelled," he argued, "because the majority of students are not pleased with his character or because his manners are not conventional."

In addition, a number of specialists came out against further extending the students' rights, fearing that the "lecture-halls will turn into arenas for endless discussions," and the students' passion for administering educational establishments will divert them from studying, their chief task.

However, as in any disputable matter, there is a different opinion on this point. Cultivation of habits in administration and responsibility is indispensable in the students' future activities—the skill of working with people and managing industry in a creative and bold way. This is particularly attractive to the state since, with the current growth rates of industry in the USSR (from three to four hundred large factories alone are under construction annually as well as thousands of medium- and small-size industrial enterprises), the demand for well-educated executives is extremely great, and as a rule, they are college graduates. Hence the state is highly interested in a reasonable combination of discipline, control and independence in student communities.

Cooperation between students and the administration, willingness of the parties to accept reasonable compromises, and not to exact immediate solution of all complex questions; all this makes it possible to avoid bitter conflicts. This is also why change in Soviet universities is calm and business-like, not full of acute conflicts and explosions.

It seems to me that everything connected with the student movement in the USSR testifies to the fact that the interests of the

student body and of the university and college administration, far from being antagonistic, usually coincide. Both sides have equal interest in creating the best conditions for a fruitful educational process and, in the final analysis, for the successful training of full-fledged specialists for the country.

In Lieu of a Conclusion

WHAT THEN can a student choose? Freedom of choice begins after the completion of secondary school studies, where education is on the whole standardized. For the first time in their lives school graduates are faced with the necessity of making their own choice: if the studies are to be continued, where then? And suppose a mistake has been made in this first serious choice? Won't this lead subsequently to disappointment and frustration, and possibly to embitterment? And so the state gives the student the right, in the first few years of studies when specialization has not yet advanced too far, to transfer without any great complications to another educational establishment, thereby changing his or her future calling.

In the long run, this flexibility is advantageous both to the students and the state: First, the students have no reason to feel disappointed. And then, the overwhelming majority of university graduates work in their field and do not need to change at this late stage; the state after all spends a lot of money on training specialists (upwards of five thousand rubles per student).

Toward the end of their college career students encounter a similar flexibility of the educational system. The student himself selects his special field, the subject of scientific investigation and of his graduation thesis, and chooses the instructor to guide him in this work. On finishing the complete course of studies, the diploma specialist is in a position to choose the place and nature of his future employment (though within certain boundaries conditioned by the offer of vacancies and the economic situation): scientific work at a research institute or in industry directly at a factory or plant.

And if a capable graduate is inclined to continue his studies and scientific activities, he has the opportunity to take a post-graduate course, after presenting a paper at an appropriate scientific level on the subject he has selected, and passing the examinations.

This freedom of choice is highly conducive to the students' preserving their personality and creative individuality.

It would be naive to assume that the entire intricate system

of higher learning in the USSR with its flexibility, opportunities for student self-government and the development of creative activities is self-operative only on account of its own intelligent dynamic organization. No degree of self-government and freedom could be anything but an empty phrase were the students in the Soviet Union not able to avail themselves of free education, free libraries and laboratories, cheap dormitories, state scholarships and stipends and guaranteed work in their specialty upon graduation. It would be unnatural and absurd for students to rebel against such conditions. This is one of the reasons why Soviet students are so devoted to their state which has granted and safeguarded these student privileges, and made them available to all sections of society.

STUDENTS' INITIATIVE UNDER SOCIALISM

ASKED ABOUT RECENT PROBLEMS of Soviet universities, Kiril Kondratyev, Rector of Leningrad University, said in part to the correspondent of the *Canadian Tribune* (September 24), discussing the importance of encouraging students' initiative: "In 1918, Ivan Pavlov, the genius of physiology, read a public lecture 'On Intellect.' A disciple of his kept a record of the main points in his thesis. Here they are:

"1. Concentration of thought on one subject. 2. Direct contact with reality, bypassing misleading 'signals.' Don't be satisfied with things half-understood. 3. Complete freedom of thought. The intellect must not be imprisoned by habit. It is impossible to see anything truly new without freedom of thought. 4. Attraction to an idea, combined with readiness to reject an idea should it be found to be faulty. 5. Detailed study. Complete acquaintance with details and discovery of them. 6. Clarity and simplicity is the ideal of the intellect. 7. Aspiration to establish the truth by means of constant personal check-ups. 8. Restraint. In the last of his theses Pavlov said: 'Beware of the brazen braggadocios, of know-all and shallow men!' This is the old idea of Leonardo da Vinci who spoke of the empty wheat ear that sticks up proudly in its emptiness, whereas the full ear bends down to its mother—the earth.

"We've reduced the number of obligatory lectures, increased the amount of individual consultations, etc. But certain experiments are inevitable, if we wish to organize the process of study on a scientific basis.

"For example, three years ago lectures and seminars were halved for four groups in the Physics Faculty. Results of several examination sessions show that these students made better progress than those in conventional groups, that students in experimental groups acquired knowledge in a more conscious manner, more creatively, and that they do much more independent work. Another innovation is the transfer of students in their 3rd or 4th year to studying according to an individual curriculum so that they can master a related profession, providing for a more flexible and rational employment of future specialists."

Science and Morality: A Discussion

A discussion held by the students, postgraduates, department heads, faculty members and others of Moscow University and the Moscow Institute of Philosophy, as reported by Literaturnaya Gazeta.

PROF. LEONID VOROBYOV (Dr.Sc.Phil.): The views held by participants in this discussion stand, in the main, at two extremes, one that holds that science and morals are not connected with each other, and another that not only are morals and science closely inter-linked, but that present-day morals should be grounded in science. As a supporter, on the whole, of the latter view, I think that the gist of the matter lies far deeper. It can be summed up in the following premise: science is turning into a direct productive force. The question is: what should be stressed in this premise? What I hold most important is that today science is not only a sum of theoretical knowledge, but something that the fate of people hinges on. Wherever the question of the fate of peoples and of society arises, the concept of "morality" immediately comes into the picture.

In the past the scientist took the position that he was engaged in his own field; he was a "cognizer," and was not interested in what happened afterwards. Today, when science has become a tremendous force, it is amoral to take no interest in the consequences of one's scientific discoveries. That refers to the scientist's morality. Changes have also taken place in the broader aspect of the problem. In the past, everything that had to be done (in the sense of the morally justifiable) was determined intuitively, spontaneously or within the framework of a religious world-outlook. The time has come for science to help us understand what we have to do. Thus science and morality have merged.

Of course, I have no intention of imposing my stand upon the audience but I would simply like to present it as a point of departure in this discussion.

V. Petrovsky (post-graduate student): There exists such a science as mathematics. Many of its departments are quite abstract and are not connected with production. It makes a study of those departments by and for itself. How is one to link up such departments of mathe-

matics with morality, this through the concept of a "productive force"?

L. Vorobyov: I think that this is one of the inescapable contradictions in the development of present-day science. On the one hand, we have theoretical thinking soaring to new heights, in advance of the present level of thinking; on the other hand, we have the urgent needs of society, many of which cannot be met at the current level of scientific development. On the one hand, we are acquiring what seems to be unnecessary knowledge which will prove useful at some unspecified time; on the other hand, we are not yet in a position to cure cancer, or control thermonuclear reactions. In the contraposition of these two extremes science is present as a single whole, the practical solution of the inevitable Faustian tragedy—that of boundless cognition.

About mathematics: will people need everything it studies? The answer is indefinite. They may, or perhaps they may not. But what has that to do with the frame of mind of mathematicians engaged in "abstract" problems? Let us conduct a mental experiment—place several mathematicians on board a space-ship bound for some star, without any hope of ever returning to Earth. Will such people busy themselves there with their science? Believe me, they will not, for they will realize the senselessness of their occupation. One thing is clear: the meaning of knowledge lies in its application. One should not cognize just for the sake of cognition; something has to change outside of us or within us.

Should the Scientist Keep Silent?

It was not clear whether the audience was satisfied with this reply, whether they were in agreement with a purely utilitarian approach to science. In one way or another, the discussion did not depart beyond the framework of the moral aspects of the utilization of the achievements of science. Suppose a scientist has made a discovery which presents a potential danger to mankind. Should he make his discovery known or not? This is no new question. Norbert Wiener once wrote that if he tried to keep silent about certain results of his work, he felt sure that the same results would eventually be arrived at by somebody else, who would not fail to make his work public. But perhaps the first discoverer would feel a clear conscience if he made a secret of what he had discovered? Perhaps the same should be expected of all scientists? This is a problem merely of the establishment of certain moral criteria. The discussion continues.

D. Schteingradt (student): Why, after all, should the scientist

be faced with the dilemma—to make public, or not to make public? I think that the responsibility for the application of science should be borne by society as a whole. It cannot rest with only those who are immediately concerned with certain discoveries. Society should stand at a certain level of civic conscience.

S. *Alimarin* (student): But the problem of science and morality has arisen in our time, as I see it, just because the scientist cannot trust any kind of society. I am referring to capitalist society. There the scientist hands over the results of his discoveries without knowing in what way they will be used.

B. *Zaikin* (student): Yet different things should not be confused. Cognition is one thing, while the utilization of its results is something else. If a man aspires towards cognition, that cannot be amoral.

J. *Lutostansky* (student): Good, yet Hitlerite “scientists” studied the effect of poison gases on humans. Was that “moral?” Similar research could be conducted with an entirely different purpose (say to determine the degree of danger to people during accidents at chemical plants) and by quite different methods (by “modeling” man through the use of animals or certain apparatus); that would be something quite different.

L. *Zlotnikov* (post-graduate): In the first place we must define what is meant by the word “scientist” and then speak of scientists in general. I cannot use this word in respect to the Hitlerites. Roger Bacon once divided people into three categories—those who do everything so as to rise above others; those who do so in order to elevate their caste, and such that do so in order to elevate the human race. It is to the latter category that I would refer the genuine scientists.

K. *Yegorov* (student): In an amoral society cognition itself can only be amoral. In such conditions, one could theoretically justify the scientist who, after weighing everything soberly and following his conscience, keeps certain results of his work secret. Actually, however, the question stands in a somewhat different light. The scientist is unable to keep certain information secret if only because it does not belong to him alone, as a rule. He usually works in a group, not on his own. Consequently, he must make up his mind whether or not he should work on a given problem. That is how the question stands, and that is a more complex matter since the scientist cannot always foresee the results he will arrive at.

Which Influence Is Stronger?

The speakers began to place ever more stress on the moral aspects of the very process of cognition, of scientific activities, of knowledge

in the broad sense of the word. Characteristically none of the speakers expressed the least doubt of the existence of a link between knowledge and morality. But how is that link given effect? Is it bilateral or unilateral?

P. *Ryabushkin* (student): There are two questions here: how does science influence morals, and how do morals influence science? Which exerts the stronger influence? I think that morality should exert the stronger influence. The moral criterion is drawn from a wider sphere of human relationships than that which is connected with science alone. For instance, an important influence on the development of morality is exerted by art.

V. *Novikov* (student): I agree. In practice, moral values are rarely drawn from the propositions of science or from the experience of a man's activities as scientist. It might seem that the purpose of such a man's life, his main aim, should be cognition. That is how matters really stand if we look at the young scientists. However, as soon as they defend their candidate's thesis the incentive begins to flag in some of them and the meaning of life changes. Why is that? It is because some of them think that you are not a full-fledged member of society unless you are a Candidate of Science (*laughter*). Such people go in for scientific work only to build up their own status. I think that is quite wrong.

O. *Voronko* (girl student): It has been said here that not only science exerts an influence on morality. But then, it is not morality alone that has an influence on science. Such influence is exerted, for example, by the economy. Much depends on money—the development of some branches of science is encouraged more than that of others.

K. *Ivanov* (student): Our State naturally directs the activities of scientists in one degree or another. In the genuine scientist, conscientiousness does not depend on how much he is paid and the tools he is provided with. The driving force in him is a striving towards the truth and to promote the welfare of the people. However, the State may interfere when it sees a non-rational use of funds or an unreasonable expenditure of the scientist's intellect, a leakage of scientific forces from areas that are of greater importance from the viewpoint of society's urgent needs.

A. *Siforov* (student): In any case it is not morality that exerts the greater influence on science but science which has the greater influence on morality. Morality is a superstructural phenomenon, while, as has already been said here, science is actively entering the category of “productive force.” Morality is different under various

social systems while, in the full sense of the word, science is always one. Science lays down its own road and has created its own morality. In the past it was considered sinful to dissect a corpse or to make use of contraception. It is sufficient for scientists to show staunchness in their views for new moral norms to appear. If the contrary were true we would still be marking time at the medieval level in questions of morality (and science).

D. Schteingradt (student): I fully agree with that. If you like, morality is a kind of inert element between cognition and the mind. Today we say that heart transplantation is morally justifiable, but an isolated head is not. The sharper the spurt made by science, the more it feels the operation of the inertia of rest—the opposition offered by morality. However, the mind will follow in the wake of science and all these so-called moral problems will fade away.

Specify the Meaning of the Concepts

Thus the participants in the discussion formed two groups—those who stood for the “predominant” influence of morality, and supporters of the primacy of science in this respect. However, the concepts of “science” and “morality” were treated in too narrow a sense. The meaning of these concepts had to be specified and the initial posing of the problem returned to.

P. Sibokon (docent): Professor Vorobyov suggested the following formula, incidentally a widespread one: since science is becoming a direct productive force and a synonym for life, it permeates everything and affects man's every step, almost from the cradle. That is why there is nothing strange in morality also being permeated by science.

But what is meant by science? I will make so bold as to observe that science is, first and foremost, a *system* of knowledge, and not merely knowledge. Besides science is a system of methods—experimental, practical and theoretical. Moreover, science as a certain organizational structure means personnel, planning and administration. How do the categories of morality influence the work of the various departments of science?

A scientist has discovered a new phenomenon while using an accelerator and makes a contribution to science. Is that in keeping with moral norms? I think that is a question which cannot be answered in simple terms.

An experiment in medicine—heart transplantation—is something else. Here science obviously meets with a moral problem. Morality, as distinct from science, includes not only a system of knowledge but

first and foremost, a system of human relationships. As distinct, for instance, from law, morality presupposes the freedom to choose a line of action. It is of course best for that choice to be made on the basis of knowledge, this comprising an area in which science, knowledge, comes into contact with morality. This area (or areas)—their number is growing all the time—should be studied and elaborated.

But is it possible, in principle, to build up a universal ethical theory, the use of which will fully preclude moral errors? Such a theory probably can be built, since there exists another and principal distinction between science and morality.

Let us say that a student has skipped a lecture on quantum mechanics. Is he to be censured for that? We are told that he should not because we should first find out the reason for his absence. Good, we have learned the reason—the student was at a library reading up on the works of Max Planck, the founder of quantum mechanics. Thus, we have acquired simple knowledge outside of any system. Are we now in a position to give an objective appraisal of the student's behavior? Objectively we cannot; we can do so only subjectively (some will say he was wrong, others that he was right because—and so on and so forth). Thus we are unable to speak not only of the full merging of science and morals but even of the full scientification of morality in respect of all possible situations. These questions also call for further study.

Courtesy Novosti Press Agency

THE STARS OF YOUTH

TASHMUKHAMED KARY-NIYAZOV, veteran member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek USSR, was asked by a *Novosti* correspondent whether there was not a paradox in the fact that he, representing one of the oldest sciences of the world, astronomy, shows so much concern for the problem of the education of today's youth. The Academician answered heatedly:

“Why is my science necessarily associated with antiquity? Can the young ignore the stars and fail to feel themselves part and parcel of the entire universe in our age, the age of outer space?”

“Throughout my long life, for more than half a century, my work has been dedicated to the youth, above all. Among those who have studied under me there are quite a few eminent teachers, engineers, professors, masters and even academicians. Naturally, I am proud of them. . . . For each of us, especially the youth, the problem of *how to live* is the most vital. . . . First of all the instructions of a teacher should never contradict his actions. That the meaning of his life be free of falseness, free of empty phrases, free of inertly lived days outside of the struggle for justice, for truth.

“I have dedicated myself to astronomy, a science the field of whose quest is the boundless starry sky in which the brightest, closest and most durable star is the star of youth—of our future.”

RENATA GUROVA

The Face of the Younger Generation

IT IS a very difficult task to single out the typical features of the Soviet younger generation of the 60's from among the great variety of features typical of young people in general.

The young man who begins his independent life always thinks a lot about the meaning of life, about happiness and duty. His feelings and his views are just beginning to take shape and he realizes it.

A sharp feeling of the new critical and uncompromising attitude to the world on the one hand, and alas, insufficient experience, excessive belief in words and maximalism in demands and appraisals on the other hand, are typical of the youth. Such a contradiction sometimes makes the young man too easily hurt and his future life and career largely depend on the person who guides him.

This article deals with the social values of contemporary Soviet young people. I believe that the best way to reveal the specifics of their inner world is to make a direct comparison of their ideals with the ideals of the younger generation that developed under different social systems. This is one aspect of the problem. The second and, no less important aspect is to trace the tendencies in the development of Soviet young people, the changes in their views, social values and requirements that have taken place over the period of the past 30 to 40 years.

To make a scientific comparison it is necessary to possess comparable data. That is why when I organized a number of youth opinion polls in the Soviet Union I first examined questionnaires distributed in France and Britain, the questions included in an interview organized in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the materials of several sociological studies made by Soviet scholars in the 20's and 30's. I also studied the works of psychologists Kolotinsky, Montelli and Vilenkina, researchers at the Methods of School Work Institute. These sociological studies were repeated with the same age

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groups and often in the same places (Moscow, Krasnodar, the Mountainous Altai) as before, using the same questions and methods.

I have also conducted mass questioning of people of different ages to find out the most typical features of contemporary Soviet youth and to understand what makes them different from the older generation, their strong and weak points.

This research has shown that, generally speaking, the Soviet young people's world outlook, their ideological and political views and their social values, meet the requirements of communist ideology. Speaking about the positive qualities of the younger generation, the teachers, parents, workers of industrial enterprises and college teachers (altogether 750 questioned) listed such qualities as the young people's love for their country, their willingness to defend it against any enemies and to participate in all its great undertakings, their ability to overcome difficulties, their sincerity, honesty, the independence of their views and opinion, their striving for justice, and their attitude of collectivism.

The results of mass questioning of the young people reveal their great interest in social and political problems. Eighty per cent of the 15,000 boys and girls questioned said that what interested them most of all was the struggle for peace, the growth of people's material well-being and the struggle against the red tape that hinders the development of the new communist society.

To take France, for example. According to the data cited by Duquesne, a sociologist, only three per cent of the young people questioned showed interest in major social and political issues.

It is interesting to cite the answers given by the Soviet, French, and English young people to the question about happiness. It turned out that the Soviet young people had much more meaningful and socially important values in life that the young people in the capitalist countries. Soviet young people believe that a clear conscience, the fulfillment of duty to their country, true love and interesting work are necessary for a person to be happy, while the English young people spoke first of all about promotion, fame, popularity, a high position in society; and the French spoke about good health, money and love.

The questions which M. Chevalier, a French journalist, asked the young representatives of the FRG were repeated in Moscow. He asked them: "Please tell me in two words what is your purpose in life?" And the answers he heard in the FRG were as follows: "Work and money," "Good family and money," "A lot of money, a lot of money." Not a single one of the 100 Soviet young people who were

SOVIET YOUTH'S INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

AT THE STATE BANK IN MOSCOW there is an account No. 70072. Money orders are sent to it from all over the country, from funds earned by youth. This banking account belongs to the Vietnam Solidarity Fund. The money is used to purchase medicine, industrial equipment, vehicles, clothes and other items which are then sent to the Vietnamese.

Young Soviet people are rendering concrete assistance to their counterparts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Young Soviet workers and engineers can be found at the construction site of the Euphrates hydro-engineering project in Syria, the Aswan High Dam in the UAR, the aluminum factory in India, the cement factory in Mali and many other projects in dozens of developing countries. Soviet geologists, many of whom are young, have prospected for oil in India and Syria, for natural gas in Afghanistan, for diamonds in Guinea, and for sulphur in Iraq. Young Soviet doctors have carried out a large scale vaccination campaign among the refugees from Angola.

There are about 25,000 foreign students at Soviet educational institutions, Lumumba Friendship University and other higher schools throughout the country. Hundreds of young people from more than 40 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been trained in the Soviet Union, carrying the skills they have acquired back to their own countries. While studying they receive grants to cover all expenses from the Committee of Youth Organizations and the USSR Student Council.

Moscow News, No. 27, 1969

asked the same question spoke about money as the chief purpose in life. Instead, the following answers were predominant: "To study, to be useful to the people," "To go to college, to have interesting work," "To finish college with flying colors, to take a postgraduate course and to do something really useful for the country."

A new correlation between the personal and social is the most typical feature of all Soviet young people. They think first of all about the people and then about themselves. The most popular phrase among them is: "If I am only for myself then who needs me?"

IT SHOULD be noted that the prevalence of important social interests and requirements over narrow, personal ones has grown considerably among the Soviet youth during the past 20 to 30 years. In 1927 Montelli revealed in a rather indirect way the wishes and requirements of senior graders. He asked them: "What would you do if you could do anything you wish?" Then most of the answers revealed the young people's desire to travel in the first place, for material values in the second place, and striving to improve the life of all the people, only in the third place. The same questioning repeated in 1968 yielded quite different results. Most of the answers

(56 per cent) showed their concern for the people—the struggle for world peace, the struggle against disease, the struggle for communism in the first place, their interest in broadening their outlook (34 per cent) in the second place, and private requirements in the third place—only 18 per cent of the answers.

The theoretical views of contemporary senior graders, which reflect their thorough knowledge of the dialectics of social development, are of special interest. "Suppose that an honest man, the proponent of progress, became omnipotent. He would immediately rid mankind of world imperialism, nuclear weapons, diseases, narcotics, alcohol, gambling and delinquency. Then eternal peace and prosperity would reign supreme on our planet," says one of the senior graders. Another young man adds to this: "The essence of progress is the fact that the common people who don't have any magic wands are building their future, are improving the level of science, technology and culture and improving themselves in this process. The main thing is to insure that the man could work and realize his personal plans."

The results of the series of studies once conducted by Kolotinsky testify to the same process of the growth of important social values at the expense of private egoistic interests. Beginning with 1913 and until 1929 Kolotinsky systematically questioned, first, tsarist school graduates and then Soviet school graduates in the city of Krasnodar, according to the same program. These are the results of his questionings.

	1913	1916	1921	1926
Unselfish	20	20	22	21
Selfish	9	6	5	12

In 1969 we conducted questioning again using the same system, in the same school in Krasnodar. There was not a single one among the 44 graduates who would say that a purely selfish outlook was most important to him.

While the young people's ideals are expressed in their purposes in life, their main requirements are expressed in their answers to the question: "What would you like to have more than anything else in the world?"

In 1926, 63 per cent of the 10th-graders said that they would like to have material benefits (to be rich, to have money and good things). In 1969 only two per cent spoke of material values. The first place in all the answers now is given to intellect, knowledge and talent.

Kolotinsky's questionnaire also contains the question about the

purpose and meaning of life. Unlike the experience of the past years, when one out of each five questioned said that there was no purpose or meaning in life, all the young people questioned in 1969 mentioned what they believed were the purpose and meaning of life. Using Kolotinsky's classification we obtained the following picture:

	1926	1969
	<i>in per cent</i>	<i>in per cent</i>
Personal selfish purposes in life	32	7
Unselfish social purposes in life	9	84
Vague	—	2
Self-improvement purposes	—	7

"The struggle for peace," "To bring communism closer," "To serve my country," "I want our generation of the sixties to leave something useful and valuable to our descendants," "To live so as to have no torturing regrets for years without purpose, for pitiful and mean existence," "To do something useful for the people, to do everything to make people around you happy," "To bring people happiness," "To make life still more beautiful." These are the main purposes which the Soviet young people pursue.

THUS WE can state that the Soviet system of education has scored considerable success in developing the young people's ideological and political views.

But the most important thing is that the younger generation lives up to its word. Three and a half million Komsomols (Communist Youth League members) were awarded orders and medals for their heroic exploits in the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War, while seven thousand young people, the best of the best, the most courageous and unselfish, were awarded the honorary title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

THE BEST representatives of our educated classes have proved—and sealed the proof with the blood of thousands of revolutionaries tortured to death by the government—their ability and readiness to shake from their feet the dust of bourgeois society and join the ranks of the socialists. The worker who can look on indifferently while the government sends troops against the student youth is unworthy of the name of socialist. The students came to the aid of the workers—the workers must come to the aid of the students.

V. I. Lenin, 1901
from *Lenin on Youth*, p. 67

We all take it for granted that the young people, and Komsomols in the first place, go wherever it is more difficult to work. Some 700,000 Komsomol young men and women cultivate virgin lands, thousands of them volunteer to work in the Extreme North and the Far East, to build railways, power stations and new cities.

Lofty strivings and ideals, restless characters, an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings, willingness to fight for justice, for people's happiness—these are the fine, strong qualities of today's Soviet youth to whom the older generation passes the baton of life.

TAMERLAN YESENOV

Youth in Factories: A Social Portrait

NOWADAYS many Soviet sociologists, economists, journalists, philosophers, lawyers and educators are studying the life plans and interests of factory youth. According to the latest data the proportion of workers under 30 years of age in the decisive branches of the national economy is as follows: in industry, 42.2 per cent, in construction, 60.8 per cent, in transport, 46.7 per cent. More than half of the young people employed in industry have secondary or higher education. Educational standards determine the degree of creativity in the labor of the young worker. Investigations reveal that young workers with secondary education master new machinery twice as fast as those who lack it. Young people strive for creative work, prefer activities that contain elements of creativity. This desire was voiced, according to the sociologists, by 56 per cent of the workers polled in Rostov Region. Fifty-two per cent of young workers are improving their qualifications; 45 per cent of young men and women combine work and studies at higher educational establishments, technical schools, schools for working youth, and advanced training courses.

Right after the establishment of Soviet power, it was decreed that young people should work only six hours a day but get eight-hour-day pay. For the first time in history the youth received political and social rights. The young have the right to a free choice of profession and receive free professional training. More than 23 million young workers went through the vocational training schools, with their upkeep fully provided by the state.

Asked "Are you sure you will be able to learn the trade you want

and then to get a job in your line?" 94 per cent of the boys and girls said "yes."

Soviet working youth associate the realization of their life plans—the improvement of educational, cultural and welfare standards and living conditions—primarily with production, with the raising of their qualifications for the mastering of a new (and second) trade. Out of 233 young workers, 100 said their chief aim was to master their trade; 64 wanted to improve their qualifications; and 59, to master a new trade. These figures testify to the striving for growth, to an unwillingness to be content with what has been already achieved.

Investigations stress the vital importance of the possibility of choosing a trade and perfecting one's skill. According to Leningrad scientists, 830 out of the 2,665 workers polled think there is nothing more important in life than interesting work, although wages also matter a good deal; 617 think that the content of work comes first; and only 399 named wages as the criterion of their attitude toward work.

The general improvement of the cultural standards of the young workers is conducive to the enrichment of their spiritual world, to the development of their talents, aesthetic tastes and requirements. They strive to master the wealth of Soviet and world culture, the achievements of literature and art. The Soviet youth never cuts itself off from the culture of other peoples.

Here is what the data of a sociological poll conducted in Leningrad say in this connection: 86 per cent of young people go in for art, 77.1 per cent for sport, 61.6 per cent for tourism.

The most characteristic thing is that more than half of young factory workers are keen on reading, with 87 per cent of them having a collection of socio-political books. A poll in which more than 3,000 youths and girls of a group of Urals enterprises took part showed that, on the average, every young worker subscribes to two or three newspapers.

Characteristic of young workers is a growing interest in theory. They are interested in the laws governing social phenomena, the philosophical essence of scientific discoveries, the shaping of the personality and such moral categories as honor, duty, happiness.

"I think that the task today is not just to copy the revolutionaries of the early years of Soviet power," one of the Rostov pollees writes. "Each new generation of revolutionaries solves its historical problems and finds for itself the appropriate methods and its own style of struggle and life. We want to take over the very essence of the revolution-hardened characters, their deep communist conviction."

Asked "What do you need, above all, to be happy?", young workers answered: to have an interesting job (73.5 per cent), always to have a goal in life (73.5 per cent), to be useful to people (54.8 per cent), to be respected by comrades (49.3 per cent).

The returns of sociological investigations show that as a whole working youth are intolerant of such human vices as cowardice, overindulging in alcohol, subservience, egoism, hypocrisy, money grabbing, indifference.

It is obvious to any objective observer that there has evolved a new type of the young Soviet worker in the USSR. This, as a rule, is a man working in his line and having at his disposal broad opportunities for improving his qualifications. He is well-educated and highly-cultured, has a developed sense of collectivism and strives for the ideals of humanism.

Courtesy Novosti Press Agency

LAVRENTYEV ON FREEING CREATIVITY

THERE ARE GREAT SERVICES to the credit of our system of education. To our schools we owe the literacy of our people. Today the school system is called upon to provide a secondary education for all our citizens. That does not mean that our system of education is not open to criticism and that there is no room for improvement. Quite the contrary, the more complicated the tasks confronting our society, the more changes and improvements must take place in our system of education. It is advisable, I think, to go on teaching the same general subjects as before until the seventh or eighth grade. But in the eighth form differentiation should begin, with teaching of a definite bias—physics and math, biology and agronomy, technical science, history and philology. Our schools would then provide early training in a given field and promote thinking along the lines of that field.

I am well aware of the responsibility of such a step. But I have before me the example of our physics and math general education school in Akademgorodok (Novosibirsk) with six years experience behind it now. At this school Russian, a foreign language, history and other subjects are taught, but the stress is on math, physics, chemistry and biology. . . . We are planning to open a few more specialized schools in our Academy town, one of them stressing the technical sciences and invention. . . . It would be a good thing to have schools stressing biology, agronomy, medicine or chemistry.

To scout for gifts and the gifted is to tap our greatest resources. And the wealth we possess in terms of capable people is fabulous. We must create a system of education in which the loss of talent would be reduced to a minimum. Gifted people in all fields of science and technology will enable us to scale the greater heights.

Academician Lavrentyev is head of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of Akademgorodok. The above is quoted from a recent article.

Happiness, the joy of studying or of scientific or artistic creation which are the birthright of all the youth of the world, have been reduced to meaningless words in South Vietnam. It has become a country where incessantly, every moment, American bombs, napalm and toxic chemicals are exterminating human, animal and vegetable life without distinction. It has become a country where the dollar and the prison are employed in turn to push young people into crime and treason.

That is why students and South Vietnamese youth of conscience, and most of these are in our liberation movement, are obliged to make their contribution to the struggle of our people to put an end to the unspeakable suffering and humiliation. Many of them are giving their lives in the fight for our country's liberation.

Q. How does life go on in the liberated zones under the rain of US bombs and shells?

A. An immense number of bombs are dropped. I won't go into details—you must know about this. Our people have already a great deal of experience about the kind of plane to watch for and where it will drop its bombs.

We work in the fields only at night because of the bombings. Meetings are held at night. We do our shopping at night. Especially, the children go to school at night. This is difficult for them, because children are already sleepy by eight o'clock in the evening. We try our best to get them to go to classes from five to seven in the morning. In places where it isn't safe for the children to go to school at night, there are home shelters.

In many places we must cook our food only before dawn and late at night. In the jungles even a little smoke can invite bombing. In the places where food is cooked, we have a system of re-directing the smoke. When we are in an enemy area we have only cold meals.

Everyone must have camouflage. In many places toxic chemicals have destroyed all the leaves, so peasants in the ricefields and children going to school must use dry straw and things like that for camouflage. We try not to concentrate too many people in an area.

As in North Vietnam, there are air raid shelters everywhere in South Vietnam. In the schools there is a special person who sounds the alert when necessary, and all the children go to the shelters. There is no electricity, so they ring a bell. In places subjected to heavy shellings, people build their homes in tunnels. In places where artillery units are stationed, puppet soldiers sometimes come to the village to warn them of the time of shelling so people can go to shelters.

NGUYEN NGOC DUNG

Youth of South Vietnam Fights US Aggression

Mme. Nguyen Ngoc Dung, a leader of the South Vietnamese Student Liberation Movement, has been good enough to reply to a number of questions sent to her last summer by NWR editor Jessica Smith.

Mme. Dung visited Canada this past July as a guest of the Canadian peace organization, Voice of Women. The two other members of the delegation were Mme. Vo Thi The, professor of literature of the University of Hanoi, and Mme. Le Thi Cao, teacher, Catholic, member of the National Liberation Front. VOW organized meetings for the Vietnamese women all across Canada, in which many American women, from Women Strike for Peace and other organizations, also participated.

Mrs. Muriel Duckworth, VOW President, declared wherever meetings with the Vietnamese women were held people became overwhelmingly convinced that "the only way to end the war is by the unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam to allow the Vietnamese to settle their own future."

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Kay McPherson, Chairman of the VOW Visit Committee, NWR received the following answers from Mme. Dung, as well as replies to similar questions during meetings in Canada.

Q. WHAT have been the effects of US aggression on the student movement and young people of South Vietnam?

A. Almost a century of French colonial rule thoroughly taught Vietnamese youth and students that foreign domination, no matter what its form, in practice means plunder, economic exploitation, obscurantism and contempt for our national culture.

With the American aggression which followed the departure from Vietnam of the French colonialists, the students and young people of South Vietnam saw their villages reduced to ashes, their families persecuted, their sisters ravished by the G.I's. Students have seen their teachers and professors sent to concentration camps for refusing to serve the US aggressors. They have seen their schools and universities transformed into centers for recruiting vile servants of the US war machine. The students are compelled by the Saigon puppet administration to renounce their own heroic country, they themselves are conscripted and forced to serve the war plans of the Pentagon by taking up arms against their own brothers and relatives.

We can't dig deeply enough to have real shelters in the lowlands, full of watery swamps, such as the Mekong Delta. It is dangerous to channel off the water because it would spread disease. We can only have tunnels, near the surface. This is especially hard on women with babies. They have to put their babies in plastic bassinets that float, since the water in the tunnels comes up to the women's armpits, or they hang up hammocks for their babies, to keep them dry. It is especially difficult for pregnant women or women giving birth. Many women simply die from shock while in labor—if they are not killed by bombs.

The Americans also use various types of delayed bombs, that explode only after the children come out of the shelters. Mothers and teachers have to examine areas that have been bombed, and put markers where such bombs have fallen, so that they can be avoided. Children have to be carefully taught not to pick up unfamiliar objects, because they are attracted to such things and often bring them home where they explode later, if not on the way.

Q. How does the student liberation movement carry on its struggles against US aggression, and what are its plans for the future and relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government?

A. The plan of the youth and students is to carry on their struggle for the liberation of their country until the complete realization of their fundamental national rights of independence and self-determination.

Concretely, in the regions still occupied by the Americans and their puppets, they work against conscription, against compulsory military training in the universities and colleges, against fascist repression by the puppet Saigon administration, for the defense of the national culture. They do everything possible to rescue the wounded and to free political prisoners.

Many of the youth enlist in the liberation armed forces or volunteer for the underground work of the NLF in urban occupied regions. Many join the medical service, the teaching service or the song and dance ensembles in the zones liberated by the NLF in South Vietnam.

The students and youth have won the respect and esteem of the population, and they are represented in all the leading committees of the NLF. Now many of our students and youth are to be found at various levels of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

For example, Ho Huu Nhut, former leader of the General Union of Students of Saigon and leader of the students of the Alliance of the National Democratic and Peace Forces of Saigon was recently named PRG Vice-Minister of Education and Youth.

Our students wholeheartedly support the PRG 12-point program of action,* which corresponds completely with their aspirations for national independence, peace, democracy, neutrality and the gradual reunification of the country.

Q. What is their position as to the prospects for a peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problem?

A. They firmly support the NLF 10-point solution* advanced May 8 at the Paris conference which the Provisional Revolutionary Government has adopted as its own.

In short, the students and youth of South Vietnam know there is no way to true and lasting peace in South Vietnam except through the unconditional, total and immediate departure of all the American forces of aggression and those of other foreign countries in the American camp, and through self-determination by the South Vietnamese people. The latter must freely decide the question of their future regime without foreign interference and establish a coalition government in a spirit of national reconciliation by truly free and democratic elections.

If the United States sincerely desires an end to the war and really respects the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination, as it has always pretended, it must withdraw not a part but all of its troops, not little by little and with an indefinite delay, but immediately. It possesses means of transport that are sufficiently modern to complete this very rapidly! It must renounce imposing on the South Vietnamese people the present vile and corrupt Saigon administration—its own creation—and must accept as the basis for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese problem the reasonable proposals of the Vietnamese people embodied in the 10-point program.

Under the present situation in South Vietnam, all intelligent and objective persons must see clearly that truly free and democratic elections could not be held either with the presence of the American troops or under the exclusive auspices of the NLF or of the Saigon administration. That is why the formation of a provisional coalition government composed of elements of all the nationalist, peaceful and neutral forces of South Vietnam is clearly indispensable for that end.

The rigged up proposals for elections by the United States and the Saigon puppets, which ignore these fundamental conditions, can have no other purpose than to avoid negotiation on the NLF proposals. They are intended only to hide the intention, disavowed by the United States, of perpetuating American control of South Vietnam.

* For details of NLF 10-point program and PRG program of action see 2nd Quarter 1969 NWR.

Q. Would you send a brief message to American students who will be reading this Youth Issue of NWR?

A. To you American students, engaged in deeply felt search to gain new understanding and better solutions for a just and happy society in your country, we wish to tell you that this war of aggression that your government is waging in your name in Vietnam is completely contrary to the traditions of liberty of the American people and is an indefensible crime condemned by all humanity.

We Vietnamese students have no ambition other than to live in freedom and peace on the land that our ancestors bequeathed to us. We are fighting only for our national independence just as formerly Washington and Jefferson, with the American people, valiantly fought for the independence of the United States. We greet with deep emotion the antiwar movement led by American students and youth, and particularly the anti-draft movement. We express our solidarity with the American people of conscience who have courageously opposed this war of aggression against our people. We will work together to win respect for our will for peace and justice. The Vietnamese are ready to sacrifice everything rather than be slaves. But we have complete confidence in our victory in the near future.

NIXON'S WAR ON VIETNAM

Mme. Dung sent us as supplementary material a copy of the English-language newspaper published in Cambodia, South Vietnam in Struggle, containing the following material under the heading "Facts and Figures on First Six Months of the Nixon War Intensification."

DURING the last six months, the number of "mopping-up" operations has doubled in comparison with the previous period.

In January 1969, large-scale US-puppet "sweeps" in Gia Dinh resulted in 23,000 houses destroyed and two villages (Hhai My, Tan Thanh Tay) razed to the ground.

In February 1969, 1,200 civilians were massacred in terrorist raids aimed at wiping out the Ba Pang An area. In March 1969, the American and puppet command launched 5 important "sweeps" in Da Nang, Quang Ngai, Quang Tri and Cong H'Rinh. In April 1969, a 9,000-strong enemy task force mounted large-scale "sweeps" in the heart of Saigon-Cholon.

In June 1969, the US-Saigon command fielded 7,000 troops to sweep the coastal plain of Da Nang; six villages of Dien Ban district (Quang Nam) with an area of 400 sq. kilometers were levelled, 258 of the 487 hamlets north of Da Nang were blotted out. An unprecedented number of planes was massively deployed in bombings of densely populated areas including the periphery of Saigon, Hue and Da Nang.

Stepped Up B-52 Bombing Raids

OVER the last six months, B-52 stratofortresses and other modern US planes have dropped 130,000 tons of bombs on a monthly average (including 4 or 5-ton bombs), 15,000 tons more than during the last months of 1968. In Dien Hong (Quang Nam), a narrow strip of land, each inhabitant received an average of 5 tons from B-52's.

B-52's also devastated crops and villages, particularly in Thu Dan Mot province where many villages were burned down. On March 23, 1969, Defense Secretary M. Laird acknowledges that 129,000 tons of bombs were monthly dumped on South Vietnam, i.e., 12 per cent more than during the last months of 1968.

On June 21, 1969, US and puppet planes flew 5,000 missions, transporting 13,000 raiding troops and air striking Long An, Tay Ninh, Kontum.

In Duong Minh Chau area, within 15 days ending May 5, 1969, B-52's carried out 800 sorties, dropping 24,000 tons of bombs. In Tay Ninh, on May 11, 1969, US and puppet planes used different types of bombs, including 15,000-pound bombs.

Toxic Chemicals and Poison Gas Against Civilians

DURING the last six months, according to incomplete figures, 22 provinces in South Viet Nam have been struck by toxic chemicals and CS poison gas: many people have been killed, crops and fruit trees destroyed, thousands of people seriously poisoned.

At Mount Dat (Ba Ria) Australian troops sprayed CS for 10 days on civilians.

Six mountain districts of Quang Ngai and many plains districts of Quang Nam were attacked with chemicals at the end of May and the beginning of June 1969. In the last days of June, the Vuon Dieu area (less than one km from Tay Ninh City), turned into a "strategic hamlet," was raided with explosives and poison gas: over 100 people were killed, 150 people critically affected, 300 houses demolished, crops ruined.

What was more atrocious, on May Day and Buddha's birthday anniversary 1969, enemy planes doused with 150 barrels of chemicals, thickly populated areas with many pagodas, close to Gia Dinh city, to prevent workers' demonstrations and Buddhist festivities.

"Freedom" and "Democracy": a Mockery

SINCE the beginning of the year, over 20 Saigon papers and magazines have been banned, others have been stringently censored and many people have been detained. In some areas near Saigon, 4 out of every 10 inhabitants have been put in prison and two out of every ten subjected to pressganging. On June 28, 1969, Ly Quy Chung, member of the "Lower House" and editor of *The Nation's Voice* wrote: "Under the regime of Nguyen Van Thieu, there is no freedom whatsoever."

Nixon on antiwar protests: "Under no circumstances will I be affected whatever. . . ." "Our job is to keep up unrelenting pressure until the Administration is forced to 'be affected' by the protests"—Anne M. Bennett at planning meeting for Fall offensive against Vietnam war.

Tributes to Ho Chi Minh

THE DEATH of Ho Chi Minh on September 3 was mourned all over the world. Tributes poured in to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the Vietnam Workers Party from heads of government and people of all the socialist countries, numerous countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, and from the heads of many capitalist countries as well as people's organizations. Condolences were sent by government heads and leaders of Sweden, India, Pakistan, Canada, France and many other countries.

In the United States the big metropolitan dailies devoted many columns of space to news, editorials and stories of the remarkable life of this remarkable man. Harrison Salisbury wrote in *The New York Times* that even in 1969 "Ho still would have won any popular referendum honestly and fairly conducted in the whole in Vietnam."

So laudatory were the commentaries that the *Wall Street Journal* (September 9) was constrained to complain editorially that they had been "disturbed . . . by the tone of panegyric" that had crept into so many of the stories on the death of Ho Chi Minh!

On the floor of the US Congress, Rep. Edward I. Koch, a freshman Democrat from Manhattan, rose to urge that the United States should say to the Vietnamese, "Let the death of Ho Chi Minh end the war and end it now with an immediate ceasefire." He reminded the members of the House that to many of the Vietnamese people "Ho Chi Minh is George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and John Kennedy. Whatever we may think of him and knowing that he was a tough and dedicated Communist, we must recognize that he was, above all, a patriot in his own country" (*The New York Times*, September 7).

On September 10, Senator J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, disclosed that he had suggested that President Nixon send a delegate to the funeral of Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi, in the hope that this might lead to better relations with North Vietnam. He received a brusque reply that "it was not a good idea."

On September 23, former DRV Vice President Ton Duc Thang was elected to succeed Ho Chi Minh as President of North Vietnam.

HO CHI MINH

An editorial on September 5, in *Nhan Dan*, official Party paper, pledged continued unity around the collective of Ho Chi Minh's "closest comrades in arms," and promised to carry out Ho's demand to continue fighting "until there is not a single aggressor in the country" and to stand by his declaration that "the Vietnamese people firmly demand the withdrawal of all US and satellite troops, not the withdrawal of only 25,000 or 250,000, but a total, complete, unconditional withdrawal."

HO CHI MINH'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

The Last Will and Testament of Ho Chi Minh, written last May, was read at the funeral ceremonies by Le Duan, first secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party. Excerpts of the testament, which show Ho's special concern for young people, follow.

FIRST I will speak about the Party. Thanks to its close unity and total dedication to the working class, the people and the fatherland, our party has been able, since its founding, to unite, organize and lead our people in an ardent struggle and conduct them from victory to victory.

Within the party, to achieve broad democracy and to practice self-criticism and criticism regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop the union and unity of mind in the party. Genuine affection should prevail among all comrades. . . .

The Working Youth Union members and our young people as a whole are of an excellent nature, ardent to volunteer for vanguard tasks, undeterred by difficulties, striving for progress. The party must give much attention to their education in revolutionary morality, and train them into continuators of the building of socialism, both "red" and "expert."

Training and educating the revolutionary generation to come is a highly important and necessary task.

Our laboring people, both in the plains and in the mountain areas, have for ages suffered hardships, feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation. Furthermore, they have experienced many years of war.

Yet our people have shown great heroism, great courage, ardent enthusiasm, and are hard-working. They have always followed the party since it came into being, and they have always been loyal to it. . . .

Our rivers, our mountains, our men will always remain. The Yanks defeated, we will build our country ten times more beautiful. No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The US imperialists will have to pull out. Our fatherland will be reunified. Our compatriots in the North and in the South will be reunited under the same roof.

Our country will have the signal honor of being a small nation which, through an heroic struggle, has defeated two big imperialists—the French and the American—and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement.

About the world Communist movement, having dedicated my whole life

to the cause of the revolution, I am the more proud to see the growth of the international Communist and workers movement. I am the more deeply grieved at the dissensions that are dividing the fraternal parties.

I wish that our party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a manner consonant to the requirements of heart and reason. I am sure that the fraternal parties and countries will unite again.

My ultimate wish is that our whole party and people, closely united in the struggle, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.

SOVIET-DRV COMMUNIQUE

Soviet Prime Minister Alexey Kosygin and a delegation of Soviet Government and Party leaders held discussions with DRV Government and Party leaders during their stay in Hanoi, September 6-10, to attend the funeral of Ho Chi Minh. The delegation, in the communique issued at the end of the conversations, stated that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government had adopted a decision to immortalize Ho Chi Minh's memory in the Soviet Union as an expression of profound love of Communists and the entire Soviet people for him. The communique continues, in part:

THE PARTY and Government delegation resolutely denounced the aggressive war of US imperialists against the Vietnamese people and confirmed resolution to continue giving the necessary assistance to the Vietnamese people and support them in the struggle, in socialist construction in North Vietnam, in liberation of the south and peaceful unification of the country. The Soviet Union supports the ten-point overall program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and strongly demands that the United States should stop the war of aggression in Vietnam and that all the troops of the United States and its satellites must be unconditionally withdrawn from South Vietnam. The United States must respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people and enable the population of South Vietnam to decide their affairs without any outside interference.

The Vietnamese leaders expressed warm gratitude to the Party, Government and the people of the Soviet Union who gave and are giving all-round assistance to the Vietnamese people in the struggle against American aggressors, for the salvation of the country, and in socialist construction in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Vietnamese leaders stressed that the fact that the Soviet Party and Government delegation came for the funeral of President Ho Chi Minh is a sincere expression of fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of the two countries.

A DRV delegation headed by Premier Pham Van Dong visited Moscow October 14-15. Cordial meetings with Premier Kosygin and others resulted in agreement providing new free aid and long-term credits. The US press falsely reported reduction in Soviet aid, since cessation of US bombing of the North has reduced need of anti-aircraft defense. Soviet aid will in fact increase, including material for restoring and developing DRV economy as well as for defense.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

CPUSA condolences were sent to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party in a memorial signed by Henry Winston, Chairman, Gus Hall, General Secretary and James E. Jackson, International Secretary, on behalf of the National Committee of the Party. The statement said in part:

MANKIND has lost a great revolutionary leader, a brilliant Marxist-Leninist teacher. So much of the poetic longing in the heart of man for a kind world gentled with the perfumed beauty of flowers and the joyful sounds of children's laughter entered into the all-sided humanism of the personal life he lived, the prodigious works he performed, and the cause he served throughout his lifetime. The name of Ho Chi Minh will ever be associated with the noblest deeds and loftiest dreams of mankind to achieve on the earth a truly fraternal community of the people, all enjoying equality and full satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs: for a world without war, tyranny, poverty or prejudice. The father of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the creator and leader of the Lao Dong (Communist) Party, this man of consummate patriotism—three times the liberator of his country from the successive imperialist invaders from Japan, France and the United States—was at the same time an international revolutionary of the highest purity. He fought for the brotherhood of man, for the freedom and advancement of the peoples of all lands and climes and colors, no less ardently than he fought for the liberation of his own homeland from the heel of the invaders.

GUS HALL

From an address delivered at the Memorial Meeting for Ho Chi Minh on September 18 sponsored by the New York Communist Party, reporting on his attendance at the funeral of Ho Chi Minh. Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, was the only American present at the funeral.

IT WAS more than a funeral. It was a moment of great political significance. It was an historic occasion for an oath of rededication, for a pledge to carry on the struggle symbolized by the life of Ho Chi Minh.

It was a moment of a nation in tears—but with clenched fists, a people in mourning and fighting. . . .

He was a leader of the revolutionary processes. He had a most clear understanding of its direction and goal. He knew the dynamics of the revolutionary tide.

He clearly saw the unity of the different currents in this process. For Ho Chi Minh, the historic revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and the struggle for national liberation were two currents in one stream of history. . . .

Sooner or later, US imperialism will have to face the hard realities of Vietnam. . . . There can be no political settlement of any question with a puppet government that is fighting against US troop withdrawal. There can be a political settlement only through a coalition government . . . that supervises both the elections and the troop withdrawals.

CUBA'S MESSAGE TO VIETNAM

Fidel Castro, Cuba's Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, and President Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado sent the following message to Pham Van Dong, DRV Prime Minister and Political Bureau member, on behalf of the Cuban Government and Party, on the death of the "dear and admired" Ho Chi Minh.

WE ARE deeply moved by the loss of the unyielding combatant for the independence of the Vietnamese people, the cause of socialism and the right of all the oppressed peoples to be the masters of their own destiny.

His life was a luminous example of the highest revolutionary and human virtues. Very rarely did a leader, at times of trial, give such exceptional proofs of intelligence, coolheadedness, courage, self-denial, firmness and skill. Never before, in such a small geographical space and brief span of time, was a more decisive battle waged for the sake of humanity than that which was led by Comrade Ho Chi Minh against Yankee imperialism and its satellites in Vietnam, impregnable bastion in the world revolutionary struggle and generous example of sacrifice, heroism and dignity.

Comrade Ho Chi Minh belongs to that exceptional breed of men whose death constitutes a seed of life and a constant source of stimulus, and, therefore, he will continue to lead the Vietnamese people to a total and final victory, already in the offing. . . .

BLACK PANTHER PARTY TRIBUTE

The Black Panther of September 13 published the following tribute, signed by the Black Panther Party and addressed "To the courageous Vietnamese people, commemorating the death of Ho Chi Minh."

TO DIE for the fascist imperialistic warmongers of the US and others in the world; to die for the oppressive ruling circles of the bourgeoisie exploiters; to die for the capitalistic, aggressive, inhumane, atrocious, genocidal regimes is a death lighter than a feather which a destructive windstorm can blow about at random will.

But to die for the people; to die for the correct socialistic development of mankind; to die in the midst of socialistic revolutionary change for human survival; to die for your nation and peoples' right to self determination in their land, home and community; to die for the freedom of all from oppression that the Black Panther Party has witnessed in the proletarian internationalism practiced by the Vietnamese peoples' revolutionary representatives that we have met; to die after all the great heroic and dedicated years of sacrifice to bring to the world and its people an end to the murderous, stormy winds of capitalism's fascist, aggressive imperialism; to die because he loved the people of his nation and humans of the world (and Brother Ho Chi Minh had practiced this all the days of his life); to die for all of this is a death heavier than the highest mountain in the world of which no, not any destructive fascist imperialistic storm can blow away at will.

Who can find the feather or feathers that were blown away by the destructive windstorm? I can't find any. Who can see the mountains since the windstorm

is gone? I can see many, they still stand. There! That mountain will always stand and Ho Chi Minh is that mountain—a death heavier than Mt. Thai.

"UNCLE HO: A QUIET GIANT"

W. F. Bossette, Black Press International writer, wrote a tribute to Ho Chi Minh under the above title in Muhammad Speaks, September 19. Excerpts follow:

HO CHI MINH, who is being mourned by freedom-loving people everywhere in the wake of his untimely death, was a revolutionary who devoted his entire life to the struggle to free the people of the world.

He travelled across the earth in his youth, studying the oppression of people all over the globe and the proposals of mankind's thinkers for solving the dilemma of the common man.

Always a simple man, despite his immense intellect and dedication to freedom for all people, Ho is remembered well by the oldtimers among the poor in Harlem (where he lived while working as a bus boy and waiter), Paris, and other cities.

During his travels, Ho's eyes were open. He was especially drawn by the plight of the earth's non-white population. His essays on the Black situation in America and other parts of the world stand among man's most moving analyses. . . .

In Vietnam, North and South, the people know him as Uncle Ho—a modest man who cared about them and all of the oppressed people of the world. . . .

His own example was the greatest lesson. The Vietnamese will fight, in the memory of Uncle Ho, for their freedom—against even more impossible odds if necessary. And even if the victory is slow in coming, his life will be used by the revolutionary Vietnamese people to begin again—until true freedom is finally won.

HARRY BRIDGES

Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, wrote a column devoted to Ho Chi Minh in his union paper, the Dispatcher, of September 9, which said in part:

HO CHI MINH, a great statesman, and certainly one of the world's greatest historical figures, died last week at the age of 79.

He was a Communist. He became one as a consequence of a lifetime struggle against colonialism and for the defense of his country.

The most important statement anyone can make in reviewing the life of Ho Chi Minh is that he fought for his people . . . placing above everything else the independence of his country and his people, and vowing to free them from foreign exploitation and control. . . .

The world has produced all too few men who struggle to advance the interests of the poor people of their lands.

Ho Chi Minh was one of those rare human beings . . . and to assess what he has meant to the millions of poor people who fought with dignity and pride for the same independence and freedom that our country fought for at its birth, is to try to find the true measure of the history of our times.

NHAT HANH

Vietnam Poems

The author of the poems which follow, the Ven. Thich Nhat Hanh, is a Buddhist monk, who has lectured on Comparative Religion in Saigon, Van Hanh, Columbia, Cornell and Boston Universities. He has written many books, including Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire, and is the founder and Director of the School of Youth for Social Service in South Vietnam. These poems, written directly in English by Nhat Hanh to correspond with the Vietnamese originals, are representative of an important current of feeling among the peace forces in South Vietnam today.

CONDEMNATION

Listen to this:

*Yesterday six Vietcong came through my village.
Because of this my village was bombed—completely destroyed.
Every soul was killed.
When I come back to the village now, the day after,
There is nothing to see but clouds of dust and the river, still flowing.
The pagoda has neither roof nor altar;
Only the foundations of houses are left;
The bamboo thickets have been burned away.*

*Here in the presence of undisturbed stars
In the invisible presence of all the people still alive on earth,
Let me raise my voice to denounce this filthy war,
This murder of brothers by brothers!
I have a question: who pushed us into this killing of one another?*

*Whoever is listening, be my witness!
I cannot accept this war,
I never could, I never shall,
I must say this a thousand times before I am killed.*

*I feel I am like that bird which dies for the sake of its mate,
Dripping blood from its broken beak, and crying out:
Beware! Turn around to face your real enemies—
Ambition, violence, hatred, greed.*

VIETNAM POEMS

*Men cannot be our enemies—even men called "Vietcong"!
If we kill men, what brothers will we have left?
With whom shall we live then?*

THE MESSAGE

*Life has left her footprints on my forehead
But I have become a child again this morning.
The smile, seen through leaves and flowers, is back.
To smooth away the wrinkles
As the rains wipe away footprints on the beach. Again a
Cycle of birth and death begins.
I walk on thorns, but firmly, as among flowers.*

*I keep my head high,
Rimes bloom among the sounds of bombs and mortars.
The tears I shed yesterday have become rain,
I feel calm hearing its sound on the thatched roof.
Childhood (O my birthland) is calling me
And the rain melts my despair.*

*I am still here alive, able to smile quietly. The sweet fruit
Brought forth by the tree of suffering!
Carrying the dead corpse of my brother, I go across the ricefield
In the darkness.
Earth will keep thee tight within her arms, dear one,
So that tomorrow thou wilt be reincarnated in flowers,
These flowers smiling quietly in this morning light.
This moment you weep no more, dear one—we have gone through
Too deep a night!*

*This morning, yes, this morning, I kneel down on the green grass
When I feel your presence.
O flowers which carry the smile of ineffability
The message,
The message of love and sacrifice has indeed come to us.*

PEACE

*They woke me this morning
To tell me my brother had been killed in battle.
Yet in the garden, uncurling moist petals
A new rose blooms on the bush.
And I am alive, can still breathe the fragrance of roses and dung,
Eat, pray, and sleep.
But when can I break my long silence?
When can I speak the unuttered words that are choking me?*

RENNIE DAVIS

North Vietnam, Summer 1969

Rennie Davis is one of three Americans representing the US antiwar movement who recently visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in connection with the release of three American prisoners-of-war. Mr. Davis is National Coordinator of the New Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam. He is also one of the eight people on trial in Chicago on charges of "conspiracy" to violate the anti-riot law in connection with the demonstrations at the time of the 1968 Democratic Convention.

We are privileged to bring our readers this account of his visit, based on an interview with Bill Schechner broadcast over WBAI September 19, 1969. For reasons of space it has been necessary to delete portions of the interview containing details about the release of the prisoners of war and some of the informal give and take of the interview. The material here published is all in Rennie Davis' own words. Despite the pressures of the trial, he has been good enough to go over the interview and make some additions.

THE EDITORS

S. This trip was not your first?

D: No, this is my second trip. I was in Hanoi in October of 1967, at a time when the bombardment was savage, even in the capital city.

S: What's it look like in Hanoi now as opposed to what it looked like then?

D: In 1967, the children and many adults had been evacuated from the cities and towns to the countryside. There was a general feeling that Hanoi, like all the other cities, was going to be devastated. But now hundreds of thousands of children are back on the city streets, which is nice.

In 1967, state stores opened roughly between five and seven in the morning and then closed through most of the day. Now there's daytime and evening shopping activity in Hanoi. But reconstruction of the center of Hanoi and other cities that have been bombed has not yet begun. The emphasis remains on continuing the war as long as the United States is in Vietnam. There has been considerable reconstruction, but it has been designed to strengthen the defense of Vietnam against US aggression.

There's a new mood, a new attitude, a spirit if you will, that was

NORTH VIETNAM

dramatized to me again and again in small and simple ways. When I was in Hanoi in 1967, the Vietnamese talked repeatedly of how, no matter how massive the bombardment, how ferocious and savage the air attacks, they would survive, they could withstand, they were prepared to carry out a 20-year war if necessary for the independence of their nation. Throughout the countryside I saw a people mobilized and united, repairing roads and moving targets in a giant nightly waltz step, recreating by night what had been devastated by day. This was a struggle of life over death. It was a struggle for survival, a grim, determined kind of struggle. Now, 20 months later, the mood has shifted. Vietnamese no longer speak of survival; they speak of victory. The mood is no longer simply one of determination. It is a mood of total confidence.

S: What kind of contact did you have with the civilian population, and do you think they feel they've won?

D: Well, the contact we had was unprecedented in the short history of these American trips to North Vietnam. There have been nearly a hundred Americans who, in the course of the air war have traveled behind the so-called "enemy lines," have been beneath the bombardment, huddled in bunkers and road shelters with Vietnamese, while American pilots bombed and strafed overhead. A hundred citizens of the United States have been on the other end of American gunsights. It is testimony to the unpopularity of this war that in anti-communist America people have returned as partisans, rather than traitors, in the public mind.

During the bombardment there were necessary restrictions of these American travelers due to the problem of security. From 1965 until now, visitors were based in Hanoi, and then made short trips in the early morning or by night out into the countryside. Occasionally two or three nights could be spent in a remote village and back again. The furthest that any American has traveled since 1965 is about a hundred miles south of Hanoi, to the edge of the 20th parallel.

On this trip in late July, 1969, seven Americans traveled from Hanoi to the 17th parallel, seeing for the first time what had occurred in the region known as the panhandle, and meeting hundreds of people, peasant teams, women's militia groups, grey-haired militia groups, young people, old people, army people and so on.

In 1967 I had seen indescribable destruction of population centers like Nam Dinh. I was in an air attack that used CBUs. A cluster bomb unit when dropped on a city demonstrates the real mentality of the Pentagon. Here's a weapon that explodes across a city and takes life

from everything it touches, whether it's a water buffalo or water buffalo boy, but leaves buildings intact, taking life but leaving all property. It has been estimated by various people who have made studies of weapons used in North Vietnam, that one out of every two bombs dropped on North Vietnam in 1967 was a cluster bomb unit, an anti-personnel weapon. And 1967, you recall, was the time the US military was claiming to be hitting only steel and concrete. This is a weapon that's useless against steel and concrete.

I thought I had seen devastation in 1967, although I knew that the center of the bombardment was the panhandle area, that narrow strip of land roughly from the 20th to the 17th parallel that no American had ever seen.

In March 1968, when Johnson announced on the eve of April Fool's Day that he was limiting the bombing to "essential military targets," and that food-producing and population centers would no longer be hit, the bombing was restored wholly to the panhandle area.

What occurred was that all the sorties were moved from all of Vietnam down to that area between the 20th and the 17th parallel, and then very shortly after March 31, between the 19th and the 17th parallel. That's about 150 miles of fairly narrow land, that holds about one-fourth of the population of North Vietnam's 17 million people. It's one of the more heavily populated sections of Asia.

And during the time that this bombing was being "limited" in area, the number of flying missions actually was increased by about one and a half times. So going into the panhandle area meant confronting the real question of whether anyone had survived.

There were two almost contradictory perceptions that I had as we 7 Americans and 27 Vietnamese crossed the 19th parallel. The first was total devastation. The first major city beyond the 19th parallel is Vinh, a city formerly of about 80,000 people. This was not the usual sight of buildings caved in on themselves and churches gutted. In Vinh, it was not enough that a building be gutted. It had to be pulverized. The attacks had occurred again and again. Vinh looked like the empty lot of an urban renewal project after the bulldozer had made its last push. Vinh is a city that has been 100 per cent destroyed. Not a single building remained.

S: Are people still living there?

D: Yes, because the people in Vinh and other cities and towns went underground into tunnels and caves. Down Route One beyond the 19th parallel, it's the same everywhere. I did not see a single cement, brick or stucco structure anywhere from the 19th to the 17th parallel in the entire trip. And in the villages which have been re-

built, that were formerly of bamboo and thatched straw roofs, I estimated that at least 80 per cent of the construction was new, which meant that 80 per cent of the ordinary households as well as the cement structures had been leveled. Dykes had been hit. Rice paddies had been pounded again and again.

You enter the southernmost province of North Vietnam, Quang Binh, and the local officials there proudly talk about already filling in a half-million bomb craters, yet it's clear that millions remain.

This is a society where the American military policy was clearly burn all, destroy all, kill all. I think we really had for the first time an understanding of what the term genocide means in all its implications. The only question I had after seeing the devastation was how anyone could have survived.

Let me talk about my second perception, which ran head-on with the first: the tens of thousands of people lining the road, carrying food in baskets suspended on thin bamboo poles across their shoulders, armies of people in the rice paddies carrying on agricultural work, women along the roadside singing, mending roads and bridges, a people totally mobilized, at work everywhere. They looked like a people who has *missed* the war. We noticed very few cripples or people without arms or legs or scarred by napalm or phosphorous burns. There had obviously been many casualties, but what was so striking and remarkable was that they had not only survived physically, but their spirit survived as well.

We were told that in this one province, Quang Binh, with a population of 400,000, there were 1,600 miles of underground tunnels and trenches. This is roughly the distance from Hanoi to Saigon. In a village of maybe 4,000 people we would find that a person could go a mile in any direction by tunnel. We were in tunnels that had 40 feet of dirt and rock overhead, and a thousand-pound bomb could make a direct hit and people underneath could survive.

S: Were these machine-built tunnels?

D: No, no, all hand built. Dug out by hoes and shovels and so on. So we began to say, in a kind of blasé way, as a Westerner might, that it was the tunnel system, this fabulous tunnel system, that has its roots in a tunnel technology built upon since 1860 when the French first invaded that nation, this is what explains the survival of the Vietnamese. But then you'll look at the school kids coming home from classes, skipping, holding hands, laughing, and that answer of tunnels seemed just too simple. They just did not look like kids who had been trapped in underground dungeons for three years. Everywhere I went I would ask people, what was life like during the war and

how long were you underground. The answer was three years or four years. But I tell you they did not look like people who had been underground for three years.

So we began to push further with our search for answers. What organization were you in? I would ask someone from a woman's militia unit. What was the purpose of your organization? What were the problems the organization faced and how were they solved? And as we began to talk to people, what began to emerge was an infrastructure, an organization of people that really much more explains the survival phenomena than the tunnel system itself. The tunnels we found were really the result of people's organization rather than the cause of survival.

For example, in one village that we visited, of 4500 people, there were 26 reading teams each with five or six people on a team. Their task each day was to go from bunker to bunker, tunnel to tunnel, reading newspapers, or books or periodicals that the people had requested. Theater groups would perform before an audience of eight people at a time. A cultural or theater performance would go on all afternoon underneath the ground. There were special guiding teams in each hamlet whose task it was to memorize the complex network of tunnels in that village so that when bombardment was concentrated on a specific area they could move in and evacuate the families through a network of tunnels, so that even if that set of tunnels might collapse the people would live. There were rescue teams, fire brigades, all kinds of special organizations geared to underground life mushroomed underneath the bombardment.

Imagine the problems of how you organize a market, an economy, that basically operates underneath the ground, or how you organize distribution so that people don't hoard, don't panic. So that there's a sense that food will always be available, so that markets are open three, four times a week, all underground—the examples just go on and on. We began to sense a power that we hadn't really appreciated, a power that comes through organization, that literally involves a whole population, that helps everyone to find a role, and that was geared to try to normalize life functions for a family in a community, in an underground civilization where problems are really unprecedented. Problems, for example, like a special skin disease that people in Vinh Linh, a district right on the edge of the DMZ, get from lack of sunlight.

We went into a mountain one day. Our jeep traveled up this rocky path that twisted around the base of a stone mountain that shot up straight over our heads about 150 feet. Our jeep stopped

and people started to emerge out of the mountain. The top of the mountain had been sawn off in continuous air attacks. We went inside a small entrance and back through a long passageway, and inside was a factory: punch presses, metal lathes, polishers, grinders. A machine tool workshop and a generator inside a factory that made the whole operation totally self-sufficient, whatever was happening in the "outside" world.

I asked how many casualties had been suffered during the air war in this factory. The factory director shook his head, smiling, and said none. I believed him, just looking at this incredible stone room, buried several hundred feet under solid rock, and these people going about their work. Then we went into a second room and sitting around a long table we got a report from the factory director about how this factory had been in the city, and had had to be evacuated to mountain caves, and that this was only part of the whole shop; and how the production had continuously gone up through the war, etc.

Gradually the workers, about 25 or 30 men and women around him, began to sort of pull at his shirt and look anxious, and it was clear that they wanted to move onto something else. So he abruptly stopped, and said: "I want you to know that the slogan in this factory is 'Let the sound of song overwhelm the sound of bombs.'" With that the factory population broke into song. And they sang about life in a factory under a cave, they sang about how beautiful the mountain range was until the American bombers came. They sang about their own struggles and shooting down American planes. They sang about a policeman in the DMZ, who symbolized the hope of all Vietnamese for reunification. There were love songs, war songs, revolutionary songs. These people were just very together.

S: This is something—now, I'm not old enough to know about it first-hand, but from reading—this is something of the lesson of the London subways. That in adversity, even though there are reminders all around you—crippled people, devastated buildings—that if there is a certain amount of supportive structure, organizational structure, that apparently people are able to function in a sane and relatively whole fashion. Is that what you found there?

D: I think that's one comparison we have some understanding of in the West. I've often made that comparison with the Vietnamese, the experience that against the Nazi airforce the people of England united and became more determined, more together, rather than the breakdown of people's will as was the military objective of fascist Germany in World War II.

I mentioned this analogy once in a museum in Hanoi, in 1967, and

the director of the museum said, "Yes, I quite agree. That is a very good example. But there is one difference between Vietnam and England. During World War II the British Museum shut down, whereas during this war, our museum opened up."

And it really is the case that the number of new institutions that have been created under the bombardment, especially cultural and service, or human institutions, is remarkable. The number of hospitals and schools that have been built would suggest that Curtis Le May's promise to bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age has turned into its opposite. Vietnam is pushing itself into the 21st Century.

S: There must be bitterness though?

D: We had our minds blown again and again by an incredible experience. After we crossed the 20th parallel, most of the Vietnamese people had not seen anyone from America, few people had seen Americans, except of course, the pilots they shot down. So we were all on a small ferry, with 75 to 100 people crowded on it along with our jeeps and a couple of trucks, crossing a river. Behind us was a city that had been absolutely obliterated. And here we were surrounded by these Vietnamese who were very curious and excited. They thought, I guess, that we were Russians or Cubans. And one of the Vietnamese translators with us announced to a group around him that these seven were Americans and they responded with applause! And I said, "Has anyone here seen an American?" and a girl, maybe 18 or 19 years old, said "Yes." She had captured a pilot, she had held a gun at his head. And she went through the whole story about the plane being shot down and capturing the pilot. And I said, "How did you feel about the pilot?" She said she hated him, that the pilot had taken the lives of friends, that her own mother and father had been killed by American bombers. I asked why was the pilot not killed, and she said because Vietnam has a whole history of attitudes toward captured prisoners, and when a man is shot down he is treated humanely. And when I asked, well—what do you feel about us? And she smiled and said, "You are not pilots," and she began to spill out her feelings about our country.

She said, as many people have told me in Vietnam, that their own constitution was modelled on the American Declaration of Independence, that Ho Chi Minh borrowed the language of Jefferson in framing the constitutional government of North Vietnam. She said she knew that America was a country founded on a revolution, as Vietnam was. She knew that millions of Americans were opposed to the war. She knew that many Americans were going to jail in opposition

to the war, rather than fight in Vietnam. And she felt that the American people were allies, friends, that the enemy was Nixon and Johnson.

S: When you were in Hanoi, you spoke with people in the government. Who did you get to speak to?

D: We met with the Premier, Pham Van Dong, for about two hours.

S: From that conversation, what did you get of his views of the Nixon administration?

D: Well, Nixon had just made a trip to Saigon, and this was regarded in Hanoi as an indication of a hardening US position towards the war. It was regarded as an indication that the fallback position of Nixon was to hang onto the corrupt fascist, and totally unrepresentative regime of Thieu-Ky in Saigon. He said that the troop withdrawal of 25,000 was a deceptive trick, aimed at deflating anti-war sentiment in the United States. He said to me, "You know, that while Nixon was withdrawing 25,000 troops, the troop level in South Vietnam was increasing," and I didn't comment on that, but I returned to New York City and Senator Stennis was saying exactly the same thing.

Pham Van Dong said that the two principal objectives of the Vietnamese are first for a total and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from South Vietnam, and secondly the formation of a broad coalition government that would include all nationalist and patriotic forces in South Vietnam, that would then take responsibility for organizing an election and organizing a government that would assume responsibility for governing South Vietnam.

S: Which is what Ky has rejected time and again.

D: Yes, and then he went on to say that Nixon rejected both of these principal positions. And so we asked what is the prospect for peace, and Dong said that the only prospect is time, that Nixon in his estimation, is making the same mistake made by the French, which is to assume that the Vietnamese are running out of breath. He said, "You know as well as I do from your trip to the countryside that we're not running out of breath, that every day we grow stronger in the South, every day we grow stronger in the North, and that we're steady, and that we're prepared for a twenty-year war. The only way that Nixon is going to end this war is to be compelled to end it by the Vietnamese and by the struggle of American people." He predicted that 1970 would see the fiercest fighting of the war. He thought that if it was ever a time for the American people to press for an end to the war it was now, because he thought that the

war was at a crossroads. He felt that from Nixon's point of view he is facing the alternative of getting out of Vietnam with a decisive military defeat, going down in history as the President who turned Asia over to the Communists, or trying to hang on by any means necessary.

I think that these two roads staring Nixon directly in the face would suggest that Nixon might very well take the road towards military escalation. I think there's a general sense in this country that there are so many people against the war it can't possibly go on, that Nixon and the generals have to get out. But I think it's a misreading of everything that's going on in the Pentagon right now and very dangerous, to assume that we have somehow turned the corner in the war on Vietnam. Every indication has been that since the beginning of the Paris talks the war has steadily escalated. It certainly has escalated in terms of the saturation bombing in the South. It's escalated in terms of troop level. Nixon's position is that the Thieu-Ky regime must be preserved against the overwhelming numbers of people in South Vietnam that want to see its elimination. That's why the New Mobilization and other organizations feel that this fall is the critical time to mount an offensive here in the United States against the war. We absolutely must build the largest and most militant demonstrations possible against the war this fall. Everyone who has ever carried an antiwar sign—and thousands who haven't—have got to be in Washington November 13 to 15.

S: In this country, the press at least has been saying that the initiative in the war has passed to the North Vietnamese and the NLF. From your observations in Hanoi, do you feel that they do indeed hold the key?

D: Yes, the Vietnamese hold the initiative. It's well documented by Western journalists, including Americans, that since Junction City, the major battle of the 1967 dry season, the United States has been unable to mount large-scale strategic offensives, and that since that time, the National Liberation Front has held the initiative in the South. The United States is essentially reduced to sweeping missions, bombing missions, missions that try to detect movements so they can move to a defensive position and try to stop major offensives.

My feeling is that the Vietnamese are much stronger in the North today than they were in '67. There is a total mobilization of the population at this time that goes far beyond anything I saw then. On the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Accord, July 20, while we were in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh had an appeal read to the Vietnamese people, that was treated as a routine memorandum by the US press. It called for *total victory*. And the slogans of this appeal

were splattered brightly in paint in villages, on bridges, on steel beams awaiting transport along the road, less than a week after it was issued, from Hanoi to the DMZ. I felt I was in a Vietnam preparing for victory as I traveled through the countryside.

I think all this comes from a nation that has a profound sense of its future.

There's a little story that sort of fits into where they're at, that's worth telling. There's one bridge — I think probably the only bridge between the twentieth and the seventeenth parallel that has not been destroyed by the American Air Force. It's a bridge called Ham Ron by the Vietnamese. Pilots call it the Devil Bridge. According to the Vietnamese, 99 planes have been shot down trying to take out this one target. As you come to this bridge along Route One, you turn a sharp righthand bend, and you see on the other side of a valley this gigantic mountain that has been sliced and torn and ripped apart at the top, from air attack after air attack. Massive rock slides have been generated by attacks on this mountain, and the slides have spilled into the valley below. You come closer to the bridge and you see the valley, and there are bomb craters every five feet, 20 to 30 feet deep, running a mile in both directions.

Then you see the bridge; it's a steel frame structure, about a hundred and fifty feet long, resembling the aftermath of an attack by steel-eating locusts. It's torn apart and ripped with shrapnel. Its massive cement pillars rest precariously on the edge of these huge bomb craters. There are two road lanes and a railroad line down the center. A Vietnamese told me 3,000 tons of bombs have been dropped at the base of this bridge but there's never been a direct hit; and that after the first air attack the people of the area built six alternative routes across the valley. They never had to use any of them. The bridge was always intact. For every air attack that occurred, the Vietnamese brought in more anti-aircraft guns. The more anti-aircraft guns that were brought in, the more the Americans were convinced that this bridge must be strategic and very important. The more bombers the generals brought in, the more convinced they were that the Vietnamese had something vital to defend. It was the perfect trap, a Vietnamese official said—99 planes shot down and never a direct hit on a bridge that was replaceable!

I asked would the bridge be repaired one day, and the craters filled in and they said no because the whole valley would be turned into a museum to show their children and their children's grandchildren something of the cost of freedom and independence.

And as we went across this teetering, butchered bridge, a Viet-

namese interpreter turned to me and said, "Here you see the result of two nations who in all their history have never lost a war." And then he said, "The difference is that our history is longer and our fight is just. We have won this battle just as we are winning the war."

Today Vietnam occupies the center of the world stage and is the most important struggle in the world, and it's that understanding that is a part of the consciousness of ordinary people you meet. And I think we really have a sense of this society and what it's about, through its type of organization, through the public consciousness and the sense of itself as a nation and the role of the people in all the aspects of building a society. Our movement has much to learn from Socialist Vietnam. And the United States has much to learn from Vietnam about how to be civilized.

S: In a few minutes that remain I want to ask you about the trial you face in Chicago, as part of "the conspiracy"—when is that trial?

D: We're going to trial September 24, as eight people who more or less joined every conceivable strand of the movement that has emerged in this last decade. It's unprecedented in the history of this republic to have such a trial. Even the Smith Act trials went after specific organizations rather than a whole span of ideologies and organizations. And we're being tried on a law that is the clearest challenge in our history to the First Amendment—the so-called anti-riot law which outlaws future demonstrations in this country and lays the legal foundation for a police state.

S: Who else will be on trial with you?

D: Tom Hayden, an SDS founder and co-project director with me of the convention demonstrations last summer; Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party—recently jailed on a framed-up charge; Yippie organizers Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin; Dave Dellinger, Chairman of the New Mobilization and editor of *Liberation* magazine; and John Froines and Lee Weiner, two academic radicals who were active as members of the demonstration staff.

S: Is there any way of knowing how long the trial will last?

D: Four months—maybe years. We're afraid we are going to be denied appeal bond by our lynching judge and may have to sit in the can two or three years while it goes to the Supreme Court, unless we can get mass popular opposition against the whole trumped-up charge.

S: I'd like to ask one last question which really is not germane to anything except the Movement. We just saw some 400,000 people up in the Catskills for a festival. As someone who's been in the Movement for year, what do you make of that?

D: It's an expression of our culture, and it's also an expression of the way our culture is commercialized and de-politicized. It represents the best and the worst. One day that mysterious Woodstock monster is going to move on Washington and devour that imperialist government. It is resting now, experimenting with its peace symbols and its V-signs and its talk of a changed world. But it's got to find a way to turn that into power for change. Maybe it will come to Chicago for the conspiracy trial.

S: It is potentially political?

D: Our fighting force must come out of that culture. A political movement that cannot relate to youth culture can only be irrelevant to the future of this generation.

Rennie Davis and his seven co-defendants went to trial on September 24. Trial Judge Julius J. Hoffman showed his bias against the defendants at the outset by refusing their appeal to postpone the trial pending recovery from a serious operation by West Coast lawyer, Charles Garry, who represents Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale. Seale, framed on a murder charge and kept in jail during the trial, was thus forced to go to trial without a lawyer.

Then, as the trial opened, Judge Hoffman ordered the arrest on contempt charges of four attorneys who failed to appear. These lawyers had been associated with the defense only for the preparation of necessary papers and making preliminary motions. They had sent telegrams announcing their withdrawal, which was acceptable to their clients. The judge was forced to reverse this high-handed action because of immediate protest actions, including the descent on Chicago of 150 lawyers from different parts of the country.

A story in the *New York Times*, October 16, reported the testimony of stool pigeon Dwayne Oklepek who had posed as a member of the National Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam. Asked under cross-examination whether he understood and agreed with the aims of the committee, he declared: "They wanted to influence the nomination of a President who would serve the people's will. They wanted to demonstrate against social injustice and against the war. And I'm for that too." He testified that he had never seen any of the defendants personally commit violence against the police.

The trial makes clear the government's attempt to use the "anti-riot" provision of the Civil Rights Act to stifle the peace and Black liberation movements. It is in line with a whole series of repressions against the Panthers and other Black liberation fighters, student demonstrators and anti-war advocates. In this category, too, are the continued prosecutions of Communists under the McCarran Act, and the action of the UCLA Board of Regents in attempting to fire Prof. Angela Davis, teacher of philosophy and Black Communist Party member. These growing repressive measures must be fought and the right of dissent and demonstration must be defended with all our strength.

The outrageous courtroom gagging and shackling of Bobby Seale, by order of Judge Hoffman, reported as we go to press, calls for an avalanche of protests.

THE EDITORS

GIL GREEN

Cuba's Accent On Youth

SHE WAS quite young, of average height, slim figure, with dark hair hanging in ponytail style and fastened in the rear with a white metal clasp, such as girls and women all over Cuba wear. She was not beautiful in the conventional sense, but nice to look at, with clear complexion, bright twinkling eyes, and a catchy smile. She looked far too young to be the assistant principal of a boarding school. Yet she had been introduced to us as such. We learned later she was all of 21.

This was in San Andres, in the province of Pinar del Rio. San Andres is a newly constructed model farm town of some 8,000 people. It is called "model," because it was built to show farming families the cultural, social, educational and medical advantage of living in a common community as against being spread thin over miles and miles of countryside.

Before the revolution this entire Organos region had no full-time school, not even a full-time school teacher. Once a year an itinerant teacher would arrive and stay for 15 days. That was all. This was the extent to which the rural children in this area received education. Now the town has two brand new schools serving the community. One is a primary school with 1,061 pupils; the other, a boarding school for 300 children. The latter school had been opened nine months previously and taught children from the fourth to the ninth grades. Their average age was 14.

The students are the sons and daughters of peasants in the region. They are not handpicked or above average. All that is required for enrollment is the permission of the parents. The children stay at school for 12 consecutive days and then are taken home by bus on alternate weekends. Parents may visit every Wednesday evening and on the Sundays when their child is at school.

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CUBA

All the material needs of the children are met without charge. They are fed, clothed, housed; there is a school hospital, a nurse, a doctor who comes in once a day, and a dentist in town. The school has 24 teachers, one of whom teaches English. Each teacher sleeps with a group of children in a dormitory. There is also a principal and an agronomist. The assistant principal also teaches.

This is one of the typical boarding schools being built all over Cuba to give the children of the very poorest families the very best in educational facilities and to imbue in them cooperative, collective ways of thinking and high moral principles at an early age.

There is much that I could write about this particular school. But the point I wish to stress for this article is the significant fact that the oldest teacher in this school was the 21-year-old assistant principal. All teachers only recently had been students at the University of Havana.

This example of how young people take over major responsibilities in the new Cuba is not an isolated one. It is happening all over the island.

SOMETIME before my visit to San Andres, I had been to Cienfuegos on the Southern coast of Las Villas province, not too far from where the swine were routed at the Bay of Pigs. A young man, wearing a metal helmet, was pointing to a vast construction site all around us. Hundreds of men were busily working, huge overhead cranes were carrying mortar, walls were rising on all sides in what appeared to be a complex of buildings in various stages of construction.

An immense, ultra-modern fertilizer plant was being built. It would be finished with all machinery installed and ready to operate in December, 1970. When under full steam, it is expected to produce 465,000 tons of chemical fertilizer a year, or from one-fourth to one-third of the planned fertilizer needs of the country for 1971. What this means for Cuba's economy can be grasped when it is known that Cuba today buys its fertilizer abroad at the cost of \$80 a ton.

So this is a very, very important project. It is costing Cuba \$40 million to construct the plant and about \$60 million more to install it. With an investment of that magnitude and with the need for more and more fertilizer, it was tremendously important to push the building of this complex as rapidly as possible.

The plans for the unit are of British origin and eleven British engineers supervise construction and installation. Two tasks must be fulfilled simultaneously. Competent workers must erect the plant.

At the same time men and women must be taught to install the machinery and learn how to operate it. The problem of overcoming underdevelopment, I learned, is not only that of getting modern machinery; it is guaranteeing that this can be run efficiently.

Here, too, the youth were called upon, and the very best of Cuba's youth. A nationwide Communist Brigade was organized to work on this project. When I was there, 1,583 workers were on the job, the overwhelming majority of them young and 254 of them under the age of 20. Six hundred and thirty-four were proud members of the UJC, the Communist Youth Union of Cuba. Of 30 technicians, 21 were under 30; of 24 professors, 23 were under 30; and of 547 in the advanced training school, 415 were under 30.

The British engineers had asked for a minimum of 900 workers to be assigned to the single task of construction. Despite protests on their part, they were given less than 500. But when I was there plant construction was 40 days ahead of schedule!

The rest of the workers are divided into four separate departments of work: technical; equipment and transportation; installation; and administration and supplies. All the workers were going to classes as part of their jobs, with the largest single number taking cram courses about the machinery going into the plant, the scientific principles involved, the ways of installation, and the efficient operation of the new technology.

To speed the project, the youth were working in ten hour stretches of 25 consecutive days, including Saturdays and Sundays. They were then taken home by bus for five days of rest. All of them had voluntarily given up their vacations and had turned down overtime pay. For them this was their own Moncada assault, their own Granma landing. They too had to make the revolution, this time a revolution against economic and cultural underdevelopment.

IN THE city of Holguin, in Oriente province, we visited the new Lenin Hospital. The Soviet Union had made a gift of this hospital with equipment for 450 beds. The Cubans had raised the difference to increase the hospital's capacity to 900 beds. Fourteen Soviet medical specialists still assist the hospital staff.

Before the revolution this region, with some 400,000 human beings, had only five small hospitals and no polyclinics. Now there are 26 hospitals and 29 polyclinics. In 1958, 40 thousand pesos were spent on hospitals in this area; in 1968, 10 million pesos.

Socialized medicine, plus the construction of hospitals and clinics and the spread of medical services to the rural communities, had

increased the need for doctors astronomically. More than half of Cuba's M.Ds were located in Havana. And when the revolution came many doctors fled to the United States.

To meet this crisis the government agreed to pay doctors 600 pesos a month for their work in public health. This was far below the 3-4,000 pesos they had previously earned, but still very much above the average wages and salaries in the country. In addition, doctors who wished to engage in private practice could still do so, but only after their hours of public service.

This is still the arrangement. But the last graduating classes of the three medical universities in Cuba started something new. The graduates took a voluntary oath that they would never engage in private practice as long as they lived. They also agreed to reduce the 600 pesos salary they were legally entitled to, and start with a salary about half that amount. This would bring them more in line with salaries in other occupations and remove from them the stigma of serving people for the sake of money. These young graduates also agree to go into rural areas for their first two years after graduation.

It was one of the older, gray-headed doctors at the hospital that described this change to us. He himself still gets the 600 pesos a month, although I surmised that he had given up private practice. But when he talked about these young doctors, their dedication, their determination to make the Hippocratic Oath mean something once again, his eyes glistened and his voice bespoke both admiration and envy. He told us: "We now have more doctors than before the revolution and believe me they are better doctors. Better, because of their love for humanity; and because medicine now serves all the people and not only a few well-to-do, and thus our doctors get a wider experience in treating a greater variety of illness than was possible before."

What the young doctors are doing, other young people are also doing. University professors were previously getting 750 pesos a month; the new ones receive 300 to 350 a month. The same thing is happening elsewhere as well.

IT CAN therefore be seen that a new crop of Cuban youth is fast coming up behind the *barbudo* generation. They remember little or nothing of the old Cuba, but are never permitted to forget what the old Cuba was like. Nor are they likely to forget that it was young people like themselves who laid down their lives at Moncada, who went into the Sierra Maestra as boys and girls and came out two years later as mature men and women.

In Cuba the accent is still on youth. Everything is done for youth; everything expected of youth. The swankiest residential area of Havana is the Miramar section. This is where thousands upon thousands of scholarship students now live in spacious seashore residences. These students come from all parts of the island, especially from the homes of small peasant and working class people.

Youth also knows that they now have unbounded opportunities to live fully cultured creative lives. Every field of endeavor beckons them. If they wish to be men and women of the sea, there is now a merchant marine. If they wish to be foresters, a half-billion new trees have been planted. Every branch of science, technology, medicine, pedagogy and agriculture is open to them. Only one avenue is closed. They cannot live idle, selfish lives at the expense of other peoples' toil. But that is no avenue, only a blind alley.

In contrasting the exciting present with the dismal past, there is no attempt to paint the present as if it were already the bright future. The youth are told that the revolution is not over, but has only taken another form. The future must still be fought for; heroism and self-sacrifice are qualities that all generations must possess. They are taught that the new society is not only built on material construction, but human reconstruction; that old, selfish, individualistic values must be replaced by new collective ones, and above all, the golden idol, Money, must be torn from its pedestal.

Another feature of the new generation is its deep feeling of love of country coupled with an equally deep feeling of responsibility for all mankind. The goal of Cuba's youth is not the end of underdevelopment for Cuba alone; it is the end of underdevelopment for all peoples, that is, an end to world imperialism. It feels at one with the worldwide youth rebellion against imperialism and capitalism, especially with the militant youth of Latin America, Asia and Africa. And when a young person joins the UJC he takes an oath to be ready to give his life in the fight against imperialism wherever that may be.

This identification of Cuba's youth with the militant world youth upsurge is something very real. It is no accident that Cuba's daily youth newspaper, second in circulation only to *Granma*, is called *Juventud Rebelde*, Rebel Youth. Nor is it believed that rebellion is only for export, for every generation is a new one and faces tasks that are somewhat new and different. There is always need for rebellion against old habits, old prejudices and old ways of thinking that stand in the way of the most rapid further development of the revolution and the achievement of a communist society. And precisely

because Cuban youth are taught to think this way they also have the highest respect for all the positive progressive and revolutionary traditions of the past, knowing that no generation is weightless, suspended in space, but stands firmly on the experiences of the generations before it.

Cuban youth also know how to enjoy life. In Havana the young people fill the streets with the sound of their gaiety, crowd the movies, theaters, nightclubs and parks. They love to dance and can hold their own with the best of US youth. Rock music is very popular and played over the radio constantly. Nor is sex a taboo subject. In *Juventud Rebelde's* humor supplement, called *DDT*, sex comes in for both serious and humorous treatment. One issue was quite hilarious in its tongue-in-cheek bewailment of what artificial insemination has done to the sex life of Cuban cattle. Sex does not dominate their thinking, yet is not treated as something to be ashamed of, but as something that is surely here to stay.

Of course, there are problems. If juvenile delinquency is not a major problem, neither is it absent from Cuban life. With the stringent rationing that exists in food and clothing there has even been some increase in theft in the past couple of years. In 1968, 28,000 crimes "against property" were recorded. While this is infinitesimal in comparison to crime in the United States which totalled 4.5 million "serious crimes" last year, even one delinquent in Cuba represents a problem that requires attention.

One last impression: the most thrilling, exciting feature of Cuban youth is their great elan, self-confidence and total commitment to the goals of the revolution. If US imperialism burnt its paws messing with Fidel's generation it will surely burn its hide if it tries to tangle with this one. "Patria o Muerte," and "Venceremos," are now the cries of a young generation that knows what it means to have power belong to the people.

"CUBA AT THE SIDE OF THE USSR"

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA is of the opinion that, in the process of the people's struggle against imperialism, the Soviet Union is a fundamental bulwark and that that historic role has been expressed in its support for Cuba's Socialist Revolution, to the Arab peoples in the Middle East and in its aid to the Vietnamese cause. We will never forget the tremendous sacrifices and efforts the Soviet people have made for mankind. . . . We declare from this rostrum that in any decisive confrontation . . . Cuba will unyieldingly be on the side of the USSR.

*From the speech by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez
at June Moscow Conference*

MARGARET SCHLAUCH

Letter From Poland

Warsaw, September 2, 1969

YESTERDAY I had a deeply moving experience. I witnessed some of the commemorative ceremonies here in Warsaw connected with the 30th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, particularly with the attack of the Nazis on the Polish capital city and its heroic (if futile) defense.

First of all, I walked about the streets in the morning, passing by the very numerous spots with tablets commemorating the fact that each one of so-and-so many Polish patriots had been lined up and executed by the Nazis. At each, there were heaps of red and white flowers (the Polish national colors), candles were burning, and soldiers were standing on guard. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the entrance to Saski Ogród (The Saxon Park) was particularly impressive. Tears sprang to my eyes as I passed it.

In the late afternoon I went to the Market Place of the reconstructed Old Town (just around the corner from where I live) and witnessed an impressive mass meeting conducted on the general theme of "No More War." The main speakers were Mr. Spychalski of Poland, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and President Svoboda of Czechoslovakia. Because I stood far from the tribunal, because the loudspeakers (though loud enough) were not too clear in delivery, and because, finally, my ear is not by any means perfectly attuned to Polish, I didn't grasp all that was being said, although I could share in the response. Meantime I enjoyed chatting with my neighbor, a tiny elderly woman who had lived through a concentration camp and later a period of forced labor in Germany. Of course she responded cordially when I expressed my admiration of the heroic Polish people in their age-long struggle against op-

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, formerly Professor of English at New York University and Johns Hopkins, has lived in Poland since 1951. She has just retired as Director of the English Department of the University of Warsaw. She has published several books and textbooks in Polish in English, also issued by the Oxford University Press. She is a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. In recent years she has been part-time visiting professor at the University of Connecticut.

POLAND

pression by foreign powers. An auxiliary civilian policeman who was standing between us beamed as he listened.

Later that evening I went to Castle Square (Plac Zamkowy) where an open place has long since been leveled off, with benches and flowers, on the extensive site of the former Royal Palace. On the far side, against the fragment of a wall that still remains, a huge screen had been erected to show a long documentary film of the attack on Warsaw and its obstinate defense in September, 1939. Here again I happened to talk to an elderly woman who had lived through it all. And again I evoked friendly responses from those about me (despite my heavily accented Polish) as I spoke with them concerning the significance of the anniversary being commemorated.

Still later that evening I dropped in on a good neighbor of mine, the widow of a distinguished professor of law, who lives in my house (a professors' cooperative). I simply wanted to talk to her about those days and share her impressions. She had been in the city of Lwów then and she told me some hair-raising stories of the period of Nazi occupation. One of them impressed me particularly.

A Polish family had provided shelter for a Jewish one, by constructing a cave for them under the floor of the kitchen. Here the fugitives managed to live, emerging only at night in order to move about and breathe some fresh air. Finally when the SS-men were making an investigation, a small child of the Polish family, aged about five, spoke up quite innocently and said: Yes, we have guests here who live under the kitchen floor. The result: both families exterminated. It is understandable that my neighbor concluded: When the Russian soldiers entered our city, I felt like kissing every one of them.

To young people flourishing at the end of the present decade, especially those who live in the West, such reminiscences may seem as outdated as tales of the Napoleonic wars, or even the fall of the Roman Empire. But to older residents of this area they will seem contemporary for a long time to come.

USSR OFFERS PRIZE IN FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY

THE SOVIET UNION has set up an International Krupskaya prize, named after the wife of Lenin, amounting to \$5,500, to be awarded annually through UNESCO to individuals and organizations for outstanding contributions to the fight against illiteracy in the world. The USSR is making a gift of a million school exercise books to help literacy campaigns.

Today the USSR is 100 per cent literate, but UNESCO figures show that three in five of the adults of its member countries still cannot read and write. There are some 700 million illiterates in the world today.

British-Soviet Weekly, May 24, 1969

Germany, East and West

A Study in Contrast

ELLEN PERLO

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: YOUTH LOOKING FORWARD

Infancy

EVERYTHING was so clean, and colorful. The babies—small pink and blue bundles—were in spotless cribs on a porch, a white-clad nurse on watch. One fretful two-year-old in a playpen was alone in a light room decorated with clowns. A teacher-nurse was with him, trying to ease his discomfort from an inoculation reaction. Other little boys were whooping it up as they rode tricycles on the wide verandah along one side of the building. But most youngsters were waiting for their parents to take them home: it was Friday afternoon.

We went down a long hall, entering several rooms at random. Each room was bright and gay with colorful stuffed and inflated animals, wooden blocks, plastic balls, airplanes and other toys. Pictures on the walls. And at small tables for four, about three to a room, little boys and girls were playing games with the teacher. There were six to twelve tots to a room.

All were smiling and completely unabashed by the unscheduled visit of eight strange-talking picture-taking adults. One little girl gladly sang a song for us, and then ran to hide her face in teacher's skirt.

The boys wore gaily printed shirts and solid-colored suspender shorts; the girls, with their corn-silk hair and bright eyes, looked like Botticelli angels in flowered dresses.

These were children of workers at the Karl Liebknecht diesel engine plant in Magdeburg, German Democratic Republic. This nursery, about a half mile from the plant and in the midst of a housing

ELLEN PERLO is on the staff of the *World Magazine*. She has just returned from a visit to the GDR with her husband, economist Victor Perlo, a frequent contributor to our pages.

GERMANY, EAST

development where many of the workers live, cares for children from three months to three years. There are 120 children and a staff of 17 to care for them—all trained as nurses and specialists in infant care, and all very enthusiastic about their jobs.

Most of the children are resident—that is, they sleep at the nursery five days a week, going home on weekends: a few go home every night. We saw the play, sleep, and dining areas, the scaled-to-size sanitation facilities and the first aid room.

One of teachers explained that it is an aim of the nursery to teach the children at least one new thing every day, starting with the very youngest babies in their cribs. In this way, she said, by the time they are ready for pre-kindergarten at four years, the boys and girls are able to function in a basic way as social beings—dressing themselves, tying their shoe laces, zipping their zippers, eating and drinking, playing together in harmony, helping one another.

The nursery building is modern in design and very well kept. And, as mentioned, everything—rooms, children, toys, beds, etc.—was so clean that it made an indelible impression on us all. That and the bright and alert faces of the children, children of workers, children who are being taken care of by devoted professionals for the incredible sum of \$2.00 a week. Something to remember when skeptics bemoan the plight of East Germans.

Not all eligible tots are able to attend the nursery, yet. In families where the mother doesn't work, or where there is another adult at home (a grandmother, or aunt, for example) the child is not able to go to the nursery. But it is the goal of the GDR to increase the number of personnel of these facilities so that there will be a place for every child.

Childhood

MORE FORTUNATE in this respect are the 10- to 14-year-old children of the workers at the Karl Liebknecht plant. Practically all of them who want to are able to spend a shift—two or three weeks—at the Maurice Thorez Pioneer Camp near Salzwedel, about 60 miles from Magdeburg. One-third of the 750-camper capacity are children of these workers, and there are three shifts per season. There were also 100 Soviet campers, mostly children of Russian specialists and officers stationed in the GDR, and 20 Polish teenagers.

The afternoon we spent at the camp was very exciting. We were greeted with cheers by the entire camp lined up on both sides of the road from the entrance gate. Girls and boys were dressed in blue shorts, white shirts, and blue Pioneer scarves. We were escorted

around the grounds and what surprised me was the similarity between the physical layout of this pioneer camp in the GDR and that of a very posh camp I know in New England. A large lake with wooded shores, with provision for all water sports; cabins in partial clearing but still amongst the trees, mainly firs; athletic fields and courts; dining and recreation buildings. The Maurice Thorez camp had, in addition, a huge outdoor theater.

We had an opportunity to talk with the children at some length. Whenever one of us stopped to ask a question, he was immediately surrounded by dozens of chattering campers who wanted to give him pins and buttons, ask questions about American youth and the Vietnam war, and talk about themselves. Even with the language barrier, communication was good (some of the boys and girls, especially the Russians, knew a little English; a few of us knew a little German; and we did have an interpreter who did her best to be in six places at once). It was very clear that these children were healthy, happy and secure. They were even well behaved—by no means regimented.

Our visit was at the end of the second shift: many campers were to leave the next day and a new batch would arrive. A camper show was scheduled, and we were invited.

The performance was on a par with a talent show anywhere by children of 10 to 14—songs, dances, acrobatics, comedy sketches. It was the reaction of the audience that we found especially interesting, the enthusiastic reception that was given to each act put on by the Soviet visitors—solid applause, whistles and stamping feet. And when the Polish group (a prize-winning electronic combo with five girl singers, all nattily dressed in grey mini-skirted, semi-military uniforms with scarlet trim, topped by jaunty berets) finished a series of popular tunes, there was pandemonium.

Order of a sort was restored, temporarily, after six curtain calls and an encore. Then we were called onto the stage and a different kind of commotion took place: we were cheered, applauded and then mobbed by hundreds of campers, all wanting to shake our hands and tie their pioneer scarves around our necks. It was an unrestrained and absolutely spontaneous tribute to us as representatives of the American antiwar movement about which so many of them had asked us earlier, and as believers in socialism.

Over 20—Under 30

AND THEN we spent an afternoon with some young adults, not enough of them or for a long enough time to be authoritative, but enough to gain a few impressions. Our dialogue was open, I

think, and it revealed that the spirit of rebellion which is prevalent everywhere has its parallel in the GDR. But to a limited degree, as it was expressed by our young friends.

In the United States, youth's cry is "down with imperialism." In the GDR, this end was accomplished 20 years ago, and none of the young folks we spoke with had any desire for the old order to return. Rather, every one of them expressed his belief in socialism and his determination to work for its advance.

But there were gripes, for "things" mostly: Western gadgets, higher incomes, jazzier jazz, sexier sex, automobiles—especially automobiles—freedom to travel (this aimed at the countries that discriminate against the GDR, not against the GDR itself) and the currency to travel with, closer ties with young people all over the world, more opportunities to express themselves, the bureaucracy of older administrators.

What appeared obvious to us is that the situation that exists in West Germany—the appeal of the neo-fascist party, especially among the youth—would never get off the ground in the GDR. There seems to be a frank recognition of the role of Germany in World War II and a determination on the part of East Germans that such a monstrous situation must never be permitted to recur.

We think the young people of the GDR are wonderful, and it is upon them that the fate of their country depends.

DIETER WENDE

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC: NEO-NAZI GRIP ON YOUTH

AFTER THE autumn elections we will have at least 50 seats* in the Bundestag." I had read this sentence in the West German neo-nazi paper *Deutsche Nachrichten* (circulation: 100,000 copies) but when the man sitting opposite me made this triumphant forecast verbally, I stopped short. I was sitting in one of the rooms of the neo-nazi NPD party's offices, the room of Richards, the party's press chief. I parried at once with the question: "Aren't you afraid of being banned?" The question was justified, for at the beginning of 1969 the Bonn government had been insisting on a ban on the NPD. But the answer of gray-haired, portly Herr Richards exposed this as

* Fortunately, the neo-nazi NDP (National Democratic Party) did not win the five per cent of the vote necessary for Bundestag seats. Yet the 1,422,106 votes it did win fully justify the warning in this article.—Ed.

pure drum-beating, intended only to throw dust in the eyes of public opinion. Richards retorted jovially: "The gentlemen of the CDU will keep quiet, for you know if they try to reproach us with our 'brown' past, we'll rhyme off the names of all the nazis sitting in the leading body of the CDU and the government. Material to this effect is already prepared."

These few sentences from a several hours' interview with Herr Richards explain all too clearly why an open nazi party could come into existence in the German Federal Republic and develop into a factor of power: Why should the disguised nazis in the government and the legislature do anything against their nazi brethren?

The strong youth membership in the NPD points clearly to the danger of neo-nazism and refutes the claims of Bonn's Minister of Interior that "rightist radicalism is dying out." In 1967, out of 35,511 NPD members 22 per cent were in the 16 to 30 age-group; in 1968 this percentage has gone up.

But this development comes not as a surprise. The policy of Bonn has been aimed right from the start at a revision of the results of World War II—and this soil breeds every kind of nationalism just like an incubator. And this nationalist movement (it went so far that between 1955 and 1960 Bonn had to ban the wearing of uniforms by some revanchists who were getting over-boisterous) was the best base for introducing open neo-nazism in the Federal Republic. After the open declaration of nationalism by the governing CDU (the Party meeting in Düsseldorf, 1965) and the founding of the NPD (Hanover, 1964), the brown seeds shot up as after a warm spring rain.

The first concern of the brown leaders behind Adolf von Thadden was of course to rally the younger generation round the NPD. The building-up phase of the NPD was characterized by a process of centralizing the neo-nazi groups, directed by a leading center called "National Youth Friendship Circle"—a good name reminiscent of the "Himmler Friendship Circle" financed by the SS. Indeed, the neo-nazi "Friendship Circle" is headed by a financially strong publisher: Klaus Jahn. In just two years, the "Friendship Circle" managed to draw the "Viking youth," the "Eagles" youth association, the "Patriotic Youth Association" and the "German Youth" community into the ranks of the NPD. This body also did the spadework for the cooperation of these associations with the planned NPD youth organization. The Ministry of the Interior had to admit in 1968: "The far-reaching ideological agreement of all right-extremist groups has been partially responsible for the close cooperation with the

NPD" (quoted from *Das Parlament*, April 10, 1968). In this way the foundations for some youth associations were laid and in 1967 they were brought into existence.

The "Young National Democrats" (age-group: 18-28) were founded at the end of 1967 and have already shown themselves as shock troops of the NPD. After the admission of Andreas Rau, the man in charge of NPD youth work in Bavaria, the members of the "Young National Democrats" got hard training in special "schools" and they have their own judo school in Munich. What is this training for? Democrats who have been beaten up for protesting against NPD meetings know this best. The working program of the Young National Democrats includes "training camps for leaders," "provocation" trips, political "schooling" according to the NPD program, and hard training (drill).

The NHB, the "National-Democrat Higher School Association," has reached the level of the Young National Democrats. This organization, already existing at 17 universities, has the task of dampening the influence of democrats in the universities and of influencing students "in the spirit of the declared aims of the NPD" (quoted from *Deutsche Nachrichten*, December 16, 1966). Of course not only these openly neo-nazi groups operate among West German youth—the associations launched by the CDU/CSU in the "Bundesjugendring" (top organization of West German youth organizations) are equally dangerous. One of these is the "German Youth of the East," camouflaged as a democratic organization belonging to the Bundesjugendring and promoted by Bonn. The GYE does its best to stir up trouble among the young people in the revanchist "Landsmannschaften" groups and promotes and heightens fascist ideology, e.g., in the case of the terror attacks in Alto Adige (South Tyrol) which they exploited fully in the press. The "AKON" (Akton Oder-Neisse) is even more closely tied up with these terrorist attacks. The armed activities and conspiracies of AKON reach from Bonn to Pretoria, and the Italian police got to know just how powerful this group was. After preventing an attempt by AKON against Home Minister Taivani in June 1967, it found in a coal mine near Lago dei Buoi over 100 guns, machine-guns, two trench mortars and cases of munition. All West German AKON members carry the card of the NPD Party in their pocket too. Plugger, a member of the AKON advisory council, is even the "valid Aryan" propagandist of the NPD.

All this makes it clear that in the open phase of neo-nazism in Federal Germany the right-extremist groups are rallied around the NPD: through the "Friendship Circles" attempts are being made now to

draw whole youth groups into the "National Youth." There are other links too, for leading NPD officials are also to be found in the governing bodies of other youth organizations. Through this interpenetration the neo-nazi youth groups are growing into a dangerous weapon in the hands of NPD leaders, and they all serve as tools for monopolist policy. The dangerous effects of neo-nazi youth concentration are not only expressed in a growing number of NPD members or by a high proportion of young voters in the electoral results of the NPD—they are also expressed in the fact that today every fourth soldier in the Bundeswehr is a supporter or member of the NPD. This is a dangerous reserve pool and in garrison towns the NPD often gets over 20 per cent of the votes.

It is obvious that such neo-nazist contamination of a part of the West German youth could not have happened without the background created by Bonn with its revanchist and militarist policy. And it is also clear that the NPD youth organizations and their sub-groups are now developing into a "regulating" factor of the state monopoly system. Their shock troops emerge everywhere where students and young trade unionists protest against the dangerous developments in Bonn. According to a report on January 28, 1969, by the West German news agency DPA, on a conference of neo-nazi youth groups in Frankfurt-on-Main, these groups are the "opposite pole" of a democratic youth movement. The results of this brown policy are more attacks and more swastikas daubed on churches and trade union offices. These were the very same groups who in December 1968 marched up to the border of Czechoslovakia with placards and banners saying: "Here begins the Czechoslovak occupation zone of Germany," and "Sudetenland—German land."

Having such a strong youth reserve is what makes NPD press chief Richards feel so optimistic. He and his colleagues have nothing to fear from the State bodies—and his young brown instigators will provide the necessary votes.

Herr Richards has another reason to be wreathed in smiles: the united efforts of provocateurs, informers, and the pressures exerted by the government have succeeded in spreading confusion among the ranks of the democratic youth movement which grew quite strong in 1968. And it will take a long time to remove this confusion even though some unions like the German Socialist Working Youth, the Socialist High-School Union and the German Socialist Students are making strenuous efforts to break the growing neo-nazi wave. What they need is unity if they are to apply their full weight.

From World Youth, No. 2, 1969

BORIS POLEVOI

How the Steel Is Tempered—Today

WHAT IS a young Soviet person like in the sixties? Naturally the image for me is made up of millions of young faces—people of different natures and habits, of various professions and nationalities. They are people I had occasion to meet during my trips all over the Soviet Union, at building sites in Siberia and the Far North, at the construction sites of the greatest hydroelectric stations of the world, at previews of new films and ballets in which gifted young artists took part, in the research laboratories of Dubna and Novosibirsk.

They are people of purposeful creative endeavor and that is probably the most important thing in the portrait of my young contemporary.

When I use the word "youth" I see especially in my mind's eye the young people who have sent their first awkward but sincere poems to editorial boards I have been on.

I also recall Alexander Ryabushkin's face, lit up by a broad and kindly smile. This lad, a Donbas miner, had recently saved the lives of 200 miners: he had discovered that in one of the drafts during the night shift, methane (gas) had caught fire. Alexander boldly extinguished it and was able to forestall disaster. This lad, son of a guerilla fighter who had been tortured to death by the fascists, was decorated for valor with the order "Symbol of Honor." Thus heroic fathers who had sacrificed their lives for their country's freedom, have bred heroic sons. This is what I call a living relay of generations. And that is how I see the "problem" of fathers and children which is sometimes distorted in our literature by writers who find and stress out of all proportion the elements of "conflict" between the generations.

As the father of three grown children I personally do not believe

BORIS POLEVOI, a leading Soviet writer, is known to readers in many countries for his novel *A Story About A Real Man*. He is now editor of the magazine *Yunost* (youth). He gives his views on Soviet youth of the sixties in this interview with a Novosti correspondent.

in the antagonism of generations. What can be the basis for it if our youth believes in the same ideals and has the same aspirations as their fathers? The fathers built the first cities in the taiga, the children are growing wheat in the virgin lands and building the first atomic electric stations and icebreakers in the world. And then the so-called working "third semesters" of the students! During the summer boys and girls build farms and hospitals, schools and roads, kindergartens and workers' settlements.

The fathers performed heroic feats for the sake of the free and happy life of us all. But millions of boys and girls who are their children and grandchildren are building this life today.

When I thumb through my old notebooks I recall people whose life and work is much like a heroic feat. Take for example the young researcher from the Komi ASSR, Nikolay Ushkin, who made an outstanding scientific discovery by offering a modern classification of sulphur deposits founded on new methods of prospecting. This 30-year-old man has a remarkable background: village school, work at an enterprise, an institute from which he was graduated by correspondence course. When Ushkin presented his diploma paper to the academic council it was presented as the basis for a candidate dissertation. However when Nikolay defended it as such the degree of doctor of technological science was conferred upon him instead.*

And yet another encounter with the youth of today: Arthur Chilingarov is a lad I met in the Far North at Tiksi Bay. Literally everybody knows this vigorous, young, intelligent, well-read man who is a Komsomol leader in Tiksi. He never spares himself, works overtime and takes everyone's affairs to his heart, whether it be the seismologist, the seaman, or the reporter.

As ore in the blast furnace turns into metal, so the young character acquires firmness and clarity of purpose in the process of working. It is not in vain that we regard Maxim Gorky's words "nothing is more majestic than heroism in labor and creation" as the banner of Soviet literature. And in my view there is no man closer to young people than a writer who speaks to millions of boys and girls in a language of truth, sincerity, trust and lofty citizenship.

So what does a "youth" writer have to say to his contemporaries? What moves young people in literature?

As an editor of the magazine *Yunost* I am compelled to answer

* In the USSR the degree of "candidate" is equivalent to that of "doctor" in our country. The Soviet degree of doctor is still higher; we do not have its equivalent.

that question frequently. Let me cite a few examples: the novelette by Vladislav Titov *Defying a Legion of Deaths* has become very popular over the last two years. It is a book written by a man who lost both hands saving a mine and his comrades from fire. *Defying a Legion of Deaths* is a deeply touching story of a man who has taken his misfortune with great fortitude, a story of his love for his wife, about his friends, people of the mining town who came to Vladislav's assistance in times of stress. It is *today's* "Story About a Real Man." The Soviet reader's favorite person is a man of character. Young people are always attracted to him.

The problem of shaping a man cannot help interesting young people. It has always done so all over the world. No wonder my comrades and I met people in faraway Guinea and Vietnam who had changed their names and assumed those of Pavka Korchagin, Alexander Matrosov and Nikolay Ostrovsky.

These names have become sacred for young people, fighting for their country's freedom and human dignity. And when I think about the youth of the seventies I frequently take a small volume out of my table sent over to me from Vietnam. It has bullet holes in it and is covered with the blood of some unknown lad. It is my own book, *A Story About a Real Man*. And the blood on the cover and on the pages of this book are the new lines written in it by the fighters for freedom in Vietnam.

As the Vice-President of the European Society for Culture and a presidium member of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans I frequently travel abroad on various public missions. I have recently been in the FRG. In a small town on the Rhine we were struck by a strange "memorial" in its central square—a stone map of Germany with 1939 frontiers. It was a map of Hitler's Third Reich. A torch march was held near this map in the evening and the speeches and slogans I heard reminded me so much of 1933 and Hitler's orations that, as a writer and war correspondent who remembers all the horrors of war so well and who spent nine months at the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals, I decided to change my literary plans and start a book aiming to refresh the memories and stir the conscience of all people, because the future depends on us all. This book, called *In the Final Analysis*, has already come out in the Soviet Union and is about to be published in some European countries.

When I wrote it I thought about my children, their friends and contemporaries all over the world.

Courtesy of Novosti Press Agency

JESSICA SMITH

Journey into History: Albert Rhys Williams On the October Revolution

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS has written a beautiful and inspiring book, published posthumously, about the Russian Revolution, which opened the era of socialism and set in motion the great liberation movements of the Twentieth Century.

He was an eye-witness to the historic events of 1917, along with John Reed and a small band of other sympathetic Americans, and described them as they were unfolding. His *Through the Russian Revolution** stands with Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* as one of the twin American classics of the period.

In his new book,† Williams deepens and fills out the earlier story, written in the white heat of immediate experience. This is not hindsight, for the material is drawn from the voluminous notes kept by Williams almost day by day, given added value by careful research into accompanying events which could not have been fully encompassed at the time. Nor is the fervor of the earlier book in any way abated by this more detailed and fact-filled treatment. Williams' revolutionary ardor and hopes were undimmed until the day of his death in 1962, if tempered by the unforeseen vicissitudes, problems, external hostility and internal errors and world war, that have held back both the building of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, whose road ahead in those days seemed so simple and clear.

Having written over the years several excellent books and numer-

* *Through the Russian Revolution* was reprinted here in 1967 by Monthly Review Press (\$12.50). The same year a new paperback edition of Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* was brought out by International Publishers (\$1.95). These are must reading, along with Williams' new book, for any young people of today who may have missed them. We'll be glad to take orders for them. NWR.

† *Journey into Revolution. Petrograd, 1917-18*, by Albert Rhys Williams. Foreword by Josephine Herbst. Edited by Lucita Williams. Quadrangle Books, 1969, 346 pp., \$8.95.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

ous articles about the Soviet Union, which he visited many times after the year 1917-18, Williams was working on this new book at the time of his death, wanting to bring to the new generation the blazing lessons of those times.

Our debt is great indeed to Lucita Williams, widow of the author and his literary executor, for the devotion and skill with which she saw this unfinished task through to its magnificent completion, sorting and coordinating her husband's masses of notes and documents and making several trips to the Soviet Union. And to Virginia Marberry, gifted journalist in her own right, who performed a miracle in recreating Williams' very spirit and style in completing the book.

It is not possible to cover in this article all the teeming events of the year and a half of Revolution Williams not only observed but shared.

Arriving in Russia in the spring of 1917, Williams spent the suspenseful months before the Revolution talking to the people in Petrograd (now Leningrad) and the provinces, seeing as it actually took place the tangible transition to power from the weak and vacillating successive provisional governments to the Soviets, and taking his stand, along with Reed (who joined him on September 1) with the revolutionary forces of the people.

A vivid and memorable picture of Lenin is interwoven in the fabric of the book. Lenin in hiding to avoid arrest, directing the revolutionary strategy of the Bolsheviks from behind the scenes, sensing the exact moment when the armed rising must come, winning over reluctant comrades, risking his life by slipping into Smolny the night before to make sure the insurrection would take place the next day. Lenin at the Second Congress of Soviets, the morning after the taking of the Winter Palace, uttering those simple, sublime words which marked the great historic turning point of these times:

"Comrades, we shall now proceed to take up the formation of the socialist state."

And doing so, with a series of decrees ending all exploitation of man by man, putting all means of production and natural wealth and land in the hands of the people, and the Decree of Peace as the first act of the Soviet Government in foreign policy. This decree called on all the belligerents of World War I to cease fighting and make a "just and democratic peace" with "no indemnities, no annexations." (A program Woodrow Wilson later incorporated in his fourteen points.) Williams emphasizes that while urging the immediate start of negotiations on the Soviet program, Lenin made clear that the Soviet Government was willing "to consider any peace terms

and all proposals," thus inaugurating the policy of peaceful coexistence that has ever since been the heart of Soviet foreign policy.

Williams gives a detailed account of how, not long after, Lenin literally saved the Revolution by insisting on the signing of the robber Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany, instead of fighting on, weaponless, as Trotsky wanted to do at a moment when defeat was sure, recklessly risking all the gains of the Revolution. He writes:

Today historians agree that Lenin's policy of peace now, peace while we build an army that can fight the imperialists, saved the Revolution. The narrow margin by which he won, by which his coldly realistic tactics finally prevailed against a policy that was overwhelmingly popular, forms one of the great dramas of history.

Watching Lenin at the herculean task of bringing order out of the incredible chaos inherited from the barbaric old regime, the inept and powerless Provisional Government and the years of world war, and keeping together the divided Bolsheviks to give direction in the struggle, Williams not only shows his greatness and genius as a revolutionary leader, but draws a most endearing picture of him as a human being. With numerous incidents he illustrates Lenin's modesty, simplicity, selflessness, honesty, his sensitivity and concern for the welfare of his comrades (and sometimes of his enemies, too), his attention to the small band of Americans of whom Williams was one, his endless capacity for listening and learning as well as teaching. Williams established a warm and intimate relation with him during frequent meetings. Lenin took time during his busiest hours to advise Williams about the best way to learn the Russian language, interpreted for him at meetings where they both spoke, even offered to instruct a small American group in the meaning of Marxism. "He was the least rigid, the most flexible of men when it came to tactics," "the most thoroughly civilized and humane man I have ever known, and, if politeness is consideration of others, the most polite"; these are typical comments.

Williams also describes Lenin's joyous temperament, his frequent laughter:

"His humor and happiness bubbled up at every opportunity, expressed in a hundred little ways, even in his walk, his way of devouring a newspaper with his eyes, or the voraciousness and exactness with which he tackled each new task."

In other words, Lenin loved his work.

All the glory and grandeur of the Revolution, of the great liberating forces set in motion in those days, shine through the pages of this book. Alongside of them are numerous sidelights found in no

ordinary history, instances of human ineptness, errors, failures in trying to accomplish what no men on earth had ever done before, with results sometimes humorous, often tragic.

Williams dwells especially on the lack of violence and killing in the early days of the Revolution, the restraint and mercifulness of the people's tribunals, under Lenin's instructions. How many lives were spared, how many pseudo-friends and real enemies were set free only to turn and take part in the counter-revolution! Lenin could be ruthless when the defense of the Revolution required it. But we must never forget, as Williams stressed, that "it was only after the White terror that the Red terror commenced."

The author describes how easily and quickly, with how little bloodshed, the feeble counterrevolutionary forces were put down in the early days of the Revolution. The victorious assault on the Winter Palace cost only six lives. Kerensky's ministers were arrested without resistance, and later freed, Kerensky himself having previously escaped ignominiously in women's clothes with the help of US Embassy friends. But Williams also shows the never-ending intrigues to overthrow the new socialist government carried on from the beginning by the reactionary US, British and other imperialist forces whose arming and financing of counterrevolutionary White generals led to the bloody civil war that came later, supported by the armed invasion of fourteen nations. It was not the setting up of the Soviet Government that caused bloodshed, but the attempts from outside to overthrow it.

In this special youth issue of *NEW WORLD REVIEW*, marking also the 52nd Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the importance of that event to the youth of America today must be stressed.

Williams, when he reported the Revolution and took part in it by writing propaganda urging German troops to revolt against the Kaiser and later helping to form an international detachment to help defend the young workers' state, was himself only 34 years old. John Reed when he arrived on the scene had just turned 30. The two women who shared many of their experiences, and wrote of them in articles and books of their own, were still younger: Louise Bryant, John Reed's wife, and correspondent Bessie Beatty.

Albert Rhys Williams and John Reed came back to America in 1918 to tell the truth about Soviet Russia, to agitate against the armed intervention, to urge recognition of the first socialist state. I was blessed to be among those on whom their golden words fell as they went around the country talking about Lenin and the Revolution and the dawn of socialism. Many thousands of young

Americans, workers, college students were influenced by their message to devote their lives to work for socialism and peace.

How good it would be if the stirring impact of the Russian Revolution on the youth of those days could be duplicated by the influence of knowledge of these events in a different historical period on the radical youth of America today, in relation to their own problems, which are still a part of the unfolding of the same historic process.

That the period of revolutionary ferment in the Soviet Union has now been succeeded by the period of the growth of a stable and mature socialist society, defended and built against incredible odds, spells the triumph of the Revolution and not its failure, as some of the Movement people in their opposition to anything "established" so mistakenly feel. Many new types of problems confront the first socialist state, which has never ceased to face and fight the murderous hostility of the world imperialist system headed by the United States. And the greatest problem of all, holding back the solution of many internal problems, as did World War II, is that of averting a new world war in this nuclear age. The Soviet Union today carries out its policy of peaceful coexistence while at the same time it is forced by the imperialist-initiated arms race to put much of its substance needed for other things into the building up of a mighty nuclear arsenal of its own, pending the time the United States comes to its senses and enters into meaningful disarmament talks.

Meantime, where would the socialist countries and the world liberation movements be today were it not for the stability and power of the Soviet Union?

Whatever the weaknesses and divisions of the socialist system of states, that system is the greatest force in the world in the fight against imperialism, in support of the world's working people and all liberation movements, and in ending forever colonialism in all its forms.

The socialist states of Eastern Europe owe their existence to the USSR. The Soviet Union helped bring about the great Chinese Revolution and sent tremendous aid for its socialist upbuilding until the tragic split—which must and will be healed—occurred. The Cuban revolutionary leaders acknowledge the immense debt of socialist Cuba to the USSR. And the glorious resistance of the Vietnamese people in both North and South has been immensely fortified by the massive aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries against US aggression, aid that next to their own matchless heroism and

unconquerable resistance has been the greatest factor in hastening the defeat of the invaders.

AS I HAVE said, Albert Rhys Williams kept his faith until the end and continued to fight for the truth that the socialist basis of the Soviet state was firm and indestructible. In one of the last articles he wrote for us, after the first Soviet cosmonaut soared into space (let us not forget it was the Soviets who pioneered in space exploration), he wrote these words which sum up the meaning of his own life and the purpose in writing this book:

"To live on in this exciting 'springtide of humanity,' and to note what further headway the Revolution is making toward that age-old dream of mankind—the conquest by man of space and his further journeying to the moon the planets and the stars!

"To live on and note his progress in that not less daring and difficult enterprise—the conquest of man by himself—his advance on the road toward that good society in which everyone will receive according to his needs, and from the Kingdom of Necessity pass into the Kingdom of Freedom."

ASTRONAUT BORMAN VISITS USSR

US ASTRONAUT FRANK BORMAN, one of the three spacemen to make the record-breaking 14-day space journey in Gemini 7 in December 1965, and the first space rendezvous, visited Moscow with his family in July this year. He was the guest of the Institute of Soviet-American Relations. Asked about his impressions by Novosti press agency, he said in part:

"During our stay in the Soviet Union I met not only with my space counterparts but also with scientists, public leaders, President Nikolay Podgorny and Soviet citizens. All these meetings convinced me that the Soviet people live by the same hopes that millions of Americans live by. They want peace, a better life, and happiness for their families and children. In this I see a basis for an optimistic future in relations between our countries.

"My main impression here is the warmth and cordiality of the Soviet people. In many places in the world our countries are confronting each other. All this could not but leave a certain imprint on our thinking. All the more unexpected and surprising were this friendliness, goodwill and cordiality.

"In my opinion space research for peaceful purposes is the field in which cooperation between our countries can be carried out most successfully. . . . I have said many times and want to repeat once again that our earth looks so small from the lunar orbit that it can easily be covered with a thumb nail. When I looked at our small blue planet, I fully realized how worthless are the prejudices of people in comparison with the need of preserving our earth and creating a better life for its inhabitants. Perhaps political leaders should be put into space?"

LEV ANNINSKY

Youth Onstage: New Forms In Soviet Theater

IN THE past five years we have seen the triumphant invasion of our stage by a new type of hero. The argumentative youth of today are the source of the intellectual pattern of current Soviet dramatic art, with their probing discussions about the "personality cult" and the atomic age, about physicists and lyricists, about cybernetics and society, falsehood and truth, the individual and society.

Ten years back we find less subtlety and more feeling in plays: the artless factory girl of playwright Alexander Volodin, the dangerous love of Nikolay Pogodin's elderly heroes, Victor Rozov's simple-hearted youths who are horrified by any kind of deception.

However, in order to understand the depth of present tensions, the philosophic and spiritual currents in contemporary plays, one must look back across fifty years to the beginnings of our present historical era.

Soviet art and literature took their beginnings from the Revolution. Events occurred for which neither words nor colors had yet been devised; conflicts arose for which no theatrical forms had yet been found. Everything was new, and first of all — Man.

Two geniuses of Russian literature stood at the source of the young Soviet drama. Maxim Gorky, with whom a thinking and acting proletarian masterfully burst into literature, introducing discussions of the meaning of life, the class struggle, the destiny of man — discussions that substantiated revolutionary action and merged with it; and Anton Chekhov, with his fine understanding of human psychology, his knowledge of everyday life, and his kindness and compassion for ordinary people.

But the new drama was most clearly outlined by the new realities: the slogans of the Civil War, the urgency of industrialization, the range of the five-year plans. The rhythm of the times penetrated into the theater, breaking up the old traditions, bringing new styles, new esthetics. Vladimir Mayakovsky, a poet who revolutionized Russian

LEV ANNINSKY is a well-known Soviet literary critic.

verse, wrote experimental plays in the twenties. Billboards announced the performance of new plays by Vladimir Bill-Belotserkovsky and Vsevolod Ivanov, Boris Lavrenev and Vsevolod Vishnevsky, plays that presented the epic sweep of revolutionary events, showing how the old reality and old psychology were crumbling.

In the twenties a second, a psychological trend, appeared in the Soviet drama. Social cataclysms were presented in the light of dramatic family conflicts in the plays of Konstantin Trenev and such plays as Mikhail Bulgakov's *Days of the Turbins*. In the thirties, and particularly just before the war, emphasis was placed on the psychological development of the ordinary person: thus Alexey Arbusov's *Irkutsk Story* and other plays, and Alexander Afinogenov's *Distant Point* acquired wide popularity. In this way the Chekhov traditions were revived and strengthened.

The war years that followed gave us the best plays of Leonid Leonov, Alexander Korneichuk, Konstantin Simonov, which largely dealt with stories of soldiers fighting against fascism.

Not much more than half a century ago Maxim Gorky wrote from Italy to one of his Russian correspondents: "In addition to the problems of working in the most difficult of arts — the drama — how is one to write dramatic plays in a country lacking strong natures, where man's nature is as hazy as a cloud on a windy day?"

Say what you will, this does not apply to Soviet plays today. The heroes of Soviet drama know just what they want, and they are capable of realizing their desires. Once having set themselves a goal, they move toward it unflinchingly. They do not fear their desires and these desires are fulfilled.

Our plays might be designated as dramas of realized desires, and this profoundly reflects the character of our time: our faith in reason that can transform nature and reconstruct the world.

At the turn of the sixties a new protagonist appeared in Soviet plays, with new problems and cares, new customs and a sharply critical view of life.

This hero was discovered by Victor Rozov, the father, as it were, of the new youth. At the close of the forties Rozov's plays, presented on the stage of juvenile theaters, excited hardly any comment. The maturing of Rozov's hero was a gradual process. In 1952 he uttered lofty words about truth and goodness in a hushed voice. In 1958 there were the same lofty words, but the hero had become more complex. In his confusion, the hero frequently sounded like the poet Yevtushenko declaiming at a huge poetry reading.

After a while the young hero became more restrained, more con-

fidest; he learned to talk without poetic emotionalism. Rozov saw in this hidden growth the features of the young generation that had not received the baptism of war in the front lines. For the time being this was enough. Taking a firm stand both on the stage and in life, Rozov's hero was gradually accepted — not without certain reservations — by theaters, critics and spectators. However, his limitations were in time disclosed.

Rozov senses the rhythm of everyday communication between people and things. That is why his plays are produced in the Stanislavsky manner. In his play *After the Wedding*, everything is being prepared for the ceremony: rugs swept clean, the shells of sunflower seeds decorously spit into saucers to keep the yard clean, good care is being taken of the wine bottles, and it is known just how much and what quality of meat is to be used for the cutlets. Just where the host scratched up enough money to prepare such a wedding for his daughter is the talk of the town.

But this is not merely the usual atmosphere of the domestic difficulties associated with weddings, of the long train of inevitable worries, of the patient work, money, and hopes such occasions represent. Here a scandal will break out on the day of the wedding. The lovely Klava will suddenly appear from nobody knows where, and Mikhail, the bridegroom, will suddenly understand that his old love has not died. At the same time Nyura, the bride, will also sense this, and it will become clear that this wedding is false, and that all the preparations were to no purpose, that there was no true feeling under all this bustle and fuss over material things.

Who is preparing the wedding? Who is making the most fuss? Who is most concerned about what the neighbors will think? Why, the bride's father, of course, the master of the house, Salov. (*Salov* means pork fat.)

You easily discern the relationship of this paterfamilias to other such fathers in the past, for whom a stuttering fiance was a "blemished article," for whom the main thing in a future wife was that she be "healthy and smooth," able to function in a stable, preordained way. But something has changed in Salov! While trying to serve his guests, piling up a Babylonian tower of dainties at the wedding feast, it is he who upsets this tower when he understands that a dishonest deal is being made. For Salov has an acute sense of happiness and sorrow — while his gloomy predecessors belted their refractory offspring to teach them obedience, Salov bustles around to make his children happy. He thus attracts our sympathy, and we are sorry for him just as we are sorry for Nyura and for Mikhail who had sincerely

believed that he was marrying for love until the other girl, his half-forgotten love, Klava, appeared.

Mikhail had indeed fallen in love with Nyura, but with a "friendly" love; he is sorry for her, he respects her. And if Klava had not appeared, the old, mad feeling would not have overwhelmed him, and he would have married Nyura and all his life he would have thought that everything was right and proper between them.

See how everything has become mixed-up — freedom and necessity, volition and compulsion! How motivations have changed! How complicated man has become! Formerly, Rozov pitted kindness against evil, freedom against stagnation. The evil ones, in their malice, ruined the lives of the good ones, the evil ones were guilty toward the kind ones.

And now? Who is guilty toward whom, when even in the heart of Nyura Salova love of Mikhail fights her desire to keep him; it is no flirtatious hussy who screams: "I'll raise the whole town!" This cry comes from Nyura, an unhappy, loving, horrified girl.

When Klavdia appears, it becomes clear that there was no real love between Mikhail and Nyura. What was it then? What is tormenting the bride? Fear of losing a husband? No, it is something else. Nyura had believed in her own happiness.

What about Mikhail? What is leading him to the registration office, holding him at Nyura's side? Is it fear of some sort of moral repression, or prudent calculation? His behavior, in fact, is dictated by compassion and sympathy. "Once you've given your word — keep it, and in particular in such matters. You're taking somebody else's life into your hands. Another person is trusting you with it, giving his consent."

And, why, finally, are they so afraid of breaking up the wedding? Scandal, gossip? "What will the town say?" Fear of the unwritten order of things?

No, it is not this they are afraid of. They are afraid of affronting the guests who have been anticipating the festivities, who have come to share their joy with them. "To whom are my obligations?" thinks Mikhail. "To all the people — that is to whom. To their expectations. To their good opinion. To their wishes for happiness."

The force and dramatic tension of the situation lies in the fact that Victor Rozov understands that the world is not made up of falsehood alone; it is simultaneously false and true. What truth does it reflect? The truth of people's everyday life. "This is life, this is what they call happiness and peace of mind . . ." It is superfluous, in Rozov's opinion, to ask the why and the wherefore of this life. It knows its own "whys and wherefores," it is above any meaning. And from the point of

view of this everyday happiness, contentment and human sympathy, the real love that tears everything up by the roots and breaks the heart is no truth at all; it is a mirage — “a mirage of the past, a ghost . . . a dream.” Knowing that this real world has its reasons, Rozov does not dare to challenge it with an ideal dream.

The heroes of the play return from the registry office, both of them pale and listless. The band strikes up a flourish, but your heart is heavy — a human being has been broken, brought down to his knees. How was this done? Not by blows or force, just by silent waiting, by a joint weakness, by anticipation of joy and goodness, quiet and peace of mind. A man sinks to his knees to the accompaniment of clinking wine glasses; he exchanges his freedom for happiness, for destiny.

At the last moment Rozov plays his final trump. What is it? True love. Love that cannot be explained nor measured, that is independent of everyday matters. Unearthly love, first love. In Rozov's plays first love never goes rusty, it is removed from everyday things. This water of life he keeps behind seven locks. He only uses it when all other possible arguments have seemingly been exhausted.

Nyura will glance into Mikhail's frozen eyes, and amidst shouts of “Bitter!”* she will suddenly snatch her wedding veil off her head. “I free you!” she will cry, her eyes dancing, throwing off the burden that has been weighing her down.

And the play ends immediately.

It is impossible to live freely for more than a second. In the following second necessities will appear. In the following second people will want happiness and contentment. And then a new mass of problems will arise.

VICTOR ROZOV's discovery of the young idealist who had not experienced the war marked the advent of a new youth. But then the new generation began to write about itself. First in poetry, then in prose. The first plays of Yuly Edlis appeared, followed by those of Georgi Polonsky and Oleg Stukalov. Later Vassily Aksionov's characters from his novel *Ticket to the Stars* appeared on the stage in their blue jeans and prospector's beards, with their fashionable disputes. A new type of play emerged — an argumentative play.

“We're terribly modern,” said Yuly Edlis's heroes of themselves.

What did they look like? “Black clothing, a short beard.” “A checkered shirt and sweater, casual.” “Trousers? Very narrow.” The girls —

* At Russian weddings the cry “Gorky, gorky!” (Bitter, bitter!), raised frequently by the guests, is the signal for bride and groom to kiss.

“stylish hairdo, bell shirt, spiked heels — ravishing.” Oh, yes — “modern slant of eyes . . .”

And how do they talk? Impressively. When they do talk — how manly their words! Their favorite subjects? Beethoven is all right, but Shostakovich isn't bad, is he? and Remarque? And Hemingway! What about Brazilian rhythms? The Blue Picassos! Modern architecture! And Xaviery Dunikovsky! Here is a short summary of one of them: “A Komsomol jazz wedding: Benny Goodman, Louis Armstrong, Michel Legrand, Count Basie, Eddie Rozner and us.”

And to top it all, these modern boys and girls love discussions about domestic and world politics. What talk! The ease with which these youngsters feed the audience gospel truths should convince us that they are authentically up-to-date, worthy of our time.

It is hard to check whether our heroes and heroines really do fit this claim, since the entire action of the play — here is where we return to the main point — develops in the sphere of pure reason. The prologue presents two mutually exclusive premises. He and She are on the stage. He is “sick and tired of accepting adults at face value,” and he “doesn't care a straw about their vetoes,” and the proper thing to do is “drink cognac,” “and dance! and kiss! and love!” She looks upon all this as “foppery” and holds that one should believe anyhow, and that the best thing to do is for the whole graduating class to go to Siberia and work at a construction project. Then He gets himself a job playing in a restaurant jazz orchestra (right side of stage). She leaves for the construction site (left side of stage). I do not know whether this was intended as symbolism, but if so it was to no purpose: to the spectator out in front right is left, and left is right anyhow. The play is enacted around the rejection of the first premise — He decides to go out to where She is.

However, you would be mistaken if you supposed that all this leads to traditional moralistic conclusions concerning the balefulness of restaurant pals, and the radiance of the constructors of the new. Mikhail Shatrov wants to write in a “modern” manner. He cares for construction workers because they combat hardships; he cares for jazz players because they respect Xaviery Dunikovsky and Benny Goodman. These “social” scenes have no connection with the plot of the play. The unfolding of the action is purely conjectural: the hero is visited by “heralds,” “story tellers,” “witnesses.” One shows off his cynicism, at the same time revealing his capability of betraying a woman. Another tells how he suffered during the period of the personality cult, but did not lose faith. A third, having heard out everything his opponents have to say, strikes his forehead and admits that he was

mistaken. However, there is no need to follow all the discussions modern youth engage in. Whatever they talk about, the outcome is predetermined, and the discussions carry too much resemblance to the scholastic arguments of medieval monks, the difference, of course, being the subject — the monks argued about how many angels could stand on the head of a pin, while modern youth conjectured about the possibility of building communism in one isolated polar station. The only thing that is interesting about these arguments is their vivid demonstration of the fact that the inner world of the individual is immeasurably more intricate than these word battles would indicate.

Naturally, Mikhail Shatrov must not be judged by his *Modern Boys* alone, but by his other plays too: *Gleb Kosmachov*, *The Sixth of July*, and more than anything else, perhaps, by the excellent play *The Brest Peace Treaty*. However, even if *Modern Boys* was not the best of his plays, it was unquestionably the most vivid example of the disputes that reigned in playwriting at the beginning of the current decade. For a number of years this youthful spontaneity embodied the "new trends." When Vassily Aksionov tried his talents as a playwright, he wrote *Always on Sale*, a paradoxical, semi-fantastic play, based on an absolutely abstract discussion of whether it pays to be kindhearted, humane, honest — positively in the spirit of the ultra-intellectual disputes of Yuly Edlis and Mikhail Shatrov.

However, sooner or later the emotional, abstract, talkative plays had to break out of their youthful shallowness and come face to face with the real emotional depth of individuals. This deepening is demonstrated in the work of Edvard Radzinsky, author of a play that was a hit in 1962: *You're Twenty-two, Old Men*. This first play was acknowledged merely as the latest version of the "confession" of a young wag who wants to argue himself into his right to exist. But Radzinsky's second play was a real event in Soviet dramatic art. It appeared almost at the same time as Victor Rozov's *The Wedding Day*, and both these plays became centers of literary criticism.

In *104 Pages about Love* Radzinsky has eliminated all superfluous personages. He has eliminated anything that might accidentally interfere with the course of true love between Natasha and Yevdokimov. Stage director Anatoly Efros took everything superfluous off the stage. He left a minimum of things, and this minimum is fixed: the settings do not change.

The lighting effects are softly varied throughout the performance — the outline of distant light on the horizon, the pattern of distant stars in the sky. The color of the air is what undergoes constant change. The atmosphere of love changes, pulsates, vibrates.

But nothing stands in their way! No domestic or other circumstances, there are only the two of them, and they love each other. There are no obstacles.

The obstacle is in themselves. There is some inner urge that interferes. Radzinsky reveals the tragic aspect of love itself, an aspect unknown to him before. He experiments: love is patiently obvious, clearly outlined. Here we might recall the famous picture of Flaubert poring over the heart of Madame Bovary held in his hand.

The experiment of Radzinsky is a study of this magic substance: Radzinsky doesn't know what will happen, the result is yet to astound him. The author is emphatically objective in his attitude — this is a new Radzinsky, not the one who argued in his playwriting debut that his young gaudily-attired, glib-tongued protagonists were real, businesslike people; the very title of that play, *You're Twenty-two, Old Men!* was fierce propaganda of this idea.

But *104 Pages about Love* is pointedly unobtrusive: there is neutrality even in its title. The physicist Yevdokimov is the dynamic, imperturbable, gifted protagonist, happy in the good progress he is making. Why does it seem to us that Yevdokimov is all wrong? Let us recall how the critics followed Natasha's lead, crying: "Egotist! Superman! No compassion for people!"

Egotist! But he wants with all his heart to offer his talents, his energy, to people. "Success above all, not for myself!" is his conviction.

Superman? But it is not for nothing that the following words escape him: "Real people — they are ashamed of all tenderness, because at the bottom of your soul tenderness is too defenseless to be spoken of to everyone or anyone."

No compassion for people? And this of Yevdokimov, whose heart is torn throughout the entire performance with love for Natasha, the airline hostess with the "horrible vocabulary," the "charming woman" with "impossible hair," with her Aeroflot slang.

Definitions in the utterances of critics sound like accusations. But where do these definitions spring from? It is Natasha who calls him an egotist, a superman, pitiless. And she loves him! The author also loves his Yevdokimov. Next to Yevdokimov there stands, in the capacity of a lightning rod, the ironical figure of the girl physicist, Ostretsova, whose entire life is permeated with "reason," who eats and drinks in order to do her work, or perhaps to play chess; in short, to gain some objective. But Yevdokimov is not Ostretsova; he is natural, and his strictness, his rigidity, are no departure from human emotions. They are merely a form of manifesting human feelings: freedom and dynamism, volition and courage.

Formerly Radzinsky held that principles were happiness, while convictions could take the place of compassion, but now he understands that both freedom and happiness are built of one and the same human stuff, that human beings cannot be wedged into this or that scheme; man is too complicated for either a touchingly sentimental or a fanatically rigid model.

Yevdokimov is in love. And he fights against his love. Rather, he fights the principle of self-surrender, trust, and the complete comprehension he is not able to separate from love. He is furious with the weakness of the human spirit in love. And there is a certain symbolism in the fact that Natasha meets her former sweetheart, Yevdokimov's friend Felix, a handsome weakling, a failure in anything he undertakes, always whining and ready to accept pity. Edvard Radzinsky has a remarkable sense for names: Yevdokimov's first name is Electron (he was born in the thirties, when his parents were "hard up for humor"). Felix means happiness in Latin; the name Natalia comes from the words "natal" or "native." And so here you have Electron Yevdokimov fighting against his love, for Natasha's love is faintly tainted with the odor of Felix's weakness.

But the greatest tragedy is taking place in Natasha's heart. This heart has been freed of all its covers, and we actually see its pulsations.

"You like me."

"No . . . Well, I do . . . So what?"

"No . . . That is, yes . . ." From their very first talk in the cafe everything that takes place in Natasha's heart follows this paradoxical scheme: "No . . . That is, yes . . ." Through this brittle resistance we glimpse the tragedy of loss of self. She adjures herself not to surrender to love — and calmly surrenders. She exclaims: "No!" and this negation covers her entreaty that he make her utter the "Yes" she wants. And, imploring herself: "Be firm! Be firm!" she invokes her freedom, all the while damning both firmness and freedom, in fright that her craving for happiness is stronger than her wish for freedom.

There is a certain inner logic in Natasha's whimsical behavior. In the fact that having fallen in love with Yevdokimov she runs away from Yevdokimov. In the fact that having been turned away by Yevdokimov, humiliated by him, she runs to him again and is ready to forgive him. There is an invisible logic in all this: "The most difficult thing is to live without an idol." Without an idol—that means without God, without inspiration. The girl from Aeroflot has lost her heart to "an inspired comrade." She expresses her thoughts as best she can, but we feel that this is the very point at which love discloses the initial integrity of a personality. This is a moment of infinite soaring. The moment

passes. And what happens? "It's getting more and more difficult. What do you need me for? You are strong enough yourself."

To her, love is everything, her entire life. She submerges herself completely in love. What can quench this thirst for love? An answering love, an answering love equally submissive.

Felix, perhaps, would be capable of such emotions—soulful-eyed triflers frequently turn into fine paterfamilias. But she loves Yevdokimov! How stale is Felix in comparison! For the very reason that Yevdokimov is above her, stronger, less accessible, her love for him lends reason and dignity to Natasha's life. "I want respect," she whispers, "and I'm not worthy of it, really." What respect are you talking about—you are loved! The respect that is exalted, that is higher than love, the respect that makes man master of the world of electrons and stars.

Natasha is both "happy and unhappy." She is happy because Yevdokimov is worthy of love. And unhappy because something in him is independent of her love. The circle closes: this excruciating independence is the thing that makes him worthy of love!

"I'll go away. Just get up and go." Every time she wants to leave him it is in order to save her dignity. And every time leaving means to destroy, to betray her dignity. Natasha struggles desperately, she is giving herself up, bit by bit. Slowly she pays for her happiness with her pride. If he is to be trusted—there are no other ways to happiness. She is afraid to believe, because something independent of her love will always remain in him, a remnant of his freedom; while she, having given her love, gives all of herself with it.

But it is also impossible for her not to believe: she has come into life to place her trust in somebody. She has come into the play as the personification of the happiness that comes along in life "just by itself."

However, what happens of itself in life is the subject of the author's painful meditation. He has given to an earthly woman the attributes of an unearthly, merciless inner vision, so that she is unable to take a step toward her own happiness without seeing how she gives herself, humbles herself, losing her dignity and freedom. Philosophically, life is a process of dying, and happiness is always attained "at the price of loss," as in the novels of Graham Greene. But it is better for a normal, earthly person not to know this—he will not be able to endure this knowledge, he will not find happiness. "Don't think too much—it'll kill you," is Radzinsky's warning to his heroine. But she meditates, since her author meditates. Of what? Love, she thinks, as life itself, is a continuous submission of one's self. Such

reflections are suicidal. Perhaps that is why we anticipate Natasha's suicide throughout the play, for in her very happiness lies her unhappiness; she sees happiness as a betrayal of respect. Or rather, she herself is happy, but contemplation of this happiness makes the author unhappy. He poisons his heroine with freedom, he conducts his experiment, putting Hamlet's burden on her back. But Natasha is not strong enough to commit suicide, she is too normal and lively a girl. She tears herself out of the experiment, forgets her "firmness" and rushes to this monster Yevdokimov, and forgives him everything!

But Edvard Radzinsky could not stand the sight of this spectacle. So he burns up Natasha Alexandrova in the plane of which she is stewardess five minutes before her happiness is completed.

There were many puzzled questions in the discussion that raged around this play of Edvard Radzinsky: Natasha perishes so suddenly! The critics did not like this death of the heroine. Although some people thought it was all for the best: at last Yevdokimov has been shaken out of his self-confidence and cruelty! Perhaps he will be more compassionate in the future.

The critics who liked the play said approximately the following: at last the soft and kindhearted Natasha has ennobled this fanatic Yevdokimov! The ones who didn't like the play said: a pity, she didn't succeed in ennobling him; Turgenev's Lisa in her place would have ennobled the fellow! Both appraisals are based on the same sensation: a weary longing for proportion, order, peace, and happiness.

But Edvard Radzinsky knows something above this longing. He did not write his play with the idea of resolving it by the magic of love or through the device of lies. He examined the magic of love with the ruthlessness of an analyst. And he saw the truth.

Edvard Radzinsky's play is an example of how the earlier argumentative plays developed into the projection of authentic personalities. Former illusions crumble under the weight of real dramatic tension in *104 Pages about Love*; youthful moods that seemed so wonderful are dispelled. Life turns out to be more serious, more dramatic, even tragic, than he had supposed. And this is not due to external obstacles! The richest dramatic qualities prove to be internal and unavoidable. And these qualities contain the real beauty of human existence.

AN IMPORTANT aspect in the development of dramatic art in the Soviet Union since the October Revolution of 1917, has been the concern of many playwrights with the image of Lenin. In connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Revolution in 1967, and the approaching Lenin Centenary, in April 1970, a number of new plays

about Lenin have been appearing on the Soviet stage, and others are in preparation.

The latest plays on Lenin are *The Sixth of July*, by Mikhail Shatrov, *Between Rains*, by Alexander Shtein and *The Third Pathétique* by Nikolai Pogodin. What is there in common among these works? To attempt to reveal the image of the leader in the mobile, fluctuating unity of the many aspects of his personality; to merge into a single image the features of a statesman, leader, thinker, and man.

Mikhail Shatrov presents us with an "experiment in documentary drama." He reconstructs one day in the life of Lenin, the 6th of July, 1918, basing himself on documents, stenograms, precise notes. This is the day of the revolt of the Social Revolutionaries. We first see Lenin speaking at the 50th Congress of Soviets, opposing the representatives of the S. R. party. Immediately afterward we see Lenin in the German Embassy, forced to offer his condolences for the assassination of the German Ambassador Mirbach by the S.R.'s.

The dramatic point of this tense activity, shown in the sharp changes of contradictory circumstances, is that there are no ready-made solutions. Lenin takes decisions here and now: we as spectators observe the development of the decisions, the inner logic of the action.

Alexander Shtein, author of *Between Rains*, leaves Lenin alone on stage. Mikhail Shatrov had a massive collection of documents confirming the events he depicts. But Alexander Shtein operates with solitary meditation. The great inner monologue of Lenin: doubts, questing, balancing various possible decisions, then the decision. The idea of the New Economic Policy (NEP) is conceived right before our eyes. Again, we observe the process of decision-making. Alexander Shtein told journalists that he had "tried to write a psychological play, almost a chamber play, although its plot centers around important historical events." The word "chamber" is more than controversial in the given context. But the enthusiasm is indisputable: to reveal the image of the leader at a complicated moment of making a decision, thus revealing from inside the personality of the man.

Nikolay Pogodin has his own approach to the same task. *The Third Pathétique* crowns his Lenin trilogy, commenced three decades ago with *The Man with a Rifle*, and later continued with *The Kremlin Chimes*. In this third play Pogodin depicts Lenin during his last days, shows him meditating over the significance of the work to which he has dedicated his life. The playwright strives to bring the image of Lenin to fulfillment, to unfold the humanistic aspect of his nature, the inner purpose of his life. While the first part of the trilogy brimmed with the dynamics of the revolutionary act that had torn

up the old world, and the second was permeated with the enthusiasm of the construction of a new society, the third part identifies the activities of the leader with universal humanist principles. It is a depiction of the quest for the sum total of life, reflecting the very essence of being, of personality, and of the individual's relation to the world.

In unfolding the Lenin theme Soviet dramatic art displays its basic qualities of striving to disclose the humanist idea behind the action of the hero, the organic unity of his personality and his deeds.

This same search is to be found as well in the plays of the sixties just discussed. The Lenin theme is of course a special one, but our dramatists persist in the conception of an integrated personality whose contradictions move toward the ultimate goal of harmony. But new difficulties increasingly appear in the search because man's complexity constantly grows.

Written for New World Review, through the courtesy of Novosti Press Agency, who also provided the translation.

ROBERT DAGLISH

A Moscow Diary of Stage and Screen: Some New Happenings

The preceding article by Lev Anninsky carried the story of recent developments in Soviet drama up to 1967, the Fiftieth Anniversary year. The following article by Robert Daghish, writer, critic and translator, long resident in Moscow, who also plays English and American characters in Soviet films, has some additional interesting comments. The article was written at the beginning of the 1969 theater season, so it does not cover the latest plays. It is reprinted from the January 1969 Anglo-Soviet Journal, organ of the British Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR.

JUST HOW unexpected the situation here in the arts can be at times is illustrated by the following example.

Last week I went with two Russians to an out-of-the-way factory club to see a film we had wanted to see so long and had begun to think had been withdrawn. It was said to be a study in depth of the contemporary scene like *July Rain* and *I Am Twenty*.

We were not disappointed, although the starkness of the portrayal

did give us a jolt, as, no doubt, it was meant to. *Three Days of Victor Chernyshev* (script, E. Grigoryev; direction, M. Osepyan) has at least a formal resemblance to *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*. The morning before the weekend begins like most other mornings. The silent munching in the kitchen is broken only by someone's remark, "Did you hear the price of beer was coming down?" No one bothers to reply except with a shake of the head. Then comes the clang and clatter of the machine shop with Victor more or less contentedly turning out one shiny piston after another until he is interrupted by a meeting called to discipline one of the foremen who has insulted a girl worker. At the meeting the unrepentant foreman harangues youth in general and particularly the "pampered young kids who come here knowing nothing about the job." The trade union committee tries to elicit some response from the meeting. Doesn't anyone want to speak? No one does.

Victor spends Saturday afternoon at the cycle stadium after being told off by a visiting relative for not remembering his father. But he simply isn't old enough to remember anyone who was killed in the war. Drinking a solitary beer in the stadium cafe, he overhears a touching conversation between son and well-heeled father, who now lives with another woman. "Yes, I'm glad you still trust me, my boy. It's a good decision to get married and here's the five hundred rubles you need to tide you over." When Dad has gone, Victor learns over another beer that the marriage tale is just a fake and the five hundred rubles is needed for a motor scooter.

Victor tags along with new friend for an evening of fast music and girls, but somehow the extorted five hundred rubles sticks in his throat. "Give your father back his cash," he says, "We can do without that." And to his friend's question about the girls, "Didn't you do anything with yours? That's what they're for," he replies, "Some people think it depends on which girl."

The next day there is a factory potato-picking trip to the country. The sweet pull of Mother Earth, helped by a few glasses of vodka and the old folks' reminiscences, puts Victor in a lyrical frame of mind. But straight off the lorry on his return to town he runs into his street pals. They all feel an urgent need to "top up" and try to jump the queue in the shop. But for once—and how one feels the "onceness" of it—someone protests. They corner him, a thin, nervous middle-aged man, in a dark street, pin him terrified against a wall—then let him go with a caution. But after a few paces he turns and rushes them with almost a scream. "You're like fascists! I killed thugs like you in the war!" Punishment is administered savagely by the masters of

the street, until a passing worker and then the police intervene.

After interrogation at the station by a monosyllabic but somehow understanding sergeant, cleverly filmed so that Victor and the boy who intervened give almost the same answers to the same questions, Victor has to face his mother's tears and reproaches, the contempt of a medical student friend, who through the film has given us occasional glimpses of a more purposeful life, and by that time the next working week is round again.

"Well, there you are, that's what it's like for a lot of young workers," said one of us as we walked home.

"Not surprising it's not being shown around much, is it?"

"But surely the fact that it was made at all is a hopeful sign?"

"Oh, the critics will just say it's a slander on our forward-marching youth."

"Pity your daughter couldn't come along. I should have liked to hear what she thought of it."

"The odd thing is, she says she saw it on television."

"Never! That would mean showing it to millions!"

"She says she did. Thought it didn't add up to much."

This week we learned from *Literaturnaya Gazeta* that, although one well-know critic *had* said it was a slander on Soviet youth, the Central Committee of the Komsomol had awarded *Three Days of Victor Chernyshev* a prize for the best film of the year about young people.

TWO OR THREE times a month the Moscow Writers' Club opens its doors to the general public for evenings devoted to the work of some important living writer. Although members have been heard to remark that this is making their haunt not a writers' but a readers' club, one hopes that such evenings will continue. Last Sunday's performance devoted to the popular dramatist Victor Rozov was particularly impressive.

Except for parts of a new play which Rozov read to us himself, I had seen nearly everything that was presented to us in four hours of stage and screen excerpts but, although some of them went back a good ten years, nothing seemed in retrospect to have dated or lost its present-day poignancy. The "seeing-off" in *The Cranes Are Flying* remains one of the best crowd scenes in any war film. And the volatile protest by young Oleg in *A Noisy Day*, in which, driven to desperation by his house-proud sister-in-law, he starts lashing out at her new furniture with his father's cavalry sabre, we still have a salutary effect on more and more families, nowadays busily furnishing their new flats.

Both these films were originally plays and Rozov is the acknowl-

edged leader of a new realist trend that grew up in the theater in the second half of the fifties. Some visiting Western critics, who probably know Rozov's work only through interpreters, tend to regard him as a "problem-play" writer. The Soviet critic who talked to us last Sunday got nearer the mark when she called his plays "meditations." Whether one has laughed, wept or struggled with intellectual doubts during the play, the final curtain always leaves one with the feeling of having meditated far more deeply than usual about one's own way of life. The difficulty about translating and staging Rozov's plays abroad, however, is that these meditations and particularly the strands of humor that run through them, are so closely interwoven with Soviet problems. A Western producer, for instance, might see *The Amusements Organizer* as entirely concerned with the old NKVD terror, while the Soviet producer can and does convince his audience that the play is equally, if not more, about loyalty and treachery among friends. In its natural setting the eternal, human theme comes out much stronger than the passing, circumstantial one. Luckily, the directors and actors who have made films from Rozov's plays have realized this and their work has a universal appeal.

Rozov was in fine form last Sunday, when he limped on to the stage (it was a leg wound in the war that precipitated his development from actor to dramatist) and read to us from his latest manuscript, *The Running Track*. It is set in a successful but now fading writer's flat in a skyscraper overlooking the Moscow Zoo, and the sounds of the animals awakening or crying in the night are used with subtle symbolic effects. The writer's son, who has a room in his father's flat, is a sports trainer. His wife has left him and is now married to a Soviet diplomat serving abroad. The writer's son has a son of his own living with him and the main conflict in the excerpt we heard appeared to be between the mother's distant but still powerful influence (she wants him to go and spend a year with her when she and her husband are transferred to London) and the influence of his father with his mystique of sports and sportsmen.

Though he worked in a new age and on new material, Rozov is essentially Chekhovian in outlook and there are few Soviet writers today who follow more successfully the master's advice: "Show people themselves as they are and they will become better than they are."

AS MOSCOW *Evening News* puts it, the foreign plays repertoire tends to establish itself in waves. After a wave of Brecht, there is now a wave of Jean Anouilh, seven of whose plays are on in Moscow at present, including *Le Voyageur sans Bagage* at the Maly Theater

and *The Ex-Convict* at the Arts. But so far I have spotted only one remarkable new Soviet play. The mysteriously titled *Depart to Stay*, by Shtemmler, is staged at the Theater of Drama, which caused such a stir last season with its new production of *The Three Sisters*, now apparently no longer in the repertoire.

Out of a somewhat well-worn theme, the takeover of an unknown man's research by a well-established scientist, Shtemmler builds a formidable artistic plea for the scientist's right to work not like a cog in a machine or an adjunct of a computer, but as a human being, guided by his own sacred human inspiration, and his own conceptions of what is and what is not perfect. "You say you took over my work because I was going too slow, not keeping up with the plan. You say you did it for the sake of the cause, the ultimate goal. But what are you going to do when the goal is achieved and there are no people left?" he shouts at his opponent, while the younger men and women of the laboratory, who have unwittingly betrayed him, stand around overawed, for once, by this war to the knife between their seniors. And yet it is by no means a grim, didactic play. The young scientist's humor is never far from the surface and the whole production scintillates with poetic interludes and a special modern touch for which this theater has lately become famous.

MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL DANCE FESTIVAL

THIS SUMMER IN JUNE some 100 young dancers (the oldest was 28) from 19 countries participated in the first Moscow International Ballet Competition held at the Bolshoy Theater before an international audience and jury. The impressive panel of judges, head by Ulanova, included Plisetskaya, Alicia Alonso from Cuba and Agnes de Mille from the United States.

The only "Amerikansky" with a national reputation competing was Helgi Tomasson, native of Iceland, now a principal dancer with the Harkness Ballet. He won a second prize. In a recent interview (*Washington Post*, September 13) he remarked that he found an awesome array of talent. "I'd say 80 per cent were truly fantastic. I was tremendously honored to win a silver medal." Another young American, Eva Evdokima, received a "consolation prize."

This competition, offering a unique opportunity to aspiring young dancers, was unfortunately not well publicized in the United States. These events will take place every four years and should equal in popularity the regular Tchaikovsky piano competitions in Moscow. It will be remembered that it was winning the 1958 contest that started Van Cliburn on his road to fame.

In July 1970 the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Musical Education for Children and Youth will be held in Moscow.

PAT SLOAN

Sex, Morals, Family: A Look at Soviet Experience

IT IS RATHER surprising, at a time when one of the current boasts of the West, and especially Britain, is the fashion for sexual "freedom" and "permissiveness," that no more attention has been paid to the brief history of "permissiveness" in the Soviet Union. For it has had a history, and from that history there may be something for us to learn, as there has been from so many different facets of Soviet development.

The technological advances of the USSR now receive full recognition here, not only from the devotees of socialism. The development of education in the USSR has received much attention, and no doubt has played a major part ("We must keep up with the Russians") in stimulating the mushroom growth of new universities and technical colleges in countries of the West in the past 20 years. The raising of Soviet living standards has come to be recognized, even if grudgingly, and the rate of rehousing the population has been recognized. The atmosphere of Soviet industry, the role of the trade unions, the 41-hour five-day week, paid holidays of at least three weeks, care for expectant mothers, the network of creches and kindergartens—these have all received mention and have been discussed.

But beyond all this, and such cultural manifestations as music and ballet, cinema and theater, libraries and books, extraordinarily little has been said about one of the basic and increasingly important aspects of Soviet life: morality. Not only in circles hostile to the USSR, but among friends also, very little has been said. This is peculiar in view of the present situation in the West, when old values are being challenged and permissiveness proclaimed as the rightful successor to Puritanism and Victorianism. This is not to say, of course, that permissiveness is without its opponents.

For these reasons a brief survey of the development of Soviet ethical ideas is important. And while, in the West, there is a gross overestimation of the importance of sex in considering moral questions,

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we should still include in our purview, in its own right, the subject of sexual morality and marriage in the USSR.

In the West, it is hard to treat morals and sex apart, but in the USSR it is still possible to write of morals without mentioning sex or marriage at all. Traditionally, "Christian" morality was given a certain direction by St. Paul ("It is better to marry than to burn"). This focussed attention on marriage rather than burning as the main issue. It deflected attention from that other issue, "hold all things in common," important in The Acts, namely that aspect of morality that is concerned with property relations. If we say, as a broad generalization, that Pauline Christianity turned morality into concentration on sex while soft-pedaling all that might be offensive to the rich; and that Marxism in the USSR at first focussed attention on the immorality of property relations based on exploitation while almost ignoring its "private life" aspects, we reach a first approximation to the situation as it stood after 1917. Today, as we see in Britain, we may say that the Pauline concepts have withered away, with nothing coherent to take their place, hence permissiveness in all things. In the USSR, since 1961, we may say that while the stress on property relations continues as the basis for the morality of society, increasing attention is being paid to the humanistic aspects. Thus personal morality, of man in relation to man (and woman), is acquiring increasing emphasis.

The two major landmarks in this development have, alas, been indeed ignored in the West. The first of these landmarks was the inclusion in 1961, of a "Communist Moral Code" as an integral part of the new Program of the Soviet Communist Party. The second was the adoption last year by the Supreme Soviet of new Basic Principles of Marriage and the Family. The latter followed logically from the former, and the two together may be taken as a synthesis, after 50-odd years, on a Marxist humanist basis, of Soviet experience in the realm of morals and marriage.

In these fifty years, the USSR has passed through several phases. The first phase, following immediately on the October Revolution, was mainly concerned with revolutionizing property relations, and, in the field of sex, substituting equality for the subjection of women.

In the field of property, public ownership was substituted for private, the earning of income from work was encouraged while "unearned" incomes from property were increasingly made impossible. In the penal system, the aim of reform was substituted for punishment, the type of reform being closely linked with the idea of training and development through constructive labor. Equal pay for equal work and the provision of maternity rights and privileges, nursery schools and

kindergartens, all aimed at introducing real equality of the sexes. As far as sexual relations were concerned, permissiveness was maximized. To enable women to decide whether to bear additional children or not, abortion was made legal in state hospitals, though strictly illegal outside. This measure, which then shocked the Western world, has of course spread since to many non-socialist countries. Illegitimacy was abolished, financial responsibility for children was placed on *de facto* parents (married or not), legal prohibition of homosexuality was abolished, and marriage and divorce were made matters of civil registration (though church marriages were permitted as a private matter). At this stage divorce was so easy that either partner could cast away the other without the latter's being informed until afterwards.

So much for the "ending of bourgeois morality." But unevenness was inevitable; towns changed more rapidly than villages, and the traditional Muslim regions have taken a long time to catch up with the former Christian regions of Russia in accepting new attitudes to sex and marriage (even since 1945 there have been reports in Soviet papers of cases of forced marriage in Central Asia).

For about 15 years the USSR had the reputation of being the world's most permissive country in sexual matters. In other fields, property relations and the treatment of crime, it proceeded to restore the economy ruined by war and intervention, to gather in homeless and vagrant children and to educate them for socialist citizenship in communes patterned on the theory and practice of Anton Makarenko (still regarded as the "patron saint" of Soviet educational method), and to treat crime by reeducation in habits of constructive labor.

But from 1928 on, after the First Five-Year Plan was initiated, during the Stalin period, all this changed. As planning became more comprehensive, the aim of plan fulfillment became the main point of concentration. As far as personal ethics were concerned, constructive work for the community was rated as more important than personal attitudes toward fellow man. And many manifestations of this occurred in former years which have since been rejected as deviations from the normal development of socialism.

From the permissiveness of the first 15 years, marriage and divorce laws were tightened up, so that divorce was made progressively more difficult. Abortion was again made illegal. Homosexuality was again outlawed (a decision apparently never since revoked). Beside the rigidity of the Stalin period, we must also remember the terrible dislocations and disruptions of family life which took place in the war years, inevitably involving extraordinary measures to preserve the family, and hampering social progress.

As to illegitimacy, abolished in 1917, there was no official restoration of it as such but only birth certificates of those born in registered marriages were privileged by having the name of a father inscribed on them. This distinction in birth certificate existed from the late 1930's to the recent new Principles of last year, which, after much public discussion, again removed the discrimination. The Order of Heroine of Motherhood was created for mothers of large families (no discrimination here as to whether a marriage was registered or not), and allowances were paid to mothers of large families, on the same basis.

In the postwar period, one of the most important changes was regarding paternity. Up to then, unmarried mothers could sue fathers for maintenance, and heavy sums had to be paid (one-third of earnings for one child, etc.) by fathers who were caught. Many fathers were not caught or "disappeared." In the post war confusion, the tracing of fathers became almost impossible. The law was altered, a modest provision was made of state allowances for all fatherless children (unmarried mother or widow benefiting equally), and all such mothers were given the right to put their children in state childrens' homes (or remove them at will) if the burden was too great for them at home.

Then came the death of Stalin. There followed a period of reassessment which is still not concluded. It was expected in 1956 that such a period might last ten years. In fact it is still going on. The rethinking of every problem in the light of Lenin's development of Marxism, and the corresponding correction of what are now considered past errors, are involved in a process to which no time limit may be set. And part of this process has been a realization that, while permissiveness may have marked the end of traditional "Christian bourgeois morality," and intense discipline may have characterized the Stalin cult, Communism must no longer place man's subordination to the Plan above the Plan's purpose of serving man. For women, the right to abortion was restored; and discussions began that led to reform in marriage and family relations.

IN THE NEW Party Program, adopted in 1961, the basis of behavior in Communist society was set down for the first time as a complete "Moral Code." The Code gave full recognition to the needs of society as the framework within which individual morality was to develop: "conscientious labor for the good of society—he who does not work neither shall he eat"; "a high sense of public duty"; "friendship and brotherhood among all peoples; intolerance of national and racial hatred; an uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism; peace and freedom of nations."

These social aims are clearly stated. And social methods of attaining them in "collectivism and comradely mutual assistance: one for all and all for one; humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother." As to marriage and the family, only this is said: "mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children."

Within this framework personal behavior should embrace "honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, and unpretentiousness in social and private life."

WORDS, merely words, it could be said. But so too are "love thy neighbor" merely words, yet they have been accepted as a way of life in theory by those who profess to be Christians for some 2,000 years. But theory and practice may not coincide, it also may be said, as in the case of Christianity. This too is true. But there is a difference.

Two thousand years ago Christianity reaffirmed such already existing maxims as "love thy neighbor," "go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," while leaving the social framework untouched ("render unto Caesar . . .").

Today the Communist Moral Code of the USSR makes quite specific the collectivist nature of the social framework, the common social tasks, the method of tackling them by mutual assistance, and then, against such a background, requires ethical behavior on the part of the individual. Here, a complete fulfillment of the code means a development, simultaneously, of society and of its individual members. In contrast to this, Dr. John Robinson stated when still Bishop of Woolwich (*Christian Morals Today*, p. 29): "The moral teaching of Jesus . . . is entirely inadequate . . . as a code. It says nothing whatever, for instance, about how man is . . . to be a good citizen and a positive and useful member of society." He then goes on to stress that moral decisions are "inextricably moral and social" (*ibid.*, p. 35). If, from this, he had proceeded to recommend a reading of the Soviet Moral Code as an outstanding contemporary example of a code "inextricably" linking the moral and the social his image would have emerged as considerably more clear-sighted than it in fact did.

If the Moral Code in the USSR were simply a form of words, with no attempt to carry it into life, we might, again, hesitate. But in fact, since 1961, the Moral Code has penetrated the Soviet educational system, a greater stimulus to ethical behavior than any amount of so-called "Religious Instruction."

In Soviet factories, in the early 1960's, quotations from the Moral Code were to be seen on walls (as Gospel texts used to adorn parlor

and bedroom walls in the days of England's Victorian grandparents). In the formation of "Young Communist Brigades" in factories, not only contributions to good work are undertaken, but fulfillment, in personal life, of the terms of the Moral Code.

In the USA or Western Europe today, asked to sum up what it means to live a moral life, people may give a thousand different answers. What indeed, in our society, is it? But in the USSR there exists a Moral Code which, even though by no means everybody lives up to it, provides for the coexistence of individuals within, and with, a morally developing society.

We cannot be certain. We cannot forecast definitely. But the chances are that in 2000 years the Moral Code of 1961 of the USSR will have proved to have had far closer links with real life than that Christian code, such as it was, propounded 2000 years earlier. Not, in this latter case, that it was bad, but that it was incomplete and provided no guidance at all for the dynamics of social development.

WHILE the Moral Code of the USSR outlines the social framework as well as the responsibilities of the individuals within it, the aspect of morality which has monopolized most of the stage for years in the West, sexual morality, is accorded only the above quoted references to "moral purity," "mutual respect" and "care for children." But some time after the Moral Code was adopted a Commission was set up to modernize the marriage code and, after much longer than originally anticipated, and a protracted nationwide discussion, its recommendations in final form were adopted by the Supreme Soviet last year (1968).

The essence of the new Principles is the importance of marriage and the family. Weddings are given a ceremonial character. The equality of the sexes in this marriage relationship is reaffirmed. The voluntary nature of marriage is stressed. The age of marriage is put at 18, but the Republics may lower this by up to two years.

Dissolution, moreover, is made possible if it is established "that the further joint life of the partners and the preservation of their family have become impossible." This is normally a court decision, but may be performed by mutual consent at a Registry Office if there are no children. Divorces are permitted also on grounds of the imprisonment of one party for more than three years, or incapacity "as a result of disease or imbecility."

A rather obscure clause about "fictitious" marriages which are "non-valid," defined as those "registered without the intention of creating a family," has led to the question of whether childless marriages might

be regarded as "fictitious." On inquiry, however, V. Nesterov of the USSR-Great Britain Society has stated that this is not the intention and that the Russian term *semya* (family) does not necessarily imply children. He explains that the law refers to marriages "for some dishonest reason out of material considerations etc." (such, we presume, as "marrying money" or simply to acquire a foreign passport.) In "fictitious" marriages, however, the rights of children are guaranteed.

The old question of illegitimacy is now dealt with in a way which ends possibilities of embarrassment through having "fatherless" birth certificates. Under the new law, where no registered marriage has taken place, the name of a father may be included in a birth certificate (a) as a result of a joint statement by both mother and father, or (b) by court decision, or (c) by the mother herself.

In Soviet law parents have the joint obligation to care for their children and children have an equal obligation to care for aged parents. In case of death, these legal obligations fall on the next of kin.

Courts may fix maintenance for the upkeep of children at as much as one quarter of income for one child, one third for two, and one half for more. But the court may use its discretion in lowering these amounts, and they do not apply if children are being fully maintained by the State or a public body. Strict provisions are included in the law concerning adoption, guardians and wards.

While one of the earlier reforms after the death of Stalin was the restoration of legal abortion, it is of some significance that recently a number of articles have appeared in the Soviet press on the necessity to replace surgery with effective contraception as Soviet women's main defense against unwanted childbearing. The right of women to decide how many children to have, and when to bear them, is recognized. But until foolproof contraceptives are everywhere available in adequate quantities, abortion has to remain a woman's last resort. And, on contraceptives, the USSR has so far lagged seriously behind the West. However, in this field, as in others where the USSR still lags, a spurt forward is now under way. While Soviet doctors have reservations about the pill, Soviet medical researchers under the auspices of the Ministry of Health have for some time been conducting tests of various modern contraceptives to determine which variety is the most effective.

THE PATTERN of the Soviet family and the future cannot yet be discerned. The equality of women, the control of the size of families, the recognition that marriages are not "made in Heaven" but are made and broken up by live men and women, the development of pre-

school institutions so that nursery schools and kindergartens play their part in reducing the mother's burden, and current experiments in communal dwelling in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, all raise interesting possibilities.

It was in 1884 that the first edition appeared of Engel's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. And, looking then towards what he saw as the Communist future of humanity, Engels wrote of the family: "What we may anticipate about the adjustment of sexual relations after the impending downfall of capitalist production is mainly of a negative nature and mostly confined to elements that will disappear. But what will be added? That will be decided after a new generation has come to maturity; a race of men who never in their lives have had any occasion for buying with money or other economic means of power the surrender of a woman; a race of women who have never had any occasion for surrendering to any man for any other reason but love or for refusing to surrender to their lover for fear of economic consequences."

Nobody can say that—as yet—this happy state has been achieved in the USSR. There are still differences in income and affluence, there are still problems of housing even if they are being tackled as a major operation, contraceptives are still unreliable and abortions may be repugnant, both men and women may sometimes be selfish and lacking in comradely respect for one another.

But the social framework and the Moral Code have been devised in harmony. Cooperation for the common good, if it runs right through a social system, eliminates the possibility of many major clashes of interest of the type that we know only too well in the West. Cooperation for the common good may often have manifestations that appear smug to us who live in a society where "permissiveness" and "freedom" are often but veiled synonyms for nihilism. But the basic ethical contrast remains—between a society that is "free" and nihilistic, having no sense of common purpose to hold it together; and a society which, whatever its present faults, is geared to serve the common good, common progress, and the freest possible participation of each contributing his or her own share to achieving the common goal. The new era in the USSR involves a renewed search for unity between social purpose and personal freedom.

The Moral Code of 1961 and the Marriage Law of 1968 are symptoms of the new outlook that is developing and, whatever setbacks or obstacles there may be, the direction augurs better than it has ever done under ethical systems in which individual behavior is treated apart from the development of society as a whole.

EDWARD KOSTYASHKIN

Marxism, Morals and Sex Education

THERE IS no more complex area of education than sex education, combining as it does morality with physiology, social life with private life, aesthetics with law. At the same time no problem is more involved and controversial than that of preparing young people to deal with the personal problems of adult life, perhaps because each man's personal life is so uniquely individual, so full of contradictions and in fact has been so little explored.

In this article we shall deal briefly with the general aspects of sex education in the USSR, showing how this education is founded upon the views on sexuality prevailing in our society. These views have several aspects: social, philosophical, psycho-physiological, and moral.

Intimate Relations Within the Social Framework

IN THE Soviet Union, the theory of sex education is firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the moral nature of marital and family relationships, of love, and of the task of preparing the younger generation for adult life. In Marxist-Leninist philosophy the relationship between love, sexual relationships and the family is stated with the utmost clarity: man is not merely a biological creature endowed with reason, but is also the product of all social relationships. The family is one particular instance of man's dual biological and social nature: "The production of life—of one's own life by means of work and of others' by having children—is a dual relationship, on the one hand natural and on the other social."

The family's function of producing children, not to mention its economic function and its function in the psychology of the individual, of itself relates the family closely to society, and is carefully

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regulated by legislation. "If marriage were not the basis of the family," Marx wrote, "it would not be the subject of legislation any more than, say, friendship." This leads us to a very important conclusion: intimate relations become, in certain situations, part of social relations, and as such are not only governed by morality but are codified and controlled by the state.

For the first time in the history of philosophy, Marxism-Leninism approached love as a social phenomenon based upon two objective principles, the natural and the social. According to this view, the importance of the social principle constantly increases as human reason comes to control more and more of human conduct, including man's intimate life. Sexual life, as Lenin has said, not only depends upon what nature provides, but may be elevated or debased by the cultural environment.

Soviet education, including sex education, is based on the social and economic standards of our socialist society, including standards of marital and family relationships and interpersonal relationships in general.

A very good account of the basic concept of proletarian monogamy is given by S. Laptinok in a book recently published in the Byelorussian SSR: "In a socialist society, the love between husband and wife is based upon complete equality of the sexes, their care for each other, common responsibility for the upbringing of the children, and mutual help and support in social and personal life. Communist morals are becoming the norm for millions of people."

One of the basic principles of morality in the USSR is that women have equal rights with men. Of the working population 49 per cent are women. The working mothers among them receive every possible help from the State: about 10 million children under school age spend the day in nursery schools and day nurseries, while millions of school children attend "extended day schools" in which they are looked after until their mothers return from work.

More than half the staff of trade union organizations are women. Millions of deputies to the various government bodies are women. In the Turkmenian SSR, where only a few decades back the Moslem religion confined women closely to the home, with minimal education, the Minister of Education is now a woman, Professor Bibi Polvanova, who holds a doctorate in history. In 1966, 425 women, more than all the women members of parliament in all the Western European countries put together, were elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Soviet society has completely eliminated the situation which

existed based on past attitudes. About these Marx has stated, "The attitude to women as helpless victims, subservient to the desires of society, is an expression of the deep degradation in man's attitude towards himself."

The emancipation of women makes genuine purity possible in love, just as it liberates women from humiliation, inequality and disguised domestic slavery. The new Marriage and Family Code which passed into law in June 1968 demonstrates with particular clarity the absolute equality of men and women in matrimonial and family matters. This code establishes the legal rights of all the members of a family, husband, wife and children, *vis-a-vis* each other and society, both in marriage and at divorce.

Young people grow up from school age with the assurance that they will be able to find work and set themselves up in life, which also helps to bring purity and integrity into their love in the early years, when it is most radiant, deep and fruitful. Such wide opportunities exist in the Soviet Union for young people to find work, to receive vocational training, to earn a good wage and obtain good accommodation, that practically any young couple of marriageable age can confidently and independently set about building their matrimonial home. It is not surprising that the average age of inhabitants in many of the new towns in Siberia and the Soviet Far East does not exceed 25 or 26. It is interesting to note that the most noticeable shortage in these fantastically expanding towns is the shortage of places in maternity homes.

Youthful Sex Impulses, Reason and Restraint

ALTHOUGH they emphasize the social role of marriage and the family, Marxist sociology and educational theory are, at the same time, firmly opposed to any minimization of the importance of the intimate relationships between human beings, of love and of the desire for personal family happiness. They are against any tendency to subordinate individual sexual relations entirely to the business of building our society. Sexual attraction and physical desire have an objective natural existence and act as a powerful motive and regulating force in the relations between men and women.

None the less, there are complicated aesthetic, psychological and moral standards which apply to the human sexual instinct. There is an inseparable relationship between human pleasures and the human intellect, human reason in particular. The great physiologists and psychologists, I. M. Sechenov and I. P. Pavlov, proved convincingly that, under social influences, man's sexual instinct has

changed and developed into human love, far removed from the closed cycle between attraction and the sexual act which is characteristic of the animal world.

It is important therefore, to consider what is involved in love and what it leads to. In the USSR, as in other countries, there is a gap between the age at which young people attain sexual maturity (12-15 years on average for girls and 13-16 for boys), the age when they attain full civil status (18, although in some Republics marriage is allowed at 16) and, most important of all, the age of effective working independence (19-21). How to restrain for several years the internal pressure of young people's physiological urges is as complicated a problem in the Soviet society as in any other, but the social, intellectual and sporting activities in which our young people are constantly engaged, together with their work, are effective safety valves for sublimating the surplus energy of youth and turning it to useful purpose. Furthermore, the serious attitude towards love, the respect for the female and consideration for her physical well-being, which are constantly inculcated by teachers, are powerful moral inhibiting factors, providing that control of the emotions by human reason and will without which love remains a purely animal act.

Soviet educators realize full well, however, that in the words of Balzac, to reason when one should feel is the mark of an earth-bound soul. The main problem in sex education is therefore to inculcate high moral standards in emotional matters.

It is not merely accidental that, in the USSR, there is a complete absence of pornographic literature and nudism, and that over-emphasis on sex in any context is frowned upon.

Young people themselves have a desire to strengthen the family unit, a respect for marriage and chaste love. This is shown by the growth of the tradition of colorful and dignified wedding ceremonies, the celebration within the family of the birth of a child, and the attention shown to newlyweds by trade union and other public organizations.

In a survey carried out by the eminent Soviet sociologist, Professor A. G. Kharchev, 95 per cent of newlyweds interviewed in Leningrad gave personal love and the moral motives connected with it as their main reason for getting married.

There are sexual relationships which do not lead to the establishment of a stable family, there are unsuccessful marriages and there are divorces in the USSR, but these are deviations from the norm. The normal line of development according to our standards of

morality, which governs the relationships of young people and their love life, is friendship-love-marriage-family, love leading as naturally to marriage as normal sexual relations to the birth of children for whose correct upbringing a healthy, stable family is necessary. Notions sanctioning "free love," sanctioning pre-marital sexual relations, asserting the independence of love and marriage, etc., have had some circulation, but none of them has been able to stand up against the "objective logic of love," arising from the very nature of Soviet society.

The Soviet Concept of Sex Education

HERE we come to the real point of this article. Without the foregoing brief review of the other aspects, however, neither the practice nor, necessarily, the theory of sex education would be clear to the reader.

The main methodological concept behind sex education in the Soviet Union can be summarized in the words of the great educator Anton Semenovich Makarenko: "In human society, and more especially in a socialist society, sex education must be more than education in physiology. . . . Civilized behavior in love depends on learning restraint in childhood. Sex education should be an education in that delicate respect in matters of sex which is called modesty. Sexual attraction is something that education cannot deal with in a satisfactory way from the point of view of society if thought of in isolation from the total development of the personality, and love is not a simple offshoot from a purely animal sexual attraction. The real loving in love can only be understood on the basis of experience of human affection that does not depend on sex. A young man will not love wife or sweetheart unless he has also loved parents, colleagues and friends, and the more he has loved others in this way, the more elevating will sexual love also be. Moreover, the sexual instinct, joined with and ennobled by social experience . . . becomes one of the sources of what is greatest in aesthetics and highest in human happiness."

Coeducation has, of course, become a permanent feature of the Soviet education system. Except for some difference of standards in physical training and certain differences of subject in the labor training syllabus, all school curricula and syllabi are the same for both boys and girls. The child's and, later, the adolescent's sex education and attitude towards the other sex begin here, in shared work, play and out-of-school activities—their whole life together in school and at home.

We should point out here that among teachers there are many

different ideas of sex education. Some think that no special place should be allotted to the subject in schools, and what is more that it is some kind of a violation of professional ethics to mention this most intimate aspect of human life. This leads to an attitude which can simply be described as hypocrisy, as illustrated by the following:

Scene: a classroom. All excited, a little boy runs to his teacher. "Maria Ivanovna, we've got some baby rabbits. The buck mated with the doe and then the babies were born. Not right away I don't mean, afterwards. . ." "Mishal!" the teacher exclaims, blushing furiously, "it's not nice to say things like that!"

Many of our leading educators, writers, and philosophers have thought otherwise. Tolstoy, Ushinsky and Pirogov and, at a later period, Blonsky, Shatsky and many others, considered sexual life and everything connected with it to be a special philosophical, social, psychological and educational problem. Young people cannot be left adrift with only blind instinct to guide them.

More correct in their approach, of course, are those who acknowledge the need to introduce gradually into the educational process special methods and forms for developing in children those qualities of character specific to their own sex, and this work obviously requires a differentiation to be made between boys and girls.

The start of puberty is a very relative notion, much less definitely observable than its end. In the educational context it usually means the sudden acceleration of physiological development: the beginning of menstruation among girls and the production of semen by boys. This introduces many new problems into educational work, both at home and at school.

A remarkable feature of the Soviet school is the extent of its out-of-class activities, carried on within the framework of the vast Pioneer organization, wherein educational guidance is combined with independence and initiative on the part of the children themselves. Children can join at the age of ten. For the first year or two, a Pioneer patrol usually runs smoothly; both boys and girls play happily together, and both sexes take an active part in running group affairs.

The interesting point, however, is that in some sixth grade (age 12) patrols, girls begin to take charge of the participation activities. By the seventh grade, the overwhelming majority of active members are girls, keen pupils in neat uniforms, well scrubbed and very obedient to their teachers. The other side of the coin is, however, that the boys are rowdy and undisciplined.

This is clearly the result of the teacher's failure to attach due value to educating the sexes and to understand the nature of adoles-

cents' socio-psychological development, with its consequent influence on conduct.

Experienced teachers, from grades five to seven (11 to 13 years) onward, suggest the names of lively boys instead of diligent girls for active posts in their organization, thus killing two birds with one stone; boys are given an extra outlet for the abundant social energies and their natural, purely male urge for activity and power is satisfied. Allowing for this urge to be "cock of the walk" is also part of sex education.

This is certainly not to say that it is the beginning of discrimination against women. In mixed groups, girls, even when they hold no official post, in fact play the leading part, being emotionally more mature, better balanced, more sensible at solving group problems. In discussions of problems, in running collections, campaigns, work assignments and Pioneer affairs, with their clear-headed, hardworking and logical approach they act as a counterbalance and offset the boys' boisterousness.

Education in Sexual Morality

IN THE above instances, we have dealt with only one of many aspects of sex education and by no means the most difficult. Teacher control of the behavior and social activities of youngsters in a group is far simpler than controlling the sort of contacts, beginning as personal affinities, unconscious attraction and so on, which occur from the age of 14 to 15 onwards.

Early contacts between the sexes, still removed from any physical acts, are in their very nature highly personal and individual and resistant to outside interference. Adolescents have to face up to this elemental natural force by themselves. It is one of the most difficult tasks of education to provide "braking power": high moral and ethical standards, psychological preparation, and so on. Teachers and parents need to show the greatest tact, caution and perspicacity, the greatest skill in trying to influence their charges, who are longing for complete independence of decision and action.

Such generally-used methods as giving 15- to 17-year-olds more work and sport, more club activities, camping, drama, etc., quite often prove inadequate to contain the pressure of the emotions or straightforward physical impulses of the more highly-sexed adolescents, the weak-willed, those who are not very intelligent and so on. In other words, any generally arrangements in our schools, especially in regard to senior students, need to be supplemented by a great deal of painstaking individual work by teachers.

Let me give an example from my own experience. Viktor in grade nine-A and Elena in nine-B were halfway through the year when their work began to fall off sharply. The usual techniques—lecturing them, reprimanding them stiffly and even sending for their parents—produced no effect. Their work got worse and worse. They couldn't work properly because they spent their class time waiting for the recreation period to see each other and be in each other's company. They took hours to walk home and at home sat dreaming over their textbooks, looking forward to meeting again the next day. I simply transferred Viktor to Elena's class and put them at the same desk. Their desire to be together was completely satisfied and from then on, they worked diligently at their lessons in order to impress each other.

A special laboratory on problems of sex education, headed by Professor V. N. Kolbanovsky, has been set up in the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Research on this complicated problem is being done in various major institutes of education and universities by I. S. Kon, A. V. Petrovsky, N. S. Lukin, V. A. Krutetsky and others. Such research aims at providing practicing teachers with scientifically-based rules and methods for use in sex education.

By placing the emphasis on the ideological, technical, ethical and aesthetic education of young people, a firm moral foundation is laid for the healthy development of their personalities.

Teachers and doctors give the necessary talks on hygiene to boys and girls separately at a certain age. Pupils in grades eight to ten study the physiological processes in detail as part of a broad course on human anatomy and basic biology, but no undue attention is given to sexual problems, particularly questions of sexual relations. It is taken for granted that one of the essential everyday tasks of education is to foster chivalrous conduct among boys and the softer feminine virtues among girls; therefore no undue attention is called to sexual matters.

Lenin very rightly said that "healthy sport, varied intellectual interests, study and research, all done collectively if possible, are better for young people than eternal lectures and discussions on sex and 'making use of life.'"

In other words, from the point of view of educational experience, moderation is an important factor in sex education, not only in the school, but on radio and television and in the press, etc. In this respect the USSR is of course quite different from many other countries.

VIACHESLAV KOSTIKOV

What Is Communist Labor?

AT PRESENT, over 35 million Soviet workers are embraced by the Communist Labor movement. What makes millions of people join this movement, which calls for a higher sense of responsibility and greater effort? And what is the Communist Labor movement itself? A directive from "above"? Another name for the famous Stakhanovite movement of the 'thirties? Or a process conditioned and brought about by the development of Soviet society as a whole?

The Communist Labor movement would be impossible, if the Soviet economy had not made a tremendous leap from backwardness to progress and if profound qualitative changes had not taken place in the working class.

In 1928 workers and office employees made up a mere 17.6 per cent of the Soviet population. Now the figure stands at 80 per cent. In 1968 the number of workers exceeded 56 million. This rapid quantitative growth has been accompanied by serious changes in labor's composition. The share of young workers has soared, and a fast growth has been observed in the skilled labor percentage. The 1959 census showed a 22-fold increase in the number of skilled workers over 1926. Manual occupations have almost disappeared. The very nature of labor has changed: the worker increasingly acts as one who organizes and directs machine-operated processes: the functions of control, estimation, checking and adjusting, that is the functions of brainwork, often prevail in his work.

This requires of workers more general and technical knowledge. By 1959 the number of workers having a higher or secondary education had increased five times, compared to 1939. At present, about half the workers have a secondary education. Improvement in labor's educational level was particularly rapid in the last few years due to the flow into industry of high-school graduates. Extramural training is provided throughout industry. At the Likhachev Motor Works in Moscow, for instance, every third worker studies at high school, technical school or college. The works has an institute of its own,

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preparatory courses for entrance into college, and several universities of culture.

Such an improvement in general educational and technical training, covering millions of Soviet workers, creates the necessary conditions for turning labor into a creative process, which is an indispensable condition of Communist labor. Growth in the educational standards, ideological maturity and theoretical knowledge of Soviet workers leads to the Communist Labor movement becoming an inner requirement of a member of socialist society.

Communist Labor Worker

EVERYBODY in the Soviet Union knows the name of weaver Valentina Gaganova. She was one of the first to earn the title of Communist Labor Worker. What, however, distinguishes her from dozens and hundreds of other weavers? Better performance? No, quite a few women weavers are as skillful and hard-working. To join the Communist Labor movement, one needs more than mere good work, he must be prepared for personal sacrifices to promote the common cause, and show concern for the fate of his workmates. It is this that can explain the behavior of Gaganova when from a foremost team, having higher earnings, she went over to a lagging team made up of young workers. She knew she would earn less in the new team (the pay of each depends on the fulfillment of quota by the whole team), she knew there would be new troubles and difficulties of both a production and psychological nature. Why did she go then? Obviously, there is great need to prove oneself in the worst of conditions, and great satisfaction from the awareness that you have helped your mates to acquire confidence in their own hands, in their own skill, that you have taught them what you know yourself. Gaganova made her new team a shock team. Now there are thousands of her followers in the country.

In this example one may see very well the difference between the Stakhanovite and the Communist Labor movements.

To efficiency, Communist Labor adds moral factors, extending to a worker's behavior outside the factory, his family life, social conduct and culture. Therefore one may surpass all his colleagues in efficiency, yet fail to be awarded the Communist Labor Worker title. The practice of the movement gives many examples of how a worker is deprived of this title for what may seem immaterial reasons such as a quarrelsome disposition, dishonorable conduct in the family, etc. Of course, there are many problems in judging the moral qualities of a man to be Communist or not. The Communist

Labor movement is relatively young and has not yet developed accurate and thorough criteria.

Precepts of Communist Labor Team

HOWEVER, the main conditions for participation in Communist Labor do exist. They are a generalization of the variety of forms that it has taken in industry and in other spheres of the country's economic and social life. The precepts of the Communist Labor Team, naturally, fully include the conditions of socialist labor, notably: to increase efficiency, improve the quality of products, make the best use of new equipment, and contribute to innovations. Further distinctive features of a Communist attitude to labor are: to raise your educational and cultural level, strive for more technical knowledge, help your workmates, improve your ideological and theoretical knowledge, be an example of good behavior in family relations, and take an active part in social work.

Of course, life never fits into a Procrustean bed of once adopted forms and recommendations. As the Communist Labor movement develops, ever new forms and demands appear. In Lvov, for instance, a movement of "spasibovtsy" has spread among young workers. The "spasibovtsy"—as a rule members of Communist Labor Teams—in their spare time render free everyday services to people in their neighborhood. There have appeared repair shops for TV sets, washing machines, watches, etc., voluntary coaches for lagging children, voluntary music teachers, trainers, lecturers, excursion guides. They work for just a "spasibo"—Russian for "thank you."

Here one can see not only something traditional stemming from the early Communist *Subbotniks* when people voluntarily worked without pay on their day off, but also a manifestation of the new traits of today's worker with his high skills and his high degree of conscientiousness.

Conditions for Communist Labor Title

IN THE Communist Labor movement, just as in any cause that involves millions, there may arise and do arise various problems and snags.

The point is that a wish to follow the advanced forms of social life may lead to overlooking the availability of socioeconomic prerequisites for this. Thus, Communist Labor Teams have been set up in a number of places, notably, small towns, district centers and rural areas, where technical progress is just beginning to penetrate. The leaders who helped form these teams seem to have been guided

by a commendable wish not to keep the working masses away from the progressive movement. But what is sad is that in so doing they did not try to provide the necessary technical base without which the very essence of Communist Labor as highly-equipped, skilled labor is lost. The error in making such moves stems from an insufficiently clear understanding of the Communist Labor movement as a higher form of socialist emulation, a form that has reflected the advances in the country's socioeconomic life.

The newspaper *Pravda* has repeatedly declared itself against such practice, explaining that labor can really be called Communist only when, apart from including moral factors, it is based on the use of modern scientific and technological achievements. If a team, for instance, uses equipment that is badly obsolete, in a shop that is poorly lit—however great the conscientiousness and selflessness of the workers—it cannot qualify for the Communist Labor Team title.

How It Works in Practice

HERE IS a concrete example of what tasks face a plant that has decided to compete for the title of Communist Labor Enterprise.

In 1965, after long discussion at all levels, the workers at the Tallinn Volta factory, which already had several Communist Labor Teams, voted they would work to win the title.

Aware that this was to be a long difficult process, the Party and trade union committees at Volta, relying on the worker activists and the administration's help, worked out a long-range plan for the socioeconomic development of the plant whose fulfillment was to create the conditions for Communist Labor. The plan, extending over four to five years, was approved in 1966. It included the wishes and suggestions by individual workers and whole teams.

Reconstruction of Volta was started as planned. Apart from technical reequipment, measures were taken to improve basically the working conditions at the plant: the introduction of industrial aesthetics, anti-noise and vibration measures and the reconstruction of lighting are but few of them. To reduce the sick rate, the plant has built a health-improvement complex and a recreation base on the Baltic Coast.

At the start, 340 workers and office employees at the plant did not have an eight-year education. All those who wished to study received aid. At present, out of those who do not have a secondary education, only a few do not study—for health or family reasons.

The workers attach great importance to the development of traditions at Volta and to the education of youth in a spirit of honor

for labor. New workers receive the greatest help from the teams that have already won the title of Communist Labor Teams. For help in the social development plan, the plant invited sociologists from the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

The very fact that such measures are being carried out creates a healthy atmosphere at the plant. According to the trade union committee, since the start of the implementation of the plan, labor discipline, especially among young workers, has improved, accidents have been reduced, labor-management conflicts have become very rare, labor productivity has been increased, and the competition between individual teams for the Communist Labor Team title has become more intense. Whether the plant will be awarded the title or not, it is absolutely clear that the conditions for successful development of communist forms of labor will be created there.

Is Society as a Whole Ripe?

THE formation of communist morality and a communist attitude to labor is a long and complicated process, and it would be wrong and premature to suggest that all of Soviet society is fully ripe for Communist Labor.

For example, a shop of Communist Labor at the Chkalov Aircraft Works in Novosibirsk does not have a quality inspection department. "The workers' conscience is stricter than any inspector," says Communist Labor Worker Timofei Sidorov. "We work according to this principle." The workers do not demand any extra pay for this "self-inspection." But in the same Novosibirsk, the following experiment was carried out recently. All the staff members of a certain plant were given 50 per cent pay rises. It was hoped that this step would lead to better performance and quality production, as there would be no need for increasing output at the expense of quality. These hopes were not, however, realized. The administration had to re-introduce strict quality control.

All this shows that material and moral criteria present a rather intricate, interlacing pattern. To underestimate the moral preparedness of a collective or individual worker for Communist Labor means not only to hurt them deeply, but also to undermine their faith in themselves. By contrast, a premature conferment of the honorary title may lead to a discrediting of the movement in the eyes of millions of workers competing for this title. This is why local Party and trade union committees make a thorough analysis of the work of teams working for the Communist Labor Team title to insure that it really goes to those worthy of it.

G. DILIGENSKY and M. NOVINSKAYA

Students of the West And the Anti-Monopoly Struggle: A Soviet View

We believe this critical but sympathetic and understanding view of the student movement of our own and other Western capitalist countries will be of special interest to the readers of this issue of NWR, devoted to problems of youth. This article was published in the Soviet magazine Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnaya Otnoshenia (World Economy and International Relations), No. 2, 1969. The translation, by Novosti Press Agency, appeared in Reprints from the Soviet Press, June 27, 1969.

THE great upsurge of the mass student movement is one of the more notable features of the present political scene in most of the developed capitalist countries, and this has evoked the most diverse judgments and opinions, at times highly contradictory ones. Reactionary bourgeois politicians and publicists, while often admitting in one form or another that the problems posed by the student movement are real and acute, regard it primarily as an element of the "anarchy" and "troublemaking" which undermine the "normal" development of present-day capitalism. Among the broad circles of Western intellectuals, however, the students are more and more often regarded as a kind of purifying new social force, as the leaders of a movement whose mission it is to smash the amoral, callous rule of technocracy and the monopolies. Some spokesmen for these circles contrast the students' revolutionary outbreaks with the seeming passivity of an allegedly "bourgeoisified" working class.

Students in the Contemporary World

THE place of students in the system of social relations under capitalism has changed substantially in the past several decades. Early in the present century and to a considerable extent between the two world wars, the students were a relatively restricted and privileged social group. As a rule, extensive opportunities were open to the university or technical school graduate; the nature of the education he received, his social origins and connections, enabled

him to count on becoming an independent entrepreneur (a businessman or a member of a "free profession"), on having a successful professional career in industry or some other field of activity, on a more or less independent and creative future. In practical terms these expectations might prove unfounded, but due to the students' social status as highly qualified specialists on the one hand, and their mainly bourgeois origins on the other, the bulk of them generally favored the prevailing system, both psychologically and ideologically.

As the scientific-technical revolution has advanced and state-monopoly capitalism has developed, a number of factors gradually accumulated that have led to important changes in the position and composition of the student community. The startlingly rapid numerical growth of the student body is leading to their becoming a comparatively mass stratum of the population in capitalist countries. In 20 industrially developed countries of Western Europe, North America and Oceania, the total number of students rose between 1950 and 1964 from 3,159,000 to 7,047,000, more than doubling in the United States and Canada, tripling in France, the FRG and Belgium, and almost quadrupling in Sweden. Today the United States has roughly 5,000,000 students, France 600,000, the FRG 350,000, Italy about 300,000, and Britain more than 200,000.*

Under the impact of a certain amount of democratization of secondary education, the social composition of students has changed. While even today students of working class extraction make up an insignificant proportion of the total enrollment at higher schools, a certain rise in the standard of living of workers' families, coupled with the fact that secondary education is more accessible than ever before, has led to a rise in the proportion of students of proletarian origin. There is an even greater rise in the numbers and proportion of students from the constantly growing groups of the working intelligentsia, white-collar workers, and so on. This trend toward democratization of the social composition of the student body is also the inevitable consequence of the increasing needs of capitalist production and of society as a whole for highly qualified personnel, and this process makes for important changes in the students' position and frame of mind.

A considerable section of the students, particularly those from the working strata of the population, are hard up financially. The number of stipends and their amounts are quite inadequate, which

* *Statistical Yearbook, 1965*, UNESCO, Paris, 1966, pp. 252-4, 260-64.

makes it all but impossible for many of the young people to complete their studies. A good many of them are forced to combine study with work (in France, 40 per cent) and many leave the university before finishing (in Italy, for example, only nine per cent of university students graduate).

Increasingly affecting the situation of the students is the contradictory nature of the social process engendered by the scientific-technical revolution. Capitalist society has proved unable to bring its system of higher education into line with the development of present-day productive forces, which entails expansion of the sphere of intellectual labor and requires rapid changes in the standards and nature of the training of specialists. Even though there is a shortage of top specialists everywhere, many college graduates cannot find work in their own field, most universities' physical resources (quarters, equipment and so on) are utterly inadequate, in many cases the system of education is conservative, even archaic, and the students often lack elementary conditions for normal study. The average student today is no longer a member of some privileged caste; his present condition is quite often unsatisfactory and his future precarious. This explains the direction the mass student movement has taken of late. It is characterized by profound criticism of the existing system of education and demands for a fundamental democratic reform of the higher school.

The crisis in higher education, however, cannot explain the radical political nature the student movement is more and more openly assuming, nor the unprecedentedly rapid upsurge of the students' political activity. In the political sphere, the student movement is far from confining itself to demands connected in one way or another with the problems of the higher school (appropriations for education, grants or scholarships, the planning of the training of specialists, providing jobs for them, and so on). The broad student masses are taking part in struggles involving the most acute political problems.

Of course, in respect to ideology and politics, the students today are far from a homogeneous group. Among them some are conservative-minded—a number of student organizations are reactionary—but the political activities of the bulk of them are developing mainly in a radical, democratic direction.

In the United States, for example, in the early sixties the student movement launched actions for the rights of the Negroes, and later became the largest organized mass opposition force to the government's Vietnam policy. In the last three years, more than 1,000 higher schools have been involved in actions on these issues.

The scale and militant character of the student struggle in the United States have made it a major factor in aggravating the internal political situation. Well organized in its activities (from meetings and demonstrations to the occupation of universities) the student movement keeps gaining in ever new strata of the youth. Last year the student struggle considerably influenced the presidential elections; in point of fact, it made the Vietnam problem the central issue of the election campaign, thereby helping to stir up the antiwar sentiments of the broad strata of the population.

In 1967-68, political radicalism became a truly international feature of student actions; in France and Italy, the FRG and West Berlin, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, and other countries, the students are fighting against American aggression in Vietnam and for a thoroughgoing democratization of their own countries' political life. In the course of the political crisis in France in May-June 1968, the student youth were one of the most active forces in the mass struggle against the personal-power regime. Students in the FRG started militant actions against the antidemocratic "Emergency Laws" and the reactionary bourgeois groups' monopoly of the means of mass information. Many student organizations that have emerged in the capitalist countries in recent years are putting forward anti-monopoly and socialist programs and slogans.

The political radicalism of the student youth requires a sober-minded scientific estimate and explanation. Such an estimate is important not only for evaluating the real revolutionary potential of the students but also for arriving at a valid criticism of the tendentious theories of "student revolution" which nowadays influence the student youth in the West fairly widely.

The diversity of shades of such theories can be reduced in the main to two concepts.

The first, offered originally by Prof. Herbert Marcuse, regards the student youth as a special social segment of the "morally alienated." The major advantage of such groups, in which in addition to the students he places the lumpen proletariat, the unemployed, and the ghetto Negroes, is, in his view, that they and they alone are capable of moral revolt and of resolutely rejecting society. The working class allegedly is incapable of such an attitude, for it is bound up with the system of material requirements forced on it by a "technicalist society"; the possibility of satisfying these requirements makes the workers incapable of realizing their alienation and of revolting. Marcuse absolutizes the moral and ethical motives of social protest, regarding them in essence as the only possible precondition for a revo-

lutionary spirit, which itself he reduces to a de-ideologized blind rebellious consciousness.*

The other concept of the revolutionary role of the youth and students stems from the idea of turning them into a new basic social class that has allegedly taken the place of the proletariat in the system of capitalist relations of production. Some adherents of this viewpoint have even drawn a parallel between the 19th century proletariat and modern youth: in the Marxist analysis of capitalism they have mechanically substituted the concept of "youth" for that of the "working class."** At any rate, both concepts agree on seeing the youth—primarily the student youth—as the main, or even the sole, revolutionary force.

Certain grounds for the spreading of such theories have been created by the fact that in a number of countries the student movement often advances more radical slogans and employs sharper forms of struggle than the mass working class movement. This is particularly evident where reformist and trade union ideology dominates the mass organizations of the working class.

In the main traits of their social consciousness, the students today do indeed differ from the other mass strata of capitalist society. But the difference is by no means as deep or as fundamental as the theoreticians of the "revolutionary exclusiveness" of the youth would have one believe. Moreover, it cannot be reduced to being "more" or "less" revolutionary, for the level and nature of revolutionary consciousness cannot be defined merely by quantitative criteria. Such a definition requires first of all a qualitative analysis, a definition of exactly what revolutionary spirit we are talking about.

Sources of Revolutionary Spirit

THE ROOTS of the students' political radicalism should, in our opinion, be sought in the fact that their objective situation makes them especially susceptible to the forms of social oppression that are becoming more and more characteristic of contemporary capitalist society. What we have in mind is the tendency inherent in state-monopoly capitalism of subjecting all aspects of the working people's life to the dictates of the narrow monopoly groups which control the key means of economic and political power.

The functions of the bourgeois machinery of government within

* Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, Boston, 1964; interview in *New Left Review*, No. 45, 1967.

** J. and M. Rowntree, "Youth as a Class," *International Socialist Journal*, No. 25, 1968.

a country are no longer confined to insuring capitalist exploitation and "order," that is, of safeguarding the capitalist system. Enhancement of the role of the big capitalist corporations and the growing tendency of the state to intervene are closely linked with the extension of these functions and the development of a ramified system of measures designed to subordinate the destinies of individuals, and people's spiritual life, to the aims and programs of the ruling groups. Side by side with state-monopoly regulation of public life, and playing an important role in the system, is the greater use being made of various ideological and psychological methods of influencing people, as for example implanting a "consumer" ideal, standardizing demands and desires via use of the means of mass communication and so-called mass culture. Such methods are designed to develop in the ordinary person a feeling of sociopolitical passivity, a conviction that all important social and political problems should be settled by a "competent" elite. Bureaucratization of the most diverse spheres of the life of society is one expression of this trend.

While the overwhelming majority of the social strata and groups feel the impact of these processes in one way or another, they see this impact differently, and not always with equal clarity. The bulk of the working class protests most energetically against those concrete manifestations of state-monopoly regulation which most directly affect their economic condition, such as the income tax policy, the capitalist methods of modernization and concentration of production that lead to increased unemployment, and so on.

As the proletariat is the direct object of capitalist exploitation, its social protest is directed primarily against the more obvious manifestations of this exploitation, most often taking the form of struggle for adequate living standards. This struggle quite often forces the bourgeoisie to make concessions, large or small, which it later makes up for in one way or another. By being able to maneuver in this sphere, contemporary capitalism to a certain extent prevents the working masses from recognizing the sociopolitical problems of their situation, retarding the development of the economic struggle into a broad political movement.

Coming out against state-monopoly dictation are a considerable portion of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, as well as members of the "free professions." But among these strata this frame of mind assumes in the main a conservative character. The ideal which their ideological spokesmen counterpose to the danger of being dictated to from above usually amounts to "economic liberalism" and "free enterprise"; it is no accident therefore that they not infrequently form

the soil for such reactionary political movements as Goldwaterism in the United States, to mention just one.

Criticism of a number of major features of state-monopoly capitalism that is fairly sharp, though in many respects one-sided and inconsistent, comes from artists, writers, scientists and engineers. Since, however, it is all more or less a question of the mass strata of the population, this criticism finds its broadest and most energetic support among the student youth.

It would hardly be correct to link such attitudes of mind among the students with the direct interests of one of the large social classes. The increase in the proportion of students who come from families of workers or from strata of white collar workers or working intellectuals who are substantially in the same boat, of course plays no small part in the development of democratic aspirations among students. However, since many of them, including active participants in the radical Left movement, are the offspring of the big, middle, and petty bourgeoisie, this fact explains little. Likewise oversimplified, in our view, is the notion that reduces the social essence of the student movement to the sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie (although the petty-bourgeois origin of many students undoubtedly leaves a certain mark on their behavior and psychology).

The growth of social and political activity among the students is one of the more striking and concentrated expressions of the new role the mass strata of the intelligentsia are beginning to play in the life of capitalist society. The changes in the position and composition of these strata are converting the intelligentsia into a social force profoundly opposed to capitalism. But so far it is merely a trend, developing extremely unevenly in different countries and in different groups of the intelligentsia, coinciding with processes of ideological and political differentiation. Because of the specific features of the conditions in which the students find themselves, and their resulting psychology, this trend has reached the fullest and most extensive development among them.

The main feature of the students as a social group is that it unites people who do not yet occupy a definite place in production and in society, yet at the same time are dependent on institutions the activity of which directly determines their future place in life. The most acute problem for any student is his social and professional future, and his thoughts and worries are, in the final analysis, concentrated on this. As has been stated before, many students find it impossible to solve this problem satisfactorily because of the undemocratic organization of higher education, and its scandalous lag behind the times. On the

other hand, capitalism tries to solve the problem of training sufficient numbers of highly qualified personnel (intensiveness varying in degree in different countries) by subordinating higher education to the maximum degree possible to the ends of "total" social regulation. Concretely, this is expressed in narrowing education and its progressive specialization, so as to adjust it to the direct needs of capitalist production.

Thus, many American universities have become virtually factories for the wholesale production of specialists in some one narrow field, who are then virtually unable to pick any other field of endeavor more appropriate to their ability and inclination, and who have no perspective for developing creatively. Following the same path are the "neo-capitalist" reformers of higher education in Western Europe. Such changes in the organization of the higher school are one of the consequences of the general trend toward increasing the proportion and specialization of mental labor, which leads to the loss of many once independent "intellectual" professions, and to transforming people into performers of a task that needs no initiative, mere cogs in the social and production mechanism. This prospect has given rise to sharp protests among students.

The transitional state of this group—as yet outside any independent labor effort but closely approaching it—causes the students to hold on tenaciously to those values which they will inevitably lose once they take a specific position in an industrial or other organization. This means asserting their independence from society, a lack of commitment, freedom from daily submission to orders from other people, and opportunities to choose the life they want. This "disassociation" is a reality and is perceived by the student youth themselves as a purely temporary condition; the choice, once made, converts the young person from a comparatively free individual into one subjected to all-around subordination.

Today, owing to growing specialization and the simultaneous rise in professional requirements, one's main chosen role in life ties one down much more firmly than in the past, and to change one's specialty is becoming ever more difficult. Psychologically, therefore, the student youth feel especially painfully the contradiction peculiar to the present stage of development of capitalism. On the one hand, there is the constant need of reorienting oneself in view of the growing tempo of changing working conditions; and on the other, the ever greater difficulty of reorienting oneself in view of the fixed function of every individual in a productive or public organization. Their protest against everything that restricts their comparative free-

dom now or will restrict it in the immediate future, against all aspects of life in capitalist society which subordinate the fortunes, capabilities and spiritual life of the average person to the inhuman purposes of the powers that be, is therefore all the sharper.

The main content of the students' everyday life makes them realize this subordination to the full. The contrast between the creative, intellectual life that the process of acquiring knowledge presupposes and the status of robot in capitalist production and the social mechanism influences the consciousness of the student youth all the more forcefully, the more clearly they understand that their new interest in and taste for creative effort, engendered by study, will find no satisfaction in their work on their future jobs. Closely related to this feature of student psychology is the warm support that condemnation of the "consumer society" meets among them. A considerable portion of them will not accept the ideals of "consumerism," which is designed to replace intellectual life and public activity in the system values of modern capitalism.

Because of all these aspects of their psychology, the students differ considerably from the bulk of the "adult" scientific-technical intelligentsia, especially from engineering and managerial personnel. Among these strata, moods of social protest are restrained to some degree by their specific moral dependence on capitalist organization, primarily in the interests of their professional or official career. Such interests give rise to individualism and passivity with respect to public affairs, and in many cases turn yesterday's rebel students into mouthpieces for social conformism and bourgeois ideology.

Another major characteristic of the students as a social group is their compactness, due to their concentration in large educational institutions. While the members of the mass intellectual professions are disassociated from each other, as a result of belonging to one of the many professional or hierarchial groups each with its own specific interests, students for the most part are distinguished by the fact that they are substantially (though by no means absolutely) agitated by similar problems and by the high development among them of a group consciousness. These facts on the whole favor the Left democratic trends in the student movement; they insure the more active spokesmen of these trends wide influence over the bulk of the students and make it easier to initiate militant mass actions. In the United States, for example, membership in the Left student organizations includes 200,000 university and college students out of 5,000,000; but as shown by the sweep of the actions led by these organizations, their influence is actually far greater.

A considerable portion of the students regard such concrete questions as the nature and organization of education, jobs, their future profession, and so on, as part of the more general problem of relations between society and the individual, and of the purposes to which the functioning of the social organism is subordinate. This trend is directly stimulated by the fact that capitalist relations of exploitation and dependence influence the condition and consciousness of the students not only through their concrete and immediate manifestations, but also as a common prospect after their graduation. For this reason the students do not concentrate on the concrete aspects of existing social relations to the degree we find among people who are already working and are often absorbed in problems of pay, working conditions, professional advancement, and so on. This makes it easier for them to grasp problems of social and political life that may not necessarily be related to their own direct interests but in which they see an indication of the inhumanity and injustice of the social order, the predominance in politics of the selfish interests of oligarchic groups, the authoritarian nature of government, and so on. It is characteristic that the young Americans who refused to take part in the Vietnam war stated that their decision was a protest against the "system of depersonalization which turns the youth into a crowd of robots," a rejection of the morals of America today.*

Vagueness of Ideals and Weaknesses of the Movement

THE THEORETICIANS who regard the students as the "leading revolutionary force" refer not only and not so much to all these traits of the students' consciousness as to the all-encompassing rebelliousness allegedly inherent in them, and to their capacity for spontaneous, violent protest, associated with no clearcut organization or ideology. Thereby they appear to bypass the question of whether there might not be a higher type of revolutionary spirit—the rational revolutionary consciousness which Marxist-Leninist ideology cultivates in the masses. Singing the praises of irrational rebellion is a disservice to the student struggle; it stimulates the development of exactly those features of the movement which reflect its ideological and organizational immaturity.

The weaknesses of the student movement are actually, in a larger sense, directly related to its strong points. This super "r-r-revolutionariness" carries the imprint of the social and political inexperience of the student youth. Their age and social traits impart to their

* *Nine for Peace*, Marine City, California, 1968, pp. 5, 13.

protest a romantic, emotional and irrational character. Only the experience gained through direct participation in the labor process and the social relations connected with it can inculcate in people a concrete and realistic idea of capitalist social organization, the strength of the class enemy, the real possibilities and techniques of fighting this enemy. Students lack such experience and therefore lack a scientific, profound understanding of what are the most expedient means and objectives of the struggle under the given concrete conditions. The sequence of the various stages of that struggle, the various well thought out tactics and the compromises necessary in certain situations come harder to them than to the bulk of the working people. Hence the extremist moods the student masses often easily yield to, and the rejection, characteristic of certain groups of students, of limited slogans and demands, of parliamentary activity, temporary political alliances, and similar methods of class struggle, which they interpret as unprincipled political intrigue. On the other hand, freedom from social bonds and duties develops among students both individual and group irresponsibility. For many students it becomes psychologically more important to demonstrate their protest, their rejection of existing social practices, than to gain concrete results of true social significance.

All these social and psychological traits foster among the student youth a critical, even a sharply negative attitude toward political organization, toward belonging to a party, toward any clear-cut ideological and political platform. As was suggested earlier, their "revolt" against dictation by the bureaucracy is of an emotional and romantic nature, so that often it is impossible to tell against whom it is directed. It easily takes the form of a type of thinking in which, to quote the progressive American philosopher H. L. Parsons, "power is confused with authoritarianism, leadership with manipulation, philosophy with dogma, and individual action with freedom."

In addition, the student youth with their pronounced group consciousness are especially receptive to the idea of the generation gap, to antagonism between fathers and sons, and a certain section of them are therefore inclined to assert their independence of the "old," "traditional" political organizations as a matter of fundamental principle.

The social and psychological phenomena and trends noted above explain to a considerable extent why various anarchistic and ultra-Left ideas have spread fairly widely in the student movement.

On the whole, the students' ideology, internationally, as well as

in individual countries, is marked by extreme variation, by diversity of currents and shades. In a number of countries Communist students play an important part in the student movement, and today the influence of Marxist ideas among students in the West is greater than ever before. Leftist principles have also left their imprint on the general ideological atmosphere of the movement.

The outlook of a good part of the student youth was formed under the influence of ideological-theoretical trends which criticize capitalism from a humanist point of view, more or less ignoring the class basis of capitalist social organizations. As we have seen from Marcuse's conception, the revolutionary spirit propagated by such trends has little in common with scientific understanding of revolution as a complex process of social change. For them, "revolution" is primarily a moral and ethical category, a total rejection of existing society.

In the minds of many young people already inclined toward exactly this kind of diffuse "total" protest, such ideas easily turn into a desire to do away with whatever arouses their particular indignation in the society around them—in the main, bureaucratic organization and the "consumer" way of life. For this reason, the struggle against the capitalist system as such often seems to them far less urgent than setting up some absolutely new way of life, one precluding alienation and the pursuit of wealth. "The revolution now beginning," stated a group of Sorbonne students at the height of the disturbances in the Latin Quarter last May, "calls in question not only capitalist society but industrial civilization as well. The consumer society must die a violent death. The society of alienation must die a violent death. We are striving for a new and original society."*

The extreme vagueness of such social ideals and the confused concept of the economic and social roots of the bourgeois way of life explain the mainly negative character of the students' revolutionary consciousness, the striving to settle all urgent problems at one blow. Hence the idea of "immediately blowing up" the whole existing social organization with its mores and culture and the utopian plans for establishing "pure democracy" conceived as "student power" in the universities and "working people's power" in enterprises. It is considered possible to solve these problems primarily by "direct and spontaneous action," without any planned organization of political struggle.

* Zegel, *Les idées de mai*, Paris, 1968, p. 62.

Not all in the Left student movement hold these extreme views of this particular complex of ideas; but they do reflect in one way or another—though highly schematically, of course—the logic, the kind of thinking of most of the more active and ideologically motivated trends. After what has happened in the recent past, student actions can no longer be regarded as mere ultrarevolutionary phrasemongering. The tactic of violent action, of barricade battles, has become widely popular among the students of many countries.

This extremism is of course to a large extent nurtured by the romanticism characteristic of youth, by their striving for no compromise in matters of ethics. It is no accident that Che Guevara has become one of the most popular heroes of the West European students. What has impressed them is the crystal honesty and courage of the Latin American revolutionary, the passion of a heroic, selfless struggle that pervaded his ideas and activity. However, neither the Guevara cult nor the attempts of some of the student organizations to transfer guerrilla tactics to West European soil can be explained by romantic motives alone.

Having assimilated the reasoning of their ideological mentors about the “bourgeoisification” of the working class in the West and of its inability to go beyond “consumer” orientation, the ultra-Left students are inclined to regard the peoples of the Third World as the only truly revolutionary mass force. Solidarity with the national liberation movement is in general highly characteristic of the frame of mind of the student youth, and here it is not simply a question of solidarity, but of elevating to an absolute the particular forms of the revolutionary struggle engendered by specific conditions in a number of countries. Reflected in the shifting of their hopes to the Third World is the lack of faith of many students in the revolutionary potential of the working class in the developed capitalist countries, and at the same time an awareness of the weakness of their own ties with the society surrounding them and the realization that they are powerless to force their slogans and methods of struggle on the bulk of the working people.

Such a frame of mind naturally creates the basis for Maoist propaganda to a certain extent influencing the student movement. The demagogy of Maoism, which preaches “absolute” revolution, regardless of objective conditions, and counterposes “the revolutionary spirit of the poor nations” to the allegedly bourgeoisified working class movement, can, primitive though it is, delude the extremists among the student youth. Playing no small role in this is the support given Maoism, whether because of political naiveté or because

of a certain would-be revolutionary snobbishness, by some “rulers of men’s minds” among the Western intelligentsia.

As stated by Western Marxists, the ultra-Leftism and romantic utopianism of many factions of the student movement are a peculiar form of growing pains; revolutionary and socialist ideas are only beginning to penetrate the great bulk of the student masses and it is only natural that first they should be conceived in primitive and utopian form.* This is obviously correct; as it is also correct that the experience gained in political struggle makes it easier for the youth to grasp scientific revolutionary ideology and develops among them an interest in Marxism. In their search for the truth, student activists turn more and more not to the works of Marcuse and Debray now in vogue, but to those of Marx and Lenin.

What Next, Then?

THE PRESENT weaknesses of the student movement should not be regarded as insuperable. But the movement cannot rid itself of them by relying on its own forces alone. Standing in the way are the peculiarities of the students as a social group mentioned earlier, the impact on them of certain currents of petty bourgeois ideology, as well as their own extremely unstable, fluctuating composition, which makes it difficult to pass on to new generations of students the group social and political experience accumulated in the course of struggle. The student movement can acquire the consistency, sober-mindedness and organization it needs so badly only in alliance with the working class, with its political and trade union organizations. For it is precisely the working class that in large measure possesses all of those qualities which the student youth, by the very nature of their position in society so sadly lack.

A practical basis for such an alliance is the considerable community of ideals and aspirations shared by the students and the present-day working class. It is this community of interests that is completely denied by the theoreticians who hold that only the youth have revolutionary potential, and preach the “bourgeoisification” of the working class. In reality, however, the protest against the very same social and moral aspects of capitalist oppression that arouses the indignation of the student is developing ever more intensely in the minds of the working masses and becoming concrete. Complete subordination, their lack of opportunity for self-direction at work, their restricted prospects for the future, the general social

* See the discussion in *La Democratie Nouvelle*, June-July, 1968.

depression of the personality, and the lack of opportunities for free development are recognized by many workers as most acute and vital problems. This awareness is reflected in the new trends of struggle and the slogans the mass working class movement advances. More and more often these go beyond purely economic demands, beyond trying to secure broader rights for the workers and democratization of general and vocational education. The working class is deeply interested in implementation of the main political demands of the student movement, namely a foreign policy of peace and democratization of domestic political life. Finally, only the working class is capable of carrying out and completing the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society and the building of socialism. Irrespective of the level of development of the socialist consciousness of particular groups and national segments of the proletariat, anti-capitalism is inherent in the working masses' psychology.

It is beyond doubt that the workers' approach to these questions, and their ideas on how to solve them, differ in many ways from what the students propose and are trying to do. The class-conscious worker today doesn't believe that real democracy and personal freedom, or the triumph of a new social system, can be gained by means of a single resolute action. He is aware of the magnitude and complexity of the vast job of reorganization required to translate these ideas into reality. The worker knows perfectly well from his own experience that nothing can be done without a united and centralized class organization, and he therefore reacts scornfully and sometimes indignantly to the appeals of the ultra-Left extremists "to fight against any and all organization." These ideological and psychological differences were revealed, for instance, in the course of contacts between workers and students during the May-June 1968 general strike in France.

Such differences can be eliminated only as the bulk of the students assimilate scientific socialist ideology. Hence the laying of a foundation for a lasting and effective alliance between the working class and the student movement clearly depends on the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, on its ideological and political work among the student youth. Opening up important prospects for this are the measures recently taken by the Communist Parties of a number of countries to step up their activity in this very important sphere.

While recognizing the unsoundness of the theory that the students are the only revolutionary force, it would be extremely wrong to underestimate the potentialities and prospects of the student move-

ment as one of the more active and militant detachments of the antimonopoly front. Their role is determined not alone by the fighting character, the intensity of protest against capitalist practices peculiar to them and by the ability they have shown to stir up the broadest strata of the working people to political and other public activity. No less important is another factor. The student movement puts forward particularly sharply the problems of social development which assume ever greater significance in the struggle against the economic and political rule of the monopolist oligarchy. These are the problems of an all-around democratization of all levels and spheres of public life, of a democratic alternative to the present forms of class rule and the ideological and psychological influence of the bourgeoisie, and problems of the status and rights of the individual.

The student movement by itself is unable to work out sound solutions to such problems; but in drawing attention to their moral aspects, to the inhumanity of capitalist relations, it makes its specific and very important contribution to the development of the democratic mass struggle. The contribution is a real one, and this in spite of the obvious damage that the largely emotional character of the "student revolution," which at times leads to utopianism and Leftist adventurism, does to the democratic forces. It expresses, even if in irrational and not infrequently distorted form, the needs that are gradually ripening among the broad masses and, by heightening their intolerance of modern capitalism, creates the decisive socio-psychological basis for extension of the revolutionary struggle.

A close alliance between the students and the working class is important not merely because it will broaden the forces of the antimonopoly coalition. It will at the same time help the student movement to rid itself of its present shortcomings and the mass workers' movement more widely and more actively to develop its struggle for radical changes, for democracy and socialism.

"Soviet youth are loyal to the principles of internationalism and they will continue to give all-round assistance and support to the just struggle of students of all continents for peace, national independence, the democratic rights and freedom of students, as well as for active reform and the democratization of higher education. . . . We are sure that the interests of the overwhelming majority of students are inseparable from the interests of the working class, and that the basic demands of the students can be satisfied only as a result of their joint struggle."

From a pamphlet issued by the Soviet Delegation at the 9th International Festival of Youth and Students in Sofia, July 1968

every level—from municipal Soviets to the USSR Supreme Soviet—receive their electors, as do their older colleagues. And at the next session they are able to say: “This has been suggested by the people living in my area.” Sometimes the wording is: “This has been suggested by the young people.”

YOUNG PEOPLE now account for half of the country's population. They comprise 40 per cent of those gainfully employed in industry and construction. They form the core of researchers in the modern branches of science: cybernetics, nuclear physics, radio electronics and the like.

A considerable number hold legislative posts. Some 12 per cent of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet are under 30. The same age group is represented to a somewhat smaller extent but generously—by an average of 10 per cent—in the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics. In the local Soviets, 330,000 of the deputies are young people. At 23 a citizen can be elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet, at 21 to the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and at 18 to the local Soviets.

The practice in many countries is to vest parliamentary and municipal authority in people much past their youth. It is not unreasonable, of course, to entrust the solution of vital social problems to people whose age and consequent experience guarantee sober consideration. On the other hand, youth does offer important judgmental values of its own. It is more sensitive, more active, less patient politically. Young people react energetically to events. They tend to act on their ideals, and they hate halfway measures.

By emphasizing these attributes inherent in youth, we do not by any means underestimate the merits of more mature age groups. We simply think it wiser to have the combination of qualities provided by different generations, for everyone's good.

The broad participation of young people in state administration gives them the background they need to take over. They acquire, well in advance, political knowhow; they gather experience and try themselves in practice. Young legislators Surid Jafarzade, a driller from Azerbaidzhan; Arkadi Kozlov, a Byelorussian worker; Anastasia Gumenyuk, a Ukrainian farmer, and many others have enlarged their political and social horizons. Previously they excelled in their own narrow trades and professions. Now, as deputies, they must become capable administrators as well.

The Komsomol, or the Young Communist League (YCL), plays an important part in many spheres of Soviet life. The central and

VLADIMIR MILYUTENKO

Youth in Politics

SEVERAL VILLAGES in Georgia recently held youth meetings with this one item on the agenda: a report from Latavra Skanogashvili, deputy to the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

Latavra, a 26-year-old collective farmer, lives in the village of Dvabza. When she received official confirmation in March 1967 that she had been elected a member of the legislature of her republic, she was pleased but petrified. Latavra is a tea grower. Does picking tea faster than anyone else, she asked herself, qualify a person for the legislature? But there it was. The people of the district had elected her. They must have felt that she would justify their trust.

After the first few months, she discovered that she had many more abilities than picking tea. Her electors, especially the young ones, had given her specific assignments. One village wanted its eight-year school to be made a ten-year school; another wanted its kindergartens open the year round, not only in the busy seasons; a third wanted a stadium and school built.

Leafing through a notebook full of such assignments, Latavra should have a real sense of achievement. The Georgian Supreme Soviet acted favorably on most of her requests and recommendations.

Her responsibilities spread to areas larger than her constituency when she was elected to a standing committee on conservation. She studied the problems involved and suggested legal measures to control misuse of natural resources. She made several appeals to rural youth, and they responded with suggestions and, more important, with action.

At Latavra's call, youth detachments rushed to check a dangerous insect pest that was moving in from the woods in Borzhomi Gorge. Later she was asked to compile a report on soil erosion and pest control in citrus orchards.

Once a month, everywhere in the country, young legislators on

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republican Komsomol organizations have the right to initiate legislation. They suggest action to the central government and the republics on many major youth issues, for example, laws regulating the employment of teenagers, those stipulating shorter working hours and work weeks for young people who study while holding a job, those providing better holiday facilities for teenagers and those allocating funds for the construction of clubs in newly developed industrial areas of the Far East, where the bulk of the workers are young.

Representatives of youth organizations are found among collegium members in the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education and the State Committee on Radio and Television. They are often invited to conferences at other ministries and departments when the discussion relates to youth. Such direct involvement enables the Komsomol to draw the attention of government bodies to the needs of young people.

Young factory workers submit their proposals for collective agreements. The Komsomol organization in the factory or office is consulted when young people are hired, fired or promoted and when housing and resort accommodations are allocated.

Groups and laboratories for sociological research have been set up by the USSR Komsomol Central Committee, the Komsomol Central Committees in the union republics and the regional Komsomol committees. Their widely circulated polls help publicize the opinions of young people on matters of moment.

These polls have demonstrated that young people are increasingly active politically. Indifference to politics as a tendency is practically nonexistent. The changes are both quantitative and qualitative.

Ural sociologists compared young people's political involvement in the twenties and sixties. The results are interesting. In the twenties, *i.e.*, just after the Revolution, 90 per cent of the time young people spent on politics went to meetings, rallies and demonstrations and only 10 per cent went to concrete activities. The proportion in the sixties is entirely different: 70 per cent is spent on concrete public assignments and only 30 per cent at meetings and rallies.

The shift is justified historically. In the twenties young people lacked political maturity and their cultural standards were lower. The more socially conscious had to spend much more time educating their coevals. There is much less need for that kind of propagandizing now and therefore more emphasis on activity.

In the past most of the speakers at meetings were activists; nowadays many ordinary young people speak their minds and decisions are taken after thorough discussion. The nature of youth meetings

has changed radically, and quite often they turn into heated debates.

This active interest in politics and the emphasis on action energize the young deputies and the leading Komsomol bodies. To maintain the confidence of their electors, they must keep in step with the times.

SOVIET young people openly state their opinions. Soviet youth organizations publish 63 magazines and 156 newspapers for children and young people in printings totaling 126 million copies a year. Soviet youth publishing houses print over 40 million books a year. There is a central youth radio station, *Yunost* (Youth). All TV studios in the country have youth sections and programs.

Youth papers hold regular, and very popular, forums on current topics. They also publish readers' letters of all kinds, including the critical variety.

Every so often *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the leading youth paper, will receive a letter from a young person who lives a long way from Moscow. It may report some arbitrary decision on the part of a local administrative body. The newspaper will then send a correspondent to the area to look into the matter. The findings are reported in the paper and the guilty brought to public notice. After reading such an article, a local bureaucrat is inclined to weigh his actions more carefully. A letter by a rank-and-filer can have wide repercussions.

Last year both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—set up standing youth committees. Similar committees were set up in the parliaments of the union republics. The USSR Supreme Soviet announced that these committees would give detailed consideration to the education, vocational training, employment, living conditions and leisure of young people and would submit appropriate draft laws.

The two youth committees in the USSR Supreme Soviet consist of 62 deputies (31 in each), including members of the Communist Party who have worked with young people, representatives of the Komsomol, young factory workers, scientists, educators and cultural workers.

Soviet youth is given every opportunity for political activity and uses the opportunity. The country wants many more of its citizens active in politics, the young ones particularly. Their contributions to public welfare must be competent and imaginative. To reach the high standards called for, much needs to be done by the Soviets, the Komsomol and other organizations.

NELLY KUZNETSOVA

A Science Center Named "Youth"

Early in 1968, a scientific-production association (SPA) was set up in Vilnius under aegis of the Central Committee of the Komsomol Organization of Lithuania. This youth firm was named "Yauniste" which, translated from Lithuanian, means "youth." APN correspondent Nelly Kuznetsova tells of the work of young scientists, specialists and students in it, of what the SPA actually does.

THE LIST of the firm's staff, including the management and all three departments—scientific organization of labor, economic research, and the introduction of inventions—consists of no more than thirty people. The members of the staff of Yauniste receive salaries on a par with those paid to the personnel of laboratories of scientific organization of labor and economic research belonging to state establishments. Its director—Sigitas Kalvenas, head of the sector of plasma phenomena in the Institute of Physics and Mathematics under the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences—was entitled to a monthly bonus of 200 rubles, but he refused to take the money and works in the firm without remuneration. As to the other employees of Yauniste, work there is their only job and therefore they receive their regular salaries in the SPA. As to the executives who are not on the staff (and they are the main force working on the execution of orders), they receive piece payment corresponding to the cost of the order executed, but not more than one half of their regular salaries. The only exception is students, who are entitled to receive up to 40 rubles per month.

What are the aims of the SPA Yauniste? The firm is an embodiment of the desire of the young scientific and technical intelligentsia to develop science at a rapid rate, to enhance the enforcement of the economic reform in the country. At the same time, Yauniste gives each young scientist or student the maximum possibility to express his or her individuality, an extremely important thing for every young person. Here he must independently search for and find the optimum solution to a problem. The very nature of the association obliges the young man to stand on the foremost boundaries of science. This teaches him to think independently, gives him confidence in his own

SCIENCE CENTER

abilities, and, therefore, inspires him to undertake still more difficult work. Besides, it gives him a feeling of being the full master of things, which makes him able to raise and solve problems of new prospects and tendencies in science.

The firm receives very different orders, which opens up the possibility of participation in their execution by people of many specialties and various qualifications. What sort of orders are they? Each one has a code number: "Ya-1," "Ya-2," etc. They include, for example, complex electronic instruments, a laboratory electromagnet with a high-tension magnetic field, or a pre-estimate of reserves of subterranean waters that are suitable for supplying several Lithuanian towns and can be put to use without preliminary prospecting. An acting mock-up was produced of a unique electro-roentgen apparatus for oncologists which permits a visual determination of the nature of a tumor and gives the doctor the possibility of immediately seeing whether it is a malignant one or not.

It frequently happens that a young scientist is interested in a problem that cannot be included in the plan of his own institute without setting aside other problems; in this case he comes to Yauniste with a proposal. Here he is helped to find a client and, as a rule, he becomes the leader of the work. In this way, young researcher Antonis Chesnis once came to SPA with a suggestion that an instrument for measuring the parameters of the semiconductor diode be produced. He himself needed this instrument for his Candidate of Science thesis. But this same instrument proved to be very necessary for the Institute of Physics of Semiconductors, too. It was produced in about ten days, and proved to be unique. It has been registered as the young scientist's invention.

This is what the monetary results of the work of Yauniste look like. From June to December 1968 the firm planned to fulfil orders to the total sum of 146 thousand rubles; in reality it fulfilled them to a sum of 160,873 rubles, 14,873 rubles more than planned. Yauniste made 27,465 rubles 79 kopeks profit in 1968. And as of January 1, 1969 it already had 10,574 rubles 70 kopeks in its bank account. That means that without spending a single ruble from the state budget, Yauniste managed to organize the young scientists of the republic to execute orders to a very considerable sum of money.

The prospects that open up to the participants in the association draw to it such a number of requests that Yauniste simply cannot comply with them all. It is obliged to hold very severe elimination trials. However, young specialists and students are given advantages—not less than half of each brigade must be selected from their

midst. This year special students' brigades will be established, too.

There is one more principle of selecting cadres for Yauniste—preferences are given to those who have been on Komsomol work and have good organizational abilities. Lukashyavichus-Lukoshes, for example, has been, and still is, a supernumerary secretary of the Leninsky District Komsomol Committee of Vilnius. In Yauniste he is the secretary of the Komsomol organization.

Recently, when the graduates of Vilnius University were being offered jobs, almost every third one asked whether it would be possible to work in Yauniste. But only three could be accepted there.

Where does the net profit (profit excluding salaries of staff workers and piece payments to those not doing staff work) go? Twenty-five per cent goes to the account of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Komsomol organization, and two per cent goes to the Komsomol organization of the enterprise where the order was being executed.

The Komsomol members from the Institute of Physics and Mathematics who participated in the work of Yauniste, for example, were able to purchase, with this two per cent, movie cameras, tourist tents, a motorboat for their sport section (used for water skiing). At present they are setting up a floating rest home, complete with yachts and boats.

But the bulk of the profit goes for important social actions. Last summer, for instance, Yauniste organized special courses in physics and mathematics for secondary school graduates who wished to enter the university. Of the 50 boys and girls studying at the courses, 46 were accepted.

Yauniste finances the young specialists' club "Under the Zodiac."

But with the growth of possibilities the scope of Yauniste's activities grow, too. At present SPA is designing a zone of rest in the ancient capital of Lithuania, Trokai. It will be a summer camp with a complete sport complex, where young people will be able to rest, find amusement, hold seminars, conferences, meetings, discussions.

In the future Yauniste plans to build a Young Scientists' House in Trokai, complete with a hotel, conference hall, cafe, etc., as well as a hostel for its staff employees.

And, most certainly, part of the profits made by Yauniste will go for the publication of the works of young scientists, for scientific competitions which are already being held. A competition has even been launched among journalists for the best essay or article about the life and work of young scientists.

All these plans are quite practical, since SPA has already signed contracts for the next few years for a total sum of one million rubles.

Legal Status of Soviet Youth

On the status and rights of young people in the USSR, their participation in the economic, political and cultural life of the country.

UNDER the socialist government of the Soviet Union there exist no social or other barriers to protection of the individual in society, such as the humiliating dependence of a young person on the income level of his parents, discrimination because of belonging to one class or another or on grounds of religious, national or racial origin.

The Constitution of the USSR, the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, and Soviet legislation, guarantee to the young people the right to work, full civil rights, free and wide access to science, culture and education.

Youth's right to work is guaranteed by the widest opportunities for vocational training and by the legal requirements for guaranteed employment and payment for their work and by special protection for the labor of young workers.

Socialism in its essence signalizes the end of the thousand-year enslavement and stagnation of working youth. On the very fourth day of the Revolution, the Soviet Government established a six-hour working day for juveniles, while retaining eight-hour-day wages. Only four hours work was permitted for young people 14 to 16.

Today youth makes up half of the population of the Soviet Union. Over 40 per cent of all workers in the national economy are under 30 years old. Out of every thousand lathe operators, 700 are young workers. Out of every thousand engineering and technical workers approximately 430 are under 30. Young people make up 45 per cent of all scientific workers.

In order to establish optimum conditions for working youth for acquiring specialized skills, raising their qualifications and getting the necessary education, Soviet legislation provides for a shortened working week, time out for study with wages paid, free or reduced tickets for travel in the USSR and so on.

By special legislation, young specialists who have graduated from secondary and higher education institutions, are guaranteed jobs in the field for which they have been trained.

In all factories, plants, state farms and other enterprises plans have been put into effect for raising the general educational and cultural-technical level of the workers and employees, without separating them from production. This is done by guaranteeing the necessary places for workers and employees in the schools for working youth (daytime or evening in accordance with working shift), in specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning, and also in the production and technical training courses inside the factory.

The right of young people to education is insured by free education in all schools and its accessibility to all, by a system of state stipends (for higher educational institutions), by the extensive development of evening and correspondence schools, and the special privileges allowed working youth to enable them to continue their studies.

In the Soviet Union, irrespective of what new types of school have been established at different stages of development, the following principles of the socialist organization of people's education have remained unchanged:

The state character of the system of education, excluding any private schools; the uniting in a single system of all educational and training institutions beginning with pre-school and ending with the higher schools; the democratic structure of schools at all levels—from the bottom to the top; equality of men and women; equal rights of all the people of the USSR with relation to education and the right to instruction in their native language; close ties of the school with life, with the actual practice of Communist construction, the combination of study with socially useful labor appropriate to age level, close ties of the schools and other educational and training institutions with the mass organizations of the workers and with Soviet society as a whole.

The Soviet system of public education includes: pre-school education; general education schools of different types; educational institutions of a lower type (regular and vocational and trade schools); of a middle type (technicums) and of a higher type (universities and institutes). It also includes different extra-mural institutions for children and adolescents and cultural-educational institutions for youth and adults.

Today in our country 80,000,000 people, a third of the population, are engaged in different forms of study. Half of the population has a higher or middle education. There are in the USSR 214,000 general educational schools (with about 50 million pupils), 756 institutes and universities. There are 8,478,000 students, of whom 4,167,000 are studying in technicums and 4,311,000 in higher educational establishments.

In the system of professional-technical education represented by 4,000 schools, there are great opportunities for young people to acquire any skill or profession. In the past ten years our lower trade-technical schools have trained about 7,000,000 workers for the national economy.

At the present time one fourth of all the students in the world are in the USSR. The 800,000 scientific workers in the USSR constitute a fourth of all the scientific workers in all the countries of the earth. Among them 16,600 are Doctors of Science; 152,300 hold the degree of Candidate of Science (equivalent to US Doctorate), 13,500 have the title Academician, Corresponding-Member or Professor and 52,000, the title of Lecturer (reader).

In 1968 expenditures of the government for education and the training of children increased by 400,000,000 rubles over 1967, and amounted to 9,500,000,000 rubles.

During the years of Soviet power the peoples of the former national outskirts of Tsarist Russia have undergone a social and cultural transformation that would have taken centuries to achieve under the old conditions.

Higher education in our country will continue its uninterrupted development. By 1970 we shall have about five million students in our higher schools (college level), by 1980—eight million, twice as many as in 1967.

The social rights of young people are guaranteed by paid vacations, free medical care, a wide network of sanatoria and health resorts, rest homes, tourist bases and sport camps, and cultural-educational institutions.

In the USSR there are about 120 Komsomol (Communist Youth) and youth newspapers in 24 languages of the peoples of the USSR, with an annual circulation of over three billion; 26 Young Pioneer newspapers with an annual circulation of over a billion; 21 youth journals with an annual circulation of

6,490,000, 35 Young Pioneers and children's journals with an annual circulation of over 100,000. There are special youth sections of radio and television.

There are three youth publishing houses in the country—"Young Guard," "Youth," "On Guard"—which publish over 40,000,000 copies of books a year.

Soviet youth have unlimited possibilities for participating in physical culture and sports. Today in the USSR there are 2,000 stadia, about 30,000 sport arenas, more than 60,000 soccer fields, and about 400,000 volley ball, basket ball and tennis courts. In 1940 there were about 62,000 physical culture collectives in the USSR, and at the present time more than 200,000. Every year about 8,000,000 young people are trained in physical culture collectives.

Soviet youth, like the whole Soviet people, have wide political rights. Young men and women who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. Article 135 of the Constitution of the USSR says also:

Every citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 23 is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

In accordance with Article 141 of the Constitution young people have the right to nominate their own candidates to Soviet government organs through youth organizations. Soviet youth have 182 representatives in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, highest organ of state power.

Women in the USSR have full equal rights with men.

Article 122 of the Constitution of the USSR states:

Women in the USSR are accorded all rights on an equal footing with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other social activity. The possibility of exercising these rights is insured by women being accorded the same rights as men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and also by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and to unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

In the March 1969 elections to the local Soviets, 923,313 women, or 44.6 per cent of the entire number of deputies, were elected. A large number of them were under 30 years of age; 425 women were deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its last session.

The Constitution of the USSR, (article 126) gives the right to the Soviet people, including the youth, to unite in their own non-governmental social, sport, cultural and other organizations.

A characteristic quality of Soviet youth is their *internationalism and international solidarity*. In the first days of its existence, the Soviet Republic came out for peace, against militarism and chauvinism, for friendship of the peoples. In the Soviet Union propaganda for war is forbidden by law.

At the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR a permanent standing commission was established on youth affairs, attached to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Youth Commission includes representatives of the government, trade union, youth, sport, public and other organizations and institutions of the country.

Similar commissions have also been organized in the local Soviets.

*Material prepared by the
UN Department of Social Development in the USSR.*

THE FIRST HALF CENTURY

The Soviet Union: The First Fifty Years, ed. by Harrison Salisbury. Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967. 484 pp., \$8.95. New American Library, 1969. 544 pp., paperback, \$1.25.

NOW AVAILABLE in paperback, this book is based on a series of articles that appeared in the *New York Times* during the Soviet Union's 50th anniversary year, when facilities for extensive observation and travel were provided for a dozen or more of that paper's correspondents and department editors. Despite the anti-Soviet bias of the editor and some of the contributors, these accounts add up to an impressive picture of the first half century of socialism and its achievements.

The picture would be even more impressive and the truth of history better served had the obstacles to these achievements been more fairly presented. For example, the opening 50-year chronology by Lee Foster of the *Times'* education department, notes (under December, 1917) that "the counter-revolution against the Bolsheviks was supported by the United States, Britain, France and Japan." The counter-revolution was in fact *instigated* by these powers. Nothing appears in the chronology (although Harrison Salisbury gives it passing mention later) about the subsequent *armed intervention* of these four nations and ten others, seeking to overthrow the new socialist regime. "Subsequently," notes Mr. Foster, "the great

civil war flickers out."

Flickers out! Tens of thousands of revolutionary youth, the best and the brightest of them, workers, peasants and intellectuals and Communist leaders, shed their blood to drive out the counter-revolutionary generals supported from abroad, the Wrangels, Yudenitchs, Denikins, Kolchaks and the rest, and the troops of fourteen invading nations.

The actual taking of power by the Soviets, supported overwhelmingly by the people, cost few lives. The bloody civil war was caused by the efforts of the capitalist allies to strangle socialism in its cradle. How vain was that effort was shown not only by that "flickering out" of the civil war by the defeat of the revolution's enemies, but also by the great common victory in 1945 which saved from fascism those of the former interventionists who became wartime allies of the USSR.

An outstanding chapter on "Building the Soviet Society: Housing and Planning," particularly pertinent to one of the main problems of our country today, is contributed by Ada Louise Huxtable, *Times* architecture critic.

Describing the "gargantuan construction" she saw under way in several cities, Miss Huxtable calls the Soviet housing program "the most concentrated attack on the industrialization of building anywhere in the world at any time in history," and "one of the most significant achievements of the Twentieth Century." She quotes A. Allan Bates, director of the Office of Industrial

Standards of the National Bureau of Standards, stressing that these are the words of an American, not a Soviet official: "The Soviet Union can now produce a four-room apartment for \$3,000 to \$3,500 that would cost \$10,000 in the United States. What the Russians have done is to develop the only technology in the world to produce acceptable low cost housing on a large scale."

The author writes that in order to solve the great housing shortage in the cities, construction had often been "quick, crude and untrained." These flaws have all been well reported in the US press, but it had failed to report "the remarkable advance in building technology in the Soviet Union in the last decade, leaving other countries far behind." While errors are still visible, she declares that, starting from virtually nothing, delayed by war, defense and military spending, there had been a "startling breakthrough."

Miss Huxtable goes into the stylistic deficiencies of past periods when design was sacrificed to haste. She now finds that despite some continuing monotony, Soviet builders and architects have established "a commendable design standard" that is "innovatory . . . rational and commendably handsome" and "are moving steadily toward stylistic sophistication."

She makes special note of the human aspects of Soviet housing achievements, with rents, even in the newer, better equipped and roomier apartments today "never more than four to five per cent of income." Best news of all, especially for women, is that while the problem has not yet been fully solved, multi-family occupancy is being eliminated, and the goal of one family to an apartment is being achieved in Moscow and other large cities.

Fred Hechinger, on education, finds that "a visitor to Russia learns quickly that children enjoy a very special status." Children's stores are the best

of all, with excellent selections of clothes and toys. Spacious, well equipped pre-schools are provided, where the atmosphere is "free and easy, but the day organized according to a strict timetable." The role of pre-school education is taken more seriously than in the United States. There is more stress on play, group activity and moral training.

In eight- and ten-year schools visited, Mr. Hechinger found the student-teacher relationship as "one of mutual respect tempered by informality." Perhaps the highest praise of the Soviet school system is found in his story of an American diplomat's daughter who, after attending a Moscow public school for a few months, startled her parents by asking: "Why do I suddenly want to learn so much?"

Mr. Hechinger described teaching methods as highly competent, though he felt them too rigid in some respects. But he found that a relaxation is taking place, with more elective subjects now introduced in the upper grades and much more discussion of the need for certain reforms. The same process is taking place in higher education.

He found that rural schools lagged behind those in cities because of the reluctance of many teachers to go to more remote areas.

Theodore Shabad, *Times* correspondent, geographer and author, contributes a most intelligent and well-informed discussion of the immense Soviet resources and their development, especially in Siberia, and reports knowledgeably on questions of population and manpower distribution. The chapter on "The Economic Machinery" by H. Erich Heineman is already rather outdated, since he was able to report only on the plans for the reform in economic management which were just beginning to go into effect, and their meaning does not seem to have been too clear to him.

The chapters on the arts defy at-

tempts at summary. Harrison E. Salisbury on the theater and literature, Milton Kramer on art, Harold C. Schonberg on music, all agree that the harsh repressions of the Stalin period are over, but find much to criticize in the official conservatism of the present. The whole question of freedom in the arts is a continuing cause of ferment

within the cultural world. The case of Anatoly Kuznetsov shows the complexity of the situation and how difficult it can be to draw the line between an honest writer who loves his country and supports the socialist system, yet who feels that inevitable shortcomings can only be corrected if dealt with
(continued next page)

ART AND REVOLUTION

Art and Revolution, Ernst Neizvestny and the Role of the Artist in the USSR, by John Berger. Pantheon, 1969. 191 pp., illustrated. Paperback, \$1.95.

THE BRILLIANT young English art critic John Berger confidently writes in the introduction to his study of the work of the Soviet sculptor Ernst Neizvestny that he believes he has made a useful contribution to art criticism, at this historical period:

"By taking and considering in depth a particular example, it throws light on the character of Russian art, the situation of the visual artist today in the USSR, the meaning of politically revolutionary art and some of the consequences of revolutionary consciousness."

Placing Neizvestny's work both in the context of the USSR and in the context of the worldwide struggle for an end to imperialist exploitation, Berger extends his vision far beyond any narrow, subjective consideration of the aesthetic value of Neizvestny's achievement:

"I wish to make no competitive claims for the importance of Neizvestny's art. Obviously I consider his art important, or I would not have spent a year thinking and writing about it. Yet during that year I have come to see that the arranging of artists in a hierarchy of merit is an idle and essentially dilettante process. What

matters are the needs which art answers."

It is thus Neizvestny's relevance to the world today that Berger proceeds to demonstrate in his subtle and wide-ranging analysis. This is creative art criticism indeed, continuously opening up new vistas of feeling and sensibility, rich in reference and illusions, illuminating in a new and original way the significance of man's struggle today against inequality on a worldwide scale:

"The people of three continents are involved in a struggle which they will never abandon until they have achieved freedom: not the nominal freedom of independent States, but the freedom for which all others so far imagined have been a preparation: the freedom from exploitation. When they have achieved this freedom—and at the longest it will be within a century—they will produce art unimaginable today. Unimaginable by us today because the freedom they win may change the condition of man. Meanwhile some of Neizvestny's sculpture is an interim monument to the endurance necessary at the beginning of the struggle."

Apart from the extremely interesting analysis of the artist's work, Berger has with consummate skill illustrated his study with photographs, reproductions of drawings, paintings, designs and that gives further depth and substance to the engrossing presentation.

MURRAY YOUNG

frankly (a category to which Kuznetsov himself had once appeared to belong) and the irrational betrayer of country, party, wife, child, pregnant sweetheart and closest friends that Kuznetsov turned out to be.

What is lacking in these chapters is an understanding of the role in holding back the trend toward greater freedom for writers that is played by the never-ending anti-Communist maneuvering of the imperialist countries, and the constant danger of nuclear war.

Clive Barnes gives an interesting and enthusiastic history of 50 years of Soviet ballet. While he feels that some of the older productions are too tradition-bound, he sees today a "new-found flexibility of purpose." He pays glowing tribute to outstanding achievements in new ballets and to the superb and matchless training and artistry of Soviet ballet performers. Schonberg too has the highest praise for the performing artists in music.

Several of the most interesting chapters are those on science and medicine by Walter Sullivan. He tells of the shackling effect of Lysenko's hold on science in a period he feels can never recur, and the great rebirth that has since taken place in the science of genetics in the USSR along with overall scientific growth. In "Keeping the Russians Healthy and Happy," he describes the widespread public health service and medical care free to the whole Soviet population. He quotes

US doctors on the high competence of Soviet surgeons and the excellent equipment of hospitals visited, and the high ratio of doctors and nurses to patients. Sullivan says: "The treatment of cancer in the Soviet Union has been organized on a national scale that is probably unique in medicine." He discusses birth control, "the pill," advances in psychology and neurophysiology and problems of pollution of air and water and how they are handled.

A separate chapter deals with Soviet space exploration.

Robert Lipsyte writes of the great role of sports exemplified by the fact that in 50 years the Soviet Union has increased sports participation, once only for the privileged, from 50,000 to 50,000,000 people and become one of the world's leading athletic powers.

While the editor seems to have conceived of his role as balancing the record of great and undeniable achievements set down by many of the *Times* reporters with negative comments of his own, he does make clear the emphasis of Soviet foreign policy on peace. In the new introduction to the paperback edition he stresses the need for US-USSR collaboration to avert the unleashing of nuclear weapons, the urgency of discussions between the two countries on limitation of missile weaponry, and the potentialities of collaboration should there be an end to the hostilities in Vietnam.

J. S.

THE ESSENTIAL WALTER

We Are All Poets, Really, by Walter Lowenfels. Intrepid Press, 1966. 56 pp., \$1.50. *Thou Shalt Not Overkill*, by Walter Lowenfels. Hallric Publications, 1968. 59 pp., \$2.50. *The Poetry of My Politics*, by Walter Lowenfels. Edited by Robert Gower. Oliviant Press, 1969. 161 pp., \$10.95. *The Portable Walter*, by Walter

Lowenfels. International Publishers, 1968. 160 pp., \$5.95, paperback, \$1.95.

TRYING to review four books by Walter Lowenfels is like trying to review life: each moment has its clear face, but when one tries to set out the multitudinous effect of the con-

verging and outmoving whole one is at a loss for words. Literally. For all the words seem in the poems. One has either to start quoting the poems, catching one after the other of the clearfaced moments, or else to write one's own poem, recreating words from the ground upwards.

I have had the good luck to know, sometimes well, a number of true poets: Hugh McCrae in Australia (not known outside), Dylan Thomas, Edith Sitwell, Paul Eluard, Nikolay Tikhonov, Tristan Tzara, Pablo Neruda; Walter Lowenfels belongs to this company. In these recent publications of his, prose passages or letters mingle with the verse, but there is no sense of a different voice. In the verse the voice takes on a greater intensity, a greater concentration of energies, but there is no manifest dividing line. The whole purpose and direction of a life has become poetry.

But what do we mean by that? Again the first thing to put out of mind is any idea of the poet-pose, of the poet striking an attitude or assuming his singing robes. *We Are All Poets, Really* is more than the title of a book: it is the pervasive emotion, the angle of vision, the basis of diction and imagery. In a way all dividing lines break down: Prose/poetry poetry/life Walter/you poetry/history time/timelessness.

There is affinity, obviously, with Walt Whitman, and Lowenfels has duly paid his tribute to that poet. But there is also a basis in surrealism with its dream of setting free the hidden or submerged creative faculty in all men and bringing about a universal lyricism spontaneously arising from the shared depths—and here we touch on the affinity with Paul Eluard.

Both Whitman and Eluard are, like Lowenfels, poets apparently easy to define and yet very elusive in their protean expansions, in the spaciousness of the embrace or in the extraordinarily

thin partition between the word and the emotion, the word and the life it represents: the spaciousness always peopled with real presences and the emotion always one that is shared.

If Walter has his affinities with Whitman and Eluard, it is not because of any imitation or echo; it is because of that remarkable purity of the flow of life into and out of the words, life in the last resort indistinguishable from the words, the breathing moment. It is the conquest of Time, which has no existence outside the voice, the rhythm.

Perhaps this brings us a little nearer to what I mean in saying that here living and singing are one, not merely because of the tune and the rhythm have invaded the poet and refuse to leave; but because living is also the ceaseless struggle to become conscious of what living implies. Living here and now, a desperate here and now, an infinitely rewarding here and now. Lowenfels himself is always explaining what this means, or putting it into practice. *The Poetry of My Politics* is one long lucid labyrinthine exposition of what I am trying to say.

The instantaneous or concrete present is the total existence of the poet at any moment, at the moment when past and future are included in the present, and when all words sing. But because he is also all men, his instantaneous present brings to a head all the great issues of the epoch, all that is most characteristic in the sufferings and aspirations of men in that epoch. Hence the success with which Lowenfels deals with the issues. They are never separate matters, something that he has to think about as the "problems of the age." They beat in on us from all sides, speak up out of the depths. So he never writes a "political poem." He writes poetry which is all himself and which is therefore instinct with the great human issues that politics in general deals with or fails to deal with, distorts or confuses with abstractions

and opportunist delimitations. His poetry is the struggle to disentangle this enormous totality in terms that most fully utter his emotions, his sensations in that instantaneous present.

He is thus able to use, as no other poet I know, the vast spaces reeling away into quassars and whatnot, and the infinitesimally small region of the vanishing particle.

*Last night I rocketed
above the radio region of the
spectrum.*

*No ligaments there of our twisted selves
so fouled up*

*nobody suspects anyone
of telling the truth,
we were all lovers in celestial bodies.*

*And there I saw you,
childbrother,
in the womb of the galactic center
aching to be born*

*one minute ahead of the appointed
birthday full of stinging telegrams
and flowers arriving just in time
to say we too can love
and live
above the Geiger-counter level.*

Holding fast to the human center, he becomes the poet of Peace, in the infinite agitation shaking his nerves and the furthest stars, obsessed with the problem of disentangling the shocks and spasms of human and natural process from the inhuman and unnatural pressures and distortions at work on us all the while, and thus reaching beyond them the true human essence which all the strontium and pesticides, all the lies and tyrannies, cannot destroy. He is thus the poet of hope, because the revelation of disaster can go no deeper. (*Thou Shalt Not Overkill, The Portable Walter*, and all the rest.)

Though his earliest book of verse is dated 1925 and he was learning all the while, his true role seems to me to begin effectively with the two pamphlet poems of 1953-4, then to find its

secure base in 1955 with *Sonnets of Love and Liberty*. From 1959 he reached his full strength and has since gone on confidently expanding. This latter phase seems to me to put him among the group of world-poets with true prophetic voices.

JACK LINDSAY

JACK LINDSAY is the well-known Australian-born British novelist, poet, biographer and critic. Among his best-known books are *Cezanne, His Life and Art* and *J. M. Turner, A Critical Biography*.

LENINGRAD

The Architectural Planning of St. Petersburg, by I. A. Egorov. Translated by Eric Dluhosch. Ohio State University Press, 1969. 237 pp., illustrated. \$15.00.

ANYONE who has fallen under the spell of Leningrad, that most enchanting of cities, will find this an absorbing book. First published in the Soviet Union in 1961, its author I. A. Egorov, a well-known Soviet architect and town planner, has been very well served by the translator Eric Dluhosch.

An architect himself, Mr. Dluhosch presents us with an English text of this highly analytical study that is at all times graceful and easily intelligible to the non-specialist. By means of close verbal analysis and skillfully selected drawings and photographs the reader is able to observe the unfolding of the design of this youngest of the great European cities, from its foundation in 1703 to the mid-19th century, at which time the overall pattern of the superb urban plan as we see it today, was completed in the heart of the city.

The planning and design of our own cities are at present very much on the agenda, at least as far as talk and speculation are concerned. This account of the first hundred and fifty

years of the establishment of the architectural plan of Leningrad should be of the greatest possible interest to everybody concerned with such matters.

OCTOBER

The October Revolution, Before and After, by E. H. Carr. Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. 178 pp., \$4.95.

PROFESSOR Carr's multi-volume *A History of Soviet Russia* is to date the most massive study of the establishment of the new Soviet Government written in English. This present volume, presumably published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR, is a gathering of articles written over many years on special aspects of Soviet history and development—collectivization, industrialization, the trade unions, the influence of Chernyshevsky's novel *What is to be Done?* on the revolutionary movement, the Revolution's historical significance.

The essays are infused with Carr's intensive knowledge of the considered subjects and his deep concern over many years to understand the full meaning of the Russian revolutionary experience.

DATED PROPHET

Against the Current, by Konstantin Leontiev. Translated by George Weybridge and Talley, 1969. 286 pp., \$7.50. *The Egyptian Dove*, by Konstantine Leontiev. Translated by George Reavey. Weybridge and Talley, 1969. 250 pp., \$7.50.

THE FIELD of translation from the Russian happily continues to widen. Konstantin Leontiev, 1831-1891, not before available in English, is presented in these two volumes as historian, philosopher and novelist. *Against the Current* is made up of

selections from his philosophical and historical writings. *The Egyptian Dove* is a novel.

Neither as philosopher, historian, writer on aesthetics, or novelist does Leontiev appear particularly original or profound. As a Russian in a country swiftly moving towards vast revolutionary changes Leontiev brings a special prophetic note of coming "catastrophe" in his writings. Nevertheless they remain, like so much of the writing of this period, hopelessly dated.

CHEKHOV

The Oxford Chekhov, Vol I. Short Plays. Translated by Ronald Hingley. Oxford University Press, 1968. 209 pp., \$5.60.

CHEKHOV's later full-length plays have already been published in Volumes II and III of this impressive edition of the great writer's plays and short stories. When complete this will be the first English translation that includes all of Chekhov's writing arranged in chronological order. (The short stories of 1895-1897 have been published as Volume VIII of the edition.)

Mr. Hingley is a sensitive translator and interpreter of Chekhov—see his prefaces and extensive notes in each volume. These one-act plays were for the most part written very early in the writer's career and, while slight in comparison with the great plays he wrote toward the end of his life, these brief "vaudevilles," as Chekhov called them, are both funny and sad in the manner that, fully matured, came to be known as "Chekhovian." Very much freshened in this translation, these amusing and touching sketches should renew their appeal, especially to amateur groups who have kept them in production in earlier versions for many years.

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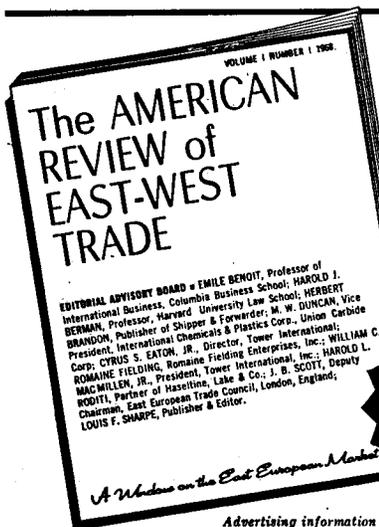
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