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CONCERNING MARXISM IN LINGUISTICS¹

By J. STALIN

A GROUP of younger comrades have asked me to give my opinion in the press on questions relating to the science of language, particularly in reference to Marxism in linguistics. I am not a philologist and cannot of

course satisfy the request of the comrades fully. As to Marxism in linguistics, as in other social sciences, this is something directly in my field. I have therefore consented to answer a number of questions put by the comrades.

QUESTION: Is it true that language is a superstructure on the basis?

Answer: No, it is not true.

The basis is the economic structure of society at the given stage of its development. The superstructure is the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical views of society and the political, legal and other institutions corresponding to them.

Every basis has its own corresponding superstructure. The basis of the feudal system has its superstructure, its political, legal and other views, and the corresponding institutions; the capitalist basis has its own superstructure, so has the socialist basis. If the basis changes or is eliminated, then following after this its superstructure changes or is eliminated; if a new basis arises, then following after this a superstructure arises corresponding to it.

¹ An animated discussion in fundamental problems of Soviet linguistics developed in the columns of the most widely read newspaper in the U.S.S.R., *Pravda*. Every Tuesday beginning on May 9 and to July 4, *Pravda* published articles on this subject by prominent Soviet linguists, among them Professor A. Chikobava, Academician I. Meshchaninov, Professor N. Chemodanov, Academician V. Vinogradov, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences L. Bulakhovsky.

J. Stalin participated in this discussion. We publish two articles by J. Stalin: *Concerning Marxism in Linguistics* and *Concerning Certain Questions of Linguistics*, which appeared in *Pravda* on June 20 and July 4, respectively.

In this respect language radically differs from the superstructure. Take, for example, Russian society and the Russian language. In the past thirty years the old, capitalist basis has been eliminated in Russia and a new, socialist basis has been built. Correspondingly, the superstructure on the capitalist basis has been eliminated and a new superstructure created conforming to the socialist basis. The old political, legal and other institutions have been consequently supplanted by new, socialist institutions. But in spite of this the Russian language has remained basically what it was before the October Revolution.

What has changed in the Russian language in this period? To a certain extent the vocabulary of the Russian language has changed, in the sense that it has been replenished with many new words and expressions, which have arisen in connection with the rise of new socialist production, the appearance of a new state, a new socialist culture, a new social milieu and ethics, and, lastly, in connection with the development of technology and science; a number of words and expressions have changed their meaning, have acquired a new significance; a number of obsolete words have dropped out of the vocabulary. As to the basic stock of words and grammatical system of the Russian language, which constitute the foundation of a language, they,

after the elimination of the capitalist basis, far from having been eliminated and supplanted by a new basic word stock and a new grammatical system of the language, have been preserved in their entirety and have not undergone any serious changes—have been preserved precisely as the foundation of modern Russian.

Further, the superstructure is a product of the basis, but this does not mean that it merely reflects the basis, that it is passive, neutral, indifferent to the fate of its basis, to the fate of classes, to the character of the system. On the contrary, having come into being, it becomes an exceedingly active force, actively assisting its basis to take shape and consolidate itself, and doing everything it can to help the new system finish off and eliminate the old basis and the old classes.

It cannot be otherwise. The superstructure is created by the basis precisely in order to serve it, to actively help it take shape and consolidate itself, to actively strive for the elimination of the old, moribund basis together with its old superstructure. The superstructure has only to renounce this role of auxiliary, it has only to pass from a position of active defence of its basis to one of indifference towards it, to adopt an equal attitude to all classes, and it loses its virtue and ceases to be a superstructure.

In this respect language radically differs from the superstructure. Language is not a product of one or another basis, old or new, within the given society, but of the whole course of the history of the society and of the history of the bases for many centuries. It was created not by any one class, but by the whole of the society, by all the classes of the society, by the efforts of hundreds of generations. It was created for the satisfaction of the needs not of one class, but of the whole of the society, of all the classes of the society. Precisely for this reason it was created as a single language for the society, common to all members of that society, as the common language of the whole people. Hence the functional role of language, as a means of intercourse between people, consists not in serving one class to the detriment of other classes, but in equally serving the whole of society, all the classes of society. This in fact explains why a language may equally serve both the old, moribund system and the new,

rising system; both the old basis and the new basis; both the exploiters and the exploited.

It is no secret to anyone that the Russian language served Russian capitalism and Russian bourgeois culture before the October Revolution just as well as it now serves the socialist system and socialist culture of Russian society.

The same must be said of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Armenian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Tatar, Azerbaijan, Bashkir, Turkmen and the languages of the other Soviet nations; they served the old, bourgeois system of these nations just as well as they serve the new, socialist system.

It cannot be otherwise. Language exists, language has been created precisely in order to serve society as a whole, as a means of intercourse between people, in order to be common to the members of society and constitute the single language of society, serving members of society equally irrespective of their class status. A language has only to depart from this position of being the common language of the whole people, it has only to give preference and support to some one social group to the detriment of other social groups of the society, and it loses its virtue, ceases to be a means of intercourse between the people of that society, and becomes the jargon of some social group, degenerates and is doomed to disappear.

In this respect, while it differs in principle from the superstructure, language does not differ from implements of production, from machines, let us say, which are as indifferent to classes as is language and may, like it, equally serve a capitalist system and a socialist system.

Further, the superstructure is the product of one epoch, the epoch in which the given economic basis exists and operates. The superstructure is therefore short-lived; it is eliminated and disappears with the elimination and disappearance of the given basis.

Language on the contrary is the product of a whole number of epochs, in the course of which it takes shape, is enriched, develops and is polished. A language therefore exists immeasurably longer than any basis or any superstructure. This in fact explains why the rise and elimination not only of one basis and its superstructure, but of several bases and

their corresponding superstructures, have not led in history to the elimination of a given language, to the elimination of its structure and the rise of a new language with a new stock of words and a new grammatical system.

It is more than a hundred years since Pushkin died. In this period the feudal system and the capitalist system were eliminated in Russia, and a third, a socialist system has arisen. Hence two bases, with their superstructures, were eliminated, and a new, socialist basis has arisen, with its new superstructure. Yet if we take the Russian language, for example, it has not in this long span of time undergone any fundamental change, and the modern Russian language differs very little in structure from the language of Pushkin.

What has changed in the Russian language in this period? The Russian vocabulary has in this period been greatly replenished; a large number of obsolete words have dropped out of the vocabulary; the meaning of a great many words has changed; the grammatical system of the language has improved. As to the structure of Pushkin's language, with its grammatical system and its basic stock of words, in all essentials it has remained as the basis of modern Russian.

And this is quite understandable. Indeed, what necessity is there, after every revolution, for the existing structure of the language, its grammatical system and basic stock of words to be destroyed and supplanted by new ones, as is usually the case with the superstructure? What object would there be in calling "water," "earth," "mountain," "forest," "fish," "man," "to walk," "to do," "to produce," "to trade," etc., not water, earth, mountain, etc., but something else? What object would there be in having the modification of words in a language and the combination of words in sentences follow not the existing grammar, but some entirely different grammar? What would the revolution gain from such an upheaval in language? History in general never does anything of any moment without some particular necessity. What, one asks, can be the necessity for such a language revolution, if it has been demonstrated that the existing language and its structure are fundamentally quite suited to the needs of the new system? The old superstructure can and should be destroyed and

replaced by a new one in the course of a few years, in order to give free scope for the development of the productive forces of society; but how can an existing language be destroyed and a new one built in its place in the course of a few years without causing anarchy in social life and without creating the threat of the disintegration of society? Who but a Don Quixote could set himself such a task?

Lastly, one other radical distinction between the superstructure and language. The superstructure is not directly connected with production, with man's productive activity. It is connected with production only indirectly, through the economy, through the basis. The superstructure therefore reflects changes in the level of development of the productive forces not immediately and not directly, but only after changes in the basis, through the prism of the changes wrought in the basis by the changes in production. This means that the sphere of action of the superstructure is narrow and restricted.

Language, on the contrary, is connected with man's productive activity directly, and not only with man's productive activity, but with all his other activity in all his spheres of work, from production to the basis, and from the basis to the superstructure. For this reason language reflects changes in production immediately and directly, without waiting for changes in the basis. For this reason the sphere of action of language, which embraces all fields of man's activity, is far broader and more comprehensive than the sphere of action of the superstructure. More, it is practically unlimited.

It is this that primarily explains why language, or rather its vocabulary, is in an almost constant state of change. The continuous development of industry and agriculture, of trade and transport, of technology and science, demands that language should replenish its vocabulary with new words and expressions needed for their functioning. And language, directly reflecting these needs, does replenish its vocabulary with new words, and perfects its grammatical system.

Hence:

- a) A Marxist cannot regard language as a superstructure on the basis;
- b) To confuse language and superstructure is to commit a serious error.

QUESTION: Is it true that language always was and is class language, that there is no such thing as language which is the single and common language of a society, a non-class language of its entire people?

Answer: No, it is not true.

It is not difficult to understand that in a society which has no classes there can be no such thing as a class language. There were no classes in the primitive communal clan system, and consequently there could be no class language—the language was then the single and common language of the whole community. The objection that the concept class should be taken as covering every human community, including the primitive communal community, is not an objection but a playing with words that is not worth refuting.

As to the subsequent development from clan languages to tribal languages, from tribal languages to the languages of nationalities, and from the languages of nationalities to national languages—everywhere and at all stages of development, language, as a means of intercourse between the people of a society, was the single and common language of that society, serving its members equally irrespective of their social status.

I am not referring here to the empires of the slave and medieval periods, the empires of Cyrus or Alexander the Great, let us say, or of Caesar or Charles the Great, which had no economic base of their own and were transient and unstable military and administrative associations. Not only did these empires not have, they could not have a single language common to the whole empire and understood by all the members of the empire. They were conglomerations of tribes and nationalities, each of which lived its own life and had its own language. Consequently, it is not these or similar empires I have in mind, but the tribes and nationalities composing them, which had their own economic base and their own languages, evolved in the distant past. History tells us that the languages of these tribes and nationalities were not class languages, but languages common to the whole of a tribe or nationality, and understood by all its people.

Side by side with this, there were, of course, dialects, local vernaculars, but they were dominated over by and subordinated to

the single and common language of the tribe or nationality.

Later, with the appearance of capitalism, the elimination of feudal division and the formation of national markets, nationalities developed into nations, and the languages of nationalities into national languages. History shows that national languages are not class, but common languages, common to the members of each nation and constituting the single language of that nation.

It has been said above that, as a means of intercourse between the people of a society, language serves all classes of that society equally, and in this respect displays what may be called an indifference to classes. But people, the various social groups, the classes, are far from being indifferent to language. They strive to utilize the language in their own interests, to impose their own special vocabulary, special terms, special expressions upon it. The upper strata of the propertied classes, who have divorced themselves from and detest the people—the aristocratic nobility, the upper strata of the bourgeoisie—particularly distinguish themselves in this respect. “Class” dialects, jargons, high-society “languages” are created. These dialects and jargons are often incorrectly referred to in literature as languages—the “aristocratic language” or the “bourgeois language” in contradistinction to the “proletarian language” or the “peasant language.” For this reason, strange as it may seem, some of our comrades have come to the conclusion that national language is a fiction, and that only class languages exist in reality.

There is nothing, I think, more erroneous than this conclusion. Can these dialects and jargons be regarded as languages? Certainly not. They cannot, firstly, because these dialects and jargons have no grammatical systems or basic word stocks of their own—they borrow them from the national language. They cannot, secondly, because these dialects and jargons are confined to a narrow sphere, are current only among the upper strata of a given class and are entirely unsuitable as a means of intercourse for society as a whole. What, then, have they? They have a collection of specific words re-

flecting the specific tastes of the aristocracy or the upper strata of the bourgeoisie; a certain number of expressions and locutions distinguished by refinement and gallantry and free of the "coarse" expressions and locutions of the national language; lastly, a certain number of foreign words. But all the fundamentals, that is, the overwhelming majority of the words and the grammatical system, are borrowed from the common, national language. Dialects and jargons are therefore offshoots of the common national language, devoid of all linguistic independence and doomed to stagnation. To believe that dialects and jargons can develop into independent languages capable of ousting and supplanting the national language means losing one's sense of historical perspective and abandoning the Marxist position.

References are made to Marx, and the passage from his article *St. Max* is quoted which says that the bourgeois have "their own language," that this language "is a product of the bourgeoisie," that it is permeated with the spirit of mercantilism and huckstering. Certain comrades cite this passage with the idea of proving that Marx believed in the "class character" of language and denied the existence of a single national language. If these comrades were impartial, they should have cited another passage from this same article *St. Max*, where Marx, touching on the way single national languages arose, speaks of "the concentration of dialects into a single national language as the result of economic and political concentration."

Marx, consequently, did recognize the necessity of a *single* national language, as the highest form, to which dialects, as lower forms, are subordinate.

What, then, can this bourgeois language be which Marx says is "a product of the bourgeoisie"? Did Marx consider it as much a language as the national language, with a specific linguistic structure of its own? Could he have considered it such a language? Of course, not. Marx merely wanted to say that the bourgeois had polluted the common national language with their hucksters' vocabulary, that the bourgeois, in other words, have their hucksters' jargon.

It thus appears that these comrades have misrepresented Marx. And they misrepresented him because they quoted Marx not

like Marxists but like dogmatists, without delving into the essence of the matter.

References are made to Engels, and the words from his *Condition of the Working Class in England* are cited where he says that "...the English working class has gradually become a race wholly apart from the English bourgeoisie," that "the workers speak other dialects, have other thoughts and ideals, other customs and moral principles, a different religion and other politics than those of the bourgeoisie." Certain comrades conclude from this passage that Engels denied the necessity of a common, national language, that he believed, consequently, in the "class character" of language. True, Engels speaks here of dialects, not language, fully realizing that, being an offshoot of the national language, a dialect cannot supplant the national language. But these comrades, apparently, do not regard the existence of a difference between language and dialect with any great sympathy.

It is obvious that the quotation is inappropriate, because Engels here speaks not of "class languages" but chiefly of class thoughts, ideals, customs, moral principles, religion, politics. It is perfectly true that the thoughts, ideals, customs, moral principles, religion and politics of bourgeois and proletarians are directly antithetical. But what has this to do with national language, or the "class character" of language? Can the existence of class contradictions in society serve as an argument in favour of the "class character" of language, or against the necessity of a common national language? Marxism says that a common language is one of the cardinal earmarks of a nation, although knowing very well that there are class contradictions within the nation. Do the comrades referred to recognize this Marxist thesis?

References are made to Lafargue, and it is said that in his pamphlet *Language and Revolution* he recognizes the "class character" of language, and denies the necessity of a common, national language. This is not true. Lafargue does indeed speak of a "noble" or "aristocratic language" and of the "jargons" of various strata of society. But these comrades forget that Lafargue, who is not interested in the difference between languages and jargons and refers to dialects now as "artificial languages," now as "jargons," definitely says in this pamphlet that

"the artificial language which distinguished the aristocracy... arose out of the language common to the whole people, which was spoken by bourgeois and artisan, by town and country."

Consequently, Lafargue recognizes the existence and necessity of a common language of the whole people, and fully realizes that the "aristocratic language" and other dialects and jargons are subordinate to and dependent on the language common to the whole people.

It follows that the reference to Lafargue misses the mark.

References are made to the fact that at one time in England the feudal lords spoke "for centuries" in French, while the English people spoke English, and this is alleged to be an argument in favour of the "class character" of language and against the necessity of a common language of the whole people. But this is not an argument, it is more like a joke. Firstly, not all the feudal lords spoke French at that time, but only a small upper stratum of English feudal barons attached to the court and in the counties. Secondly, it was not some "class language" they spoke, but the ordinary common language of the French. Thirdly, we know that in the course of time this French language had disappeared without a trace, yielding place to the common language of all the English people. Do these comrades think that the English feudal lords "for centuries" held intercourse with the English people through interpreters, that they did not use the English language, that there was no language common to all the English at that time, and that the French language in England was then anything more than the language of high society, current only in the restricted circle of the upper English aristocracy? How can one possibly deny the existence and the necessity of a common language of the whole people on the basis of laughable "arguments" like these?

There was a time when Russian aristocrats at the tsar's court and in high society also made a fad of the French language. They prided themselves on the fact that when they spoke Russian they lisped in French, that they could only speak Russian with a French accent. Does this mean that there was no common Russian language, no language of the whole people, at that time in Russia, that a common language of the whole

people was a fiction, and "class languages" a reality?

Our comrades are here committing at least two mistakes.

The first mistake is that they confuse language with superstructure. They think that since the superstructure has a class character, language too must be a class language, and not a common language of the whole people. But I have already said that language and superstructure are two different concepts, and that a Marxist must not confuse them.

The second mistake of these comrades is that they conceive the opposition of interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the fierce class struggle between them, as meaning the disintegration of society, as a break of all ties between the hostile classes. They believe that, since society has disintegrated and there is no longer a single society, but only classes, a common language of society, a national language, is unnecessary. If society has disintegrated and there is no longer a language common to the whole people, a national language, what remains? There remain classes and "class languages". Naturally, every "class language" will have its "class" grammar—a "proletarian" grammar or a "bourgeois" grammar. True, such grammars do not exist in nature. But that does not worry these comrades: they believe that such grammars will appear in due course.

At one time there were "Marxists" in our country who asserted that the railways left to us after the October Revolution were bourgeois railways, that it would be unseemly for us Marxists to utilize them, that they should be torn up and new, "proletarian" railways built. For this they were nicknamed "troglydites"....

It goes without saying that such a primitive-anarchist view of society, of classes, of language has nothing in common with Marxism. But it undoubtedly exists and continues to prevail in the minds of certain of our muddled comrades.

It is of course wrong to say that, because of the existence of a fierce class struggle, society has disintegrated into classes which are no longer economically connected one with another in one society. On the contrary, as long as capitalism exists, the bourgeois and the proletarians will be bound together by every economic thread as parts of one capitalist society. The bourgeois cannot live

and grow rich unless they have wage labourers at their command; the proletarians cannot exist unless they hire themselves to the capitalists. If all economic ties between them were to cease, it would mean the cessation of all production, and the cessation of all production would mean the doom of society, the doom of the classes themselves. Naturally, no class wants to incur self-destruction. Consequently, however sharp the class struggle may be, it cannot lead to the disintegration of society. Only ignorance of Marxism and complete failure to understand the nature of language could have suggested to some of our comrades the fairy tale about the disintegration of society, about "class" languages, and "class" grammars.

Reference is further made to Lenin, and it is pointed out that Lenin recognized the existence of two cultures under capitalism—bourgeois and proletarian—and that the slogan of national culture under capitalism is a nationalist slogan. All this is true and Lenin is absolutely right here. But what has this to do with the "class character" of language? When these comrades refer to what Lenin said about two cultures under capitalism, it is evidently with the idea of suggesting to the reader that the existence of two cultures, bourgeois and proletarian, in society means that there must also be two languages, inasmuch as language is linked with culture—and, consequently, that Lenin denies the necessity of a common national language, and, consequently, that Lenin believes in "class" languages. The mistake these comrades make here is that they identify and confuse language with culture. But culture and language are two different things. Culture may be bourgeois or socialist, but language, as a means of intercourse, is always a language common to the whole people and can serve both bourgeois and socialist culture. Is it not a fact that the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Uzbek languages are now serving the socialist culture of these nations just as well as they served their bourgeois cultures before the October Revolution? Consequently, these comrades are profoundly mistaken when they assert that the existence of two different cultures leads to the formation of two different languages and to the negation of the necessity of a common language.

When Lenin spoke of two cultures, he pro-

ceeded precisely from the precept that the existence of two cultures cannot lead to the negation of a common language and the formation of two languages, that the language must be a common one. When the Bundists accused Lenin of denying the necessity of a national language and of regarding culture as "non-national," Lenin as we know vigorously protested and declared that he was fighting against bourgeois culture, and not against national languages, the necessity of which he regarded as indisputable. It is strange that some of our comrades should be trailing in the footsteps of the Bundists.

As to a common language, the necessity of which Lenin allegedly denies, it would be well to pay heed to the following words of Lenin:

"Language is the most important means of human intercourse. Unity of language and its unimpeded development are most important conditions for genuinely free and extensive commercial intercourse on a scale commensurate with modern capitalism, for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its separate classes."

It follows that our highly respected comrades have misrepresented the views of Lenin.

Reference, lastly, is made to Stalin. The passage from Stalin is quoted which says that "the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were and remain in this period the chief directing force of such nations." This is all true. The bourgeoisie and its nationalist party really do direct bourgeois culture, just as the proletariat and its internationalist party direct proletarian culture. But what has this to do with the "class character" of language? Do not these comrades know that national language is a form of national culture, that a national language may serve both bourgeois and socialist culture? Are our comrades unaware of the well-known formula of the Marxists that the present Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other cultures are socialist in content and national in form, i. e., in language? Do they agree with this Marxist formula?

The mistake our comrades commit here is that they do not see the difference between culture and language, and do not understand that culture changes in content with every new period in the development of society,

whereas language remains basically the same through a number of periods, equally serving both the new culture and the old.

Hence:

a) Language, as a means of intercourse, always was and remains the single language of a society, common to all its members;

b) The existence of dialects and jargons does not negate but confirms the existence of a language common to the whole of the given people, of which they are offshoots and to which they are subordinate;

c) The "class character" of language formula is erroneous and non-Marxist.

QUESTION: What are the characteristic features of language?

Answer: Language is one of those social phenomena which operate throughout the existence of a society. It arises and develops with the rise and development of a society. It dies when the society dies. Apart from society there is no language. Accordingly, language and its laws of development can be understood only if studied in inseparable connection with the history of society, with the history of the people to whom the language under study belongs, and who are its creators and repositories.

Language is a medium, an instrument with the help of which people communicate with one another, exchange thoughts and understand each other. Being directly connected with thought, language registers and fixes in words, and in words combined into sentences, the results of thought and man's successes in his quest for knowledge, and thus makes possible the exchange of ideas in human society.

Exchange of ideas is a constant and vital necessity, for without it, it is impossible to coordinate the actions of people in the struggle against the forces of nature, in the struggle to produce the necessary material values; without it, it is impossible to ensure the success of society's productive activity, and, hence, the very existence of social production becomes impossible. Consequently, without a language understood by a society and common to all its members, that society must cease to produce, must disintegrate and cease to exist as a society. In this sense, language, while it is a medium of intercourse, is at the same time an instrument of struggle and development of society.

As we know, all the words in a language together constitute what is known as its vocabulary. The chief thing in a language's vocabulary is its basic stock of words, which includes all the root words as its nucleus. It is far less extensive than the language's vocabulary, but it persists for a very long time, for

centuries, and provides the language with a basis for the formation of new words. The vocabulary reflects the state of the language: the richer and more comprehensive the vocabulary, the richer and more developed the language.

However, by itself, the vocabulary does not constitute the language—it is rather the building material of the language. Just as in construction work the building materials do not constitute the building, although the latter cannot be constructed without them, so too a language's vocabulary does not constitute the language itself, although no language is conceivable without it. But the vocabulary of a language assumes tremendous significance when it falls under the charge of its grammar, which determines the rules governing the modification of words and the combination of words into sentences, and thus lends coherence and meaning to language. Grammar (morphology, syntax) is the collection of rules governing the modification of words and their combination into sentences. It is therefore thanks to grammar that language acquires the ability to invest man's thoughts in a material linguistic integument.

The distinguishing feature of grammar is that it gives rules for the modification of words not in reference to concrete words, but to words in general, not taken concretely; that it gives rules for the formation of sentences not in reference to particular concrete sentences—with, let us say, a concrete subject, a concrete predicate, etc.—but to all sentences in general, irrespective of the concrete form of any sentence in particular. Hence, abstracting itself, as regards both words and sentences, from the particular and concrete, grammar takes that which is common and basic in the modification of words and their combination into sentences and builds it into grammatical rules, grammatical laws. Grammar is the outcome of a process of abstrac-

tion performed by the human mind over a long period of time; it is an indication of the tremendous achievement of thought.

In this respect grammar resembles geometry, which in giving its laws abstracts itself from concrete objects, regarding objects as bodies not taken concretely, and defining the relations between them not as the concrete relations of concrete objects but as the relations of bodies in general, not taken concretely.

Unlike the superstructure, which is connected with production not directly, but through the economy, language is directly connected with man's productive activity, as well as with all his other activity in all his spheres of work without exception. That is why a language's vocabulary, being the most sensitive to change, is in a state of almost constant change, and, unlike the superstructure, language does not have to wait until the basis is eliminated, but makes changes in its vocabulary before the basis is eliminated and irrespective of the state of the basis.

However, a language's vocabulary does not change in the way the superstructure does, that is, by abolishing the old and building something new, but by replenishing the existing vocabulary with new words which arise with changes in the social system, with the development of production, of culture, science, etc. Moreover, although a certain number of obsolete words usually drop out of a language's vocabulary, a far larger number of new words are added. As to the basic word stock, it is preserved in all its fundamentals and is used as the basis for the language's vocabulary.

This is quite understandable. There is no necessity to destroy the basic word stock when it can be effectively used through the course of several historical periods; not to speak of the fact that, it being impossible to create a new basic word stock in a short time, the destruction of the basic word stock accumulated in the course of centuries would result in paralysis of the language, in the complete disruption of intercourse between people.

A language's grammatical system changes even more slowly than its basic word stock. Elaborated in the course of epochs, and having become part of the flesh and blood of the language, the grammatical system changes still more slowly than the basic word stock. It of course undergoes change with the lapse of

time, becomes more perfected, improves its rules, makes them more specific and acquires new rules; but the fundamentals of the grammatical system are preserved for a very long time, since, as history shows, they are able to render effective service to society through a succession of epochs.

Hence the grammatical system of a language and its basic word stock constitute its foundation, the specific nature of the language.

History shows that languages possess great stability and a tremendous power of resistance to forcible assimilation. Some historians, instead of explaining this phenomenon, confine themselves to expressing their surprise at it. But there is no reason for surprise whatsoever. Languages owe their stability to the stability of their grammatical systems and basic word stocks. The Turkish assimilators strove for hundreds of years to mutilate, shatter and destroy the languages of the Balkan peoples. During this period the vocabulary of the Balkan languages underwent considerable change; quite a few Turkish words and expressions were absorbed; there were "convergencies" and "divergencies." Nevertheless, the Balkan languages held their own and survived. Why? Because their grammatical systems and basic word stocks were in the main preserved.

It follows from all this that a language, its structure, cannot be regarded as the product of some one epoch. The structure of a language, its grammatical system and basic word stock, are the product of a number of epochs.

We may assume that the rudiments of modern language already existed in hoary antiquity, before the epoch of slavery. It was a rather simple language, with a very meagre stock of words, but with a grammatical system—true, a primitive one, but a grammatical system nonetheless.

The further development of production, the appearance of classes, the introduction of writing, the rise of the state, which needed a more or less well-regulated correspondence for its administration, the development of trade, which needed a well-regulated correspondence still more, the appearance of the printing press, the development of literature—all these caused big changes in the development of language. During this time tribes and nationalities broke up and scattered, intermingled and intercrossed; later there arose national languages and states, revolutions took place, and old

social systems were supplanted by new. All this caused even greater changes in language and its development.

However, it would be a profound mistake to think that language developed in the way the superstructure developed—by the destruction of that which existed and the building of something new. In actual fact, languages did not develop by the destruction of existing languages and the creation of new ones, but by extending and perfecting the basic elements of existing languages; the transition of the language from one quality to another taking the form not of an explosion, not of the destruction at one blow of the old and the creation of the new, but of the gradual and prolonged accumulation of the elements of the new quality, of the new language structure, and the gradual dying away of the elements of the old quality.

It is said that the theory that languages develop by stages is a Marxist theory, since it recognizes the necessity of sudden explosions as a condition for the transition of a language from an old quality to a new. This is of course untrue, for it is difficult to find anything resembling Marxism in this theory. And if the theory of stages really does recognize sudden explosions in the history of the development of languages, so much the worse for the theory. Marxism does not recognize sudden explosions in the development of languages, the sudden death of an existing language and the sudden erection of a new language. Lafargue was wrong when he spoke of a "sudden language revolution between 1789 and 1794" in France (see Lafargue's pamphlet, *Language and Revolution*). There was no language revolution, let alone a sudden one, in France at that time. True enough, during that period the vocabulary of the French language was replenished with new words and expressions, a certain number of obsolete words disappeared, and the meaning of certain words changed—but that was all. Changes of this nature, however, by no means determine the destiny of a language. The chief thing in a language is its grammatical system and basic word stock. But far from disappearing in the period of the French bourgeois revolution, the grammatical system and basic word stock of the French language were preserved without substantial change, and not only were they preserved, but they continue to live in the

French language of today. I need hardly say that five or six years is a ridiculously small period for the elimination of an existing language and the building of a new national language ("a sudden language revolution"!). For this centuries are needed.

Marxism holds that the transition of a language from an old quality to a new does not take place by way of an explosion, of the destruction of an existing language and the creation of a new one, but by the gradual accumulation of the elements of the new quality, and hence by the gradual dying away of the elements of the old quality.

It should be said in general for the benefit of comrades who have an infatuation for explosions that the law of transition from an old quality to a new by means of an explosion is inapplicable not only to the history of the development of languages; it is not always applicable to other social phenomena of a basis or superstructural character. It applies of necessity to a society divided into hostile classes. But it does not necessarily apply to a society which has no hostile classes. In a period of eight to ten years we effected a transition in the agriculture of our country from the bourgeois individual-peasant system to the socialist, collective-farm system. This was a revolution which eliminated the old bourgeois economic system in the countryside and created a new, socialist system. But this revolution did not take place by means of an explosion, that is, by the overthrow of the existing government power and the creation of a new power, but by a gradual transition from the old bourgeois system in the countryside to a new system. And we were able to do this because it was a revolution from above, because the revolution was accomplished on the initiative of the existing power with the support of the bulk of the peasantry.

It is said that the numerous instances of language crossing in past history furnish reason to believe that when languages cross a new language is formed by means of an explosion, by a sudden transition from an old quality to a new. This is absolutely wrong.

Language crossing cannot be regarded as the single impact of a decisive blow which produces its results within a few years. Language crossing is a prolonged process which continues for hundreds of years. There can therefore be no question of explosion here.

Further, it would be absolutely wrong to think that the crossing of, say, two languages results in a new, third language which does not resemble either of the languages crossed and differs qualitatively from both of them. As a matter of fact one of the languages usually emerges victorious from the cross, retains its grammatical system and its basic word stock and continues to develop in accordance with its inherent laws of development, while the other language gradually loses its virtue and gradually dies away.

Consequently, a cross does not result in some new, third language; one of the languages persists, retains its grammatical system and basic word stock and is able to develop in accordance with its inherent laws of development.

True, in the process the vocabulary of the victorious language is somewhat enriched from the vanquished language, but this strengthens rather than weakens it.

Such was the case, for instance, with the Russian language, with which, in the course

of historical development, the languages of a number of other peoples crossed and which always emerged the victor.

Of course, in the process the vocabulary of the Russian language was enlarged from the vocabularies of the other languages, but far from weakening, this enriched and strengthened the Russian language.

As to the specific national individuality of the Russian language, it did not suffer in the slightest, because the Russian language preserved its grammatical system and basic word stock and continued to advance and perfect itself in accordance with its inherent laws of development.

There can be no doubt that Soviet linguistics has nothing of any value to gain from the crossing theory. If it is true that the chief task of linguistics is to study the inherent laws of language development, it has to be admitted that the crossing theory does not even set itself this task, let alone accomplish it—it simply does not notice it, or does not understand it.

QUESTION: Did "Pravda" act rightly in inaugurating an open discussion on linguistics?

Answer: It did.

Along what lines the problems of linguistics will be settled, will become clear at the conclusion of the discussion. But it may be said already that the discussion has been very useful.

It has brought out, in the first place, that in linguistic bodies both in the centre and in the Republics a regime has prevailed which is alien to science and men of science. The slightest criticism of the state of affairs in Soviet linguistics, even the most timid attempt to criticize the so-called "new doctrine" in linguistics was persecuted and suppressed by the leading linguistic circles. Valuable workers and researchers in linguistics were dismissed from their posts or demoted for being critical of N. Y. Marr's heritage or expressing the slightest disapproval of his teachings. Linguistic scholars were appointed to leading posts not on their merits, but because of their unqualified acceptance of N. Y. Marr's theories.

It is generally recognized that no science can develop and flourish without a battle of opinions, without freedom of criticism. But

this generally recognized rule was ignored and flouted in the most unceremonious fashion. There arose a close group of infallible leaders, who, having secured themselves against any possible criticism, became a law unto themselves and did whatever they pleased.

To give one example: the so-called *Baku Course* (lectures delivered by N. Y. Marr in Baku), which the author himself had rejected and forbidden to be republished, was republished nevertheless by order of this leading caste (Comrade Meshchaninov calls them "disciples" of N. Y. Marr) and included without any qualification in the list of manuals recommended to students. This means that the students were deceived, a rejected "Course" being represented to them as a sound textbook. If I were not convinced of the integrity of Comrade Meshchaninov and the other linguistic leaders, I would say that such conduct is tantamount to sabotage.

How could this have happened? It happened because the Arakcheyev regime established in linguistics cultivates irresponsibility and encourages such arbitrary actions.

The discussion has been very useful first of all because it brought this Arakcheyev regime into the light of day and smashed it to smithereens.

But the usefulness of the discussion does not end there. It not only smashed the old regime in linguistics but also brought out the incredible confusion of ideas on cardinal questions of linguistics which prevails among the leading circles in this branch of science. Until the discussion began they hushed up and glossed over the unsatisfactory state of affairs in linguistics. But when the discussion started silence became impossible, and they were compelled to come out in the pages of the press. And what did we find? It turned out that in N. Y. Marr's teachings there are a whole number of defects, errors, ill-digested problems and vague propositions. Why, one asks, have N. Y. Marr's "disciples" begun to talk about this only now, after the discussion opened? Why did they not see it before? Why did they not speak about it in due time openly and honestly, as befits scientists?

Having admitted "some" errors of N. Y. Marr, his "disciples," it appears, think that Soviet linguistics can only be advanced on the basis of a "rectified" version of N. Y. Marr's theory, which they consider a Marxist one. No, save us from N. Y. Marr's "Marxism"! N. Y. Marr did indeed want to be and endeavoured to be a Marxist, but he failed to become one. He was nothing but a simplifier and vulgarizer of Marxism, similar to the *Proletcultists* or the *Rappists*.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics the incorrect, non-Marxist formula that language is a superstructure, and got himself into a muddle and put linguistics into a muddle. Soviet linguistics cannot be advanced on the basis of an incorrect formula.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics another and also incorrect and non-Marxist formula, regarding the "class character" of language, and got himself into a muddle and put linguistics into a muddle. Soviet linguistics cannot be advanced on the basis of an incorrect formula which is contrary to the whole course of the history of peoples and languages.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics an immodest, boastful, arrogant tone alien to Marxism and tending towards a bald and off-hand negation of everything done in linguistics prior to N. Y. Marr.

N. Y. Marr shrilly abused the comparative-historical method as "idealistic." Yet it must be said that, despite its serious shortcomings, the comparative-historical method is nevertheless better than N. Y. Marr's really idealistic four-element analysis, because the former gives a stimulus to work, to a study of languages, while the latter only gives a stimulus to loll in one's armchair and tell fortunes in the teacup of the celebrated four elements.

N. Y. Marr haughtily discountenanced every attempt to study groups (families) of languages on the grounds that it was a manifestation of the "ancestor language" theory. Yet it cannot be denied that the linguistic affinity of nations like the Slav nations, say, is beyond question, and that a study of the linguistic affinity of these nations might be of great value to linguistics in the study of the laws of language development. The "ancestor language" theory, I need hardly say, has nothing to do with it.

To listen to N. Y. Marr, and especially to his "disciples", one might think that prior to N. Y. Marr there was no such thing as linguistics, that linguistics appeared with the "new doctrine" of N. Y. Marr. Marx and Engels were much more modest: they held that their dialectical materialism was a product of the development of the sciences, including philosophy, in earlier periods.

Thus the discussion was useful also because it brought to light ideological shortcomings in Soviet linguistics.

I think that the sooner our linguistics rids itself of N. Y. Marr's errors, the sooner will it be possible to extricate it from its present crisis.

Elimination of the Arakcheyev regime in linguistics, rejection of N. Y. Marr's errors, and the introduction of Marxism into linguistics—that, in my opinion, is the way in which Soviet linguistics could be put on a sound basis.

Pravda, June 20, 1950.

CONCERNING CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF LINGUISTICS

Reply to Comrade E. Krashennikova

Comrade Krashennikova!

I shall answer your questions.

1. Question: Your article convincingly shows that language is neither the basis nor the superstructure. Would it be right to consider language a phenomenon belonging both to the basis and to the superstructure, or would it be more correct to regard language as an intermediate phenomenon?

Answer: Of course, language as a social phenomenon possesses the same common quality which is inherent in all social phenomena, including the basis and the superstructure, namely: it serves society just as all other social phenomena serve it, including the basis and the superstructure. But this, strictly speaking, exhausts the common quality inherent in all social phenomena. Beyond this, serious distinctions begin between social phenomena.

The fact is that social phenomena have, besides this common quality, their own specific peculiarities which distinguish them from each other and which are most important for science. The specific peculiarities of the basis consist in that it serves society in the economic field. The specific peculiarities of the superstructure consist in that it provides society with political, legal, aesthetic and other ideas and creates for society the corresponding political, legal and other institutions. What then are the specific peculiarities of language which distinguish it from other social phenomena? They consist in that language serves society as a means of intercourse among people, as a means of exchanging thought in society, as a means enabling people to understand each other and to arrange joint work in all spheres of human activity, in the sphere of production as well as in the sphere of economic relations, in the sphere of politics as well as in

the sphere of culture, in public as well as in private life. These peculiarities belong only to language, and precisely because they belong only to language, the latter constitutes the object of study by an independent science—linguistics. If language did not have these peculiarities, linguistics would lose its right to independent existence.

Briefly: language cannot be classed either with the basis or with the superstructure.

Neither can it be classed as an “intermediate” phenomenon between the basis and the superstructure, for such “intermediate” phenomena do not exist.

But perhaps language could be classed among the productive forces of society, among, let us say, the instruments of production? Indeed, a certain analogy does exist between language and the instruments of production: the instruments of production, like language, evince a kind of indifference toward classes and can serve equally different—both old and new—classes of society. Does this justify classing language among the instruments of production? No, it does not.

At one time, N. Y. Marr, seeing that his formula—“language is a superstructure on the basis”—was encountering objections, decided to “readjust” himself and announced that “language is an instrument of production.” Was N. Y. Marr right in classing language among the instruments of production? No, he certainly was not.

The point is that the similarity between language and instruments of production ends with the analogy I have just mentioned. On the other hand, however, there is a fundamental difference between language and the instruments of production. This difference is that while the instruments of production

produce material values, language produces nothing or "produces" words only. To be more exact, people possessing instruments of production can produce material values, whereas the very same people, having a language, but lacking the instruments of production, cannot produce material values. It is not difficult to understand that were language capable of producing material values, windbags would be the richest men on earth.

2. Question: Marx and Engels define language as "the direct reality of thought," as "practical . . . actual consciousness." "Ideas," Marx says, "do not exist divorced from language." To what extent, in your opinion, should linguistics deal with the meaning-aspect of language, semantics and historical semasiology and stylistics, or should form alone be the subject of linguistics?

Answer: Semantics (semasiology) is one of the important branches of linguistics. The meaning of words and expressions is of serious importance in the study of language. Therefore semantics (semasiology) must be assured a fitting place in linguistics.

However, in elaborating problems of semantics and in utilizing its data, its significance must by no means be overestimated, and all the more so it must not be misused. I have in mind certain philologists, who, indulging excessively in semantics, disregard language as "the direct reality of thought" inseparably connected with thinking, who divorce thinking from language and maintain that language is outliving its time and that it is possible to get along without language.

Note these words of N. Y. Marr's:

"Language exists only inasmuch as it is revealed in sounds; the action of thinking proceeds also without revealing itself Language (vocal language) has already begun to yield its functions to the latest inventions which are inexorably conquering space, while thinking, proceeding from its unutilized accumulations of the past and its new attainments, is on the upgrade, and will oust and fully replace language. The language of the future is thinking which develops in technique free of natural matter. No language, even vocal language, which is after all connected with the standards of nature, can hold its own against it." (See *Selected Works* of N. Y. Marr.)

If we translate this "labour-magic" gibberish into ordinary human language, the conclusion may be drawn that:

a) N. Y. Marr divorces thinking from language;

b) N. Y. Marr considers that intercourse among people can be maintained even without language, by means of thinking itself, of thinking free of the "natural matter" of language, free of "the standards of nature;"

c) in divorcing thinking from language and "having freed" it from "the natural matter" of language, N. Y. Marr lands in the swamp of idealism.

It is said that thoughts arise in the mind of man before they are expressed in speech, that they arise dissociated from the fabric of language, without a language integument, in a naked form, so to say. But this is absolutely wrong. Whatever the thoughts that may arise in the mind of man and whenever they may arise, they can arise and exist only on the basis of the fabric of the language, on the basis of language terms and phrases. Naked thoughts free of the language fabric, free of "the natural matter" of language, do not exist. "Language is the direct reality of thought" (Marx). The reality of thought manifests itself in language. Only idealists can speak of thinking divorced from the "natural matter" of language, of thinking without language.

To be short: overestimation of semantics and its misuse led N. Y. Marr to idealism.

Consequently, if semantics (semasiology) is safeguarded against exaggerations and misuse of the kind N. Y. Marr and some of his "disciples" practise, it can greatly benefit linguistics.

3. Question: You say quite rightly that the ideas, concepts, customs and moral principles of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are diametrically opposed. The class character of these phenomena has unquestionably affected the semantic aspect of language (and at times also its form—the vocabulary—as is correctly pointed out in your article). In analyzing concrete language material and, first of all, the semantic aspect of language, can we speak of the class essence of the concepts expressed by it, particularly in cases when the matter concerns the expression through language not only of the thoughts of man, but also his attitude to-

wards reality, in which attitude his class affinity finds especially clear expression?

Answer: In brief, you want to know whether classes influence language, whether they contribute their specific words and expressions to language, whether there are cases when people attach a different meaning to the same words and expressions in accordance with the class they belong to?

Yes, classes do influence language, contribute their own specific words and expressions to language and at times understand the same words and expressions differently. That is unquestionably so.

It does not follow from this, however, that specific words and expressions, as well as differences in semantics, can be of serious importance for the development of a single language common to the whole people, that they are capable of reducing its significance or of changing its character.

Firstly, such specific words and expressions, as well as cases of difference in semantics, are so few in language that they hardly add up to one per cent of the entire language material. Consequently, all the remaining bulk of words and expressions, as well as their semantics, are *common* to all classes of society.

Secondly, specific words and expressions with a class tinge in them are used in speech not according to the rules of some sort of "class" grammar, which does not exist in reality, but according to the rules of the grammar of the existing language common to the whole people.

Hence, the fact that there exist specific words and expressions and the differences in the semantics of languages do not refute, but, on the contrary, confirm the existence of and need for a single language common to the whole people.

4. Question: In your article you quite rightly qualify Marr as a vulgarizer of Marxism. Does this mean that linguists, including us, the younger generation, should discard the *whole* of the linguistic heritage of Marr, who after all has to his credit a number of valuable linguistic research works (Comrades Chikobava, Sanzhayev and others wrote about them in the discussion)? Can we, approaching Marr critically, take from him nonetheless what is useful and valuable?

Answer: Of course, the works of N. Y. Marr do not consist of errors only. N. Y. Marr grossly blundered when he introduced into linguistics elements of Marxism in a distorted form, when he tried to create an independent theory of language. But N. Y. Marr has certain good and ably written works, in which, forgetting his theoretical pretences, he conscientiously and, one must say, capably analyzes individual languages. In such works one may find a good deal of what is valuable and instructive. It stands to reason that what is valuable and instructive should be taken from N. Y. Marr and utilized.

5. Question: Many linguists consider formalism to be one of the main causes of the stagnation in Soviet linguistics. I would very much like to know your opinion as to what formalism in linguistics is and how it should be overcome?

Answer: N. Y. Marr and his "disciples" accuse of "formalism" all philologists who do not accept the "new doctrine" of N. Y. Marr. This of course is unfounded and silly.

N. Y. Marr regarded grammar as an empty "formality", and people who consider the grammatical system the basis of language as formalists. This is altogether foolish.

I think that "formalism" was invented by the authors of the "new doctrine" to make it easier for them to fight their opponents in linguistics.

The cause of the stagnation in Soviet linguistics is not the "formalism" invented by N. Y. Marr and his "disciples," but the Arakcheyev regime and the theoretical gaps in linguistics. The Arakcheyev regime was created by the "disciples" of N. Y. Marr. The theoretical muddle in linguistics was brought about by N. Y. Marr and his closest associates. To get rid of the stagnation, the one and the other must be eliminated. The elimination of these ulcers will place Soviet linguistics on a sound footing, lead it out onto a wide road and enable Soviet linguistics to occupy the first place in world linguistics.

June 29, 1950

J. STALIN

STATEMENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

*Adopted at the Joint Session of the Soviet of the
Union and Soviet of Nationalities on June 19, 1950*

HAVING heard the report of deputy V. V. Kuznetsov on the reception by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet of the delegation of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, which was headed by Yves Farge, and also the Appeal of the Stockholm Session of the Permanent Committee, demanding that the atomic weapon be banned, that strict international control be established to enforce this ban, and that the first government to employ this weapon as an instrument of aggression and mass annihilation be proclaimed a war criminal—the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously declares its solidarity with the proposals of the Permanent Committee.

These proposals of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress fully conform with the urgent demands of all peoples and their desire for stable and lasting peace throughout the world.

Voicing the unbending will of the Soviet people for peace, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. signifies its readiness to co-operate with the legislatures of other countries in devising and carrying out the necessary measures for giving effect to the proposals of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is confident that the Soviet Government, which consistently advocates peace and cooperation among nations, will continue firmly and resolutely to follow this policy of promoting peaceful and friendly relations among nations, and will undertake all necessary measures through the United Nations and utilize all other media for safeguarding general peace and international security.

Furthermore, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is confident that the movement of the partisans of peace, and particularly the Stockholm Appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, will receive the unanimous support of the entire Soviet people.

ON THE COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES TO THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL IN THE U.S.S.R.

RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE

* * *

THE Plenum of the Soviet Peace Committee notes with the utmost satisfaction that the Soviet people have expressed their full and unanimous approval of the Statement of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet concerning the World Peace Committee's proposals to ban the atomic weapon, to establish strict international control over the implementation of this ban, and to denounce as a war criminal the government that first employs this weapon of aggression and mass extermination of human beings.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has expressed its confidence that the movement of peace supporters, and primarily the Stockholm Appeal of the Permanent World Peace Committee will be unanimously endorsed by all the Soviet people.

All the peoples of the U.S.S.R. warmly support and always have supported the efforts of the organized peace front in behalf of peace and against the plotters of a new war. They spare no effort to ensure the success of the just and noble work of promoting peace and friendship among the nations.

The Plenum of the Soviet Peace Committee considers it necessary beginning with June 30th to start collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal of the Permanent World Peace Committee on the prohibition of the atomic weapon. The Plenum of the Soviet Peace Committee calls on all Soviet people to affix their signatures to this Appeal.

The Soviet Peace Committee, under whose direction the signature campaign will take place, is firm in the confidence that all the Soviet people will respond to this Appeal.

In signing the Stockholm Appeal, Soviet men and women will be expressing their fidelity to the cause of peace, their readiness to uphold peace throughout the world, their monolithic unity around their beloved Bolshevik Party and their boundless devotion to the great standard-bearer of peace, the leader of all the peoples, Comrade Stalin.

SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE:

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M. *Tursun-Zade*, Tadjik author;

L. P. *Alexandrovskaya*, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.;

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A. S. *Chutkikh*, Stalin Prize Winner, assistant foreman at the *Krasnokholmiski* Worsted Woollens Works, Moscow region;

E. I. *Bobokhodzhayev*, Honoured Doctor of the Tadjik S. S. R.;

K. *Baiseitova*, People's Artist of the U. S. S. R., Kazakhstan;

N. A. *Dimo*, member, Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, Doctor of Agricultural Sciences (Moldavia);

T. I. *Yershova*, secretary of the Central Committee of the Lenin Young Communist League of the Soviet Union;

D. A. *Korobkov*, locomotive engineer, Tula depot;

U. A. Zavadsky, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., art director of the Theatre of the Moscow Soviet;
N. I. Zarian, author;
S. Ishanturayeva, People's Artist of the Uzbek S.S.R.;
I. A. Kairov, president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the R.S.F.S.R.;
A. I. Porozova, Hero of Socialist Labour, section leader at the *Avangard kolkhoz*, Gorky region;
D. K. Karpova, Honoured Artist of the Karelian-Finnish S.S.R.;
F. I. Nasedkin, Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth;
L. F. Ilyichev, assistant editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Pravda*;
M. I. Kotov, journalist, responsible secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee;
G. N. Leonidze, author;
K. S. Kuznetsova, secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions;
G. M. Dubinin, marker at the *Krasniy Vyborzhets* plant, Leningrad;
G. P. Litovchenko, chairman, Stalin kolkhoz, Kherson region, Ukrainian S.S.R.;
A. G. Mordvinov, president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Architecture;
G. Nepesov, Doctor of Historical Sciences, departmental head at the Ashkhabad Pedagogical Institute;
V. I. Kochemasov, chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth;
V. I. Pudovkin, film director;
N. A. Rossiisky, foreman at the *Kalibr* plant in Moscow;
T. Sydykbekov, author, Kirghizian S.S.R.;
E. I. Smilgis, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., director of the Latvian Art Theatre;
A. A. Surkov, author;
E. V. Tarle, academician;
A. N. Timonen, chairman of the Writers' Union of the Karelian-Finnish S.S.R.;
M. A. Topchibashev, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaidjan S.S.R.;
E. N. Khokhol, departmental head at the Kiev Medical Institute, professor, M. D.;
M. E. Chiaureli, film director;
D. D. Shostakovich, composer;
N. K. Yarygina, forewoman, *Bolshaya-Ivanovskaya* Textile Mills;
A. T. Venclova, author;
Z. N. Gagarina, assistant rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, member of the Presidium of the Women's International Democratic Federation;
S. A. Gerasimov, film director;
M. I. Gorelovskaya, member of the Board of Managers of *Tsentrosoyuz*;
D. I. Zaslavsky, journalist;
P. A. Krucheniuk, Moldavian author;
Nicolai, metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna.

115,275,940
SOVIET CITIZENS SIGN STOCKHOLM
APPEAL

The Soviet Peace Committee has tallied the results of the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal of the World Peace Committee demanding the prohibition of the atomic weapon and denunciation of the first government to employ this weapon of aggression and mass murder as a war criminal. By decision of the Soviet Peace Committee, all citizens sixteen years of age and over were eligible to sign the Stockholm Appeal.

On the basis of reports received from the towns and villages, the Soviet Peace Committee has established that the signature campaign has been completed throughout the country, except for a few remote areas where it will also be over in the near future.

From June 30, when the campaign began, to August 1, a total of 115,275,940 Soviet citizens signed the Appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

The results of the campaign show that the entire adult population of the Soviet Union is unanimously opposed to war and desires the prohibition of the atomic weapon, the establishment of international control over the observance of this ban, and the condemnation of the government which first employs the atomic weapon against any other country as a war criminal.

The Soviet people, by unanimously signing the Stockholm Appeal, have demonstrated to the whole world their profound desire for peace and their firm resolve to cooperate with all peoples. They have made a further contribution to the noble cause of the struggle against war, for the consolidation of peace, for security among the nations. The international organized front of peace partisans has a true and reliable mainstay in the Soviet people.

At their many meetings, the working people of the U.S.S.R. stigmatized the foreign aggressors, who are waging a predatory war against the Korean people. The Soviet people demand the evacuation of foreign troops from Korea.

The response to the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal was marked by great political enthusiasm in the cities and villages of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet people demonstrated their unqualified and unanimous approval of the Soviet government's Stalinist foreign policy of peace.

The results of the campaign for signatures to the Appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress show that the peoples of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of their government, will continue in future to march in the front ranks of the fighters against war, for the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IS SPREADING AND GAINING STRENGTH

By *A. Belyakov*

THE present stage in the development of international events is marked by the steady growth of the movement for peace. The origin and development of this movement are direct results of the profound changes that have taken place in the international situation today, results of the growing political experience of the masses, their increased degree of organization, their preparedness for struggle.

J. V. Stalin has pointed out that the defeat and liquidation of the main centres of fascism and world aggression have brought about profound changes in the political life of the peoples of the world, and the extensive growth of the democratic movement among the peoples. The masses of people taught by the experience of the war, have come to understand that the fate of the state cannot be entrusted to reactionary rulers pursuing narrow-caste and mercenary anti-national aims. It is for this reason, notes Stalin, that the peoples, refusing to live in the old way any longer, are taking the fate of their states in their own hands, establishing democratic regimes and carrying on an active struggle against the forces of reaction, against the instigators of a new war.

The ideas inspiring the partisans of peace, and the character of the peace movement have nothing in common with abstract pacifist theories. The movement for peace is a mass movement of determined active struggle against the instigators of war; its participants are prepared to fight to the end, to the complete extermination of anti-social wars and the causes engendering them.

The powerful basis of the movement for peace and the inexhaustible source of its growing strength lie in the fact that it unites millions of people throughout the world, members of the most varied classes, social groups and strata of modern society whose interests coincide on the question of preventing war,

and are therefore opposed to the interests of imperialism.

*

U.S.A. monopoly capitalism is pushing with ever growing insolence its claims to economic and political supremacy over the whole world and the subordination of all countries and peoples to its rule. It is natural that the actions of these new pretenders to world supremacy—the American monopoly magnates who are steering towards a new war—should stir up the unanimous opposition of the widest masses who have risen to the defence of peace.

Under the guise of “aid”, U.S.A. imperialism is subordinating all aspects of the economy, politics and culture of the West European countries to its rapacious interests, to its policy of making ready for a third world war, and is violating their independence in every way. Not only Belgium, Denmark and Holland have been caught in the net of the “Marshall plan”; England, France and Italy have also become enmeshed. The home production of these countries is becoming ever more meagre, more curtailed; unemployment and poverty are spreading among their toiling masses. The number of employed and partially employed in the capitalist countries has passed the 40,000,000 mark. The huge expenditures for war preparations have hit hardest of all at the living conditions of the working class. In their search for a way out of the economic difficulties engendered by the “Marshall plan”, the capitalists are intensifying the exploitation of the workers. Prices on consumers’ goods are rising, while wages are kept artificially frozen at the same level; bourgeois governments are making inroads on the elementary rights of the working class, limiting the activity of the trade unions and adopting draconian labour laws.

The "Marshall plan" and the armaments race have brought great misery to the peasantry as well. The governments of the Marshallized countries, anxious to curry favour with the American monopolies, are curtailing whole branches of agriculture. French farmers were recently ordered to cut down the area sown to sugar beets by 20%; in Holland large quantities of vegetables are being thrown away because Dutch exports to Western Germany have been reduced on Wall Street's orders. A severe agricultural crisis, high taxes, increasing impoverishment and indebtedness of the peasantry—such is the situation in the Marshallized West European countries today. The threat of ruin and poverty also hangs over the small tradesmen, artisans and other strata of the urban population.

The policy of preparation for war affects the vital interests of the intellectuals as well. The cinema industry of England, France and Italy is closing down, unable to compete with lowgrade Hollywood films; theaters are shutting down; book editions are being reduced and their sales falling off on a book market flooded by cheap American detective trash. Reactionary governments demand that scientific workers direct their research to further the preparation of war. Dismissals of progressive professors who refuse to devote their knowledge to the destruction of human life are becoming more frequent. An example of this campaign of the reactionaries against honest and daring fighters for peace is the removal in France from the post of High Commissioner of Atomic Energy—on orders from the U.S.A.—of Frédéric Joliot-Curie, an outstanding scientist fighting for the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Only mercenary hypocrites from the bourgeois class and their yes-men in the Right Socialist parties can represent "American aid" as a "humane act of charity"! Experience is convincing the peoples more and more strongly that U.S.A. monopoly capital can only give help in a capitalist manner, i. e., by robbing and exploiting its victims.

Who profits from "American aid"? Only the top capitalist cliques in the West European countries, who are pocketing the dollar-bill alms. That is why the big bourgeoisie of the Marshallized countries, driven by its mercenary class interests, colludes with the

monopolies of the U.S.A. All the other classes and strata of capitalist society are forced by the very trend of events to enter the active struggle against the economic and political expansion of American imperialism which is supported by the ruling circles in the European bourgeois states.

* * *

The working class of the capitalist countries is answering the offensive of the monopolies by a powerful strike movement. Every now and then a wave of strikes sweeps through the industry of France and Italy. Strikes flare up in England, Australia, Belgium, India and other countries. Even in the U.S.A., the citadel of capitalism, strikes are continually going on: in the four years since the war over 13,000,000 workers have been on strike there.

The workers are coming to realize more and more clearly that the impoverishment of the masses and the lowering of their standard of living are a direct result of the war preparations and the armament race. That is why the struggle of the working class for its economic interests is growing into a struggle against the criminal policy of the ruling groups, which are involving their countries in aggressive blocs headed by the U.S.A.

The World Federation of Trade Unions which unites over 78,000,000 organized workers of almost all countries has drawn up a platform of struggle for workers' rights and economic interests, and for the prevention of a new war. And it is meeting with ever greater success in the fight for these aims, strengthening the international unity of the working class, and drawing ever wider masses into concrete action in defence of peace.

In the struggle for peace the working class has been joined by wide circles of intellectuals. Never before have the intellectuals come out against war so actively and in such an organized fashion as today. A number of international organizations of workers of mental labour—scientists, journalists, lawyers and other professions—have become affiliated with the World Peace Congress. The democratic intellectuals are playing a big part in the peace movement in France, Italy, England and the U.S.A. The atomic scientists of England published a

new energetic protest against the manufacture and storing of atom bombs. The congress of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions in the U.S.A. mapped out a concrete program of resistance against the growing preparations for war in the U.S.A. The 5th congress of the Union of French intellectuals, held at the end of April of this year, stressed in its resolution that all questions connected at present with the defence of French culture are actually subordinate to the problem of preserving peace, and it is therefore the duty of intellectuals to actively defend peace.

The peace movement has lately been growing among the peasantry and middle sections of the urban population. In the agricultural districts of Italy big strikes of farm labourers and requisitions of land belonging to the landlords are being more closely connected with the struggle against the ruling circles' policy of preparing for war. Serious dissatisfaction is growing among the French peasantry; it takes the form of active resistance to the auctioning off of peasants' property and to the impoverishment of the peasant households. There is only one road open to the peasant masses—the road of alliance with the working class. And such an alliance is now being achieved primarily in the joint struggle of the working class and the peasantry against war.

However, the participation of the peasant masses in the active struggle for peace is still insufficient, and there is a lot of work ahead of the peace partisans to turn the peasants' dissatisfaction with the policy of preparing a new war into effective struggle against its instigators.

All measures undertaken to expose the war instigators and foil their plans are actively sponsored by the Women's International Democratic Federation which unites over 80,000,000 women throughout the world.

The peace movement has made great headway among the youth. The World Federation of Democratic Youth numbers over 60,000,000 active young fighters for peace. The International Students' Union with affiliated organizations in over 50 countries, and other youth organizations have joined the peace movement.

Experience shows that the main force in the peace movement is the working class, a staunch fighter for peace and democracy,

consistent to the end. The leading influence of the working class in the camp of peace is manifest in everything: in the clarity of the ideological principles of that movement, in the firm organizational unity of the partisans of peace, and in the adoption of ever more effective forms of struggle.

The Communist Parties, the parties of the working class, are everywhere the soul of the peace movement. The heroism and staunchness of the Communists in the years of the second world war increased to a tremendous degree the authority and influence of the Communist Parties among the workers and other strata of the toiling population. J. V. Stalin points out that the growing influence of the Communists is a quite natural phenomenon. It is therefore natural that the Communists should today head the struggle of the peoples against the new pretenders to world supremacy, should rally and organize the masses of toilers in the movement for peace against the imperialist war instigators.

* * *

U.S.A. imperialism and its Right Socialist and Titoite agents do not scruple about the means they use in the attempt to break up democratic organizations, and above all, the organizations of the working class in which they see a serious obstacle to their aggressive policy. Acting on direct orders from the Department of State, the trade union bureaucrats Deakin, Jouhaux and Green tried to break up the World Federation of Trade Unions, but their efforts were in vain: the majority of workers remained with this progressive organization. The further consolidation of the unity of the democratic forces and, above all, the constant exposure of the treacherous policy of the Right Socialist lackeys of Anglo-American imperialism is a most important condition for the success of the struggle for peace and the national independence of the peoples.

The Yugoslav fascist rulers, those spies and provocateurs who have openly deserted to the imperialist camp, are the hirelings of the Anglo-American war instigators and the worst enemies of peace. The Tito clique is carrying out its armament program by forcing the living standard of the Yugoslav masses down to an unprecedented level. The Yugoslav fascists are feverishly buying American arms, building military airdromes

and strategic roads and keeping up a big standing army. That is why the fight for peace necessarily involves a relentless struggle against the Titoite agents. Not without good reason did the World Peace Committee expel the Titoite agents from its ranks.

* * *

The organized international front of peace partisans now includes in its ranks the popular masses of almost all countries. There are over 50 national peace committees affiliated with the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress. In addition to these the Permanent Committee has connections with democratic organizations in about 30 other countries. Life teaches that in present-day conditions the fight for national independence is not the task of some single country or group of countries. The fight for the independence of individual countries merges with the general struggle of the peoples of the world against the Anglo-American war instigators who dream of building their world supremacy on the blood and bones of the peoples of all lands and continents.

This struggle is taking on special forms in each country depending on the concrete conditions in that country and its international position. The national organizations of partisans of peace in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark and other countries of Western Europe are fighting against the degrading alliance of their countries with American imperialism. The popular masses are protesting against having their countries turned into places d'armes for a war against the U.S.S.R., and suppliers of cannon fodder; they are protesting against the swollen war budgets and the armaments race, and are demanding the adoption of an independent policy and alliance and friendship with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. Peace partisans in England come out against the imperialist policy of the English bourgeoisie, American imperialism's accomplice in its aggressive plans. In Western Germany and Japan they try to hinder the fascisation and militarization of those countries, to keep them from becoming a place d'armes of American imperialism for war against the U.S.S.R. Partisans of peace in India, in the Near East and other colonial and dependent

countries are fighting for their emancipation from colonial slavery, for their national independence. The peoples of Viet-Nam, Malaya and Burma have taken up arms against the French and English colonizers in defence of their freedom and independence.

The inter-American Peace Congress held last year in Mexico and the Trade Union Peace Conference held in Chicago showed that the working class and democratic intellectuals of the countries of the American continent realize the tasks that devolve upon them in the struggle against the mad policy of the U.S.A. ruling circles. From the platforms of these gatherings the representatives of the progressive forces of America exposed Wall Street's war preparations, and called upon the peoples to resist the adventurous course taken by the ruling circles of the U.S.A. who are pushing their country towards catastrophe and have made honest people the world over hate the U.S.A. This resistance is being more and more closely connected with the fight to break the monopolies' onslaught on the economic rights of the toilers, with the fight against the growing fascisation of the U.S.A. and the curtailment of democratic rights.

In defending peace the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, and the People's Democracies are fighting, in the first place, to further strengthen their countries economically, to raise the culture and increase the well-being of the toilers.

The Soviet Union has achieved outstanding successes: it has completed the postwar rehabilitation of its economy, and considerably surpassed the prewar level in all branches of the national economy. This victory of the Soviet people is a great contribution to the defence of peace throughout the world; it inspires the partisans of peace in all lands to new efforts in their noble work.

The People's Democracies are being successfully rehabilitated and are laying the basis of a socialist economy. In 1949 the economic plan was fulfilled ahead of time in all the People's Democratic states. New, democratic China has achieved its first successes in economic construction.

The fight of the broad masses of the capitalist countries for peace is taking on ever newer and more effective forms, and has already brought the peace movement some serious victories.

The imperialists can no longer hide their criminal intentions from the populace or distract the attention of the masses from the true authors of the plans for a new war. Despite all the efforts of the U.S.A. Department of State and its extensive propaganda apparatus to mask their policy of instigating war by a "peace-loving" smoke screen, the bloody nature of this policy is becoming more and more apparent to the wide masses. And this is to the great credit of the partisans of peace.

The World Peace Committee appealed to the parliaments of various countries with a proposal to discuss measures for reducing armaments and prohibiting the atomic weapon. In the conditions of war hysteria and an unparalleled armament race this important step awoke a wide response in the popular masses.

As was to be expected, the attitude taken by the parliaments of the different countries was an exact reflection of their attitude to the problems of peace, and gave an unsurpassably expressive demonstration of the disposition of forces on the international arena. As is generally known, the government of the U.S.A. refused to grant visas to the delegation of the World Committee. Churchill and Attlee, the leaders of the Conservative and Labourite fractions in the English Parliament, flatly refused to see the delegation. The members of the delegation were rudely expelled from Holland. The parliamentary bigwigs of France and Italy evaded a direct answer, and answered the delegations of the World Committee with a lot of meaningless phrases aimed at masking the real preparations for a new war being made by the ruling circles of these countries.

Only in the U.S.S.R. and the countries of People's Democracy did the delegations of the World Committee receive positive and inspiring answers to their appeal. In the Soviet Union the Peace delegations were assured by the Chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. supported the proposals of the World Peace Committee. In the People's Democracies the supreme organs of power greeted the initiative of the peace partisans in the name of their peoples, and gave assurance of their wholehearted support of the proposals.

These events concretely told the peoples

where to look for the real supporters of peace, and where they would find only lying phrases covering a bestial hatred of those who are fighting for the peace.

* * *

The dockers of France introduced a new effective method of fighting against the armament race by refusing to unload war materials arriving in Europe from the U.S.A. Their fearless example was followed by the French railwaymen who refused to transport these materials. In a short space of time the initiative of the French dockers was seconded by the workers in Italy, Holland, Belgium, Western Germany and Norway.

Great difficulties face the partisans of peace in capitalist countries. The warmongers and their agents are trying to break the mass peace movement and are furiously persecuting the partisans of peace. In France the police are more and more frequently using arms and tear-gas against them. The Italian police instigate bloody reprisals against the strikers. The police of Argentina prohibit peace congresses, raid peace meetings and throw people attending them into prison. For a single word in defence of peace in the U.S.A. people are labelled as "seditious", dismissed from government jobs and baited by the press. Under such conditions the partisans of peace need to display great steadfastness, selflessness and a readiness to make any personal sacrifices necessary in the interests of the people and the preservation of peace.

But the peace movement has truly grand prospects ahead of it. Never before have conditions been so favorable for directing the course of historical development in the interests of the peoples, for preventing a new war by the united efforts of the masses.

The existence and the growing strength of the Soviet state whose entire might is placed at the service of peace is a decisive factor in the fight for peace in our days. The foreign policy of the Soviet state proceeds from the Leninist-Stalinist thesis that it is possible for the two different social systems, socialism and capitalism, to co-exist and compete peacefully. J. V. Stalin points out: "The basis of our relations with capitalist countries lies in the assumption of the co-existence of two opposite systems. Practice has fully justified it".

In his interview with Roy Howard in 1936 J. V. Stalin stressed that American democracy and the Soviet system can peacefully co-exist and compete; that one could not develop into the other, but both might co-exist peacefully, if they did not pick at each other for ever little trifle.

In postwar times, too, J. V. Stalin has repeatedly stressed the fact that despite the difference in the economic and ideological foundations of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., their collaboration in international questions is not only possible but even necessary in the common interests. In his interview with Elliott Roosevelt in 1946 J. V. Stalin said: "In the most strenuous times during the war the differences in government did not prevent our two nations from joining together and vanquishing our foes. Even more so is it possible to continue this relationship in time of peace."

The Soviet Union takes the position of peaceful collaboration with capitalist countries; it is convinced that it has all the advantages in the economic competition between the two systems. Socialism and peace are inseparable.

Today the great Chinese people and the peoples of Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Rumania, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic are staunchly fighting for peace and world security together with the Soviet Union. Over 800,000,000 people inhabit the states that are pursuing a firm peace policy. The aim of this policy is to greatly enhance the material and cultural well-being of their peoples on the basis of new social relations.

International imperialist reaction was unable to throttle the Chinese revolution or hinder the formation of the German Democratic Republic; neither will it succeed in stopping the growing movement for liberation of the peoples of the colonial countries. If the Anglo-American imperialists try to unleash a new war, they will meet in it with an inglorious end. This can be clearly foreseen from the entire trend of modern social development, from the experience of the past war and the present relation of forces on the international arena.

However, the partisans of peace in all countries must not harbour the delusion that

the imperialist warmongers will come to realize the hopelessness of their position and throw down their arms in advance. The question of whether war is "to be or not to be" will be decided in the final analysis by struggle. It is in the power of the peoples to make war impossible. This demands the further consolidation of the democratic forces in a single fighting camp, and their greater organization and activity in the defence of peace.

As was pointed out at the Stockholm session of the World Peace Committee, the movement for peace has not yet acquired a mass character in the U.S.A., England, and the Scandinavian countries. It is up to the partisans of peace to draw into the peace movement the wide strata of the population of these countries who are no more anxious for war than other peoples.

* * *

The atomic weapon is playing an unusually important part in the plans of the warmongers. The instigators of a new war are utilizing the threat of the atom bomb to bring political pressure to bear upon peoples and governments, as a means of frightening and subjugating various countries to U.S.A. imperialism with its mad plans of world supremacy. And although the loss of the monopoly on the atom bomb by the U.S.A. imperialists has broken the backbone of their policy of atomic blackmail and intimidation, nevertheless, the U.S.A. ruling circles are resorting again and again to the threat of the atom bomb, and the so-called "hydrogen bomb", non-existent as yet.

That is why the demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon occupies a central position in the struggle for peace. The campaign for the collection of signatures to the appeal of the World Peace Committee for the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the denunciation of the first government to use this weapon as a war criminal is growing in scope. The partisans of peace in all countries are concentrating their efforts on this campaign.

The demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon is the widest, most concrete platform uniting millions of people without regard to their nationality or political and religious beliefs. This demand is unanimously supported by the peoples of all lands!

The campaign for the collection of signatures is now going on practically all over the world. Tens of millions of signatures have already been placed under the appeal in the countries of People's Democracy. 7,500,000 people signed the appeal of the Permanent Committee in Hungary alone. This means that the entire Hungarian people have unanimously voted for peace against the utilization of atomic energy for war purposes. 10,000,000 people have signed the appeal in Rumania. Approximately 5,800,000 signatures have been collected in Bulgaria. The signatures campaign was also successful in Chechoslovakia, Poland and Albania.

On May 1 the collection of signatures began in the Chinese People's republic. The campaign is proceeding successfully in Mongolia and North Korea. About 17,000,000 signatures have been placed under the appeal in the German Democratic Republic.

Over 300,000 people have given their endorsement to the demands of the peace partisans in Norway, Denmark and Belgium.

The French organization *Fighters for Peace and Freedom* organized a mass referendum for peace and the collection of statements in "peace" registers; 12,000,000 signatures were gathered. In Italy the collection of 14,600,000 signatures in defence of peace became an impressive demonstration of the fighting preparedness of the popular masses to offer determined resistance to the war instigators. Partisans of peace in England have already collected hundreds of thousands of signatures in their "peace roll-call". A highly successful "peace relay race" went on for two months in Finland. Its participants—workers, peasants, intellectuals, clergymen—proceeded from town to town, from village to village, handing on the baton with the slogan: "No more war!"

In Western Germany the peace campaign assumed especially wide scope in the Ruhr and the Rhine district. The peace conference held at the end of April in Hamburg (English occupation zone) unanimously subscribed to the appeal of the World Peace Committee.

In America the collection of signatures was initiated by such mass organizations as women's societies, the League of Working Youth, the trade unions, and the organizations of the Progressive Party of the U.S.A. In Canada 300,000 signatures were obtained under the petition for the prohibition of the

atom bomb. The Canadian youth organized a relay race with a "torch of peace".

In Asia, the campaign began in Japan, Pakistan, and India. A *Peace Week* was held in India at the end of April. The peace conference which was held in Pakistan in April announced the collection of signatures. A campaign for the collection of signatures is on in Australia, several countries of Africa, and the Near East—the Lebanon, Syria and other countries.

In a number of countries the partisans of peace resort widely to such methods as sending delegations to the government, distributing leaflets and posters in defence of peace, etc. The peace congresses and conferences are of especial significance, for they convincingly demonstrate the people's urge for unity, and their will to struggle for peace throughout the world. The magazine *In Defence of Peace*, the organ of the World Peace Committee, tirelessly exposes the war instigators and rallies the peoples of all countries in a single united peace front.

Peace meetings, congresses and conferences are held in all countries to gather signatures. In France, Italy and many other countries the peace partisans canvass the cities and villages from house to house. Signatures are often obtained on the streets, in the markets...

The collection of signatures reached especially great proportions on May 1, which was celebrated everywhere under the slogan of intensifying the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. The May Day demonstrations in France, Italy, Belgium and other countries were utilized to collect signatures to the demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon.

This campaign is accompanied everywhere by the organizational strengthening of the existing peace committees and the organization of new ones in towns and villages, in industrial enterprises, offices and educational institutions.

A *Mid-Century Conference for Peace* was held in Chicago on May 29—30 under the auspices of a number of women's, youth, trade union, religious and other organizations of the U.S.A.; of late there have been peace conferences in Australia, peace congresses in England, a national peace conference in Sweden, a peace congress in Austria, etc.

* * *

Representatives of the most widely different political, social and cultural organizations are signing the demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth have alerted their members to an active part in the collection of signatures. The appeal of the Stockholm session of the World Peace Committee is also supported by the International Federation of Former Political Prisoners in Fascist Prisons, the International Democratic Lawyers' Association, and the International Students' Union.

In France the Republican Association of Ex-Servicemen and War Invalids, the Association of Former Members of the French Home Armed Forces and Former Franc-tireurs, the League of French Girls, the League of French Intellectuals, the National Tenants' Federation and many other organizations have subscribed to the appeal demanding the prohibition of the atomic weapon. The Union of French Women and the Republican Youth League of France alone have undertaken to collect a total of 13,000,000 signatures.

The demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon is being signed in France by members of the local organizations and individual leaders of the Socialist Party and the Catholic Party M.P.R. (*Mouvement Populaire Républicain*). The appeal of the World Peace Committee has been approved by the municipal councils of a number of cities, where the majority of the counsellors are members of the Socialist Party and the M.P.R.

In Italy by the middle of April, 57 out of 92 town councils in the provincial centers and 40% of all the town councils had adopted resolutions demanding the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of the atom bomb.

In England a general meeting of the London Cooperative Society by an overwhelming majority vote adopted a resolution demanding the prohibition of the atomic weapon. Similar resolutions were adopted by the executive of the Labourite Students' Federation, the English Baptists' Union, and other societies.

In the U.S.A. over 250 eminent educational workers, scientists, writers, various social and civil workers and clergymen have come out with protests against the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb, and with proposals for a peace conference. The Federal Council of Christian Churches recently proposed that a conference of representatives of all religions be called to solve the problem of the hydrogen bomb. It asserted that Christian churches cannot tacitly agree to the prospect of the mass extermination of human beings and demanded a change in policy on the question of the hydrogen bomb.

The campaign for the collection of signatures to the appeal of the World Peace Committee has resulted in a considerable extension of the mass base of the peace movement and has elevated that movement to a new level.

But this is only the beginning. Hundreds of millions of signatures must still be collected throughout the world if the will of the peoples is to be effectively demonstrated.

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Millions of people have already joined the active struggle for peace. By gathering signatures to the demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon and foiling the measures of the war instigators, these millions of active adherents of the peace movement are fighting in a noble cause, which affects the vital interests of all mankind. The demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon reflects the will of the overwhelming majority of the population of any country, the will of all humanity with the exception of a little handful of imperialist warmongers.

The movement for peace has become a most serious factor in the international situation. It is spreading and gaining strength; its ranks are being swelled by ever new detachments of fighters. In the vanguard of the peace movement march the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Firm ties of friendship bind the fighters for peace in all parts of the world with the Soviet Union and its great leader J. V. Stalin. And neither by deceit, treachery, calumny nor threats will the instigators of a new war ever succeed in breaking this great friendship.

STRENGTHENING OF CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES — AN ACTIVE FACTOR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

By Academician A. Oparin,
President of the Section of Natural Science of the V. O. K. S.

THE struggle for peace has grown to tremendous proportions in the past few years. To defend peace, to prevent another world war—this what the whole great democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is fighting for.

Never before have such broad masses of the people risen to active, conscious struggle for peace as in our time, which witnesses the first example in history of an organized front of adherents of peace uniting hundreds of millions of people in all countries.

After the World Peace Conference in Paris and in Prague, national peace congresses and conferences were held in 27 countries, while national peace committees were formed in 52 countries.

The third session of the World Peace Committee held in Stockholm in March of this year marked a new stage in the development of the struggle for peace.

The session appealed to all people of good will in the world to put their signatures to the demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon, that monstrous instrument of mass murder, for the establishment of international control over the strict observance of this ban, and for denunciation of the first government to use the atomic weapon as a war criminal. The signature campaign has been making successful headway in a great many countries; millions of people have already signed the Stockholm appeal.

The movement for strengthening peace is also spreading among the American people. Defying persecution, progressive intellectuals, workers of science and culture are heading this movement for peace which is widely supported by the common people of Ameri-

ca. The American Congress of Scientific and Cultural Workers for Peace, held in March 1949, reflected the position of many progressive American intellectuals who refuse to justify the cynical policy of America's ruling circles—a policy whose aim is to plunge mankind into a third world war. It was at the initiative of these progressive American intellectuals that a National Peace Congress was held to which representatives of other countries were invited. I attended this congress as a member of the delegation of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet delegation were able to see with their own eyes how the forces of peace are growing and gathering strength in America, how the idea of peace awakens an ever greater response among the masses. Despite the libellous aspersions of the venal reactionary press and its plot of silence, it did not succeed in masking the exceptional significance of the congress, which the plain people of America justly recognized as one of the most outstanding events since the termination of World War II.

The presence of the Soviet delegation at the congress was a big factor in strengthening friendly relations between progressive workers of science and culture in the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. The speeches of the Soviet delegates at the congress and its sections did a lot to expose the filthy anti-Soviet smears, or at the best, the plot of silence, by which a venal press and radio befuddle American public opinion. In my speech at the congress I pointed out that science must not stand aloof from the struggle for peace. Science is a powerful two-pointed sword. Depending on who holds this weapon it can work either for

mankind's happiness and good, or for its ruin. The aim of science is to serve the people, and it successfully achieves this aim if it belongs to the entire people. But when science is in the service of a handful of monopolists possessed by a lust for gain and power, it can bring about terrible, fatal results. I pointed out that a real, true scientist cannot be indifferent to the uses which are made of the scientific findings to which he has devoted his intellect and creative efforts. Predatory war, imperialist aggression have always been and still remain the enemy of scientific creation. That is why scientists must take a prominent place in the struggle for peace. Great interest was aroused among the delegates of the congress by that part of the speech in which I told about the basic principles of the new, Soviet science, its main distinguishing features. It can be asserted with confidence that personal contact between progressive workers of science and culture in various countries and a frank exchange of ideas and views makes an inestimable contribution to the strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding among the peoples, and hence, to the consolidation of peace.

The Soviet people have taken their stand in the front ranks of the fight for peace and friendship among the peoples; the urge for peace is inherent in the Soviet people who are building the new, communist society and harbor no aggressive plans. Among the leading fighters for peace are the men and women of Soviet culture: scientists, writers, workers of art and education. Soviet intellectuals are actively fighting for peace with their works. The idea of peace and friendship among the peoples pervades every work of Soviet science, every work of Soviet art. Soviet intellectuals are spreading this idea in person through the medium of the living word among the masses of the many countries they have been visiting in recent years. This is one of the forms of activity of the Soviet people as members of the world peace movement.

The U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Soviet Peace Committee have charged me several times in recent years with the honourable mission of representing the great Soviet people abroad, of carrying the truth about the Soviet Union to the broad masses of progressive intellectuals in the People's Demo-

cracies and in capitalist countries. And everywhere I found evidence of how disgusting and abominable are the lies and calumny which our enemies spread about the Soviet Union and its people through the medium of the venal reactionary press. At the same time I saw what a great, sincere desire to know the truth about the Soviet Union is manifested by our numerous friends throughout the world.

During my last trip abroad I again saw how afraid the leading circles of the U. S. A. are of the Soviet Union and its representatives, and at the same time I saw what boundless love our friends throughout the world feel for us. As a member of the delegation commissioned by the World Peace Committee to submit demands for the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the reduction of armaments to the government of the U. S. A., I expected to visit the U. S. A. again. These demands are close to the hearts of all honest people, of the overwhelming majority of plain people who do not want war and are ready to do anything to further the cause of peace. However, as is generally known, the American rulers would not let us into their country, afraid that the American people might once again demonstrate their desire for peace and their love for the great Soviet Union. In sharp contrast to this was the reception we got in Prague and in Paris among the progressive intellectuals who are actively fighting for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

We arrived in Paris during a wave of strikes. The theatrical, transport, subway and other workers were striking. Municipal transport was at a standstill. The government sent in armed forces as strike-breakers, and used closed military trucks in lieu of means of transport. It is significant that the money which the soldiers received for this work they donated to the fund for unemployment relief, demonstrating their solidarity with the strikers by this political act.

In Paris and Prague I succeeded in establishing close contact with progressive biologists. I was given the opportunity to study the work of several research institutions, and to deliver a number of lectures on the origin of life, the development of science in the U. S. S. R., etc. These lectures never failed to arouse the interest of the hearers, who displayed a keen interest in all aspects of cultural and, in particular, scientific life in the

U. S. S. R. Progressive scientists are evincing an ever greater desire to strengthen cultural relations with the Soviet Union, to exchange periodical publications, etc.

I derived especially great satisfaction from my talk at the Karlov University, the oldest university in Czechoslovakia. This institution was founded in the middle of the XIVth century; it unites big scientific forces and is the leading scientific center in the country. The 600 people who attended my lecture represented scientific circles of many Czechoslovakian cities. My lecture on the origin of life, in which I criticized the views of the Mendelists-Morganists, and explained the fundamental principles of Michurinist biology, aroused great interest and was followed by a lively discussion. I was later asked to repeat this lecture in the Chemico-Technological Institute, the Academy of Agriculture, and other places.

Scientific circles abroad have been expressing keen interest in the achievements of Soviet biological science, an interest which was noticeably heightened after the victory of Michurin's ideas in biology. Prominent biologist like Prenant and Obel in France and Bernal in England have become active fighters for peace, democracy and socialism. The works of these biologists present considerable interest to Soviet science. In view of this, Soviet biologists (members of the section of Natural Science of the U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) visited a number of other countries in 1949, including China, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, democratic Germany, France. In turn, a number of biologists from other countries visited the U. S. S. R.

Papers were read here by the Belgian biologist Jean Brachet and the French biologist Marcel Prenant on the position in biology in their respective countries. Conferences were arranged by the Section with Finnish, Italian and British scientists. This direct contact between Soviet science and representatives of progressive science abroad again showed how beneficial such exchange of experience is to science in the U. S. S. R. and other countries.

But these contacts also brought out the

dire plight of science in most West European countries. We felt this most sharply in the case of the Italian delegation; biologists from many Italian universities declared frankly that they saw no prospect for the development of science in Marshallized Italy. The situation is much the same in France.

It remains one of the most important tasks of the V.O.K.S. Section of Natural Science to maintain regular and close ties with the sections of the foreign Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, especially the sections in the People's Democracies. Tasks of particularly great import devolve on the Section in connection with the Organization of the Societies of Chinese-Soviet and Korean-Soviet Friendship.

The strengthening of cultural relations between the U. S. S. R. and foreign countries, propaganda of the achievements of Soviet culture, science and art, exposure of the odious anti-Soviet slander being spread by our enemies, a frank exposition of our views on the principal problems of international collaboration and the struggle for the peace and security of the peoples are powerful factors in the struggle for peace throughout the world.

The extension and consolidation of the peace front denotes the weakening of the front of the war instigators. But this does not mean that the danger of war is lessened. The Soviet people are well aware of the simple truth that peace can be won only by uniting all forces, increasing vigilance, and waging a fierce struggle against the enemy. An honourable place in this relentless struggle belongs to Soviet scientists, who stand in the front ranks of the defenders of peace and are firmly determined to foil the criminal plans of the warmongers.

There can be no doubt that the forces of peace will triumph over the forces of war. This is guaranteed by the fact that the peace front is headed by the great Soviet Union, that shining light of peace and democracy, by the fact that at the head of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind stands the genius of our epoch, the teacher and leader of the working people, Joseph Vissarionovich STALIN.

AU REVOIR, U.S.S.R.!

By Paul Eluard

ONE of my poems, written in 1943, closes with the words,

I speak of what I see,
What I know,
What is truth.

For me, to see is one of the best, perhaps the very best way to come to know, understand, appraise, love or hate.

But like everybody else, I am usually content to comprehend abstractly: after all, my eyes are not big enough, and the universe is not small enough for me to test in experience everything that honest people undertake to teach. I believe them, I accept our store of knowledge as it is, without subjecting it to doubt. I have no scepticism and no malice. Experience and a share of common sense in which I take no little pride have taught me to understand people, to distinguish the honest man from the liar, men of good will from the bad, the passionate from the indifferent, my friends from my enemies.

Everybody knows that I am a Communist and nobody takes this for an accident. Therefore I knew everything that could be said about the U. S. S. R. and I had every reason to believe it. But when at last I visited the Soviet Union, so much of what I already knew suddenly became tangible.

Yes, I knew that the peoples of the U. S. S. R. are reaping the fruits of the socialist system; but I did not know before of the freedom that permeates everything in the collective farms and the cities, a freedom founded on the solidarity of the working people.

Yes, I knew what magnificent demonstrations the Soviet people hold in honour of labour and peace, what love they feel for Stalin; but I could not imagine before what I saw this May Day: millions of men, women and children joyously marching in spontaneous and natural order; I could not imagine before that forest of banners, por-

traits, green garlands and flowers rustling over their heads. It was difficult to imagine without seeing it the exuberance and heartiness of the ovations Moscovites tendered the leader of the working people as he acknowledged their greetings.

Yes, I knew that in the U. S. S. R. everybody has plenty to eat; but I did not expect such an abundance of products in the shops or such a multitude of buyers. I knew that some two months before prices had been cut twenty to thirty percent, but I did not know that the output of the candy factory I visited in Leningrad had been increased thirty-eight per cent since then.

Yes, I knew that people are building and rehabilitating in the U. S. S. R.; but yesterday I saw the date "1946" over the stately entrances to Moscow's dwelling houses; in Stalingrad, I saw among the already almost indiscernible ruins factories, schools, houses that look like palaces; I saw a family that had been temporarily sheltered in a basement move into a large, bright flat the like of which no French worker can have outside his dreams.

Yes, I knew that much has already been done and much continues to be done to give the working class every opportunity to keep well, to study, to enjoy its rest and recreation; but I had never before seen a woman worker at the Stalingrad plant playing the piano in the factory Palace of Culture among surroundings such as only a few members of the French bourgeoisie can afford to create for their leisure.

Yes, I knew of the love that is showered on the children; but I had never before seen them dancing and playing in one of the tsar's palaces in Leningrad, redecorated by loving hands in the luxuriant style of its epoch; I had never before seen a classroom transformed into a garden where every eight-year-old child is responsible for a particular plant whose growth he watches day by day.

Yes, I knew of the thirst for learning which every year brings larger and larger numbers of young people to the higher schools of the U.S.S.R.; but I had never before seen the library of the Tbilisi University with its million and more volumes—this in a small country which only yesterday groaned under the colonial yoke.

Yes, I knew that in the U. S. S. R. they love France; but I had not yet made the acquaintance of the very young girl student with a copy of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* under her arm, who, downing her shyness, stopped us on the street for a chat.

Yes, I knew with what confidence and interest the citizens of the U. S. S. R. follow our struggle; but I had never before witnessed the stormy ovations with which—in collective farm, in the Writer's Union—they cheered my comrades, the dockers of France.

Yes, I knew what a price the Soviet people had to pay for their victory; but I hadn't before met the Moscow school girl who told me that she was among the thirty per cent of the pupils of her form whom the war had orphaned.

Yes, I knew that the U. S. S. R. wants peace; but I had never before seen the joy of building, sowing, learning gain such supremacy over war. I had never before seen the expression on the faces of Stalingrad's bricklayers, Georgia's peasants, Moscow's students when they pronounced that beautiful word: "Peace."

To-morrow I shall carry away with me to my country which is weighed down by fear of what will be the most terrible of wars a wonderful prize: confidence and hope, for with my own eyes I have seen the invincible weapon of peace.

INCREASING STABILITY OF THE ROUBLE —
A LAW OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY

By I. Konnik

THE Soviet monetary system which is based on social ownership of the means of production and socialist planning of the national economy differs fundamentally from capitalist monetary systems which are dependent on the spontaneous laws of capitalist production and circulation. Inasmuch as a planned economy is impossible under the conditions of capitalism, a capitalist state cannot plan its money circulation or control the stability of its currency. In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* Marx wrote that in the capitalist economy the circulation of money is beyond all control, measurement or computation.

Capitalist monetary circulation cannot be stable, since the bourgeois state cannot regulate it. Monetary circulation there is subject only to the spontaneous laws of the capitalist market. It is a matter of common knowledge that under capitalism the chief general equivalent, i. e., the commodity in terms of which the value of all other commodities is expressed, is gold. For this reason gold is the basis of monetary circulation in the capitalist economy.

The contradictions of the capitalist economy, however, also affect the gold backing of currencies, breaking it, making it unstable and unreliable. The whole crux of the matter is that the circulation of money in the capitalist economy is based on the spontaneous circulation of commodities. But this spontaneous commodity circulation with its constant price fluctuations inevitably brings about fluctuations in the purchasing power of money and its depreciation, to say nothing of the fact that capitalist states deliberately

pursue a policy of inflation, i. e., issue an excessive amount of paper currency which leads to the depreciation of the latter. In this manner the monopolists shift the burden of postwar difficulties onto the shoulders of the working people. For example, as a result of inflation retail prices of food products have increased over 20-fold in France and 60-fold in Italy as compared with the prewar figures.

In addition, the contradictions of the capitalist system of economy manifesting themselves in competition and the monopolists' drive for profits cause a leakage of gold from one country to another, which cannot fail to undermine the stability of the capitalist currencies. By exporting large amounts of goods to the West European countries under the Marshall plan at prices three and four times above the prewar level, the United States is pumping gold out of the Marshallized countries. With the same aim in view it is buying up gold for depreciated paper dollars from countries which must import goods from the U. S. A. yet are suffering from a dollar deficiency.

As a result of this the gold reserve of the U.S.A. is growing, whereas that of the Marshallized countries is shrinking disastrously. To cite a few examples, England's gold reserve dropped from 3,450 million dollars at the end of 1938 to 1,590 million dollars at the end of 1949; the corresponding figures for France are 2,760 million dollars to 523 million dollars, for Sweden—321 million dollars to 70 million dollars, for Holland—998 million dollars to 195 million dollars.

During economic crises of overproduction,

when sales fall off sharply and bills are defaulted, the capitalists' pursuit of money leads to mass bankruptcies and hastens the credit and money crisis which culminates in the failure of currencies. This was what happened during the world economic crisis of 1929—1933.

At the present moment a mad armament race is on in the capitalist countries—primarily in the U.S.A. and England. The budget deficits caused by huge war expenditures are covered by increasing the amount of money in circulation. This has resulted in the depreciation of all capitalist currencies.

* * *

The situation is entirely different in the socialist economy which by its very nature is a planned economy. The state national economic plan determines the volume of production, the commodity turnover, the price level and the wage fund and other items of monetary income of the population. This enables the Soviet government to plan monetary circulation and to carry out general state measures aimed at raising the purchasing power and increasing the stability of the Soviet rouble.

In contradistinction to capitalist currencies, the stability of Soviet money is secured by the concentration of all levers of production and exchange in the hands of the Soviet state, and above all, by the concentration in the hands of the state of a vast amount of goods which are sold to the population at stable prices.

It is true that in the socialist economy, too, the gold reserve is of definite significance in securing the stability of the Soviet rouble and keeping up its exchange rate with respect to foreign currencies. Inside the country, however, the decisive factor in ensuring the stability of Soviet currency is the increase in the commodity turnover and the Soviet policy of continually reducing retail prices.

J. V. Stalin says: "What is it that secures the stability of Soviet currency—if we have in mind, of course, the organized market, which is of decisive significance in the exchange of goods in the country, and not the unorganized market, which is only of subordinate importance? Of course, it is not the gold reserve alone. The stability of Soviet currency is secured, first of all, by the vast

quantity of goods held by the state and put into circulation at stable prices. What economist can deny that this security, which exists only in the U.S.S.R., is a more real guarantee for the stability of the currency than any gold reserve? Will the economists in capitalist countries ever understand that they are hopelessly muddled in their theory of a gold reserve being the only security for the stability of currency?" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, p. 420).

Reality today concretely proves the profound truth of Stalin's words. The U.S.A., which has amassed a huge amount of gold and is the richest capitalist country, cannot stabilize its currency. The purchasing power of the dollar is falling due to inflation. Suffice it to say that in 1948 the price of food in the U.S.A. was three times as high as before the war. This is understandable in view of the capitalist monopolies' policy of screwing up prices by every means so as to obtain super-profits.

The franc, which used to be one of the most stable currencies, suffered repeated depreciation until in October 1949 it was reduced to one-fourteenth of its prewar value of 1937. The purchasing power of the pound, too, has been steadily falling since the war so that in September 1949, as a result of depreciation, its value had dropped by 30%.

In the U.S.S.R., where the stability of the currency is based on the concentration of large quantities of goods in the hands of the state and their sale at planned reduced prices, the purchasing power of the rouble is growing from year to year. In 1948 alone, after the currency reform and the abolition of rationing, the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble doubled. All in all, after the three general price cuts, the population of the Soviet Union gained a total of 267,000,000,000 roubles in the period from 1947 to 1950. This raised the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble immensely and made the rouble the stablest currency in the world.

The purchasing power of the Soviet rouble is growing together with the successes of the Soviet national economy. Every new step taken towards raising labour productivity, reducing the cost of production, and increasing the profitability of Soviet enterprises creates new reserves for reducing retail prices and thus increases the purchasing power of the rouble. Increased accumulation pro-

vides the state budget with a growing source of income from the economy, keeps revenue above expenditures, and safeguards the monetary system against excess emission, i. e., against the issue of paper money inevitable in the case of budget deficits. All this strengthens the financial system of the socialist state.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble on the home market is independent of its foreign exchange rate. The Soviet Union keeps up extensive economic relations with foreign countries based on a state monopoly of foreign trade. Since all transactions in foreign trade are carried out in gold or a foreign currency, an increase in the purchasing power of the rouble due to the Soviet policy of price reduction should raise the exchange rate of the rouble and hence, strengthen the position of the Soviet state on the world market.

"... Without bringing order into monetary circulation and improving the exchange rate of the rouble," stressed J. V. Stalin, "our economic operations, both home and foreign, will limp on both legs" (Stalin, *Coll. Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 5, p. 125).

The decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to calculate the value of the rouble on a gold basis and to raise the rouble foreign exchange rate states that the three large reductions in prices of consumers' goods put into effect in the course of 1947—1950 not only increased the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble, but raised its foreign exchange value.

The transfer of the Soviet rouble to the gold standard was necessitated for two reasons: on the one hand, thanks to the systematic reduction in prices in the Soviet Union in the postwar period, the purchasing power of the rouble had increased; on the other hand, as a result of the depreciation of European currencies, and also as a result of the steady rise in prices of consumers' goods and inflation in the U.S.A. the purchasing power of the dollar had considerably decreased.

In view of this the purchasing power of the rouble was greater than its official exchange rate. The Soviet government therefore decided, in the first place, to discontinue the practice of calculating the foreign exchange rate of the rouble on so unstable a

basis as the dollar, and to calculate it on the more stable gold basis in correspondence with the gold content of the rouble, and in the second place, to bring the exchange rate of the Soviet rouble into agreement with its increased purchasing power. In practice this means that the old exchange rate of 5.30 roubles per American dollar is to be replaced by the rate of 4.00 roubles for one dollar. The exchange rate of the Soviet rouble has thus been raised by approximately one third.

This measure found very little favour with the chiefs of the capitalist world. The American newspaper *Wall Street Journal* published an article which, completely ignoring the reduction in prices in the U.S.S.R. and the ensuing increase in the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble, asserted that the exchange rate of the rouble was excessively high before, and now, on the basis of the new decree, it would be still higher. The article, however, deliberately made no mention of the fact that already in 1948 the gold price of the dollar on the European markets was almost one-half its official rate. It is thus not a case of the rouble having been valued "too high", but of the dollar having fallen in value. It is this fact which the organ of the Wall Street money-bags refused to admit.

* * *

What prospects are unfurled to the Soviet socialist economy as a result of the increased purchasing power and stability of the Soviet rouble, and how will the devaluation and depreciation of the European currencies and the steadily declining purchasing power of the dollar affect the capitalist economic system?

The substantial strengthening of the Soviet rouble and the increase in its purchasing power achieved by following Stalin's teaching about Soviet money is a powerful stimulus to the further advancement of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., heightening the importance of economic levers in the Soviet national economy, and increasing the significance of the monetary wage, in other words, strengthening the workers' incentive to raise labour productivity. The increased stability of the Soviet rouble makes for sounder business accounting in all links of the national economy, increases accumulations

and profitability, and, hence, further advances extended socialist reproduction.

And finally, the increase in the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble further improves the material well-being of the Soviet people, which is an immutable law of development of the Soviet socialist economy.

At a time when in the Soviet Union, thanks to the advantages of the socialist system of economy, the Soviet rouble is being continually strengthened and its purchasing power increased, as a result of which the public well-being is improving, the capitalist countries are caught in the throes of inflation and currency chaos. The mad armament race of the Anglo-American imperialists and their satellites in the Marshallized countries is accentuating budget deficits, intensifying inflation, ruining the economy of those coun-

tries and aggravating the misery of the toiling masses.

The depreciation of capitalist currencies, designed to please the American monopolists, ties these currencies more tightly to the dollar—which is itself heading straight for disaster in the approaching economic crisis.

The Soviet currency has been freed forever from the threat of such exigencies. Its stability is founded on the continual rise of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., which knows neither crises, unemployment, nor any of the other curses of capitalism. The growth of the purchasing power and stability of the Soviet rouble in the postwar years is a vivid demonstration of the vast superiority of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system, and a new triumph of the policy of the party of Lenin and Stalin.

THE PROBLEM OF PROTEIN

By Academician N. Zelinsky

THE most important, interesting and mysterious of all the countless chemical compounds are the proteins. They are to be found in the blood and tissues, in grains and vegetables, in the cells of the simplest living organisms and in the bodies of human beings.

Protein is the foundation of living matter. "Wherever there is life, we find it bound up with the protein substance..." wrote F. Engels.

For over a hundred years the problem of protein, its properties and structure has been engaging the attention of scientists of different countries and various specialities. It has been tackled by biologists and physicists, chemists and doctors. But nature stubbornly kept her secret, and experimental data disproved scientific theories.

The problem of the structure of the protein molecule was first solved in the Soviet Union by Hero of Socialist Labour, Academician N. D. Zelinsky, and his close collaborator, Prof. N. I. Gavrilov. The Soviet scientists uncovered the secret of this complex substance, explained its structure and indicated methods of producing it artificially.

Here on this laboratory table you see black powdered graphite, a piece of sulphur, a glass of water, and a test-tube containing nitrogen. Just imagine that we are in a laboratory of the future, where chemists combine these simple, cheap and easily obtainable materials to produce everything necessary for human beings.

...The water in the flask is boiling; the hot steam washes the powdered graphite placed in the neck of the flask and gradually dissolves it. From one tube a yellow stream of molten sulphur flows into the flask, while from another bubbles of nitrogen force their way up through the boiling liquid. After a number of marvellous chemical transformations the liquid in the flask becomes white; its taste is exactly like that of milk.

Let us pass to another apparatus. Here the same elements are combined to give bread,

in a third place they yield wool, in a fourth—silk, in a fifth—leather. But the most interesting thing of all awaits us in the sixth apparatus.

In a large vessel filled with some kind of a solution little whitish clots appear here and there. They slowly increase in size, and after a while a medusa appears in the vessel! An ordinary medusa, just like the ones that are thrown on to the sea shore by the tide.

Man is creating living matter out of simple inorganic substances!

No such laboratory exists as yet. At present we can do no more than dream of it. But with the passing of the years the visionary picture I have just drawn will become a daily occurrence.

We have already become accustomed to many marvels and are no longer astonished to see airships sailing through the sky. The "lamps of Ilyich"—our modern electric lights, glow like the fabled Bird of fire¹; the Golden Cock that warned Tsar Dodon¹ of approaching danger has come to life in our radar-locators; while the "golden apple on a silver platter"¹ that showed events taking place afar is our television set.

Or take the Stalin plan of forest shelter belts—does that not mean bringing true an age-old dream, the dream of subduing the desert and doing away with drought?

A scientist should dream. I am not speaking of the empty phantasies of an idealist, but of scientific forecasts based on exact experimental data. For this reason I can permit myself to take an imaginary trip into the future and tell about the wonderful laboratory of artificial protein that will undoubtedly come to be in our country.

And now let us take a short trip into the past. I shall tell you how the protein molecule was formed in ancient geological times.

Millions of years ago, when our planet was covered by a warm ocean, the first che-

¹ From Russian folklore.

mical compounds began to form on it out of atoms. Matter grew more complex, more organized, and after a long period of change the first particles of living matter—protein molecules—appeared in the waters of the ocean. They became the material out of which all living beings developed. At first simple bodies, like the amoeba, were formed. In the process of evolution these gradually developed, became more perfect, and gave rise to the great diversity of the modern vegetable and animal kingdoms.

As in those inestimably distant times, so in our day, protein played and continues to play the main part in all the life processes of plants, animals and human beings.

...A severely wounded man is bleeding to death, his pulse grows weaker, his breath comes in convulsive gasps, he is on the verge of death. But a doctor injects blood plasma—a protein compound—and life gradually returns to the patient.

The protein in the blood carries food to the various organs of our body, and takes part in building up such protective coverings as the skin, nails and hair.

Protein comprises over one-third of the entire output of the food industry. It is contained in flour, vegetables, eggs and meat. Protein not only feeds man, it also clothes him. His shoes and clothing are made out of the skin and wool of animals. The protein which the silkworm excretes to protect its larvae, gives him silk.

Scientists came across this mysterious compound on every hand, but it always succeeded in confounding them. True, elementary analysis showed that protein contains atoms of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, sulphur and nitrogen, but the numbers of these atoms and their ratios varied from experiment to experiment. And most important of all, chemists could not determine how the atoms were bound.

Just as in a kaleidoscope colored bits of glass, on being moved about, make up different figures, so the same atoms can combine to form substances different in structure.

The distribution of the atoms or groups of atoms in the molecule determines to a great extent the peculiarities of compounds. For example, ethyl alcohol or spirit of wine and dimethyl ether contain equal numbers of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen atoms, but

these two substances are as greatly different as milk and water.

The methods of analysis available in the last century did not permit of determining the structure of protein, and this fundamental ingredient of living matter remained a mystery. Unusual properties were attributed to it. The science of that time could not surmount the barrier between animate and inanimate nature.

The key to the study of protein was found when scientists turned to hydrolysis—the disintegration of a compound substance by the action of water or dilute acids. Scientists heated meat in a weak solution of sulfuric acid, and in this manner extracted amino acid, a comparatively simple compound which was supposed to form the basis of the big and complex protein molecule. It seemed that once the elementary unit was known, it should be possible to build up the entire structure of protein by simply arranging the units correctly.

Some chemists were of the opinion that the amino acids formed long chains in the protein molecule and tried to synthesize such compounds. Others believed that these chains formed closed rings, like necklaces, and also tried to reproduce such structures. Neither of these roads, however, led to the formation of artificial protein. It was evident that nature displayed greater ingenuity in her synthesis. The problem of how the amino acids were grouped remained unsolved. Scientists could not guess the structure of protein. It seemed that they had reached the limit of cognizance. Living matter could not be analysed.

There was evidently a mistake somewhere, which led to wrong conclusions. It was necessary to attack this important problem differently, from different positions. Its solution offered grand, truly boundless perspectives. Artificial protein would make it possible to manufacture the whole varied output of the food and textile industries from cheap elements. But before one can proceed to synthesis, it is necessary to carry out an exact analysis.

N. I. Gavrilov and I have been working on this problem for over a quarter of century. Our numerous experiments have shown that protein consists not only of amino acids, as was formerly believed, but that it also contains other, more complex compounds, which

play an equally important role. We asserted that it was these substances with the long name diketopiperazines which cement the structure of the protein molecule; it is they that bind the amino acids together.

At the time we advanced this hypothesis it was hotly contested, since it overthrew scientific concepts that had developed in the course of many decades. Scientists abroad said and wrote that diketopiperazines are not found in living protein, only appearing as a result of its artificial treatment. To answer this argument we had recourse to methods of analysis which do not destroy or modify the delicate structure of the protein molecule. We succeeded in finding irrefutable proof of our new structural theory and in showing how the diketopiperazine molecules are bound to the amino acids.

In this manner we discovered the second, and final unit making up the structure of the protein molecule.

Like the beam of a powerful searchlight the results of exact experiment tore through and shattered the fog of superstitions and nonsensical ideas about the uncognizability of living matter. These idealistic theories of the divine origin of protein still find many advocates on the other side of the Atlantic. To this day the sages of Harvard and Yale hold that man cannot ever fathom the nature of protein, its complex structure; and peering through their microscopes these pedants compute the distance between atoms, the degree of transparency, the refraction index, just as their European forbears in medieval times used to count the number of angels that could be placed on the point of a needle.

The American scientists cannot solve the

main problem of the structure of protein. The truth is banned in "free" America. A manual on protein published in the United States under the editorship of Prof. Smith contains no references to the work of Soviet scientists, though every other page says something about the work of the editor. More so, these idealistic theories are flooding Western Europe together with the dollars of the Marshall plan. In a book on protein recently published in France we find papers by French scientists, some of them written in English, which also discuss various purely formalistic problems.

In the field of the synthesis of protein, scientists abroad are following the so-called total method, i. e., they are making use of the fact that the component parts of protein can form large protein-like molecules which, however, do not possess a single property of living matter. We, on the contrary, are building up this complex structure atom by atom, and trying to make it resemble living protein in all points. We have already succeeded in obtaining new compounds, called amidines, which are digested by ferments, and hence can be assimilated by living organisms.

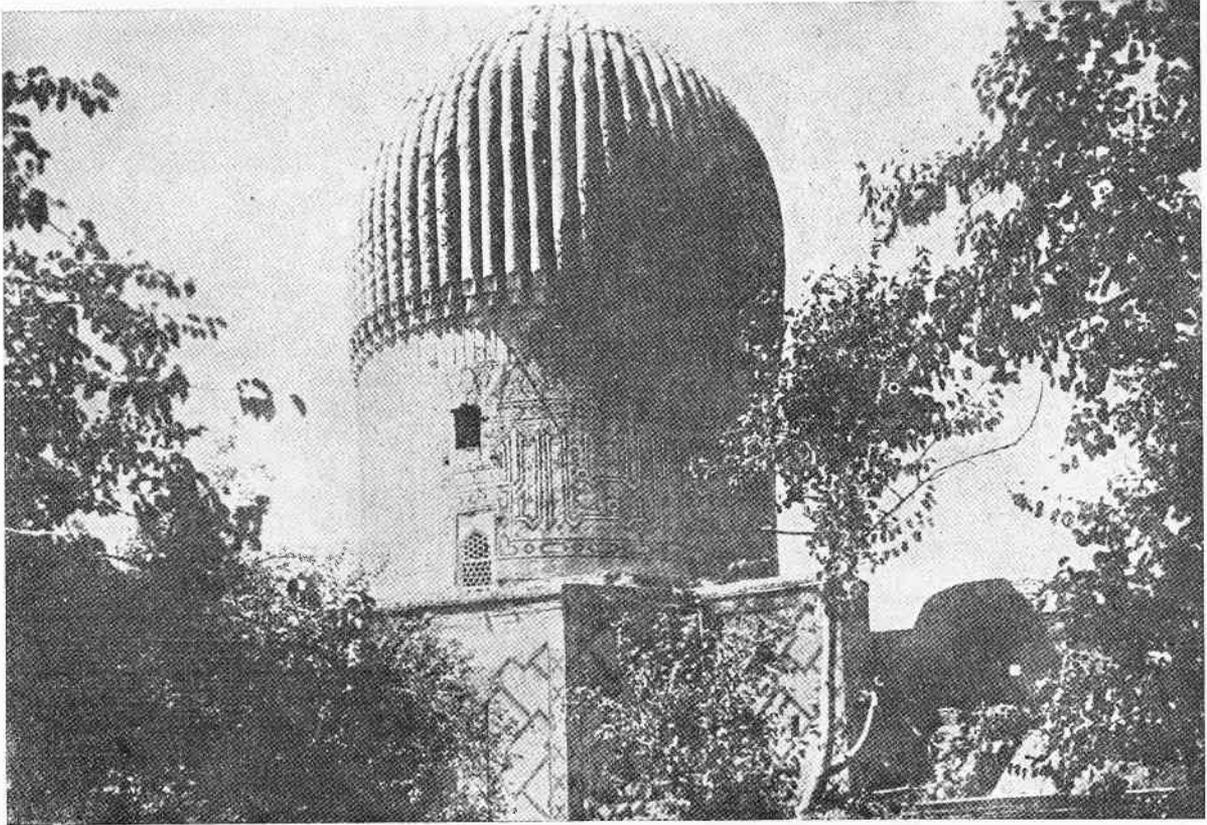
Soviet science has thrown down the wall erected between animate and inanimate matter.

With the foresight of true genius F. Engels wrote: "...if chemistry ever succeeds in creating artificial protein, that protein will have to reveal some signs—be it the most insignificant, of life."

We stand on the threshold of this discovery!

PORTRAIT OF TAMERLANE

*Experiments in the Restoration of the Face
from the Skull*



The mausoleum of the Tamerlanes

FOR more than 25 years, Mikhail Gerasimov, Soviet anthropologist and archaeologist, has been working on the restoration of the features of the face from the skeletal frame of the head.

On the basis of roentgenographic studies and various measurements of the head and face of the living and dead, M. Gerasimov has established a definite relationship between the dimensions and form of the fleshy and bony parts of the head. In the search

for this relationship, Gerasimov carried out repeated control experiments in the Moscow morgue, using his method of *preliminary graphic reconstruction*. He measured and studied the contours of the skull bones, the alveoli of the teeth, the nasal cavity, the configuration of the eye sockets, cheek-bones and jaws.

Basing himself exclusively on such scientific data, Gerasimov produced striking resemblances in his earliest attempts—the head



Stages in the restoration

of a Papuan, and the head of the mother of F. Dostoyevsky, the writer.

In 1941, in two criminological cases, Gerasimov recreated the features of the victims from the skull so exactly that their relatives immediately recognized them without any difficulty.

This suggested the idea that the reproduction of the sculptural likeness of historical personages was perfectly feasible. So began the creation of a large gallery of portraits of historical personages: Yaroslav the Wise and Andrei Bogoliubsky, rulers of ancient Russ; Admiral Ushakov (18th century) and others.

In addition Gerasimov has reconstructed more than 100 anthropological types, including one of Neanderthal man (a 10-year-old boy), and a series of portraits of Neolithic men, who once inhabited the territory of the European part of the Soviet Union.

Gerasimov's restoration of the sculptural portrait of Tamerlane was done in 1941, when the skeleton of the great conqueror of the XIV century was discovered during excavations in Central Asia (Samarkand, the Uzbek S. S. R.), in the mausoleum of Gur-Emir.

Timur-khan, or Tamerlane, *Timur the lame*, at the mention of whose name not only Central Asia, but also remote China and India quaked with fear, is said in the annals to have been born in 1334.

In 1362, during the battle with the Turkmens at Seistan, he was wounded by arrows, as a result of which he limped on his right leg and could not bend his right arm to the

end of his days, and lost two fingers of his right hand.

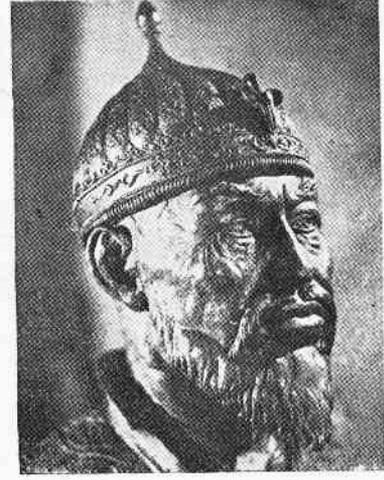
Tamerlane died on February 18, 1405, which leaves his age at his death at about 71.

Five burial chambers, those of Tamerlane, his two sons and two grandsons, were discovered in the splendid tomb of the Tamerlane dynasty. It is a matter of common knowledge that this tomb was taken as the model for Napoleon's tomb in Paris.

In the center of the Mausoleum lay the remains of Tamerlane himself, marked by a massive slab of grey limestone, the inscription on which is still preserved. Remnants of a brocade covering, bearing quotations from the Koran embroidered in silver thread, were found on the wooden coffin. When the coffin was opened, it gave off the distinct odour of camphor and other balsams.

The skeleton in the coffin lay on its back, the head turned towards Mecca. There were still remnants of hair, of mummified muscle and skin.

Study of the skeleton of *Timur the lame* substantiated the accounts that he limped and could not bend his right arm. The knee cap of his right leg had become so ankylosed, that he could not unbend his leg... it is easy to see why Tamerlane preferred to spend days on end in the saddle. The bones of his right arm had grown at the elbow in a slightly crooked position and his forefinger was disfigured. Traces of an arrow could be seen on the shoulder bone. These findings confirmed the authenticity of the skeletal remains.



of the head of Tamerlane by M. Gerasimov

The years have not left us a single reliable portrait of Tamerlane. The Iranian and Indian miniatures which have come down to us are very unlike each other, are of a late date, and invest Tamerlane with the features of a typical Indo-European. The latter does not conform with the written sources, which testify that Tamerlane traced his descent from Turko-Mongolian stock (The Berlas tribe). Therefore Gerasimov had to base himself almost entirely on the study of the real skull of Tamerlane in reconstructing his likeness.

As Tamerlane's geneology led the scientist to expect, his skull revealed definite Mongoloid features—brachycephalism, a flat face. Despite the ripe age at which Tamerlane died, neither his skull nor skeleton showed pronounced senile features.

The peculiarities of formation of the skull, the state of preservation of most of the teeth, the sharp outlines of the bones and certain other signs all pointed to the fact that the skull and skeleton belonged to a man in the prime of life, whose biological age could not have been more than fifty.

After studying the skull, Gerasimov began to reconstruct the features of the face. First he molded the jaw muscles into the skull with wax. He determined the position of the head in conformity with the structure of the base of the skull and form of the neck bones. Bit by bit he reconstructed the muscles of the neck and established the thickness of the fleshy coverings according to a scale he had worked out.

Analysis of a spot in the vicinity of the upper jaw showed that this was a bit of disintegrated moustache with the remains of red and gray hairs. Thus it appeared that Timur had worn his moustache long, and not trimmed over his lip, as prescribed by the laws of Islam.

The remains of his reddish beard (natural, not dyed), helped Gerasimov to establish that it had been small and pointed.

The clothing and headgear worn by Tamerlane were recreated on the basis of a study of miniatures and of genuine articles of apparel dating from the dynasty of the Tamerlanes.

In this way did the Soviet scientist M. Gerasimov solve the problem of restoring the physical likeness of the great 14-th century conqueror.

The original method of reconstructing the head and face of historical personages which Gerasimov has brought to such a high point of perfection opens up remarkable vistas to science. Thanks to this happy combination of strictly objective analysis and synthesis with artistic intuition and skill, the world has been given another key to the secrets of the dim past; it can now look many centuries back and see the great men of the past of whom it frequently knew only from legend.

In 1950, M. Gerasimov was awarded a Stalin Prize for his scientific work, *Restoration of the Face from the Skull*, and for his reconstructions of the physical likeness of pre-historic man and historical personages.

ART AND LITERATURE

THE NEW PERSON IN THE BEST SOVIET PROSE WORKS OF 1949

By *Sergei Ivanov*

LAST year's best prose works of Soviet literature deal with the Soviet person, his thoughts and actions, his struggle to build the communist society. We meet with the heroes of these works in our daily lives, we live and work alongside them. "Such people live among us, are building communism together with us," said a reader, A. Katkov of Pyatigorsk, with reference to the characters of Semyon Babaevsky's novel "Cavalier of the Gold Star"; and the same can be said for most of the best Soviet prose of last year.

In portraying our present day life the best Soviet writers look ahead, tell us about our future; they can distinguish and show us in their works features of the Soviet person which to a certain extent already foreshadow the man of communist society.

* * *

Semyon Babaevsky's novel *Light Over the Earth* which won a Stalin First Prize contains a scene indicative of the ideological trend both of this book and several others. Hero of Socialist Labour Andrei Vasilyevich Knishev tells his friends about his meeting with J. V. Stalin. Stalin "sat down next to us old folks", they got to talking about life, about the past and the future, touched on communism. Joseph Vissarionovich praised them all for their efforts and called the Heroes of Socialist Labour "pioneers of communism".

Then one old man, a shepherd from the Don, said: "It's true, Joseph Vissarionovich, that we are the pioneers of that new life,

but it hurts to think the years are overtaking us—we'll build the new house, make it beautiful, but it won't be our lot to live in it..." Joseph Vissarionovich listened attentively, smiled and said: "Why not? Heroes of Labour are leading people, and why shouldn't it be their lot to live in that house? I tell you, you and I are not so terribly old, and I say that we shall enter that new house and live there quite a while..."

Communism is already becoming a part of our daily life, we see its rays, we are approaching nearer and nearer to it with each passing day—such is the underlying idea of the novel *Light Over the Earth*. The words of Sergei Tutarinov: "What a life appears ahead of us—broad, turbulent, and swift as this stream!" express the feelings of an entire people building the communist morrow.

Babaevsky's novel *Light Over the Earth* shows that the people are not with those who stop on the way and, entranced with the achievements at hand, forget that communism will not come of itself, that it must be built up in the course of fierce struggle between the old and the new, that any pause in this struggle not only causes our wonderful future to recede, but denotes a retreat from positions already won.

Sergei Tutarinov, the hero of Babaevsky's earlier novel, *Cavalier of the Gold Star*, taught his fellow-villagers to think on a broad plan, with an eye to the interests of the state, and was able to draw the masses after him. The reader was overjoyed at the successes of Sergei and his friends, and

waited impatiently for the sequel to the novel. The author received many letters addressed to Sergei Tutarinov as if he were a character taken from real life. Many readers complained to the hero that the author "had not carried the story through to the end". "I want to know what happened next in your life," wrote a woman from Bashkiria, "about how you utilized the electric power in your collective farm, and how your married life turned out... Just think—you built a fine power station, celebrated the event, gave a banquet for all your guests—exactly the way things should be done. All this is described very nicely, and it is also right that Irene became your wife, but what happens next? The glow of the lamps lights up the future, but what will that future be like? The writer must have turned lazy at this point, and that's inexcusable..."

No, the writer didn't "turn lazy", as he proves in his new novel, the first part of which appeared in 1949. Here we learn that Sergei Tutarinov did not immediately set out on the right road: we are sorely hurt to read about his serious mistakes which had to be overcome if he was to remain in the ranks of the leading people of the Soviet state. It is difficult to justify such a turn of events offhand: the author kills all his readers' expectations... But the more we think about the hero's life, the more we feel that the author is right and that his insight into Soviet life is very keen.

In his speech at the celebration of the 32nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist revolution, G. M. Malenkov, characterizing the immense successes of the Soviet people, reminded his listeners that J. V. Stalin teaches us not to put on airs, not to rest on our laurels, not to stop at what has been already achieved. "Where conceit, blissful complacency and self-satisfaction reign, where Bolshevik exactingness and self-criticism are absent, there all further advance ceases and stagnation inevitably sets in."

This is just the kind of complacent person, content with what he has managed to accomplish, that Sergei Tutarinov is at the beginning of Babaevsky's new novel. Sergei is delighted that the power station has been built, that electric lights now illumine the homes of the collective farmers. His self-satisfaction hinders him from looking ahead. Joy blinds him to the perspectives of the

future. Meanwhile the people in the collective farms have forgotten all about using electricity in production, and the wires and posts that had been gotten ready lie in disuse. A good undertaking has been left half done. But any pause is a retreat.

How one would like to advise Sergei Tutarinov, to give him a helpful hint, to set him on the right road again. This is done for us in the novel largely by the secretary of the district committee of the Communist Party, Kondratyev, and he does it with great tact and delicacy, intelligently and skilfully. With the high-principled integrity of the Bolshevik, he blames himself first of all for Tutarinov's mistake. "Well, suppose Sergei did go wrong—he's a hot-headed chap and still inexperienced in practical affairs. But I, where was I?... If there was any excuse for the others—there's certainly none for me."

Kondratyev is careful not to alienate Sergei; he helps him to understand his mistake and draw the right conclusions from it. "To rejoice at one's success is far from a sin; it's even a praiseworthy thing, I'd say," he tells Sergei, "for such a feeling gives a man wings, and fills him with strength and energy. But life teaches that while you may rejoice, you must bear in mind that too great an excess of joy has the property of intoxicating people, and quite frequently in this state of tipsiness some comrades' heads begin to turn—which is a very unpleasant thing... and even dangerous..."

Sergei's father, the old Cossack Timofei Ilyich, also gets to thinking about how things are going in the district. And he says to his son with paternal severity: "You're some district administrator! It's something to weep over... but there you go prancing about and feeding the people with honeyed speeches..." Other forward-looking people in the district also begin to wonder.

All this is described with great finesse and psychological truth. A man has made a mistake and he is being criticized for it. In his rounds of the village and contacts with many people Sergei is struck by a strange change: "... everything that but yesterday was bathed in rosy hues now stood out in quite a different light." It was as if sight had just been restored to Sergei—he looked with different eyes on all that was happening, or rather not happening, and thought

of the dangerous lull that had come upon them so unexpectedly, and of how it must be broken as quickly as possible.

This is the second birth of Sergei Tutarinov, and although the first part of Babaevsky's new novel does not yet show us the new Sergei, nevertheless, we feel sure that the Cavalier of the Gold Star has learned his lesson, and that he will set to work with renewed energy. The main hero of Babaevsky's latest novel is really Kondratyev, the secretary of the district committee of the Communist Party. The author gives a vivid drawing of this character, marked by profound insight into his thoughts and actions. Kondratyev educates the people about him, mobilizes them around big and difficult undertakings, seeks for the creative spark in each person so as to fan it into a big, strong flame. His approach to Sergei is marked by great delicacy and Bolshevik adherence to principle; the same can be said for his attitude to Tatyana Netsvetova who is advanced to the leading position in the Communist Party organization of a difficult collective farm.

* * *

Vera Panova's story *Bright Shore* also deals with the socialist transformation of agriculture and the eradication of the contrast between town and country.

The state farm *Bright Shore* is completing its five-year plan in two and a half years. This is a great event in the life of the state farm, and its workers cannot suppress feelings of pride and justifiable elation in speaking of it. Korostelev, the director of the state farm, voices the thoughts of the whole collective, when he says: "Comrades, just think of it—we're pretty close already. We, we, in these very work boots of ours—we are marching towards communism, and we'll get there!"

The people's thoughts leap ahead, to communism, to the communist morrow, so near already, already in sight. The personages of Panova's story, like those of Babaevsky's book, see through the work-a-day present to the more radiant morrow. They feel that they must come to communism cleansed of the survivals of capitalism, of everything old and stagnant that still remains in people's minds. The significance of Panova's new book lies in the fact that it shows how the

Soviet people under the guidance of the Communist Party are uprooting the vicious survivals of the past in their psychology.

Take Nyusha, for example. The authoress loves her heroine, whose entire conscious being is turned towards the future. Nyusha's selfless work is inspired by the ideal of communism. She is a leader in production. She dreams of a great exploit, even of glory; she wants to be held in high regard; yet in all this there is not the slightest trace of self-exaltation.

"Remember," Nyusha tells herself, "people all around are working so that merely good work is not considered good any more; only remarkable work is counted as good." And Nyusha wants to do remarkable work, so that "Joseph Vissarionovich himself may hear of Nyusha Vlasova, a girl from a distant state farm. There's that girl Nyusha, so to say, also building communism, and no worse than others..." Such is the keynote of Nyusha's character—to be as good a builder of communism as the best.

Nyusha translates her dreams into actions. She works out a new combination of fodder for the cattle and continually increases their yield of milk. Fame comes to her. Nyusha is a leading milkmaid and academicians study her work. Bekeshev, the Communist Party organizer of the state farm, is right when he says: "She has a great future before her. I've seen it happen so many times: a person goes along unnoticed. There doesn't seem to be anything out of the ordinary in him; but suddenly out he comes and astonishes the world. That's the way our people are."

The character of the zootechnician Ikonnikov, an indifferent worker who always side-steps the difficult jobs, is also well-drawn. The authoress does not like Ikonnikov, and neither does the reader.

Though favourably received on the whole, Panova's *Bright Shore* has been criticized for its schematic delineation of some of the characters.

* * *

Ksenia Lvova touches on a new theme in her story *Forest Belt* which deals with the implementation of the "unparalleled plan for transforming the dry steppes into a flourishing garden", as one of the characters of the story calls it.

Lvova depicts enthusiasts of forestation at work, their struggle with difficulties, with natural obstacles and with the obstructions artificially raised by certain individuals. She tells the story capably, unfolding the characters of her chief protagonists through their actions.

In the *Yasny Put* (Bright Road) collective farm the afforestation specialist, Khomutov, and the collective farm woman, Nastya Sizova, initiate the planting of the first forest belts. At first they do not have the support of the chairman of the collective farm administration, a near-sighted man in politics, who tried to squelch them with: "the collective farm must solve the grain problem, instead of planting twigs: it'll be a long time before they bring any returns..."

However, the enthusiasts, helped by Lukyanov, the head of the Komsomol organization, continue their noble undertaking. And the greater the difficulties Nastya has to overcome, the dearer her work is to her, for "nothing endears a person's work to him so much as having to fight for it." And it is a fight—against the chairman of the collective farm, against the senior agronomist of the machine-and-tractor station Pestrak, who is indifferent to anything new, against the shepherds who like to take short-cuts with their herds through the young growth of tress... a bitter, relentless fight with nature too, who seemed to be deliberately combating the undertaking by sending weeds to choke the young shoots, pests to destroy the saplings, and bad weather on spite just at planting time...

Nastya "lost weight in this period due to sleepless nights; her voice grew hoarse from constant exposure to the wind." This struggle made her abrupt, exacting, bad-tempered. But she would not give in either to the weather, the chairman of the collective farm, or the brigadiers when the latter tried to take people from her team for other work at the height of the busy season. Great was Nastya's exaltation when she read in the papers about the decree on planting forest shelter belts adopted by the Communist Party and the Soviet government on the initiative of J. V. Stalin. The best pages in the book are those given over to Nastya's reflections about Stalin. It seems to her that Stalin must have guessed her innermost thoughts and formulated them in the words

of the decree. "He must have devined everything that filled Nastya's life, everything she was working and striving for. And the realization that the great Stalin was so close to her life filled her heart with a great, inexpressible joy."

* * *

Gregory Medinsky's novel *Marya* is strong in the very points in which the story *Forest Belt* falls down to some extent. The best pages in *Marya* are those describing collective farm work: the building of the hydroelectric station, the seed-testing plots, the breeding of new varieties, the help given by a strong collective farm to a backward one. Where the writer tries to portray the inner world of his characters, the results are at times more modest.

He is most successful with his main heroine, Marya Karpovna Morozova, an advanced collective farm administrator. Marya is typical of the Soviet peasant woman of today. She is constantly progressing; she sometimes falls into error, but corrects her mistakes; she is continually studying and teaching others.

* * *

The two novels: *Kuznetsk Land* by the Siberian author Alexander Woloshin, and *Apsheron* by the Azerbaijanian Mekhti Gusein, at first sight seem to have nothing in common; their material is different, and so is their artistic approach. They have a common feature, however, in that both deal with production themes, and both show the personages of the story at work: one in a coal mine, the other in an oil field.

A. Voloshin and M. Gusein depict their heroes in the process of work and struggle for new, advanced methods of production, against inertia and routine, against the theory of "limits", against the adherents of easy, "quiet" methods of work.

There are some fine people working in the *Kapitalnaya* pit. Kolya Dubintsev; the Voshchins, father and son; the mine-surveyor, Khomyakov, inventor of a new mining combine; the young Komsomols; Hero of the Soviet Union Stepan Danilov, an ex-army man, who is not ashamed to learn from the Komsomols. For all these people (as for most of the other characters in the book) work is inspired creation, the basic meaning of their life. These are new people. They are not only interested in getting everything

possible out of the existing machines, they are helping to create new, more perfect machines and methods.

But not all the men in the pit are such enthusiasts, there are still people content to remain where yesterday's achievements left them, giving no thought to the future. Such are the former pit superintendent Drobot, and the engineer Dubinin. All they care about is getting a smaller plan and fulfilling it by a hair's breadth. The less bother the better! This forms the central conflict of the story, a conflict between the innovators of production headed by the young engineer Rogov, and the adherents of routine who blindly follow Drobot.

It is interesting to observe that the author has succeeded best with the characters he shows in the process of work, whereas those that do not work in the pit (Tonya, Valya) are artistically of lesser merit.

The novel *Apsheeron* by the Azerbaidjanian author, Gusein, deals with innovation in work and the education of the younger generation. Both these themes, which merge organically and complement one another, are correctly formulated and successfully solved in the book.

Ismail-Zade, the head of an oil trust in Baku, an engineer-innovator, wages an active struggle against the conservative tendencies still displayed by some of the Baku engineers, against the "limit" theories in engineering. He directs all his Bolshevik passion against the adherents of "easy" work, against those who justify "average" norms by the argument that most of the workers in the oil-field are young people who have not yet mastered the intricate machinery. In planning his new methods of work Ismail-Zade places his hopes on this very youth. He looks to them as the promise of the future.

The old master, Ramazan, a talented teacher of young oil workers, is also a staunch supporter of the new methods of work. Ramazan has adopted an attitude of paternal solicitude towards the young workers, those "sons of a fortunate century". Rallying the youth, he enthusiastically backs Ismail-Zade and his production plan which considerably raises the target set the trust by the state. The innovators of production are supported by the secretary of the city committee of the Communist Party, the old Bolshevik, Aslanov.

The author brings out the good results of a Bolshevik attitude towards young workers by the example of Tair, who as a seventeen-year-old collective farmer is drawn to the oil-fields by dreams of heroism and personal fame. The difficult conditions and arduous work at first disillusion the young man, and he decides to return to the collective farm. Ramazan, with fatherly solicitude, keeps Tair from taking this wrong step, while the old man's son, a hero just back from the front, graphically drives home to him the deep meaning of Soviet patriotism. "The boy loves his country, loves the Komsomol, loves the Party. But in his opinion, his dearest motherland is his native village. So far his native land is small and his love is small... We should have told him: "your great mother is our vast country. Love your mother by all means, love your home, but don't forget that if you love them to the exclusion of all else, your soul will become impoverished."

Under the influence of Ramazan and his son, under the influence of Ismail-Zade and the Komsomol organization, Tair's character and outlook change. He begins to understand that it was faint-heartedness that prompted his decision to leave the oil-field, that nothing can be achieved without struggle, and that glory comes in the struggle for the common cause. He suffers a series of defeats in this struggle, but they can no longer turn him aside from the right road; on the contrary, they merely strengthen his will to win. In thinking over the causes of his failures Tair arrives at new methods of work.

The author may be commended on his character portrayals, but not in all respects can his artistry be said to measure up to the breadth and depth of his conception, and the work scenes, for example, are somewhat inferior.

* * *

Alexander Chakovsky's novel *It Is Morning Here!* carries the reader to the eastern outskirts of the U.S.S.R., to southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands which were returned to the Soviet Union after the defeat of the Japanese military clique.

Soviet people set out to build a new life on the land tortured by the Japanese Samurais. There are demobilized soldiers, sailors and officers, there are fishermen, skilled workers and engineers among them; entire

collective farms move over from the mainland. Different kinds of people, they are all moved by the same passionate desire—to make this land their own as speedily as possible.

Upon their arrival the Soviet people feel as if they have been carried back several decades in time; the conditions are so primitive and miserable, recalling to mind things forgotten long ago.

Everything must be built up from rock bottom, especially the Soviet system of life. It is all very difficult, yet a source of joy. That is what Rusanov, the secretary of the Sakhalin regional committee of the Communist Party, tells the Communists who have come to the island: "yours is a happy lot."

The novel truthfully conveys this joy of creating a new life. Take the demobilized army officer, Doronin, for example. He has been appointed director of a fishery which is actually non-existent as yet: it has neither boats, nor equipment, nor materials...

Doronin realizes that to introduce the high culture of socialism here means to start building from scratch in the shortest possible time. He also understands that the country which has just emerged from a severe four-year war cannot immediately furnish the fishery with everything it needs, and that therefore most of the material will have to be found on the spot.

The author shows how the Soviet people sweep away all obstacles standing in the way to their goal. Southern Sakhalin becomes Soviet before the reader's eyes. A whole workers' settlement grows up around "Russian house", as the fishermen call the first hut to be built here. And when Nirkov, the Communist Party organizer of the fishery, calls a meeting—it is attended, not by a handful of people as a first, but by an audience of several hundred.

"Who are we, comrades," began Nirkov, "if we're taken, so to say, individually, by ourselves? Islanders! Water all around... the edge of the world! But together with the whole country we're a great force! The fact that we're inhabitants of Sakhalin—is only part of the truth. The main thing is that we're the Soviet Union!"

The best pages in the book are those dealing with the radical change the Soviet people bring about in fishing practice by organizing fishing in the winter time. Winter fish-

ing was something unheard of in these climes, but the workers of the fishery and the sailors were the ones to suggest how to go about it. It was not easy to break established traditions. There were bitter opponents of the undertaking, headed by the chief engineer of the fishery. These people based their arguments on the practice of the Japanese who did not fish in the winter time. But "the Japanese don't lay down the law for us" retorted Nirkov proudly, and the workers and regional committee of the Communist Party supported him.

One of the characters in the book tells Doronin: "What a restless person you are!" These words fully apply to many other characters in the book. They are "restless" people, continually anxious about affairs of state. It is this "restlessness" which helps them to win victory after victory.

* * *

Anna Koptyaeva's novel *Ivan Ivanovich* holds a place apart among the books dedicated to the work theme. It deals not with work in a collective farm or industrial plant, but with the work of a doctor. It also touches on problems of love, the family and morals.

Literally at every readers' conference where Soviet literature is discussed, at every gathering of readers, be it in an industrial plant, a research institute or educational institution, the greatest number of questions asked refer to the novel *Ivan Ivanovich*, even when it is not specifically the subject of the conference. This proves that the book raises a vital problem still insufficiently treated in Soviet literature.

Ivan Ivanovich is a man with a name, a talented surgeon and public-spirited citizen. He loves his wife, Olga, but he does not believe that she can do important independent work in any field. He kills every creative spark in Olga, and she finally leaves him. The fault lies with Ivan Ivanovich, but the author does not justify Olga either. The writer shows that the Soviet family must be based not merely on equality of the man and woman before the law, but also on the truly comradely mutual respect of creative personalities. The Soviet marriage is a union of two creative working people which deprives neither of them of his independence, nor frees them from their duty to society and the state.

* * *

The Patriotic War is treated in two Stalin Prize-winning works: *Spring on the Oder* by Emanuel Kazakevich, and *Big Road* by Vasily Ilyenkov. The significance of these words lies not so much in their excellent descriptions of battle scenes, as in the fact that they depict typical Soviet characters dynamically in the process of their development.

Kazakevich describes the concluding phase of the war, after the Soviet forces have crossed the borders of fascist Germany.

"So that's what you're like!"... said a stocky Russian soldier thoughtfully, for the first time applying the direct you to Germany, instead of the abstract and hostile she, which he had used in the past four years. And the thoughts of all turned to the great Stalin who had led them and brought them here. As they thought of him the soldiers looked at one another, and their chests swelled with pride in their own invincible strength:

"'And here's what we're like!'"

The character of the Soviet warriors, from the plain soldiers to the generals, are all skilfully delineated: Lubentsov, Veselchakov, Glasha Korotchenkova, Slivenko and especially Major Lubentsov. The reader follows with unabated attention and takes to heart everything affecting this wonderful person who is so typical of the Soviet warrior.

From Lubentsov's very first appearance on the pages of the book the reader greets him as a good, kind friend. Broad-shouldered, good-natured, gay, with a fund of humor and whimsical roguishness, he simply irradiates joy of life. "The major's blue eyes sparkled with that friendly, joyous light that expresses a single thought: 'I love all of you sitting here, regardless of sex, age and nationality, because you are all my friends though strangers, my fellow-countrymen though born in distant parts, because we all come from the Soviet Union and are working for the same cause.' Children and soldiers especially love such characters." And we can add: they are beloved by the whole people.

Kazakevich poses, and correctly answers, the big question of the Soviet people's attitude to the German people during the war. He shows that the Soviet people correctly understood and carried out in practice J. V. Stalin's historical pronouncement to the effect that the entire German people must not be identified with Nazi Germany. The Ger-

man fascists caused the Soviet people immense losses, but these losses did not blind the eyes of the Soviet nation to the fact that hitlers come and go, but the German people, the German state remains. General Sizokrilov lost a son in the struggle against the fascists; the Germans drove off into slavery the daughter of Slivenko, the Communist Party organizer; but the personal grief of these men could not affect the attitude of the Soviet people towards the defeated German people.

In the personages of Lubentsov, Semiglav, Rukavishnikov and many others, in the vivid pictures of the Soviet troops' sweeping offensive, the author shows the invincible spirit of the Soviet Army and its noble socialist humaneness; he shows it as an army heroically defending its native land and the ideals of justice and peace among the peoples.

The novel acquaints one with the warriors who to-morrow will put aside the weapons of war for the tools of peaceful toil, who will build communism as successfully as they fought the stubborn and dangerous enemy.

V. Ilyenkov, the author of *Leading Axis* and *Sunny City*, after a long interval, has come out with a new book *Big Road*. Some critics call it a war novel, but this is only so in part. War scenes occupy a secondary position in the novel, and undoubtedly cede artistically to the scenes of prewar village life.

The author was especially successful with the character of Nikolai Andreyevich Degtyarev, chairman of the leading collective farm *Iskra* (*Spark*). Degtyarev, a representative of the older generation of Bolsheviks, personifies the best traits of the new peasantry: socialist thrift and a Bolshevik anxiety for the affairs of the collective farm and the state. His university was the new life which he built together with the whole people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

Although Degtyarev is a leading man in the collective farm village, he has not cast off the last vestiges of capitalist ideology. This appears, for example, in his conflict with his son, Vladimir. The essence of the conflict is well brought out in the words of the son: "Yes, father has calmed down. He thinks that once we've built a bath-house and an electric power station in the village, and are watering our cows from automatic drinking troughs, there's nothing left to do... But we've got to drag the whole world after

us. To drag it out of a hole, out of darkness and blood. If we, Soviet people, don't do this, no one else will, and mankind will be drowned in blood."

The author also gives a vivid depiction of his other characters who are all typical of the new socialist countryside.

* * *

Soviet prose of 1949 touches on various themes; it is written by different authors and

in different styles. But all the best works of Soviet literature have one fine feature in common: they all depict the new Soviet people, the builders of the communist society at work.

Herein lies the greatest achievement of the authors, and this is quite natural, for work in the Soviet Union has become a creative, joyous process; people cannot imagine life without the work they love so. And the best Soviet writers have succeeded in bringing this out in their books.

THE HERMITAGE, STOREHOUSE OF WORLD ART

By *K. Moiseyeva*

ON one of the most beautiful squares in Leningrad stands the Winter Palace, former residence of the Russian emperors. Today it houses the largest museum in the Soviet Union, the State Hermitage.

Almost two million priceless objects are stored in the Hermitage... beautiful sculptures by the ancient masters of Grecian and Roman art, famous paintings by Rembrandt, Scythian gold articles discovered in burial mounds in the Crimea and Altai region, and tiny clay statuettes modelled by our remote ancestors many thousands of years ago, at the dawn of human civilization.

The Hermitage tells in object and picture the story of the development of art through the centuries.

* * *

Thirty years ago a section devoted to the art of the Orient was opened in the Hermitage. This is the largest collection in the world of objects representative of the culture and art of the eastern peoples of the Soviet Union and the Orient. More than 100,000 paintings, sculptures, artifacts in bone, stone and wood, beautiful examples of oriental rugs and ancient Persian and Turkish cloth, Medieval weapons, Sassanid silver, hoary Egyptian monuments and a host of other exhibits fill this section.

The art of ancient and modern China is well represented with examples of its exquisite chinaware and pottery, carvings in bone and stone, delicate Chinese silks, embroidery and panneaus, bronze vessels, and a rich collection of statuettes of the Chinese gods.

This section presents to public view art relics discovered among the ruins of the capital of the Golden Horde, the ancient city of Sarai Berke. The weapons and articles of silver, bronze, glass, marble and gold exhibited here are the work of the peoples van-

quished by the Tatars of the Golden Horde; of Russians, Armenians, Tadjiks, and Iranians. The cultural treasures of this epoch demonstrate the indigenous character of the art of all the peoples subordinated by the Golden Horde, despite the fact that the Tatar yoke held ancient Russ in its vise for more than two hundred years.

In 1719 Peter I bought a statue of Venus, the ancient Roman goddess of beauty and love, which had just been discovered among the ruins of Rome. This was the beginning of the collection of the art of antiquity on which the Hermitage today prides itself. Particularly noteworthy is its collection of sculptural portraits of Roman statesmen, generals, emperors. Here one can find early sculptures dating from the 7th century before our era and later works pertaining to the first centuries of our era. This collection also includes Greek sculptures and the black lacquered vases whose pictorial designs acquaint us with the life of the ancient Greeks.

The Hermitage collection of west European sculpture and painting fills dozens of rooms. There are no copies. All the canvases are originals done by the greatest masters of the brush between the 11th and 20th centuries. The sole exception is the copy of the superb Raphael fresco at the Vatican in Rome, the only one of its kind, and made specially for the Hermitage 160 years ago. A large group of artists devoted seven years to carefully copying the fresco on canvases. The canvases were then transported to St. Petersburg and mounted on the walls of a hall especially built for them which reproduced to the minutest detail the architecture of the loggias in the Vatican where the original is found.

Raphael, one of the world's foremost masters, is an exponent of an age when west European art reached its richest efflorescence. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels said



Raffaello Santi da Urbino

The Holy Family



Leonardo da Vinci

La Madonna Litta

of this period: "Art attained to its highest flowering in Italy; it was like a reflected gleam of classical antiquity, and it never again regained the same heights".

The Hermitage has two paintings by Raphael, his *The Holy Family* and the *Conestabile Madonna*.

The close of the 15th century, the golden age of Italian art, is represented at the Hermitage by many rare works. These include two canvases by Leonardo da Vinci, famed down the centuries as both a great artist and a great scientist. There are but ten Leonardo paintings at the most extant in the whole world. All the greater then is the value of his *Madonna and Child* and *Madonna Litta* which can both be seen at the Hermitage.

The third great master of the Renaissance was Michelangelo Buonarotti, sculptor, architect, painter and poet. The Hermitage owns Michelangelo's marble figure *Crouching Boy* and a wood model of a Slave for his famous marble statue which is housed in the Louvre.

The section of the Hermitage which is devoted to Italian art exhibits pictures by the finest exponents of the Venetian school, Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto; also fine 16th and 17th century Italian portraits, frescoes and sculptures.

In the halls where the realistic art of Holland is on display, the visitor stops long before the immortal paintings of the great Rembrandt. Rembrandt bequeathed to posterity works of genius in which he extolled the plain people. Rembrandt was a superb portrait painter, a genre in which subsequent periods produced none to equal him. The Hermitage has 27 paintings by Rembrandt and a large number of wood cuts. This collection is matched only by the Rembrandt collection in the artist's own country. The Hermitage also boasts a great many Rubens and Van Dycks.

The Hermitage houses a rich collection of 15th to 20th century French paintings. The section devoted to France includes works by the famous French sculptors Falconi and Ghoudon, decorative enamel objects, rare copies of books, furniture, faience ware and a beautiful collection of French tapestry woven 200 to 250 years ago.

In 1941, the Hermitage arranged an exhibition of the history of Russian culture, the first of its kind. The *Gallery of Peter*



A sculpture hall in the Hermitage

is illustrative of Russian culture in the first half of the 18th century, the growth of science and technology in Russia, its cultural contacts with Europe, and the construction of St. Petersburg.

Of great interest is the exhibition on the subject of *The Heroic Military Past of the Russian People*. Here one finds trophies of the great battles of the Patriotic War of 1812, and pictures depicting the historic exploits of the Russian army.

In a gorgeous hall of the palace where the tsar's throne once stood there now hangs a map of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics made of precious stones all found in Russia. This map was executed by Soviet masters and is composed of 45,000 pieces of various stones: rubies, diamonds, emeralds, chrysoberyls, topaz, mountain crystal and other rare stones in which the Soviet land is so rich.

* * *

The Hermitage is one of the best museums in the world. In the century and a half of its existence before the revolution (the Hermitage was founded during the reign of Catherine II in 1764) by no means all the treasures of this wonderful museum were placed on view for the wide masses. The vast treasures acquired by the labour of the people themselves were hidden from them. The doors of the Hermitage were opened wide to the working people only after the Revolution, when all the country's wealth became the property of the people.

At the present time the scientific staff of the museum is carrying on work of enormous scope along the lines of art education. It publishes books describing the wonderful treasures preserved in the Hermitage. It goes out to the enterprises of Leningrad to deliver lectures and reports. A permanent staff of experienced guides is always on hand to tell visitors about the monuments of human culture, about the famous paintings, sculptures and productions of the folk masters housed in the museum.

The young people of Leningrad know the Hermitage well. Their institutes, schools and technical high schools take them on excursions to it in order to acquaint them with the history of the arts, with archaeological remains, with the development of architecture. The Hermitage runs circles for high school students—for young historians, artists, and future architects. Special lecturers give talks for their benefit in the museum on the history of primitive art, the culture of the ancient Orient, the art of the Renaissance, French painting and many other themes. During the years of Soviet government, the Hermitage has become not only the largest museum in the country, but

also a center of vast research work where historians and students of the arts are carrying on fruitful work. Groups of scientists go out every year to excavate ancient settlements, enriching the collection of the Hermitage with valuable monuments of the culture of the ancient peoples who inhabited the territory of the Soviet Union in the remote past.

Professor B. Piotrovsky, who was in charge of the excavation of the ancient monuments of the Urartu kingdom in the Caucasus, has contributed to the collection of eastern monuments in the Hermitage examples of the work of the ancient armourers, pottery makers and masters of bronze work. His discoveries offer convincing proof of the high level of culture achieved by the ancestors of the present peoples of the Transcaucasus more than two thousand years ago.

Wonderful relics of the culture of the Altaian Scyths have been discovered by the expedition of Professor S. Rudenko in the Pazyryk valley. Huge burial mounds made of tremendous boulders preserved the frozen remains of tribal chieftains. After 2300 years Soviet archaeologists extracted from these burial mounds fine felt rugs with bright ornamentation in appliqué, garments made of excellent woollens and silk, wood cuts, elegant saddles and spurs and other examples of the indigenous art of this ancient people.

Corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences U. Yakubovsky has written a new page in the art history of the peoples of Central Asia with his findings. The wonderful examples of Sogdiana painting unearthed in the ruins of ancient Pandjikent show how highly developed was the art of Sogdiana in the 8th century, before the invasion of the Arabs who held the Central Asian peoples in subjection for many long years.

The Hermitage of today is not a dead collection of dead monuments. It is a true Soviet museum—a large cultural, educational and scientific research center. Its fruitful creative work is raising the cultural level of the wide masses of Soviet people and helping the youth of the U.S.S.R. to become the kind of all-round educated people that the builders of Communism should be.



Rembrandt Harmenenszoon van Rijn

Portrait of an old woman



Peter Paul Rubens

Bacchanalia

THE TWELVE APOSTLES

By Sergei Eisenstein

FROM A FILM DIRECTOR'S DIARY¹

TO make a picture about an armoured cruiser, one needs... an armoured cruiser. And to recreate the history of an armoured cruiser in 1905 it has to be exactly of the type that existed in 1905.

In twenty years, for we began work on the picture in the summer of 1925, warships had changed radically.

By the summer of 1925, there were no armoured cruisers of the old type to be found either in the Luga bay of the Gulf of Finland, that is, in the Baltic Fleet, or in the Black Sea Fleet.

The cruiser *Comintern* bounces gaily on the Sevastopol road. But it won't do at all. It has neither the peculiar wide rump nor the flat quarter deck that we need to recreate the famous drama on the poop.

The *Potemkin* itself was taken apart years before, and there is no telling where the broom of history has swept and dumped the sheets of armour-plate that covered its powerful sides.

But reconnaissance, our film reconnaissance, has brought us the tidings that although the *Prince Potemkin Tavrichesky* is no more, its friend and brother, the once powerful and famous armoured cruiser *The Twelve Apostles* is still alive.

In chains it stands, this once heroic figure, shackled to the rocky shore, held down to the immovable sandy sea floor by iron anchors in one of the more distant bends of the so-called *Sukharnaya Balka*.

Here, in deep caves that continue the bends of the gulf into the heart of the mountains, hundreds and thousands of mines are stored.

Like a watchful Cerberus in chains, the rusty gray body of *The Twelve Apostles* guards their approaches.

But there are no gun turrets, no masts, no flagstuffs, no captain's bridge on the huge wide back of this sleeping watch-dog. Time has made off with them all.

Only its tiered iron belly sometimes echoes the rumble of wagonettes laden with the heavy deadly contents of its metallic vaults... mines, mines, mines.

The carcass of *The Twelve Apostles* has also become a storehouse for mines.

That's why its gray body is so carefully held in place, tied and chained to solid ground.

—mines don't like jolting, mines must not be disturbed, mines demand quiet and peace.

* * *

The Twelve Apostles seems to have frozen into eternal immobility, like the twelve stone images of Christ's disciples lining Romance portals; these are just as gray, immobile, weatherbeaten and pock-marked by the inclemencies of time as the sides of the iron nave, the iron cathedral half submerged in the quiet waters of *Sukharnaya Balka*.

But fate has decreed that the iron whale shall wake again.

That it shall bestir itself again.

That it shall once again turn its nose, which seemed burrowed forever into the cliff, towards the open sea.

The cruiser hugs the shore, he's in line with it.

But the "drama on the poop" took place in the open sea.

There is no "shooting" the cruiser either from fore or side without the overhanging dark cliffs intruding into the background.

However, the eagle eye of assistant-director Lesha Kriukov, who discovered this iron veteran in the bends of the Sevastopol roadstead, has discerned a way to overcome this difficulty as well.

With one turn of its mighty carcass through an angle of ninety degrees, the ship

¹ This extract from the late *Sergei Eisenstein's* diary is published for the first time by V.O.K.S. Bulletin. It describes the creation of the famous film *Potemkin* which appeared 25 years ago.

takes its stance perpendicular to the shore; in this position when shot from the nose it comes out in the opening between the cliffs, and is outlined in all its breadth against the unmarred background of the sky!¹

And the impression is that of a cruiser in open sea.

Frightened seagulls, who have come to regard this as their mountain retreat, suddenly take to the air. Their flight strengthens the illusion.

The iron whale begins to move in the startled silence.

* * *

By special order of the command of the Black Sea Fleet the iron giant is again turned nose to sea, for the last time now.

You can almost hear him draw a deep breath of the briny air of the open sea through his nostrils, after the musty smell of the seaweed-strewn coast.

The mines slumbering in his belly may not have noticed the heavy body making its smooth turn. But the knocking of the hammers must have disturbed their sleep. That is a play-wood top being reconstructed on the deck of the real cruiser.

Using old drawings preserved in the Admiralty, an exact replica of the old *Potemkin* is being reconstructed of laths, beams and ply-wood.

This is almost a symbol of the film itself—reconstruction of the past through the medium of art on the basis of true history.

But not a single slip to the right or left.

Not one centimeter to the side.

Otherwise the illusion of open sea will be destroyed.

Otherwise the gray cliffs will peep slyly into the lens.

The rigid blinkers of space hold us in check.

No less rigid are the blinkers of time.

The rigid dateline set by the necessity for completing the picture by the anniversary day keeps one's thoughts from roaming.

As chains and anchors keep the old carcass of the cruiser from lunging out into the sea.

¹ There is, too, a side view of the armoured cruiser... but this was shot in the wide expanses of the Sandunovsky bathhouse in Moscow. The little gray model of the cruiser rocked on the warm water of the bath-house swimming pool.

The chains of space and the anchors of the date-line keep the too eager imagination in check.

Perhaps it is this that endows the film itself with such rigid restraint and makes it so tight-knit.

* * *

Mines, mines, mines.

Not without reason do they keep rolling out of my pen onto the paper. All the work is pervaded by the presence of mines.

No smoking allowed.

No running allowed.

One is not even allowed to stay on deck without good reason!

Even more terrible than the mines themselves is their custodian, who has been especially attached to us.

Comrade Glazastikov!¹

GLAZASTIKOV!

This is no play on words. It is a perfect characterization of the true nature of the owner of those unblinking eyes, of this Argus who guards the rows of mines under our feet from sparks, from unnecessary jolting, from detonation...

It would take months to unload the mines, and we have only two weeks to go if we are to finish the film by the anniversary.

But "no obstacles exist for the Russians": the revolt was shot!

Not in vain did the mines in the belly of the old cruiser turn and shake at the reverberation of the historic events that were being reenacted on the decks.

Something of their latent power was imparted to the swift-moving cruiser on the screen.

The screen image of the old rebel caused great consternation among censors, police and police pickets in many countries of Europe.

No less was the shock it gave to the very foundations of cinematographic aesthetics.

* * *

Spectators are always interested not only in the real participants in the events portrayed, but also in the participants in the film as such.

Here are a new facts about some of them.

One of the very important characters in the plot is the doctor.

¹ Comrade All-eyes (trans.)



Eisenstein being made-up to double for the role of the priest

We looked long and unsuccessfully for somebody to fill the role. Finally our choice settled on an actor little suited for it.

Cameramen, I, and the ill-fitted candidate for the role are on a small cutter heading for the cruiser *Comintern* where the episode with the maggoty meat is to be shot.

I am sitting, annoyed, at the other end of the cutter as far as I can from the "doctor" and deliberately keeping my eyes off him.

The details of the port of Sevastopol are boringly familiar.

So are the people in the boat.

My eyes settle on the prop men, those who hold the mirrors and lights for the cameramen.

One of them is a little, scrawny fellow.

He makes the stove for us in the cold drafty hotel where we beguile the time in Sevastopol when we are not shooting the picture.

"Why on earth do they hire such fragile specimens for work with heavy mirrors?" the thought rambles through my head. "He's liable to drop a mirror off the deck and into the sea. Or worse still—break it. And that's a bad omen".

The line of my thoughts breaks off here—the scrawny furnaceman suddenly shifts to another plane in my estimation; I see him

from the standpoint, not of his physical prowess, but of his powers of expression.

A moustache and pointed beard... wily eyes.

In my mind's eye I see them covered with a pince-nez suspended on a black ribbon...

In my mind's eye I replace his cap by the headgear of an army doctor...

And in a moment, as soon as we alight on deck to begin shooting the scene, I translate my thoughts into reality: the honest prop man of a little while ago is now peering maliciously through his pince-nez at the maggoty meat, as the naval doctor of the armoured cruiser *Potemkin*.

* * *

There is a "legend" extant that I played the priest in the picture myself.

It's not true.

The part of the priest was played by an old gardener who worked in one of the orchards around Sevastopol. The beard was every bit his own, except that we combed it slightly to one side. He did wear a thick white wig, though.

The legend sprang from a photograph of one of our "working moments"

showing me in a shaggy wig having a white beard pasted to my face which peers out over a priest's cossack. I was being made-up so that I could double for the role: the venerable old man had to fall backwards down the stairs, and I couldn't resist the pleasure of performing that cascade myself!

* * *

A very important third figure also remained anonymous. In fact, he remained outside the shots.

Thank heaven for that.

Inasmuch as he was not so much a participant as a furious opponent of our shooting.

That was the watchman of the park of the Alupka palace.

His shabby boots and baggy trousers almost got into the picture: he stubbornly sat on the head of one of the Alupka lions and refused to let us shoot it, demanding a special permit.

But there are six lions in all on the Alupka stairway, and that saved us.

Running with the camera from one lion to another, we so befuddled the severe and stupid custodian of order that he finally gave up in despair, and we were able to take close shots of three of the marble beasts.

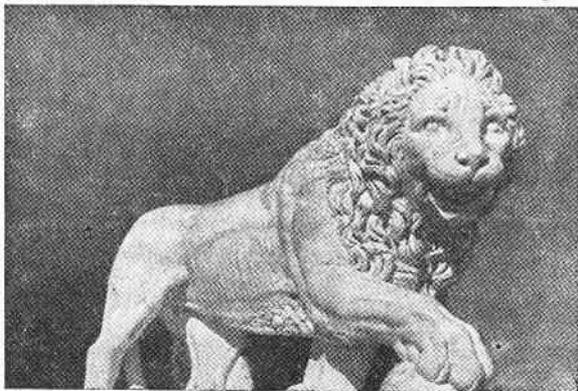
The lions were also a "location find"—on one of our "off" days, when we went to Alupka for a rest.

* * *

The famous lions were not our only "location find".

The famous fogs were another.

It was a foggy morning in the port.



One of the six Alupka lions

As if absorbent cotton lay on the mirror-like surface of the bay.

If *Swan Lake* were being played not in the Odessa Theatre, but among the cranes and landings of the port, one might think that the maidens who flew off for distant climes in the guise of white swans had dropped their vestments on the waters.

Reality is more prosaic.

Fogs over the bay mean a lay-off in the work—a blue Monday in the calendar of the film making.

Sometimes there are seven such blue Mondays in one week.

And now, despite the downy white, we've one of these blue Mondays of idleness on our hands.

Grim reminders of this are the black outlines of the cranes, looming like skeletons through the bridal veil of the fog.

And entangled in its folds, the black hippopotamus hulks of barges and commercial vessels.

Here and there, a chance ray of light pierces the gauze, dappling its fabric with splotches of gold.

They make the fog seem warm and alive.

Even the sun, now, has wrapped itself in a veil of clouds, as if envious of its own image in the sea veiled by the swan's down of the mist. "Am I any worse?" it seems to ask.

But there is no work on the picture today.

We hire a boat for three rubles and fifty kopecks.

With Alexandrov and Tisse for company, I roll over the waters of the misty port as if skimming the top of an apple orchard in full bloom.

Three Men in a Boat—not counting the camera.

Our camera is like a faithful dog, always at our side.

It had hoped for a rest today.

But the adventurous spirit of the three boatmen takes it into the fog too.

The fog clings to its lens like cotton to the teeth.

"Nobody shoots this kind of thing", I can hear it mutter.

Its attitude is echoed by the ironical laugh that comes to us from another boat.

"Looking for the end of the rainbow?"

That's cameraman L. taking a jibe at us. He's working on another picture in Odessa.

His lean, Don Quixotic figure is stretched lazily along the length of the other boat.

Disappearing and re-appearing in the fog, as if from black-out to black-out, he hurls derisive wishes of success at us.

And success does come our way.

A meeting with the fog, endowed with meaning by a chance moment of emotional perception, selection of detail, a vision of the scene—all these combine at once into the chords of a dirge each of whose many subtle notes will be set in place later in the montage room... the notes of the symphonic requiem in memory of Vakulinchuk.

This was the cheapest scene in the whole picture—three rubles and fifty kopecks—the cost of the boat's hire.

* * *

Our third location find was the Odessa stairway.

I believe that nature, the environment, the sets at the moment of shooting and the material shot are often wiser in montage than the author and director.

To be able to hear and understand the voice of nature, to perceive unexpected details in sets conceived in your own mind, to discern what the separate shots have to say as they arrange themselves into their own plastic life on the screen, a life that sometimes reaches far beyond the boundaries set by the imagination that engendered them—this is great work, great art.

It requires that the creative individuality shall be humble and modest to the point of self-effacement.

Nor is this all. There is still another requirement.

One must know exactly, with the greatest precision, what is the creative goal of a particular scene or phrase of the picture.

And at the same time one must be just as elastic in the choice of the particular means for embodying the idea.

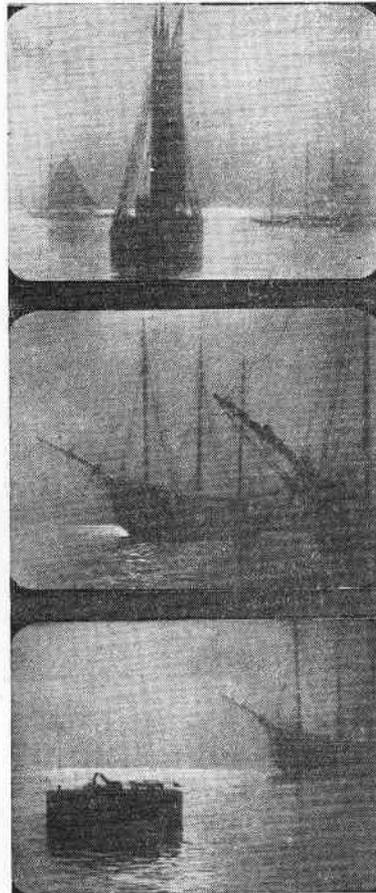
One must be pedantic and know exactly how the thing will "look" and yet open-minded enough not to reject objects and means, which, though unforeseen, can enhance the harmony of the picture.

The director's plan indicates the exact degree of emphasis with which the shot fired on the cruiser shall break off into the shots fired on the Odessa stairway.

It also outlines the methods—the roughest outline.

Chance leads to sharper and more effective solutions—and chance effects are incorporated in the body of the film as an intrinsic, legitimate part.

* * *



A meeting with the fog

In the director's notebook, there are dozens of pages devoted to the mourning for Vakulinchuk, seen against the slow-moving details of the port.

But through the port float the details of a chance fog, and their emotional over-tones fit exactly into the original conception of mourning. The unforeseen fog has grown into the very heart of the idea.

In exactly the same way do the lesser episodes build themselves up, step by step, following the degree of brutality of the Cossack reprisals (on the streets, in the yard of the



A scene on the Odessa stairway

print shop, on the city outskirts, in the bakery) into one monumental stairway each step of which is, as it were, a rhythmic and dramatic echo of the individual tragedy being enacted on it.

The scene of the shooting on the Odessa stairway was not included in any preliminary scenario or script of the picture.

The scene sprang to life in the encounter of a moment.

The anecdote that the idea for this scene began with cherry stones jumping down the steps as I spat them out standing up above, near the monument to Duke Richelieu, is of course a myth, a very amusing one, but still—a legend.

The very "flight" of the stairs suggested the idea of the scene—this "flight" set the director's imagination soaring on a new "flight" of its own.

The panicky "flight" of the crowd sweeping down the stairs is nothing more than the material embodiment of the first impressions ensuing from the encounter with the stairway itself.

Perhaps, what also contributed was the memory, hidden deep in the recesses of the mind, of a picture seen in the journal *Illustration* for 1905: a mounted rider flying down a stairway in a cloud of dust and hacking away at somebody with his sword.

However that may be, the Odessa stairway became a decisive scene in the picture, forming the very backbone of its structure and development.

* * *

The furnaceman, the fog, the stairway epitomize the fate of the picture as a whole: it too, after all, sprang from the rib of that endless and too rich in events scenario 1905.

My horoscope says I was born under the sign of the sun.

In spite of this, the sun does not call on me for a cup of tea, as it did for the late Vladimir Mayakovsky.

None the less, it sometimes does me unexpected favors.

In 1938, it was so kind as to stay in the sky for 40 days running when we were shooting the *Battle on the Ice* on location for *Mosfilm*.¹

It was the sun that obliged us to pack up our film expedition in Leningrad, where, in the autumn of 1925, we had begun our belated work on the film 1905.

It was the chase after its last rays that sent us to Sevastopol and Odessa, and made us choose among the ocean of episodes for the scenario 1905 the only one that could be shot in the south.

This particular episode became the emotional embodiment of the whole epic of 1905.

It was here that the technique of *pars pro toto* was born.

The part took the place of the whole.

It succeeded in embodying in itself the emotional tone of the whole.

What made this possible?

This picture is in large measure connected with a change in the understanding of the function of the close-up from that of informative detail "to presentation of the parti-

¹ For the picture *Alexander Nevsky*.

cular so that it evokes in the spectator's mind a feeling of the general, of the whole".

Such is the doctor's pince-nez which takes the place of its owner at a moment of stress.

The dangling pince-nez floundering in the seaweed after the sailors' reprisal takes the place of the doctor.

In one of my articles I have compared this method of utilizing the close-up to what is called *synecdoche* in poetry.

Both the one and the other in my opinion are directly dependent on the psychological phenomenon *pars pro toto*—that is, our ability to recreate the mental and emotional conception of the whole from some one part representing it.

But when is this phenomenon artistically justified? When can the part, the particular,

the episode naturally and fully replace the whole?

Of course, only in those cases when the part, the particular, the episode is typical.

In other words, when it really concentrates in itself a reflection of the whole, as a drop of dew reflects the sky.

The doctor with his sharp beard, near-sighted eyes, and near-sighted mind, is perfectly epitomized by the pince-nez in the 1905 style which is held in place, like a fox-terrier, by a thin metal chain attached to the ear.

In exactly the same way, the episode of the revolt on the *Potemkin*, historically speaking, epitomizes as a theme innumerable events that are highly characteristic of the "general rehearsal for the October Revolution".

The maggots become a symbol of the inhuman conditions prevailing not only in the army and navy, but also among the exploited workers of "the great army of labour".

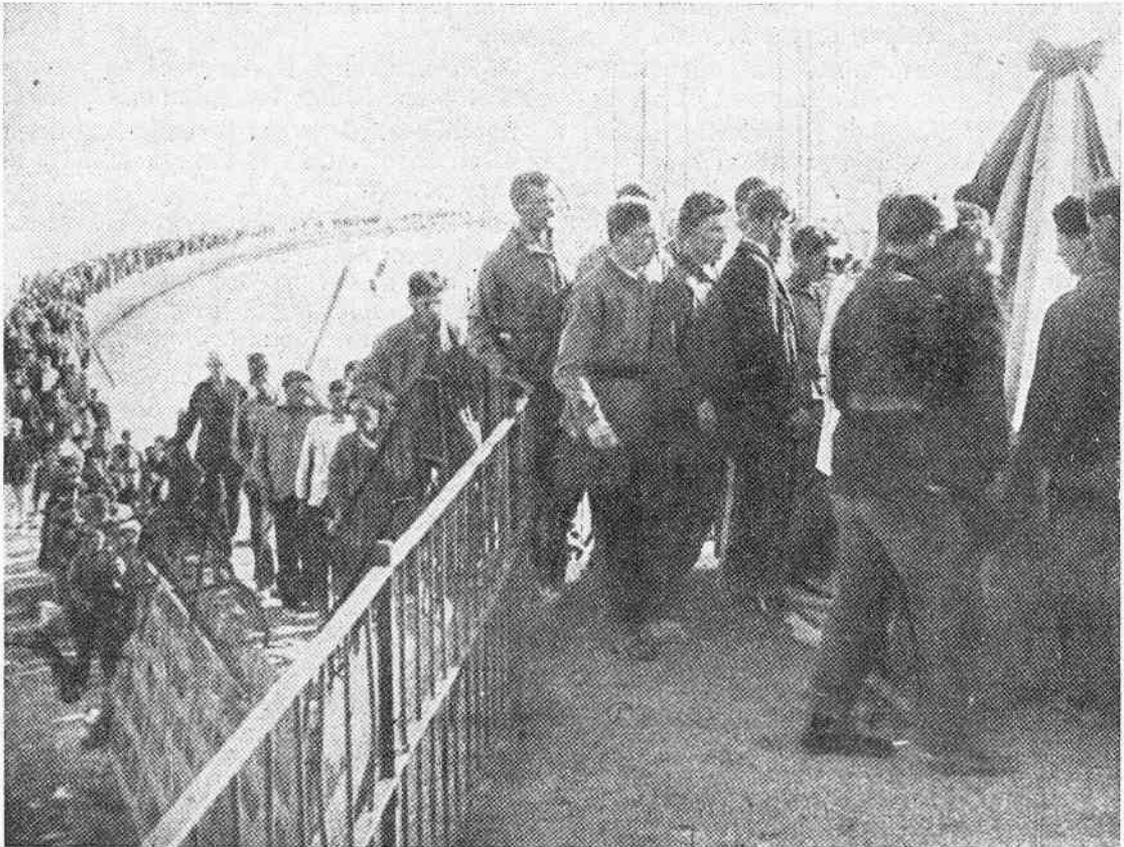
The scene on the quarter deck epitomizes the brutality with which the tsarist regime suppressed every attempted protest, no matter when, where or how it manifested itself.

This same scene tells of the movement, equally typical of 1905, which arose among those who had orders to put down the rebels.

The refusal to fire at crowds, at the people, at one's brothers—is a characteristic detail of the situation in 1905. It commemorates the glorious exploits of many army units



Shooting the Odessa stairway



Funeral procession on the pier in honour of Vakulinchuk

units sent by the reaction against the revolters.

The mourning for Vakulinchuk is a symbol of the innumerable instances when funerals of victims of the Revolution turned into fiery demonstrations and were used as a pretext for the most brutal reprisals and clashes.

The scene at the body of Vakulinchuk expresses the feelings and destinies of those who carried the body of Bauman on their arms through Moscow.

But the cases of refusal to fire on crowds were isolated and were drowned in an ocean of human blood.

The scene on the stairway epitomizes the Baku slaughter and January 9, when the "trustful crowd" also exulted in the spring air of freedom of 1905 and when this exultation was mercilessly crushed under the heel of the reaction... as when a wild mob

of Black-Hundred pogrom makers set fire to the Tomsk theatre during a meeting.

And finally, the end of the picture, with the victorious passage of the armoured cruiser through the Admiralty squadron, closing the events of the film on a triumphant note... this too perfectly epitomizes the Revolution of 1905 as a whole.

We know what the subsequent fate of the historic armoured cruiser was.

It was interned at Constantsa.

And then returned to the tsarist government.

Some of the sailors escaped.

But Matiushenko, caught by the tsar's hangmen, was subsequently executed.

Nevertheless, it is correct that the screen replica of the historic armoured cruiser should come to a victorious end.

For that is exactly how the Revolution of 1905, though it was drowned in rivers of



Grigory Alexandrov as the senior officer on the "Potemkin"

blood, has come down in the annals of the history of revolutions... above all as a phenomenon objectively and historically victorious... as the great harbinger of the ultimate victory of the October Revolution.

This victorious consummation of a defeat brings out in all their grandeur the events of 1905, among which the historic occurrences on the *Potemkin* are only one episode, but an episode of the kind through which the grandeur of the whole can be seen.

* * *

And now, to return to the people who acted in the picture, known and unknown.

Almost all of those who participated in the film are anonymous and unknown, excepting Antonov, who played Vakulinchuk; director Grigory Alexandrov who took the part of Giliarovsky, the late director Barsky, who

played Golikov, and the boatswain Levchenko, whose whistle was such a help to the work.

What has happened to the hundreds of anonymous people who took such enthusiastic part in the picture, rushing with untiring energy up and down the stairs in the burning heat, marching in the endless mourning procession along the pier?

Most of all I should like to meet again the nameless child who cried so as his carriage went hurtling, step by step, down the stairway.

He is now twenty years old. Where is he?

What is he doing?

Did he defend Odessa? Is he buried now somewhere far on the estuary, in a fraternal grave? Or perhaps he is working in free Odessa, Odessa reborn?

* * *

I do remember the names of some of the people who took part in the mass scene on the Odessa stairway.

But for special reasons.

Directors sometimes resort to what you might call a Buonapartist method.

It is known that Napoleon used to ask his soldiers about some one of their comrades-in-arms and then astound the latter by his intimate knowledge of the soldier's home life.

"How is your fiancée Louise?"

"And how are the old folks, your dear mother Rosalie and industrious Tibeau, faring at Saint Tropese?"

"Has your aunt Justine recovered from the gout?"

The crowd plunges down the stairs.

More than two thousand feet run down the steps.

The first time isn't so bad.

The second time is less energetic.

The third is even sluggish.

Then suddenly, from up in the director's tower,

through his shining trumpet,
above the noise of running feet, of shuffling boots and sandals,

sounds the blast of Jericho,
the director's admonishing voice:

"Comrade Prokopenko, can't you put a little more speed into it?"

For a moment, the crowd stops, dumb-founded. Is every one of them visible from that darned tower? Can the director's Argus eye see each of the runners? Is it possible that he should know them all by face and name?

Moscow, 1945.

And, in a grand new outburst of energy, the crowd plunges on, firmly convinced that none can escape the all-seeing eye of the director, that demiurge.

Yet the director had shouted into his shining trumpet a name he knew quite by accident.

* * *

Among the thousands of anonymous participants in the film, there is one who stands in a class all alone.

This anonymous entity created a terrific disturbance which even reached international dimensions... nothing more nor less than a debate in the German Reichstag.

This anonymous thing was... the ships of the Admiralty squadron which move on the *Potemkin* at the end of the film.

They were many and they were formidable.

Their appearance and number was much superior to the fleet at the disposal of the young Soviet state in 1925.

Hence the feverish anxiety of our German neighbour.

The result—a debate in the Reichstag as to the real size of our fleet.

Fear has big eyes.

These eyes, extended in fright, overlooked the detail that the general views of the moving squadron were pieced together from old news-reels of the naval manoeuvres... of the old fleet of a certain foreign power.

With the passage of the years, the formidable might of our fleet has become a reality. And the memory of the rebel armoured cruiser lives in the hearts of the men of its steel-strong Soviet descendants.

SOVIET UNION'S FRIENDS ABROAD

FRIENDSHIP WITH THE U.S.S.R. — EARNEST OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY

By *Henryk Świętkowski*

POLISH-RUSSIAN friendship came into being long before the Great October Socialist Revolution on the basis of the joint revolutionary struggle of the working class of the two fraternal peoples—Polish and Russian.

After October, the Polish proletariat realized that only by marching shoulder to shoulder with the state of victorious socialism could Poland throw off the chains of capitalist slavery. But the Polish reaction which seized power at that time, playing up to fascist Germany, did not permit any rapprochement whatever with the Soviet Union.

In the great liberation war which the U.S.S.R. waged to defend itself against fascism, Polish patriots fought side by side with the Soviet troops. And the blood shed by the two peoples on the Vistula, the Oder, the Niese, the Spree, cemented Polish-Soviet friendship.

As in the other countries of central and southeast Europe that were liberated by the Soviet army, the wide masses of Poland at last received the opportunity to themselves decide on their social system and the paths which the development of their state should follow. Firmly taking the road of socialism, implementing daring social and economic changes, building a new people's democratic state, Poland like these countries enjoys the constant brotherly help of the U.S.S.R. and is profiting by the historical experience of its great achievements.

Therefore friendship with the Soviet Union, which is an earnest of Poland's poli-

tical and economic sovereignty, is growing stronger with every passing day.

* * *

The Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship arose as a result of the amalgamation of numerous local organizations of friendship with the Soviet Union formed back in 1944 by the inhabitants of the cities that were liberated by the Soviet forces.

After the end of the war, during the second half of 1945, organizational work of broad scope was carried out, thanks to which the Society assumed its present form.

Throughout its existence, the Society has made it its task to acquaint the Polish public with the wonderful achievements of the land of Soviets in all branches of science, art and culture, with the struggle of the U.S.S.R. for universal peace and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples. The Society has always strived to extend Polish-Soviet cultural ties, which are constantly enriching the cultural treasures of the two countries.

The growth in the number of the Society's local organizations and its membership has been particularly impressive of late, since the 3rd All-Polish Congress of the Society held on November 13 and 14, 1949. In the six weeks from the date of the congress to January 1, 1950, the number of circles increased from 20,191 to 26,696 and their membership from 2,120,237 to 2,500,943.

The 3rd All-Polish Congress of the Society called attention to the need for intensifying

work in the countryside, that the Polish peasantry might have a better knowledge of the life and achievements of the U.S.S.R., and especially of the Soviet collective farmers. The Congress decided to organize circles of the Society in every rural community. Within several weeks, the number of rural circles increased by 1724.

* * *

Within the past year, the Society has intensified its publishing activity. The circulation of its weekly *Przyjazn (Friendship)* has increased to 175,000, and of its monthly *Materiały Swietlicowey (Club Material)*—to 42,000.

Fifteen travelling and three permanent exhibitions (*Thirty Years in the Land of Soviets; Architecture of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.*; an exhibition of Soviet books) were organized in 1949.

The book fund of the Society's central library was augmented by 85 per cent in 1949.

The *Polish-Soviet Friendship Months* sponsored by the Society have become a tradition and bear good fruit. During the *Month of Polish-Soviet Friendship* held in 1949 the number of the Society's members increased by another 575,388.

Considerable attention is given during these *months* to lectures and reports. Thus in the *Polish-Soviet Friendship Month* held in 1949, 151,434 lectures and reports were delivered, 26,214 of them for worker audiences, 34,120 for peasants, 84,979 for the youth, and 6,111 for the intelligentsia. The total number of people who attended these lectures came to 12,542,283.

28,483 shows and films were demonstrated that month, 6558 of them in the countryside. A great many Soviet films were shown, es-

pecially in the countryside, where travelling cinema installations gave 8477 showings for 1,505,200 spectators.

In order to make it easier for the wide masses to acquaint themselves with Soviet literature in the original, an additional 513 courses in the Russian language were opened during the 1949 *Month* which 17,920 people attended. With the aim of popularizing the Soviet press and books, 1377 book bazaars and stands were organized, 978 of them in urban centers and 399 in the villages.

The Society carries on a great deal of its work among the masses through its *Corners of Polish-Soviet Friendship*, set up in clubs and other community centers. 6,678 new *corners* were opened during the 1949 *Month of Polish-Soviet Friendship*.

* * *

These indices of the Society's work do not mean, of course, that it may rest on its oars. Its tasks, which reflect the most vital needs of the Polish public, of all sections of the working population of People's Democratic Poland, are truly grand. As the Soviet Union advances, as its achievements grow, so do these tasks grow in number and scope. It is necessary for all the working people of our country to realize that only the peace policy of the great socialist state, first of its kind in the world, confident of its strength, gives the people of the whole world hope of deliverance for all time from the horrors of the new war the imperialists are trying so hard to unleash, that only the socialist system can erase the very idea of "war" from the minds of people forever.

This is why the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship will continue, with ever growing zeal, to disseminate the truth about the Soviet Union.

SOCIETY OF GERMAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

By Prof. *Jurgen Kuczynski*, Holder of a National Prize

BY the 80th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin, the Society of German-Soviet Friendship had a membership of over one million persons. Over a million citizens of the German Democratic Republic had eagerly joined the ranks of the Society, thereby expressing their desire to consolidate friendship with the Soviet Union, to acquaint themselves more deeply with the social and state system of the socialist country and with its achievements in all spheres of economic and cultural life.

There have been instances of the entire adult population of a village or the entire personnel of a plant joining the Society. The number of the Society's members is growing monthly, and thus the percentage of the population belonging to the Society is continually increasing.

This testifies to the growing political maturity, the growing progressive consciousness of the population of the German Democratic Republic. Why are the German people joining the Society of German-Soviet Friendship? Because more and more people are beginning to understand that in order to ensure the progress of the German Democratic Republic and the development of Germany as a whole, which should lead to the integration of all Germans in a single peaceable democratic country, it is necessary to profit from the experience of the Soviet Union.

For us, Germans, friendship with the Soviet Union means first of all that we must learn from the Soviet people how to build a democratic republic, how to create a progressive nation. We must study all the achievements of the Soviet Union in the realm of economic planning, study and assimilate its achievements in biology and agriculture, make criticism and self-criticism—which in the Soviet Union is a basic motive force of social development—an inherent factor of our own

life. All this is implied in friendship with the Soviet Union, in love for one's own people and improvement of their well-being, in the further progressive development of Germany. More and more people in Germany realize this. That is why they are joining the ranks of the Society of German-Soviet Friendship.

For its part, the Society is striving to strengthen this understanding among its members and diffuse it throughout the whole of Germany.

The basic task of all our activity at the present time is the struggle for peace. A new world war would destroy everything that we have accomplished during the past five years with the help of the Soviet Union. Growing numbers of people realize this and see that the preservation of peace up to now is the result of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. Hence the strengthening of the feeling of friendship for the Soviet Union. This is another reason why our society is growing so quickly. The Society regards it as a duty to help the German people understand the role of the Soviet Union as the leading force in the peace camp, a force which also ensures to us the achievement of our well-being, progress and happiness.

The realization that it is our duty to bend every effort to the struggle for peace, that the Soviet Union is our model in this struggle, is becoming increasingly strong and assuming decisive significance throughout Germany.

This explains the fact that of late in the western part of Germany which is dominated by the American monopolists groups have been formed under the auspices of the Society in many cities to study the Soviet Union. The members of these groups are people who want peace, who do not want to become victims of a new world war.

The struggle for peace is fostering friendship for the country which heads this struggle, for the Soviet Union. The Society of German-Soviet Friendship, mindful of the people's desire for peace, is intensifying its activity, augmenting the ranks of the organization, and through its daily work in thousands of local and production groups is strengthening this feeling of sympathy for the Soviet Union in order to cement the in-

dissoluble bonds of friendship between the German and the Soviet peoples.

When, at our meetings, we address words of greeting to the Soviet Union and its great leader, Joseph Stalin, whom we call the best friend of the German people, the mainstay of peace, the champion of our liberty, this strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of millions of men, women and young people—the common people of our German homeland.

BRITISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

By Dr. Hewlett Johnson,
Dean of Canterbury

IN the British press there is almost a total black-out of truth about the Soviet Union. Sometimes a friend of the Soviet Union is permitted to write in the capitalist press but that is an event of exceptional rarity. Soviet life, policy, culture, living standards—every truth to do with the U.S.S.R. is seized by experts, hacked and twisted until the living reality is dead and unrecognisable and then placed before the public.

Truth is murdered by the day, the hour, the minute. And for every truth that is buried, a lie is born and nourished. All the filthy figments of Goebbels' foul imagination are now repeated with embellishments. It is becoming quite commonplace to publish the views of people who held leading positions in Nazi Germany. And all this slander in the daily and weekly press is not enough for the anti-Soviet propagandists.

Our children haven't enough school text books, but the publishers pour out book after book containing lies about the U.S.S.R. The B.B.C., whose broadcasts enter millions of homes, adds its effort to choke every aspect of our cultural life. Was there ever a period when the standard of intellectual honesty was at a lower level?

Why do I emphasize these aspects of life in Britain? Because lies about the U.S.S.R. are part of the preparations for war. These plans can proceed only if the minds of the people are poisoned. Anti-Soviet propaganda is an essential armament. The press and the B.B.C. are parts of the munitions industry, aiming to soften up the British people for war. And it is a part of the cost of the war preparations which is not entered on the balance sheet of the national budget.

But this enormous flood of poison pouring from the press would have little effect if those of us who know the truth about the U.S.S.R. and are willing to fight to defend that truth could reach the great masses of

the people with our message of friendship. The people do not trust the capitalist press. They are suspicious of its motives and cynical of its accuracy. If we fail to reach the people and to provide them with the truth, it is only to be expected that they will be bewildered and uncertain of the true state of affairs concerning the Soviet Union. That is the reason why efforts are made to prevent us reaching the people. The leaders of the Labour Party decreed that no member of the Labour Party may belong to the *British-Soviet Friendship Society*. Many halls, which are supposed to be available for meetings organized by public bodies, are forbidden to us. They are afraid of the truth. They are afraid of the *British-Soviet Friendship Society*. They try to hem us in by undemocratic decree and regulation, to stop us from telling our people the glorious truth about the Soviet Union, because that truth means friendship and friendship means peace.

Our biggest task is to break through the blockade on truth, to break through the bans and barriers, to bring the people of our two countries closer together in understanding and friendship.

Last year the Society assisted in the organization of a number of conferences in important areas, at which representatives of large numbers of trade unionists gathered to discuss problems of British-Soviet relations and in each case concluded their discussions by sending a message of peace and friendship to the Soviet Union.

In February of 1949, two hundred delegates representing 950,000 trade unionists in Lancashire and Cheshire gathered in Manchester for this purpose, sending a Declaration on World Peace to the Leningrad Council of Trade Unions. In June, a similar conference was held in the West Midlands area, based on trade union organizations in Birmingham and Coventry and the neighbouring

districts. On this occasion 150 delegates were present, representing 150,000 trade unionists. A message of peace and friendship was sent to Sverdlovsk. In London, in the same month, a national conference was organized by the Society in co-operation with the Electrical Trades Union, the Fire Brigades Union, the Tobacco Workers Union, Civil Service Union and a number of leading progressive personalities. The delegates were mainly from trade unions, but many came from peace organizations, cultural bodies, student organizations etc. Altogether, there were 591 delegates and observers, coming from nearly every part of Britain and representing just over 2 million people. A Declaration on Peace, Trade and Friendship with the U.S.S.R. was enthusiastically adopted and sent to various organisations in the Soviet Union. In October, there was a similar conference in Plymouth, from which a message of peace and friendship went to Sevastopol Council of Trade Unions, and a conference in Newcastle attended by 120 delegates representing 30,000 trade unionists, who sent a message to Rostov-on-Don Council of Trade Unions.

All these successful conferences were marked by the great interest shown by the delegates in the reports given by the chief speakers concerning the true state of affairs in the Soviet Union, the great advances being made, its policy of peace and banning the atom bomb, its willingness to trade with us, the big cultural developments taking place. The greatest interest of all was shown to those speakers who had recently visited the U.S.S.R., and were able to tell the delegates what they had seen with their own eyes.

When *Trud* gave the whole of its front page to reporting the meeting in Sverdlovsk, at which the message from Birmingham and Coventry was received, this front page was reproduced in *Russia Today*. The moral was obvious. Whereas the British press either ignored our efforts at building friendship between our peoples, or launched attacks, the Soviet press gave the utmost prominence to these events, thus showing itself to be on the side of friendship and understanding.

From all the Soviet cities referred to, replies have been received, telling us of the joy and enthusiasm caused by the messages of friendship from British workers.

The biggest single event of the year was the celebration at the Empress Hall in London of the 32nd Anniversary of the Socialist Revolution. Unfortunately I was unable to be present, owing to illness. But it was a most remarkable and moving manifestation of the British peoples' will to fight for friendship with the U.S.S.R. Remember the atmosphere in the British press. Remember that all authority is daily screaming its abuse of the U.S.S.R. and urging the people to adopt a hostile attitude. And yet, 9,000 people gathered together at the largest Anniversary Celebration since 1938 in Britain. They gave an ovation to the representative of the Soviet Embassy. They cheered each paragraph of Alexei Surkov's inspiring speech. They rose and repeated solemnly the message of friendship to the Soviet people and the congratulation for Joseph Stalin's birthday, the words of which were flashed on a large screen at one side of the great hall.

Everyone who came paid for a ticket of admission. But they also contributed £900 in a collection to help the Society to carry on its great work. And more than 300 joined the Society then and there. The biggest part of this audience came from the trade union movement, working men and women who could ill afford to give this money, but who gave it willingly because they understood that the Society could only carry on its work if it received their financial assistance. Again, at this meeting, although all the speakers were heard with great interest, without doubt the speakers that were of the greatest interest were the Soviet visitors. The warmth of the friendship that welled up from the audience when Surkov and Fomin (the Kusbas miner) spoke and when Kabalevsky played the piano was unmistakable.

In all its work, the Society emphasizes that peace, understanding and trade with the Soviet Union are all in the vital interest of the British people. We are friends of the Soviet Union, not only because we admire the U.S.S.R., but because we want to see our own country prosper and enjoy rising living standards and independence. It is the duty of every patriotic British person to strive for friendship with the U.S.S.R.

Our membership is small. But it is growing—and that is the important thing to grasp. We are confident that the more we fight for friendship, the quicker will we

grow. Because there are millions of people who will rally to our appeal, if we can reach out to them. Apart from meetings, lectures, conferences, the Society also organizes shows of Soviet films. So far, these have not been on a very large scale, but the number of film shows is increasing and they are always successful.

We also publish a monthly magazine, *Russia Today*, of which our members are justly proud, because it puts up such a grand fight for British-Soviet friendship. Our fortnight-

ly *Newsletter* gives information and comment on current questions which helps our speakers and writers. In 1949 we published five pamphlets.

This year, we have a big programme of work to carry out, the principal aim of which is the fight for peace.

Our Society has a great responsibility. Once we can build firm friendship between Britain and the U.S.S.R., no power on earth could bring about another war. It is in that spirit that we face our tasks in 1950.

THE CRIMINALS ARE EXPOSED!

(On the book *Materials on the Trial of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons*)

By *M. Voslensky*,
Candidate of Historical Sciences

A COLLECTION of materials bearing on the trial of the Japanese war criminals which was held in Khabarovsk (U.S.S.R.) at the end of 1949 has come out in Russian, English, German and French. The book contains the documents of the preliminary investigation (the indictment, testimony of the accused and witnesses and documentary proof); the testimony of the accused and witnesses at the trial; the findings of the experts; the speech of the State Prosecutor; the speeches of the counsel for the defence, and the verdict of the military tribunal of the Primorye Military Area.

The Khabarovsk trial of the twelve Japanese war criminals brought to light the monstrous crimes perpetrated by the Japanese military clique which produced and employed the bacteriological weapon in the Far East during World War II. The Japanese imperialist rulers committed these criminal actions in flagrant violation of the international obligations they undertook by signing the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925 prohibiting the use in war of asphyxiating, poison and other gases of the same nature, and of bacteriological weapons. The book unfolds before the reader in all its terrible entirety the picture of the heinous crimes of the Japanese imperialists who treacherously violated not only their own immediate international obligations, but all the laws and customs of warfare and all the precepts of humaneness.

In 1936 three aggressive powers—hitlerite Germany, fascist Italy and imperialist Japan—concluded the notorious “anti-Comintern” pact. This pact gave official expression to their plot of joint aggression with the aim of establishing their domination over the world. As appears from the documents published in the book, in that same year the Japanese Emperor Hirohito issued instructions on the organization of secret units to prepare bacteriological weapons. For purposes of secrecy one of these units was given the name of *Water Supply and Prophylaxis Administration of the Kwantung Army*, and the other the name of *Hippo-Epizootic Administration of the Kwantung Army*. Later, in 1941, these institutions were given the code names of *Detachment 731* and *Detachment 100* respectively. Actually, both these detachments represented factories for the development and production of bacteriological weapons. The detachments had a number of branches, among others, the so-called *Detachment 1644*, also known by the code names *Ei* and *Tama*, and working in Nanking. The leading role in this whole system of secret bacteriological factories was delegated, on Emperor Hirohito's orders, to *Detachment 731*, at the head of which stood General Ishii, well known in Japan as an ideologist of bacteriological warfare.

Detachment 731 was located near Harbin. Its entire activity was veiled in the strictest

secrecy. For this purpose the personnel of the detachment wore the ordinary uniform of the Japanese army without the insignia of the medical corps. The personnel of the detachment numbered 3,000 workers.

The criminal "work" of *Detachment 731* was organized on a big scale. It had several divisions staffed with the best Japanese specialists in bacteriology. The first ("research") division studied the microbes of various epidemic diseases and devised methods of bacteriological warfare. The second, so-called "experimental" division conducted practical tests of the results obtained by the first division. A special "production division" was charged with the mass production of disease bacteria. One of the divisions, cynically named the *Training and Education Division*, trained military personnel in the use of the bacteriological weapon in combat.

All this criminal "work" of the Japanese bacteriological factories was aimed at devising methods of bacteriological warfare which would ensure the widest dissemination of the most terrible epidemics, and agonizing death for the greatest possible number of people. The whole so-called "scientific" activity of the bacteriological detachments of the Kwantung army was subordinated to this heinous, inhuman aim.

Ishii and his henchmen paid especially great attention to the germs of the plague, that most terrible and easily spread epidemic disease. After long "investigations" Ishii came to the conclusion that the most effective way of spreading the plague germs was not directly, but through the medium of plague-infested fleas. At the preliminary investigation the former Chief of the Medical Administration of the Kwantung Army, General Kajitsuka, testified: "Ishii told me... that it was much more effective to drop bacteria not in their 'bare' shape, but in conjunction with an insect medium, fleas in particular. Fleas, being the most tenacious insects, were infected with plague and dropped from aircraft, and the plague germs, remaining in the fleas, successfully reached the ground with them" (p. 102). Ishii also worked out in detail the problem of the infection of food with disease germs. "...Ishii told me that in the researches in this field, the germs of cholera, dysentery, typhoid and

paratyphoid were being used", testified Kajitsuka, "and that vegetables, fruit, fish and meat were so infected. Vegetables were found to be the most suitable for bacteriological warfare, especially such as had numerous leaves-cabbage, for example; root crops having smooth surfaces proved to be less suitable. The injection of bacteria into food products like fruit was found to be more effective than infecting their surfaces. The most suitable medium for spreading infectious diseases, according to what Ishii said, were vegetables; next in order came fruit, fish and, last, meat..." (p. 102). Such were the results of the fiendish "investigations" carried out by the murderer Ishii and his accomplices in *Detachment 731*.

The Japanese imperialists did not confine themselves to laboratory investigations. They cultivated fleas and germs. *Detachment 731* had 4,500 incubators which produced 45 kilograms of fleas in the course of 3—4 months. It kept whole armies of rats for breeding such countless numbers of fleas. There were 13,000 rats, and Ishii planned to increase their number to three millions. The bacteriological detachments prepared huge quantities of the most terrible germs for use on the fields of war. The "production division" of *Detachment 731* alone was able to turn out 30,000,000,000 million germs in one production cycle. It is not surprising that with their production possibilities expressed in such astronomical figures the Japanese bacteriological detachments began to count the number of disease germs they bred not by units, or thousands, or even thousands of millions, but by kilograms. Kilograms of plague or cholera germs—can there be anything more revolting than this? Not even a madman in his wildest ravings could conjure up such a thing... Yet the "production division" of *Detachment 731* alone, working at full capacity, was able to produce 300 kilograms of plague germs, 600 kilograms of anthrax germs, 900 kilograms of typhoid germs and a ton of cholera germs a month!

The horrible mass of microbes skimmed from the pots of the "production divisions" were not simply stored away in culture media in refrigerators, there to await the hour of action. It was established irrefutably at the Khabarovsk trial that the Japanese imperialists made wide use of these bacteria in experiments on living human beings.

Witness Tamura, former Chief of the Personnel Division of the Kwantung Army Headquarters, told about his visit to *Detachment 731* in June 1945: "Accompanied by General Ishii and three officers.... I inspected the laboratories and production premises...."

"In going over the premises I was taken to an inner building where in special cells, each of which had a window in the door, living people were kept in chains, who, as Ishii himself told me, were used for experiments in infection with deadly diseases.

"Among these experimentees I saw Chinese, Europeans and a woman.... the people in these cells were lying on the bare floor and were in a very sick and helpless condition" (p. 153—154).

The heinous experiments on people were carried out on a special proving ground at Anta Station. Accused Kawashima, former chief of the infamous "production division" of *Detachment 731*, described these experiments as follows: "The persons used for these experiments 15 in number, were brought from the detachment's inner prison to the experimental ground and tied to stakes which had been driven into the ground for the purpose... A special plane took off from Pingfan Station, and when it was over the site it dropped about two dozen bombs, which burst at about 100 or 200 metres from the ground, releasing the plague fleas with which they were charged. The plague fleas were dispersed all over the territory (p. 259). Nishi, former chief of the *Training and Education Division* of the same detachment, testified at the trial: "In January 1945, by order of the chief of *Detachment 731*, I went to Anta Station. There I saw experiments in inducing gas gangrene.... Ten prisoners were used for the purpose. They were tied facing stakes, five to ten metres apart from one another. The prisoners' heads were covered with metal helmets, and their bodies with screens.

"Each man's body was fully protected, only the naked buttocks being exposed. At about 100 metres away a fragmentation bomb was exploded by electricity, this being the means of causing the infection. All ten men were wounded in the exposed part,... and died of gas gangrene" (p. 289—290).

"From 500 to 600 prisoners were consigned to *Detachment 731* annually," testified Ka-

washima. "...If a prisoner survived the inoculation of lethal bacteria, this did not save him from a repetition of the experiments, which were continued until death from infection supervened... At any rate, no one ever left this death factory alive.

"...from 1940 to 1945, not less than 3,000 persons passed through this death factory, and were killed by being infected with lethal bacteria. How many died before 1940, I do not know...." (p. 116—117).

The Japanese murderers chose the victims for their atrocious experiments to suit their own purposes. The Japanese Gendarmerie delivered into the death cells of the bacteriological detachments people who were suspected of anti-Japanese sentiments, but could not be brought to trial for lack of sufficient evidence. These people included Russians and many Chinese patriots. "We do not know the names of the majority of the victims," said State Prosecutor L. N. Smirnov at the trial. "On arriving at the Ishii Detachment's prison, people lost their names and were given a number, which they retained until their death. When a man died after the experiments he had been subjected to, a clerk of the 1-st Division struck his number off the index card, his body was incinerated at the crematorium, and the manacles taken from it were put on the next victim" (p. 427). The murderers of Ishii's detachment cynically called their unfortunate victims "logs", thereby stressing that they did not look upon them as human beings.

The Japanese bacteriological detachments also carried out other criminal experiments on prisoners, in particular, atrocious experiments on freezing limbs. Accused Nishi told the following about them: "...at times of great frost, with temperatures below—20°, people were brought out from the detachment's prison into the open. Their arms were bared and made to freeze with the help of an artificial current of air. This was done until their frozen arms, when struck with a short stick, emitted a sound resembling that which a board gives out when it is struck.... A film was made on this subject, too.

"The picture showed four or five men, with their legs in chains, being led out into the open, dressed in warm clothing, but with their arms bare. Then the process of artificially accelerating the freezing with the help

of a large fan was shown. Next one saw the men's arms being struck with a stick to test whether they had definitely frozen..." (p. 289). These atrocious experiments on living human beings can only be compared to the ones carried out by the SS-doctors in the hitlerite concentration camps.

However, the cannibalistic crimes of the Japanese imperialists did not end with this. In 1939—1945 the Japanese armed forces used the bacteriological weapons prepared by Ishii's detachments in several fighting operations.

The first of these attempts was made in 1939 when a special Japanese unit infected the waters of the Khalkhin-Gol River with the germs of intestinal diseases. In the summer of 1940 *Detachment 731* scattered plague-infested fleas from aircraft in the district of Nimbo (Central China), as a result of which an epidemic of the plague broke out in this district. On Ishii's order, a special documentary film about this crime was made and shown every time higher officials came to inspect *Detachment 731*. In the summer of 1941 an epidemic of the plague was similarly induced in the district around the Chinese city of Chande. In 1942, during the so-called "strategic" retreat of the Japanese in Central China, they carried out a large-scale infection of the water supply, fields and food-stuffs on the territory they were leaving. In 1944 *Detachment 100* carried out a bacteriological subversive act against the U.S.S.R., infecting the water supply in the border district of Trekhrechye. In 1945 in the district of Hailar the same detachment organized an expedition aiming at bacteriological wrecking against the Mongolian People's Republic. The Japanese imperialists were actively preparing for a bacteriological attack upon the U.S.S.R. Ishii insolently boasted that his detachment "was in a position to hurl upon Soviet cities an enormous mass of bacteria..." (p. 153).

At the same time, as was shown at the Khabarovsk trial, the Japanese aggressors were getting ready for a bacteriological war against the U.S.A. and England as well. *Detachment 731* experimented on the immunity of Anglo-Saxons to infectious diseases; for this purpose the Japanese made tests of the blood of American war prisoners (p. 268). The Japanese imperialists planned to start their bacteriological offensive in 1945. With

the aid of the bacteriological weapon the Japanese aggressors hoped to change the course of the war in their favour.

The Japanese imperialists did not succeed in carrying out their criminal plans. In August 1945 the Soviet Army struck a lightning blow at the Japanese armed forces and routed the Kwantung army where Ishii and his accomplices were perpetrating their crimes, thereby completely foiling their designs. "They hour in which the frightful force of incalculable billions of disease-causing microbes were to have been hurled against mankind was quite near; it was only the swift, crushing blow of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union that paralyzed the enemy, saved the world from the horrors of bacteriological warfare," said State Prosecutor L. N. Smirnov at the Khabarovsk trial (p. 466). "I think that bacteriological weapons would have been used against the U.S.A., England and other countries if the Soviet Union had not taken action against Japan," confessed accused Yamada, former Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, at the preliminary investigation. "The Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan, and the swift advance of the Soviet Army into the heart of Manchuria, deprived us of the possibility of employing the bacteriological weapon against the U.S.S.R. and other countries..." (p. 100).

Such are the heinous crimes of the Japanese military clique which were brought to light at the Khabarovsk trial. The book under review tells about them in the terse language of official documents, but it is impossible to read it without anger and indignation, without a feeling of hatred towards the despicable criminals who wanted to make mankind the prey of lethal microbes. Every honest person who looks into the materials on the horrible, criminal "work" of the Japanese war bacteriologists must subscribe with his whole heart to the demand for the severest punishment of the handful of miscreants who perpetrated these crimes, and must be inspired with feelings of the greatest gratitude to the Soviet Army which cut off the murderous hand raised over mankind.

The reaction of American ruling circles was entirely different. Upon learning about the crimes of the Japanese military clique these circles attempted to shield the Japanese

criminals from merited punishment, and at the same time utilized the full results of their heinous activity for the manufacture of bacteriological weapons in the U.S.A.

According to reports in the press, in the beginning of 1946 the Americans were already in possession of materials on the criminal work of the Japanese bacteriologists and were beginning to utilize them in the experiments on new kinds of bacteriological weapons which the American scientists were intensively pursuing. Some Japanese and German bacteriologists were also drawn into this work.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the question of the Japanese preparations for bacteriological war arose at the Tokyo trial of the major Japanese war criminals, the American representatives tried to hush it up. When the criminal experiments of *Detachment 1644 (Tama)* on the infection of prisoners were made public at the Tokyo trial in August 1946, the American prosecution announced: "We do not at this time anticipate introducing additional evidence on that subject...." (p. 220). Soon after this the Soviet prosecution handed Joseph B. Keenan, the chief American prosecutor, information on the work of the Japanese bacteriological detachments obtained from Japanese war prisoners. However, the American representatives did not lay a single additional document relating to the Japanese preparations for a bacteriological war before the military tribunal. "Certain influential persons.... were evidently interested in preventing the exposure of the monstrous crimes of the Japanese militarists," observed State Prosecutor L. N. Smirnov in this connection at the Khabarovsk trial (p. 443). It became perfectly clear who these persons were after the governments of the U.S.A. and England virtually refused to support the Soviet Government's demand that the main organizers and inspirers of these base crimes: Emperor Hirohito, General Ishii, Kitano, Wakamatsu and

Kasahara be arraigned before the International Military Tribunal.

Instead of severely punishing the Japanese criminals, the imperialists of the U.S.A. are now following in their footsteps and making intensive preparations for a bacteriological war. Ominous renown attaches to Camp Detrick near Washington, the American base for developing and producing the bacteriological weapon. Johnson, being at that time American Secretary of war, confessed that investigations on the development of means of bacteriological warfare are being continued in the U.S.A. The chemical service of the American army is spending over 12,000,000 dollars annually on this horrible work!

Every reader of the book under review can easily understand what this means. The Japanese *Detachments 731, 100 and 1644* no longer exist; the experimental death camp at Anda Station is empty. But the criminal work of these detachments is being studied in the U.S.A. American scientists are coldly examining the records of the sufferings of thousands of innocent victims brutally murdered by the cannibal Ishii and his accomplices. American war planes are learning how to scatter bacteria and are dropping their load—not plague germs as yet, it is true, but only the Colorado beetle—on the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

The great significance of this book on the Khabarovsk trial lies in the fact that by exposing the crimes of the Japanese imperialists it helps the reader to form a clear idea of the crimes against humanity that are being planned and committed today in the secret bases and top-secret laboratories of the bacteriological service of the American war instigators and their satellites.

After reading this book, every honest person will fight more resolutely for a stable and lasting peace, so as to prevent the imperialist aggressors from unleashing war and directing horrible forces of death and destruction against mankind.

V O K S C H R O N I C L E

V.O.K.S. SECTIONS REPORT ON WORK AND ELECT NEW EXECUTIVES

THE Sections of the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries have held plenary meetings to hear the reports of their presidents on the past year's work and elect new bureaus (presidiums) of the sections. The exhaustive review presented on the work of the Sections clearly evidenced the growth and strengthening of the Soviet Union's ties with other countries, especially the People's Democracies of Europe and the Far East.

During the year under review the V.O.K.S. Sections, their bureaus and individual members, prominent in Soviet culture and art, maintained close contact with the presidents and members of the Sections of the Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. in other countries. This contact took the form of both correspondence and direct meetings. Delegations of Soviet scientists and cultural and art workers went abroad, while many delegations came here from the foreign Societies as guests of the Soviet Union. The significance of these meetings was greatly enhanced by the useful practice that has grown up in the Sections of both V.O.K.S. and the foreign Societies of members of delegations making special reports to inform their Sections about their trips.

Most members of the foreign delegations who visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of V.O.K.S. addressed the membership of the Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations of their respective countries on returning from their sojourns in the U.S.S.R. They described their journeys and meetings with Soviet scientists, writers, artists and public figures. Similarly, the members of the

Soviet delegations who visited other countries told the plenary meetings of the V.O.K.S. Sections about their impressions and meetings with foreign scientists and intellectuals. Within the past three months, the V.O.K.S. Sections have held over twenty plenary meetings at which their members made the acquaintance of representatives of the science and art of foreign countries.

The Section of Pedagogical Sciences met with members of the Austrian, Belgian and Danish delegations visiting in the Soviet Union; the Section of Social Sciences with delegates of the *Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society*. Members of the V.O.K.S. Music Section heard a report on the musical life of democratic China by composer Ma Se-tsum, member of the delegation of the Chinese Society of Friendship with the U.S.S.R. At plenary meetings of the V.O.K.S. Theatre Section the membership made the acquaintance of a delegation from the Society of Chinese-Soviet Friendship and also heard a report by Marta Popova, an actress of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on the development of theatrical art in democratic Bulgaria.

Deputy-minister of Culture and Art in the Polish People's Republic, Vladimir Sokorski, read an interesting paper on the *Status of Art in Democratic Poland* before a joint plenary meeting of the Theatre, Music and Fine Arts Sections.

The Section of Medical Sciences arranged a meeting with V.O.K.S.' guest Professor Carlos Noble, the Mexican surgeon, while the Cinema Section met the members of the delegation of the *France-U.S.S.R. Society* and the French film actress Lole Bellon.

Meetings of this kind, of which there were very many in 1949 and the beginning of 1950, proved very useful both to our foreign guests, acquainting them with the achievements of Soviet science and art and affording them the opportunity to receive authoritative replies from prominent members of the V.O.K.S. Sections on problems interesting them, and also to Soviet scientists and art workers, who found the reports of our guests and talks with them interesting and enlightening.

The Sections also arranged talks by Soviet scientists and cultural workers about their visits to other countries as guests of the foreign Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations. As space does not permit us to enumerate them all... here are but a few examples. The Section of Medical Sciences heard Academician Anichkov, president of the Academy of Medical Sciences and of the V.O.K.S. Medical Section on his sojourn in Rumania, and L. N. Fyodorov, member of the Medical Academy, on his trip to Poland. Both speakers commended the advances that democratic Poland and Rumania have made in the field of public health and called attention to the rapid progress of medicine in these two countries. Maria Kazantseva, doctor of Medical Sciences, shared her impressions of Italy with the members of the Section. They also heard a number of other talks by representatives of the medical profession who had been abroad. The Oriental Study, Music and Social Sciences Sections arranged interesting reports by Soviet scientists who visited the Chinese People's Republic. Maria Makarova, Master of Economics, and Stalin Prize winner Sergei Kiselev, Doctor of Historical Sciences, both stressed the great enthusiasm with which China's working people are building their new life. They spoke of the warm friendship the masses of democratic China feel for the Soviet people and their strides in all spheres of economic and cultural construction. Keen interest was shown in the report of Professor Stoletov to the Agricultural Section on his trip to Norway and of V. Kemenov, corresponding member of the Academy of Fine Arts, on his sojourn in Finland. Composer Dmitry Kabalevsky told the Music Section about his visit to England, his meetings with English musicians, and his impressions of contemporary English music.

The reports of the presidents of the Sections on their work over the past year were followed by lively discussions in the course of which the members of the Sections submitted many valuable proposals on how to further extend the work of the Sections, strengthen their ties with the Sections of the Foreign Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations, and promote cultural cooperation between the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Foreign Societies which unite millions of people of good will.

It was unanimously agreed that the struggle for peace and security among the nations, the struggle against the warmongers, against the Anglo-American imperialists is the chief task of the Sections as they work to strengthen cultural cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries.

The bureaus of the Sections, which are elected at the plenary meetings, are composed of representatives of all branches of science and the arts, since the members of the V.O.K.S. Sections from among whom the bureaus are elected are prominent specialists in various branches of learning.

The members of the Sections today include:

52 members of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences,

56 corresponding members of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences,

104 members and corresponding members of the republican and branch academies,

42 People's Actors and Artists of the U.S.S.R.,

138 People's Artists of the R.S.F.S.R. and Honoured Actors and Art Workers of the R.S.F.S.R.

Eight members of the Sections are deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and 237 are Stalin prize winners.

The Sections elected the following presidents:

Agricultural Sciences—Vasilii Mosolov, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Agricultural Sciences;

Medical Sciences—Semen Sarkisov, member of the Academy of Medical Sciences;

Natural Sciences—Academician Alexander Oparin;

Scientific-Technical—Academician Ivan Artobolevsky;

Pedagogical Sciences—Ivan Kairov, member, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences;

Architecture—Lev Rudniev, member, Academy of Architecture;

Orientalism—Dr. Sergei Tolstov;

Fine Arts—People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. Alexander Gerasimov, president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Fine Arts;

Law—Evgenie Korovin, corresponding member, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Law of the Academy;

Music—composer Tikhon Khrennikov, general secretary of the Soviet Composers' Union;

Theatre and Dramaturgy—Valeria Barsova, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.;

Cinema—Vsevolod Pudovkin, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.

The composition of the Sections and bureaus and the list of their presidents is an earnest that the sections will work to good purpose, developing and strengthening cultural ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

Moscow,
E. A. Korovin,
Corresponding Member of the U. S. S. R.
Academy of Sciences, Chairman, V. O. K. S.
Law Section

The Third All-Polish Congress of the Association of Polish Lawyers sends the lawyers of the Soviet Union its heartiest and warmest greetings!

Thanks to the liberation of our country by the heroic Red Army, our people were able to become independent, to embark upon the construction of a socialist society and to join the family of nations which, led by your country, are safeguarding justice and peace in international relations.

In their efforts to build socialism and defend peace, our people are drawing upon the glorious historical experience of the Soviet Union.

The lawyers of Poland are closely linked with the working masses of their country; they are proud to benefit by the achievements of Soviet lawyers and are studying the Leninist-Stalinist science of the state and law.

The persistent ideological work being done by Soviet lawyers serves us as a model. We draw inspiration from the great charter of the rights of man in the epoch of socialism—the Stalin Constitution—which is the ideal of modern democratic legislation.

Soviet practice and theory help us to rectify our mistakes and find the correct paths of struggle for progress and peace.

We tender you our assurances that we will spare no effort that law may develop in People's Poland along the lines which have already brought progressive Soviet law to its present great heights.

Long live the friendship of the Soviet and Polish peoples!

Long live the Soviet Union, bulwark of peace the world over!

Long live Stalin, the leader of progressive mankind!

On behalf of the Presidium of the Congress:

*Barcikowski, Jodlowski, Lernell, Muszkat,
Podlaski, Świętkowski, Tomorowicz.*
