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UNORTHODOX IDEAS IN THE U.S.S.R.

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UNORTHODOX IDEAS IN THE USSR

1. This survey represents the first systematic attempt to deal with a growing volume of classified reports on attitudes and views expressed by younger Soviet citizens in conversations with Western nationals. As might be expected, the Soviet citizens are, with few exceptions, members of the intelligentsia, i.e., students, doctors, scientists, economists, etc. They are often members of the CPSU or of the Komsomol, but seldom members of the Party apparat. The views are selected and presented under the following headings:

The Goal of Communism
Present Socialist System of the USSR
Religion
Soviet Economic System
Soviet Foreign Policy
Socialist Brotherhood
Marxist-Lenin Doctrine
Membership in the Communist Party
Membership in Komsomol
Regime Deceit
Collective Guilt for Stalin's Crimes
Attitude Towards the Regime
Capitalism and the West
Concepts of Freedom and Democracy

2. The analyst, Miss Marion Shaw of the Soviet Internal Branch, Office of Current Intelligence, cautions the reader against drawing any conclusions about popular opinion in the Soviet Union from what at best may be a representative sample from the exceptional and not

the average group. It is not surprising but still of interest to note, however, that insofar as the reports studied deal with desired changes in Soviet society (toward political liberalization and economic abundance) the assumption seems to be that the changes will take place by evolution and not by revolutionary violence.

UNORTHODOX IDEAS IN THE USSR

The Soviet press normally presents a stereotype picture of "the Soviet people" unanimously enthusiastic in their support of regime policies. Occasional references to "slanderers of our people who try to morally corrupt the inexperienced with spiritual slush" have not specified the "slush". In an unusual moment of frankness, however, Pravda last September published a letter from a reader who complained that she had suffered defeat in attempting to defend Soviet international and domestic policies against the criticisms of her friends and neighbors:

> "Whatever their ages, whatever they begin to talk about, inevitably they all switch over to the international and internal situation. Then and now. In America and at home. Under Stalin and today and so forth. There are many, many questions...They said that we give much help to underdeveloped countries. I answer them roundly: yes, we help. And truly it is essential to help underdeveloped countries so that the capitalist system will be more quickly buried all over the globe. Also, I spoke of the fact that to reduce prices each year would mean the weakening of agriculture. The kolkhozes slumped completely, but the price of food was reduced. But now our party follows a real policy. And we are proud of our military force. And I well know that if we did not have our military, then America would immediately attack us. And although I am a non-party woman, I entirely support the party, Comrade Khrushchev, and his persistence in following a policy of peace in the world. For our people this is most essential.
>
> Yesterday I argued much...I tried to explain to someone why our country had not gotten stronger in all respects. Our country was attacked many times, how often was it invaded and robbed, and after this we immediately want manna poured into our mouths...But there are people who do not understand all this Not only the elder ones, but also the youth who have not seen war...I am sure that if once a

week there came to us a good man, a good party member, and he conducted a debate on exciting subjects, everyone would be pleased...Let him be one who knows well how to anwer all the political questions which were put to me yesterday. Of course, I suffered failure because I am inexperienced..."

The "political questions" which she found herself unable to answer can be inferred - foreign aid and defense expenditures, food prices, the availability of consumer goods, Khrushchev's foreign policies. Even such an indirect admission that "political questions" are being asked is unusual in the Soviet press.

A glimpse of what some of these questions may be, however, can be gained from fragmentary reports of conversations in the past two years with individual Soviet citizens from the American and British Embassies in Moscow, from Western tourists in the USSR, and from participants in East-West exchange programs. This paper is an attempt to identify some of the subjects on which unorthodox opinions have been expressed by individual Soviet citizens. It is not a study of popular opinion in the Soviet Union. The individuals quoted here do not represent the average Soviet citizen. The mere fact that they voiced unorthodox opinions in the presence of foreigners makes them exceptional.

There is no way at present to measure the frequency with which such opinions are held. Each of these reports indicates that one Soviet citizen had contact with one foreigner who was able to establish personal rapport, who was sufficiently familiar with the USSR to recognize unorthodoxy in Soviet thought,

How many such conversations have gone unreported is unknown. It is equally difficult to weigh the relative importance of the subjects themselves, since the conversations were usually by-products of the contacts and the choice of subject matter was often a matter of chance.

Such expressions of non-conformity by private Soviet citizens are a relatively new development in the post-Stalin USSR and reflect the modification of police terror which has been accomplished under Khrushchev's leadership. There is no evidence that they go beyond the realm of opinions. On the one occasion in recent years where the speakers appeared to be moving toward translating their

ideas into action, the discussions in Mayakovsky Square in the fall of 1961, the regime acted decisively to imprison the most vocal speakers and to break up the meetings.

What has emerged from this survey is a remarkably wide range of non-conformist ideas expressed, for the most part, by young men and women whose parents were young at the time of the Revolution in 1917, and who have spent their entire lives under the Soviet system of indoctrination. None are defectors. Most of them have made a place for themselves in the USSR and appear primarily concerned with retaining or improving that place. One, a 34-year old doctor explained: "My homeland will always pull me home and I say these things not to run down my country, but because I want my country to be better."

Their non-conformist ideas have included serious doubts about the ultimate goal of communism, about the Soviet economic system with its alleged "people's" ownership of land and factories, and about the practicality of collectivized agriculture. They have suggested that Khrushchev sabotages Western efforts to solve problems in the international field and they have shown a disposition to put their trust in the UN rather than in the Soviet government. Marxism-Leninism has been described as nonsense, and as not applicable to conditions in the West. Official deceit and collective guilt for the crimes of Stalin's years are recurring themes. And despite the years of regime-imposed double-speak, Soviet youths have used the words "freedom" and "democracy" in the sense in which they are used in the West in citing them as goals for the future. These youngsters, at least, have not been molded into "The New Communist Man".

The Goal of Communism

The "shining summits of communism" since 1917 have been held up to the Soviet populace and to the world as the ultimate goal justifying all demands for sacrifices in the present, a unique promised land attainable only through faithful adherence to the teachings of its prophets, Marx and Lenin. In some private conversations with Soviet citizens, however, this goal has taken on surprising connotations.

A young Soviet who described himself as a political economist felt that full communism is inevitable, but viewed its coming with foreboding:

> "Yes, progress brings optimism, great optimism for society as a whole, but it also brings immeasurable misery for 99% of the world...Let us fact it. It is not the horror of thermo-nuclear war or its variations in the form of bacteriological and chemical wars, it is prosperity itself, prosperity as a foundation for a new high level of human culture that will bring ruin to billions of people... Here's the question - will future social progress need billions of people? Wouldn't it be more correct to suppose that only a few creative minds would be needed to face and solve problems... We are facing a very real problem of society, with thousands of scientific workers, artists, actors, men of letters, social workers, and billions of farmers, manual workers, technicians, statesmen, whose labor will be obsolete in the years to come..."
>
> (Here he cited a series of what he regarded as major historical turning points - the Communist Party's shift from underground work to a power position, the New Economic Policy in the USSR of the 1920's, the Japanese and German surrenders after World War II.)
>
> "But what follows? Mass suicides...And all these switches and changes would seem only skin deep when compared with the Great Change to come, with the emergence of the Society of Plenty, of Prosperity, of New Humanism...Social progress does not need billions of minds. The ideal republic

of Plato consisted of ten thousand people. It seems to me, a million would be more than enough. And I don't consider myself to be worthy of being even the one millionth member of that society. It will be a society of harmoniously developed men and women, strong of character and sensitive of nature, with deep probing minds and eager healthy bodies. This society will be one of Gagarins, Titovs, and Kennedys."

Other views of a future of "Communism have been more prosaic if less gloomy. According to a young history professor at Moscow University,

"We realize quite well that our leaders are living in a world of illusion, aspiring to some kind of ideal communism. In actual fact, however, our country will be forced to take part in the general progress of the entire world, without imposing our ideology on anyone. Every Soviet citizen who has been in the West can see perfectly well that colossal achievements have been brought about in the West. We must exchange our experience and follow each other's example, a fact which is now being realized by everyone, even by many members of the government."

In the view of a young Soviet translator,

"If it comes to war, we shall all die, both right and wrong, without ever knowing which was which. If it comes to a stable peace, then I am sure it will be no win for anybody, or rather a victory for everybody, for the whole of mankind. America will have to socialize, one way or the other. If not after the Soviet pattern, then after the British and Swedish. Russia will have to liberalize, which changes each side will ascribe to its own influence and rightness, but who will care, even if it's true. Soviet society will become more individualistic, American society will become more collectivistic, with spiritually deeper and richer individuals. This is my personal belief and hope."

"It is not excluded that the two opposing systems --the American (sic) and the Soviet--may finally supplement each other" was the prediction of a Soviet engineer in his late 20's, impressed by what he had seen on a trip to London.

During an eight-hour drinking bout in Helsinki this summer, two Moscow journalists scoffed at the idea that anything approaching the dream of communism would ever be achieved in the USSR. Rather they foresaw future internal relaxation and improvement for the people as a process of Westernization. They made clear their conviction that the fundamental difference between the West and the USSR is the greater amount of freedom in the West, but they felt that this difference was decreasing as conditions improved in the USSR.

A professor at Moscow University who is in his middle thirties explained his views in the fall of 1961:

> "We don't shift to Communism but to Americanism. The new Party Program elaborates how to catch up with the U.S. and how to overtake America, but not how to bring about Communism. We say Americanization but not Communization of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev, and we must thank him for helping, has long ago thrown Communism into the garbage can. Communism is just a screen. And I must tell you, the majority at the University shares this attitude; we are tired of Communism, tired of ideologies, tired of programs. The people wish to take a rest after all this -- war, camps and Stalinist rule. What the people now need is this: a healthy baba (woman), a pot of cabbage soup, a hunk of bread. Everything else will come by itself. Of course, there are still fanatics with whom I argue once a week. They are somewhat crazy about ideology. The majority, however, stands for these principles: 'not by bread alone', and 'nobody will sing on an empty stomach.' Well, after we get apartments and are dressed like in the West, we'll also talk about ideology."

The Present Social System of the USSR

The most sweeping indictment of the present social and economic systems of the USSR came from a mid-career official who is a Party member of long standing.

> "Forty years of Soviet rule has taught the people many good lessons. The historical experience of the development of the Soviet Union during this period of time has been such as to shake to a certain degree the belief in the propriety of the internal policies of the Soviet government. There are many Soviets who believe that if there were a war at this time -- that is another World War such as the last one -- then the Soviets couldn't possibly win it. The reason for this is, of course, the fact that no one would want to fight and protect the type of system under which they are living. This is very clear."

A Soviet exchange student, in the United States for ten months this year, in discussing shortcomings in the Soviet economic system said: "We are young in our revolution yet. When we of my age group take over we will modify and change certain aspects of our system...Some day we will be more free than we are now. When the younger generation takes over more freedom and less regimentation will exist."

During a literary discussion held in the Cultural Club of Moscow University last February, a young worker asked to speak. Not in a spirit of complaint, but rather pointing to a gulf which must be bridged, he asserted that in his view, most Soviet students were completely divorced from the life of the working population. (It might be noted that the stereotypes of current Soviet fictions reflect a bias against higher education--villains are generally better educated than their fellows, but misuse their talents, often through idle malice.)

In an underground magazine written by Soviet students and circulated in Moscow in 1961, a young would-be poet commented: "A poet's serving the people, as something unitary and whole is impossible, because the people have never - either economically or intellectually - constituted a unitary whole."

Another article in this magazine warned, "Poets should recognize that service is possible only in army barracks, in political institutions and in churches. The poet should not merge himself with the power of the state. So merging himself, he loses his individuality, turns into a worker on a production line, the goal of which is outright apologetics for the state power, and consequently for all the vices as well which it bears within itself."

Religion

This youth's inclusion of "churches" among the institutions where service is possible is curious in the light of the intensive campaign waged by the regime for many years to indoctrinate all Soviet citizens in "scientific atheism". There have been similar statements from Soviet youth on religion and a belief in God, although not necessarily in connection with an organized church.

A young Georgian girl, a member of the Komsomol and a graduate of a music institute in Tbilisi confided to an American in the summer of 1960 that she did not believe in God, but she thought there might be "a god inside people". She felt that religion was needed by people to turn to as they got older.

Another young Soviet remarked to a guide at the French Exhibition in Moscow in 1961: "The church, of course, is nonsense. But God exists. Otherwise life would be without any sense and not justified. Dudintsev was right when he wrote that man does not live by bread alone." When told that these words were not original with Dudintsev but were from the Bible, the youth was much astonished and said that he would get a copy of the Bible from friends and look them up.

A young VUZ graduate explained to a Western European friend:

> "You might think that I am a Bible-hater. This is not so. There are so many planes from which to look upon the book. I am interested in it because of its being a reflection of basic and historic truths of life...I am also well aware of the special humanistic trend in Christianity... O.K. let's have Biblical translations but let's also include Buddhist and Moslem, Taoist, Judaist beliefs too, and above all, let us be aware of independent individual total reactions. All that I say reflects only my own attitude toward religion, my ideas on the further development of religion...

"One may feel the multitude of forces around him, forces beyond one's comprehensive abilities, but should this lead to one's surrendering before these forces? On the contrary, it increases the inner convictions of one's responsibility in this big world, the responsibility of one's every action. And I may add here, as now I speak seriously, that this is why Jesus Christ, or rather the Sermon on the Mount is so valuable. For it reflects the increased demands toward one's responsibility, it reflects a new stage in human development. Does this responsibility lead toward mental enslavement? Surely not. On the contrary, it leads toward liberation of all the creative abilities of society and all individual human beings. But is it the way of modern churches? To me, so much in modern religion is pervaded by blind belief, which as I have already said, seems to me nothing but retreat from one's responsibilities, that actually it makes all forms of modern religion a refuge for superstitious feelings, for blindness, for weakness. But not only churches represent a way of escape from facing realities, from shifting responsibilities to someone else. Personality cults of leaders, belief that those in the government, those in big industries know better, blind following of styles and fashions - in clothes, in tastes, in thinking and traditional dark superstitutions, just blind trust in anyone who once made one correct appraisal in advance of this or that - the ways of finding a loophole from one's responsibility are extremely numerous...Certainly there is a difference between rational entrusting of authority with specific social functions, and blind uncritical belief in every word and action of authority."

At a literary seminar at Moscow University last April, the playwright chairing the session opened the meeting by reading extracts from a letter from a seventeen-year old. The letter listed "religosity" as one of the preoccupations of this age group. The audience, mostly students, responded with a general giggle, for which the chariman quickly reprimanded them. He pointed out that in the very heart

of the artistic and intellectual life of Moscow there is a church where not only are the numbers of worshippers increasing, but where the "quality" of the faithful is also "improving." He developed his point by telling the story of a Soviet schoolboy discovered wearing a small cross on a chain around his neck. When asked about his family background, the boy replied that his father worked for the government and his mother for the Ministry of Culture.

The official atheist magazine, Science and Religion, recently published a letter from a man who said that from childhood he had always considered himself an atheist. "Following...the development of science and theoretical thinking, I have come to the conclusion that atheism in its present form cannot claim to be scientific, does not satisfy man's spiritual needs, and does not correspond to his feelings." He invoked the support of physicists in particular for his contention that the criterion of "common sense" so dear to atheists is not considered acceptable to science.

Perhaps the most peculiar statement is that reportedly made by V.V. Belousev, a prominent Soviet geophysicist, president of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. During a trip with an American scientist in the spring of 1961, Belousev said that he had seen statistics from studies made in the USSR which show a disturbing moral breakdown in Soviet cities, particularly in the new ones where there are no churches. Some Soviet sociologists, according to Belousev, now feel that there is an inverse correlation between the incidence of moral collapse and the number of churches in a given area, moral collapse increasing as the number of churches declines.

The Soviet Economic System

Soviet propaganda maintains that the means of production, including the land itself, belong to "the people". The interests of the worker in "the people's" factory are, therefore, supposed to be identical with those of management. A Soviet exchange student who spent 1961-62 in the United States studying the development and inner workings of the U.S. labor movement at first faithfully repeated this line. Toward the end of the year, however, he admitted to his faculty adviser that labor-management squabbles exist in the USSR, and that in the event of such a disagreement, labor had little recourse except production slow-downs.

"We worked with Russians," reported a French fitter who helped prepare the French exhibition in Moscow in the fall of 1961, "but they were slow and did everything half-heartedly. Although we were not in any particular hurry to finish our job, one of us asked the Russians why they were working more slowly than the French. The Russian's answer - because you didn't have a revolution."

Cynicism about "our ownership" has appeared in other conversations. "The Palace of Congresses, the cosmonauts and the space vehicles are acclaimed as belonging to the Soviet people, but the intellectuals and scientists know that this is a sop and full realize that these things are coming out of the people's collective hide," according to a Soviet geneticist. "The people are told of these glorious achievements and then are expected to be content to go home to their six square meters of inadequate, shabby, over-crowded rooms and their poor diet, and their drab, grubby clothes."

Americans visiting a worker's apartment during a trip through the USSR last summer congratualted their host on the launching of the two Soviet manned satellites, at that time still in orbit. The worker made a spitting gesture and said sardonically: "What good is that to me? I want to raise a family and not a bunch of paupers."

Less than a month later, the same Americans, visiting in Orel found their Ford surrounded by a curious throng of about 200 Soviets. One of the crowd commented:

"That's better than ours." One of the Americans replied: "But you have cosmonauts." Someone else in the crowd answered in a loud voice: "But what can you do with cosmonauts?"

In a seminar on civil law held in the Moscow University law faculty last year, discussion centered around court cases involving transfers of land. Land, as a basic means of production, is state property and in Soviet civil law this is interpreted to mean that land cannot be sold, leased or otherwise transferred by individual citizens, or by state or cooperative organiztions. A house can be sold and an orchard can be sold, but the land under the house or orchard cannot be sold.

One of the cases discussed involved the sale of a house and orchard which was struck down by the courts as a disguised sale of the land because the purchase price was higher than the value of the house and orchard. In another case, a lease of land by a collective farm to a state farm was struck down. According to an American law professor who had obtained permission to sit in on the classes, the Soviet students pressed the professor in questioning these decisions, citing analogies based on sales and leases of capital equipment between enterprises, and other analogies and arguments. The professor's answer was always the same: land is state property - it cannot be sold or leased.

After class, the American commented that the students had seemed to be trying to get an answer to the question of why land should be treated differently from other forms of property, whereas their (Soviet) professor had kept answering in effect that land is sacred but had never explained why. The professor replied: "I think your criticism is valid; I should have answered their question." Then, after a pause he added: "But you know, it is a very difficult question to answer."

Collectivization of agriculture seems to have been in the mind of a Soviet engineer discussing the situation in China where he had worked for six years: "We have

made mistakes in the past and they should not have been repeated. But the Chinese began to copy us, making even worse mistakes. The result, famine."

"Soviet farmers won't work unless they get some real incentives", according to a young Soviet biochemist, explaining to an American why the 1962 crop prospects were bad. He added: "If the land were divided and each farmer had his own land, then they would succeed."

There are distinctly capitalist overtones in several conversations about investment of capital. M. Ye. Rakovsky, Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Automation and Machine Building, on an exchange visit to the United States in March 1959 was deeply interested in a comparison of methods of financing and of cost determination in the U.S. and the USSR. He explained to the American escort officer that he was perturbed about the Soviet system of providing capital and operating funds for manufacturing plants through increasing the cost to the consumer of the finished product. He was especially interested in the American system of stocks - how much can an American individual buy, how does he buy it, what does he get for it, could he as a Soviet citizen buy stock, for example, in AT&T. The American felt that this was a very real search for information impelled by dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the Soviet economic system.

In March 1960, a group of Soviet scientists on an exchange visit in the U.S. were discussing common professional problems with American scientists over dinner. The Soviets commented that a major problem for them was finding the incentive to go on working full-speed when they already made more money than they could fruitfully spend. This was especially true in households where both the husband and wife worked. It was not worthwhile to pile up great savings accounts because interest rates in the USSR were so low. The Soviets, talking among themselves during the evening, evolved the suggestion that they band together and form a small firm, putting their excess salaries into a plant and laboratories, plowing their profits back into the labs,and taking care to

keep the undertaking sufficiently small so as not to attract official attention. The American listeners had the impression that this would not be strictly legal but that the Soviets felt it could be wangled.

Yuriy Zhukov, until recently Chairman of the State Committee on Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, was also exercised about incentives when he visited the United States this November. In comparing U.S. and Soviet policies on economics, culture, sociological, and political problems, he stated that he felt U.S. taxes were too high and were removing incentives from the minds of both professional and non-professional Americans. By contrast, he pointed out that the highest Soviet tax bracket was 30% and that most incomes were only taxed from 9% to 12%.

A 34-year-old Soviet doctor answered an American's question about private patients:

> "That's the trouble. You have to have special permission for that, and those people are specially selected professors and party members. I would be severely punished if I took money. They say I must cure people for free. My idea would be if the government would just "free" me, I would heal rich and poor. I would charge the rich high fees. A writer like yourself, for example, I admit frankly, I would make pay large sums. But the poor I would treat for little or nothing. Then I would pay taxes on my earnings to the state and it would be a profit for us both --much more than it is now. Of course, that is only my own idea...I believe there will always be rich and poor people. Some are born with brains to make money, some with brains to make other things, and some with no brains for anything. There must always be both rich and poor, but that, mind you, is just my own private idea."

Soviet Foreign Policy

The break-up of the Paris Conference in 1960 was, of course, presented in the Soviet press as entirely the responsibility of the West and especially of the United States which had sent the U-2 "spy plane" for this evil purpose. A member of the Soviet intelligentsia with considerable stature in his own field, however, had another interpretation of the international situation:

> "The Russian people want peace. They know this depends upon an agreement between the United States and the USSR. Therefore, the breakup of the May 1960 Conference in Paris was a heavy blow. Among the Moscow intelligentsia there were complaints against Eisenhower because he did not apologize, on the grounds that this made it easier for Khrushchev to break up the conference. It was clear that the Powers incident was only an excuse since it was apparently known that American intelligence planes had been flying over the Soviet Union for a long time. In fact, a year before the incident an acquaintance had talked about this to me."

A young Soviet engineer complained to a visiting American last September that he had been completely unable to understand the Soviet handling of the 1960 U-2 incident. Since similar matters in the past had always been handled through diplomatic channels, he could not see why Khrushchev had made such a tremendous issue of it. He commented that he was forced to suspect that Khrushchev's actions had been prompted by a desire to sabotage an impending agreement and that, frankly, he was now completely confused by his government's foreign policy.

Another young engineer told Americans whom he met sunning on a Leningrad beach that he thought it was terrible that Khrushchev had talked only about the U-2 at the Summit meeting in Paris when there were so many other important issues to discuss.

A Soviet student at Moscow University in 1961 commented to a group of fellow students that he saw no point in a Khrushchev-Kennedy-Macmillan meeting because Khrushchev unfortunately had no intention of agreeing with Kennedy or Macmillan. According to a foreign student attending Moscow University at the time the remark was reported to the authorities by a cleaner who had overheard it. The other students denied having heard the remark, however, so the speaker was sent the the virgin lands for six months, instead of to prison.

There is a hint of this same attitude in a remark made by a Soviet official who visited England last August. Toward the end of his visit, he found himself alone with one of his English hosts. He immediately said that he was glad of such an opportunity as he wanted to say something that had been on his mind for a long time. "Please don't think that what our leaders say is a reflection of what the people in the Soviet Union think or feel. Policy is one thing and true feelings are quite different. Soviet people do not want war and will never agree to it. I want you to believe me -- these are the true feelings of the Soviet people." He then burst out with the further comment that if only a universal law could be passed which would automatically sentence all leaders, "irrespective of who they are" to death in the event of a war being declared, there would not be any danger of war and international relations would improve out of all recognition.

Other more generalized critical comments have also been reported. "Americans owe it to the world to stand firm in Berlin," a Soviet geneticist told an American visitor in Moscow last July. She added that the effect on the Soviet populace of the Cuban rebuff to the U.S. in the Bay of Pigs was electric; therefore, the U.S. should never again allow any taint of weakness or irresolution to be attached to its actions.

On 25 October, at the recent Cuban crisis, a Komsomol leader at Moscow University remarked to an American that all the meetings being held around the USSR to condemn U.S. actions were really quite silly. "How," he said, "could people vote on condemnatory resolutions when they did not even know what President

Kennedy had said." "The proper way to remedy this defect," he added, "would be to have the full text of the President's speech printed alongside the Soviet government statement and then let the meetings hold their vote."

An American who attended the Moscow World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace last July reported that during the Conference, a Soviet village school teacher showed up at the Moskva Hotel, carrying a signboard with three typewritten pages addressed to officials of the Congress. He criticized Lenin's theories for their advocacy of violence, suggested a kind of neo-Tolstoy pacifism, and urged a strengthened UN without a veto to stop all nuclear tests. Hotel authorities tried to chase him out of the lobby, but he held his ground, embraced several western observers, and there were tears all around.

Soviet doctrine holds that objectivity, in the sense in which the word is used in the West, verges on the subversive, indicating at best a lack of devotion to the cause of communism. Nevertheless, two young VUZ graduates whose analyses of the world situation have been reported, have shown remarkable objectivity in their views of international differences.

One had been discussing with a Western European friend various national art exhibits held in Moscow last year. He was particularly impressed with the Indonesian exhibit as illustrating

> "the very real differences in which different nations look at the world. It is so closely connected with the deep conviction that 'our' way of life is about the most humane, natural way for all people to take, and those who invent something else are doing monkey business. I quite agree with your criticism of American idealism, that is, your criticizing Americans for being confident that their way is the best for all others to take. I might add that, to a great extent, this is true of many people in the USSR. Too many are sincerely sure that the most natural and humane way to take is the way Russians live...And sometimes this narrow way of looking at other countries, present

not only in Americans and Russians but, I'm sure, in all peoples, makes me feel really pessimistic...In fact, sincere sticking to convictions that 'our' is absolutely right, 'theirs' is wholly wrong, too many times leads people to alternatives parallel to 'Red or Dead' with the choice for the latter."

One of the young men who participated in the Mayakovsky Square discussions (and who was subsequently arrested for his part in them) wrote an analysis of the world situation as part of his draft program for a proposed World Federation of General Disarmament. His arguments, addressed to Soviet citizens, were in part as follows:

"First of all, we should recognize that, in fact, with the discovery of nuclear means of destruction, the act of global war is in and of itself absurd...There is a view according to which a world war is already in fact going on. It is assumed that the world, divided into two inimical blocs, restrained from global war by the presence in both spheres of an enormous destructive potential, is carrying on local wars on a gradual basis, now in one, now in another part of the world. Each of the quarreling sides thus tries to enlarge its sphere of influence. But even if this is the case, who can affirm that such a course of events will not lead, in the final analysis to global war?...

"At present, the effort to accumulate the maximum destructive potential is interwoven with the tendency to concentrate this in the inimically opposed spheres. Blocs arise. Blocs and the tendency toward maximum concentration, and consequently the tendency, as well, toward the maximum extension of their spheres of influence. The targets of the contemplated extension of the spheres of influence are the neutral countries and countries which find themselves in the other bloc, or within the sphere of

influence of the other bloc. The bloc has its nucleus, around which are grouped the elements which constitute, as it were, its shell. At present, the elements of the shell are relatively constant and the shell itself is consequently relatively stable. But it is important to note that some fall-out of individual elements of the shell, as well as some accession of new elements is constantly going on.

"In this connection, the posing of the question of the formation of a neutral bloc, whose military potential would be fully liquidated or reduced to a level little above zero, is timely. The mission of the neutral bloc would consist in the creation of conditions which would intensify the fall-out of elements of the shells and in maintaining them within its sphere of influence. The neutral bloc would thus in practice be a wedge, driving the inimical blocs more and more asunder, or more precisely, weakening them quantitatively and qualitatively..."

(He noted that neither bloc would be able to commit aggression on the neutral bloc since this would instantly provoke the opposition of the other and the conflict would inevitably grow into a global war.)

"The presence of an enormous destructive potential in the inimical spheres excludes the possibility of a conflict and is a reliable guarantee of tranquility. It is self-understood that the element of chance is not excluded even here, but the probability of a clash is enormously reduced."

Among the already existing conditions which he saw as facilitating the creation of this nuetral bloc were "the striving of the Afro-Asian continent toward independence (which) carries with it the tendency toward

neutrality and consolidation" and "the existence of countries which, as the result of certain circumstances, had entered the blocs but which have tendencies toward neutrality."

The school teacher who showed up the Moscow World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace placed his faith in a strengthened UN without the veto. The young man quoted above showed a similar disposition to trust an international organization, rather than to rely on Soviet organs. In his draft charter for his proposed World Union of Partisans of General Disarmament, he appealed to all peoples and all governments "to raise the prestige of the UN and the International (World) Court,...to turn the UN into a supra-state organ which would act in strict accordance with the norm of international law and would...have its own most highly developed apparatus of compulsion, exceeding by several times the most powerful apparatus of compulsion of any state...The UN should create its own institutions in all the strata of the population of all states.---"

In the provisions of his draft charter, he went to some pains to ensure that his World Union would <u>not</u> fall under the control of any one national section, including the (presumably founding) Russian one, and he provided for secret ballot in all cases. Most startling of all from the Soviet security forces' point of view, he specified that "the activity of the World Union can be altered, partially arrested or fully terminated only by a decision of the International Court" and that "every member of the World Union has the moral right not to subordinate himself to the laws in effect on the territory of his place of residence, if those laws contradict the ethical norms of international law."

Socialist Brotherhood

For fifteen years, the Soviet people have been told of the unity and brotherhood of the "socialist camp". Some doubts have been expressed by individual Soviets, however, concerning their "socialist brothers". A student at Moscow University commented as early as 1958 to an American professor for whom he was acting as guide, that the differences between communism and capitalism were not nearly as great as the differences between cultures, and, as an example, cited the differences between the Russians and the Chinese.

An American who attended an international meeting of physicists in August 1960 reported that the Soviet physicists whom he met were openly uneasy about the single-mindedness and discipline exhibited by Chinese students studying in their universities. They cited, in tones of horror, an anecdote which has been told so often in recent years by Soviet students and professors that it has almost attained the status of a folktale. According to the story, a group of Chinese graduate students who were studying in the USSR, were existing on mere pittances, barely sufficient to purchase food and lodging. One student managed somehow to save enough money from his allowance to purchase a small radio. This so incensed his fellow students that they not only made him give up the radio, but threatened to throw him out of their living quarters for exhibiting such weakness.

A guide at the French exhibition in Moscow in the fall of 1961 reported witnessing the following incident. A Chinese shouted at a Russian: "Why do you push me, Russian 'scum'?" The Chinese was quickly surrounded by a hostile crowd. People yelled. "Away with you, go back to China." "Punch his ugly face." The Chinese had already been slapped in the face when militiamen put an end to the scene.

An American exchange student at Moscow University in 1961-62 reported that on several occasions Soviet friends said to her in so many words: "Some day the U.S. and the USSR must join together against the Chinese."

The most telling personal insult in Soviet society today is a charge of being uncultured. During a violent argument in a taxi queue near the Kremlin, witnessed by

a visiting American last June, one Soviet accused another of being uncultured. The accused, in rejoinder, asked him whether he thought he was Chinese.

Soviet students were loud in their ridicule of the attention paid by Khrushchev to the seven-year-old son of Fidel Castro, according to a foreign student who attended Moscow University last year. They were particularly derisive of an announcement in the Soviet press that Khrushchev gave the boy, who attends school in Moscow, an "interview" lasting one and a half hours.

Marxist-Leninist Doctrine

A young Soviet philosopher, discussing philosophy with a prominent French intellectual in 1957 asked him: "Shall I go on talking as the official interpreter of Soviet philosophers? If I do so, I shall be in a position of inferiority with regard to you because I shall be obliged to talk nonsense. Wouldn't you rather I spoke my own mind?"

A nineteen-year-old Soviet expressed it more emotionally, when he confided to a guide at the French exhibition in Moscow in the fall of 1961: "Marxism is like a mathematical scheme. I am cramped in it. It does not inspire me."

Soviet physicist Igor Tamm asked a visiting American what had struck him most about the USSR. He was told that it was the complete disappearance of Marxist ideology with which the American had become so familiar in the 1920's and 1930's. Tamm agreed that "we are no longer dogmatic." He added that in the present Soviet state, Marxist values are no longer as true as they were and that a reconsideration is sometimes necessary.

Peter Kapitsa, also a noted physicist, voiced this same theme in an article in the Soviet newspaper, Economic Gazette (March 1962) in which he charged that attempts to apply Marxist-Leninist dialectics as the unique clue to scientific correctness have hampered the progress of Soviet science.

A Soviet exchange student in the U.S. in 1961-62, specializing in U.S. labor organizations, confided to an American that he now realized that Marxist class structure as he learned it was not applicable to U.S. society and that Americans could not be categorized as Marx tried to do. He also commented that the basic attitudes of workers were the same in the U.S. as in the USSR, particularly with regard to on-the-job problems, relations with superiors, etc. It might be noted that this particular student's background was impeccable in terms of orthodox Communist training and experience -- a member of the Young Pioneers, then of the Komsomol, and thereafter a member of the Communist Party. He fought in World War II as an infantry officer, and before coming to the U.S. was a history instructor at a pedagogical institute.

Membership in the Communist Party

Membership in the Communist Party has always been held up by the regime as a great honor, as well as a responsibility, awarded to the "best" people. A director of research projects at the Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR who was born in 1920 replied in response to the question of a visitor that he was not a member of the Party. He explained that he would not dream of paying 3% of his salary to the Party; it was quite enough to pay 1% to the Soviet trade union.

A mid-career official of the Soviet bureaucracy, himself a Party member of long standing was more explicit:

> "All these Party meetings have been reduced to mere form. Take any regional Party chief - the only reason he calls a Party meeting is so that it can be on the books that a meeting has been held. Everyone attends these Party meetings just to get it over with. No one is really interested in these things any more. Take the Party members. Why do they belong to the Party? It is not because they believe in the system or in the ideology of the Party. No, not at all. I can state with assurance that 99% of the so-called Communists in the Soviet Union are not Communist at all. They are people who joined the Party in order to have a greater opportunity to gain a good position which would be impossible for them to gain without being in the Party. That's what it means to be a Communist. Just as previously the Party members were truly dedicated to that ideology - fully dedicated - so, now, just the opposite is true."

Membership in the Komsomol

According to an Eastern European student who worked in the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute from 1956 to 1959, the director of the institute cited the Komsomol as an example of how not to arouse young people's interest and enthusiasm:

> "Look at the Komsomol which has completely lost its hold on the students. In their first year of undergraduate work the Komsomol still operates, but in the second year it is quite impossible to get an organization going and from then on the Komsomol is completely extinct."

The Soviet press has frequently published letters from disillusioned Komsomol members, usually using them as a springboard for exhortations to greater enthusiasm. The following are fairly representative: In 1960 Pravda angrily critized a letter which it published from a Komsomol member who refused to believe the published story of a model Komsomol brigade in Baku which allegedly had donated its services to repair apartments free: "To use one's free time for working and then to say: 'Thank you, we need no money, we are Komsomol members'...Who would believe such a fairy tale?--just a clumsy lie."

In 1961, Komsomolskaya Pravda told the cautionary tale of a Komsomol member, Yuri Belousev, who resigned from the organization because "I do not wish to bear any burden nor do I wish to pay membership dues." The director of the factory where he had formerly worked withdrew the factory's approval of his continuing in school and refused to promote him. Belousev complained to the newspaper, and Komsomolskaya Pravda sent a correspondent to investigate. Belousev told her: "If everyone worked and lived honorably, then it'd be a different matter. But how many bureaucrats, careerists and cheats we have...What are meetings and Sunday labor donations to me - I have enough work at home."

In 1962 the Belorussian Komsomol newspaper reported the case of Grigory Zuyev, a Komsomol member and student who was "infected with alien influences and worshipped the West." Zuyev was expelled from the Komsomol, but then various party organizations began trying to reform

him by means of "persuasion." Eventually, Zuyev made the following open statement:

> "I am speaking here on behalf of a group of youth who have been hounded... I don't understand why people bother me. I didn't steal anything from anybody. People try to read my soul. They say I'm not a patriot. But I love our woods, our fields, our native land where, maybe, I shall die. However, I tell you that I love all mankind, the English and American peoples, world civilization, foreign literature. I am interested in everything good that exists in the West. What difference does it make that there is capitalism there. As for the Komsomol, it is a local concept, it does not suit me. What did it give me?"

In 1962 Komsomolskaya Pravda described with horror a secret society organized by the students at the Moscow Library Institute, including "some" Komsomol members. The "World Association of Young Troglodytes" was organized with the avowed aim of "the gradual peaceful transformation of man into monkey." Every member had the "right to place his personal interests above those of society." All members were to "struggle for the liberation of man from technical progress." Two members of the society explained that boredom was the reason for its formation: "Komsomol members have no vital matters which would keep their minds and souls occupied."

In a question-and-answer session at the University of Moscow last November, three Soviet professors met with their Soviet students to answer questions on ideology, Party history, and domestic and international affairs. The session differed from most such meetings in that there were no set speeches by the professors and questions were asked orally from the floor instead of being passed up to the rostrum in written form.

Some of the most outspoken students were neither stilyagi nor "intellectual" types, but active Komsomol members. The professors were pressed hard by the students to explain how the Soviet withdrawal of rockets from Cuba could be considered a "victory" as claimed by the Soviet

press. Several students expressed the opinion openly that the outcome of the Cuban crisis was a clear defeat for Soviet foreign policy.

Even more remarkable was the line of questioning followed when the subject of Stalin's role came up. One questioner asked how Stalin's dictatorship could be considered basically different from Hitler's. The professor who answered the question (who was handicapped in replying convincingly because his own rise in the academic world occurred during the purges of the 1930's and who still speaks in a semi-literate manner) sputtered that the class structure of the two countries made all the difference. According to a Western observer, the students were obviously not convinced.

Regime Deceit

The difference between Soviet claims and Soviet reality must often be most apparent to the Soviet people themselves. A 34-year old doctor, a veteran of World War II, told an American: "If you go to a small village half an hour from town, you'll see how they really live on collective farms. There are no 'show farms' there. You know what I mean - farms for showing to foreign delegations. They still wear bast shoes in those villages - it is frightful."

When a Soviet reporter complained that he had been shadowed by the FBI while visiting the Seattle World's Fair, even when he went up in the Space Needle, a Soviet exchange student in the U.S. remarked: "I was with the man when he went up the Space Needle, and I didn't see anybody following us. I even went on an automobile ride with him and I saw no agent, unless the driver was an agent -- which I don't think possible because the driver was our host and also he is a faculty member of your university."

A taxi driver in Moscow, talking to his foreign diplomat fare insisted that Khrushchev was "a very poor speaker." The diplomatic diplomat said: "Oh well, Khrushchev is a clever man, anyhow," to which the driver rejoined: "We shall know about that when he's dead."

Resistence to indoctrination and interest in "forbidden fruit" on the part of individual Soviet citizens has been reported many times. A foreign student at the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute reported the following incident which occurred in the fall of 1959. A forthcoming lecture was announced on the subject of "Non-lenear Mechanics - a New Look at Problems of Time and Space" by N. A. Kozyrev. The Soviet students knew that Kozyrev had been imprisioned under Stalin for the formulation of theories which were not in line with the demands of dialectical materialism. Immediately following the announcement of the lecture, practically all the books in the school library on time and space and the theory of relativity were suddenly in great demand. One of the instructors commented bitterly that "all these years we have been trying to get youth interested in our lectures, but without success." The day before the lecture, Kozyrev was criticized in Pravda for lecturing to audiences who could not properly evaluate his views in the light of

ideology. As a result, two hours before the lecture was to begin, the hall was filled to its capacity (600), and about 1800 more students jammed the hallways, staircases and neighboring classrooms, packing them so tightly that it was impossible to move through the area. The director of the institute, perturbed by what he considered a political demonstration, appealed to the students to clear the halls in the interests of safety, but was ignored. Two hours later, after three such appeals, he threatened to cancel the lecture. When the students still remained in place, he announced the meeting closed, with the promise that the lecture would be rescheduled at a later date, but with a limited number of admission tickets. The students suspecting a trick, remained in place for yet another hour before they finally left.

During a performance by the Moscow "Estrade" (light entertainment) company at Moscow University last February, the master of ceremonies so antagonized the audience by recounting between acts edifying anecdotes about the "new Soviet man" that he was jeered into silence. The final breakdown in his control over the audience occurred when he refused to permit a second encore to a comedienne who had just performed satirical sketches in which she parodied both a Soviet spaceman and a worker who had overfulfilled his norms. The master of ceremonies finally retaliated by closing down the performance.

Komsomolskaya Pravda last January carried a letter from a student in Kharkhov in which the writer complained: "Our students are sufficiently mature for discussions and debates, and the time has come to stop leading them by the hand." He felt that "the whole purpose of higher education is to teach the student to have his own point of view" and urged that the best means of developing this capacity for independent thinking is through discussion..." and not when "truths are handed down in a ready made and already decided form."

A Soviet historian talking to a British friend in 1961 explained:

> "We historians know perfectly well that Trotsky played a positive role at certain moments of his career, but on the whole, his role was thoroughly negative so that is the thing that has to be stressed...And in the long run, there

will not be any discrepancies between 'factual' history and 'objective' history...Our young generation knows exactly what is what...As regards Soviet history they know better and better every year what the facts are, but they also know why certain facts should be played down and others played up."

The historian may have spoken more truly than he knew. An American visiting the USSR this year reported that Soviet students had discussed with him the relationship between Stalin and Kirov, a subject which has not yet been touched on in the "revelations" concerning Stalin's years. In the students' version, Kirov in 1934 received more votes for the party secretariat than did Stalin, which should have made him Stalin's superior. Despite this, he had to bow out in Stalin's favor, accepting the second most important post (secretary of the Leningrad district). Following this election, Stalin had him murdered to get rid of a dangerously popular rival.

This open secret of incomplete or slanted history was also admitted by one of the Soviet exchange students in the United States this year. When his American professor asked him whether there are any fair, factual writings on the U.S. trade union movement in current Soviet literature, he replied that there were not. He said that the only people writing on the subject do so for propaganda purposes, slanted and colored so as to give the desired picture for Soviet consumption.

In an article in an underground magazine written by Soviet students and circulated in Moscow in 1961, a young literary critic commented: "Every claim to be serving the people is either a conscious or an unconscious lie. This criterion of the correctness of the path of a poet, of his ideological purity, can profitably be used by every rogue who serves the power of the state, which so skillfully identifies itself with the people. How many talented people have been deceived and destroyed."

In a superbly impudent "explanation" addressed to the KGB, one of the students involved in the Mayakovsky Square discussions in the fall of 1961 described the after-effects of Stalin's "excessess":

"People were coerced too much - the reflex action was resistance. People were deceived too much - and they became accustomed not to believe anything. The most noble ideas lost all their attraction, because the ideas came from the lying lips of a constellation of scoundrels and murderers...I recall a small brochure in which Lev Sheynin (a Soviet journalist) writes about how humanely the workers of the KGB treated the students of a certain organization, about how, according to him, the students confessed and broke down crying, and so forth and so on. What a terrible savage! The impression is created that the author was purposely trying to make sure that no one would believe him. In the reading of such a base concoction even the truth sounds like a lie. On me personally that most stupid brochure produced a diametrically opposite effect."

Another member of this group commented on the poet Yevgeny Yevtusheuko's lines on the joy of marching on the road straight to the commune. "We smile, not because we don't believe in the possibility of unfurling the banners and going straight to the Commune. We stand precisely for that straight road to the Commune and not for the one that is marked out with lies and meanness which they are trying to palm off on us... You are inclined to proclaim mould and decay as signs of growth. Sated swinishness is, to you, a tactical move."

Two poems from underground magazines circulated in Moscow in 1960 and 1961 echo this theme of regime deceit.

Cocktail

Everything round about
Is a melancholy cocktail:
One part truth, one part lies,
One part dreams and wishes...

Moscow Gold - by A. Onezhskaya

Golden stains of pain
In the pitch-black darkness,
Golden thoughts in slavery,
Golden people in prison.
Treasures everywhere: the gold of bread,
The golden tassels of banners,
And in the golden manure of the cow-shed,
A golden deposit of names
Glorifying this city,
This land, and this world.

Among them, proudly glistening
In golden praise, an idol,
The newest and brightest,
Gladdening his people,
Sprinkles golden gifts
Into the mouths of the grateful simpletons.
Golden teeth on skulls,
Golden promises in newspapers -
Everything is splendid in my fatherland
Built on bones.

Collective Guilt for Stalin's Crimes

The regime's handling of revelations of Stalin's crimes has emphasized that the books are closed on those guilty of being his accomplices and that what remains now is to rehabilitate the victims and to look to the future. This effort to absolve the survivors of the period of any taint of guilt has not been entirely successful. An article in an underground magazine circulated in Moscow in 1961 described the revelations concerning Stalin's "errors". "Next, (1956) it appears, everything is very simple. It turns out that the friend of progressive mankind (Stalin) ruled the country as though it were his own patrimony. The rooting out of mistakes begins. Those mistakes cost thee dear, Russia. They devoured millions of the best sons...Someone wanted Russia, entering the struggle against the cult of personality, not to think too much about the reasons which had given the cult birth."

At a meeting of Moscow University students in April 1962, reported by Le Monde correspondent, Michel Tatu, one student speaker said: "Of us also they (future generations) will demand a rendering of accounts concerning the past. They will demand to know what we did to struggle against the results of the cult of personality which poison the atmosphere." Another added: "The best thing that the older generation did was to give us birth. For that we owe them our gratitude, but it is too bad that among that generation those who ought to have survived in the first place did not survive."

An American exchange student at Leningrad University reported that Leningrad students organized a formal debate addressed to the question then being asked many fathers by their sons: "What were you doing while the crimes of Stalin's years were being perpetrated? Why did you let them happen?"

During a hotly debated writers' meeting last September a "liberal" work was under attack as being unfair to "conservative writers. One of the editors responsible for the work finally delivered a particularly passionate defense of the work. He turned to the

attacking conservatives and shouted: "And where were you when Zoshchenko was being hounded to death? Did you protest when they were starving Anna Akhmatova? We don't want your dachas and your automobiles. All we want from you is decent behavior." (Mikhail Zoshchenko and Anna Akhmatova were the primary targets of the savage campaign for ideological "purity" in literature in the late 1940's)

Attitude Toward the Regime

One of the poems circulated in an underground magazine in Moscow in 1961 described the regime thus:

People Need an Idol - by I. Peresvetov

People need an idol,
They hang on to him tightly, with a death-grip.
The voluntary icon-daubers paint his portraits.
The voluntary preachers ecstatically proclaim his
Praise. The worshippers study his blameless
Life and the fanatical zealots of this blamelessness
Scour about in search of heretical apocrypha.
But idols decay.
And when people finally understand that their idol was
Not, goodness knows!, so great, and that they, his
Creators, risk being damned together with their idol,
They become brazen and their consciences no longer
Clean, continue their dirty business with
Ten times the effort, for after all (as Victor Hugo
Said), "How nice to be a flea on the body of a lion!"

A young Soviet translator complained to the American newspaperman for whom he worked: "As for me, I don't like being a receptacle of irritation from both sides. The Russian officials growl at me as if I were John Foster Dulles, while you say such things and make generalizations in my presence as if I were a dummy, or rather a representative of the very bureaucracy we both hate."

A 20-year old Soviet commented to a guide at the French Fair in Moscow in 1961: "I was a boy during the Stalin period. Stalin, of course, was an animal, yet the people felt his strength, greatness, ideas. But what kind of ideas does Khrushchev have? None - a retreat on the entire Communist front. It's correct, life under Stalin was rough, as old men say, but now life is empty. Everything is falling to pieces."

The extreme of this sense of alienation from the regime is seen in two of the 1961 underground poems:

To My Friends - by N. Nor

No, it is not up to us to fire the pistols
Into the midst of the green columns!
For that we are too much the poets,
And our opponent is too strong.
No, the Vendee will not be reborn in us
In that coming, decisive hour!
After all, we are more concerned with ideas,
And the cudgel is not for us.
No, it is not up to us to raise the pistols!
But the age created poets
For the most important moments
And they created soldiers.

The second, untitled, was published under the motto:

Let Yourself be carried away, somersaulting
In blinding music.
Remember everything in the world...

You, nineteen years old,
Gurgling tomato juice,
I'll teach you to learn sonnets
To the snick of flying bullets.

Thick-skinned ones, how many of you
Covered the whole square: "Brand-new!"
Suppose it weren't a square but a place of execution?
You'd close your little eyes from the drops of blood!

Believe me, I'm no beacon,
I only want you to be genuinely unlucky and happy!

There are so many fights ahead,
So many Senate Squares and showers of bullets!

Russia is struggling in her strait-jacket!
But she'll never be curbed!

Arise!
Now!
During this blue night.

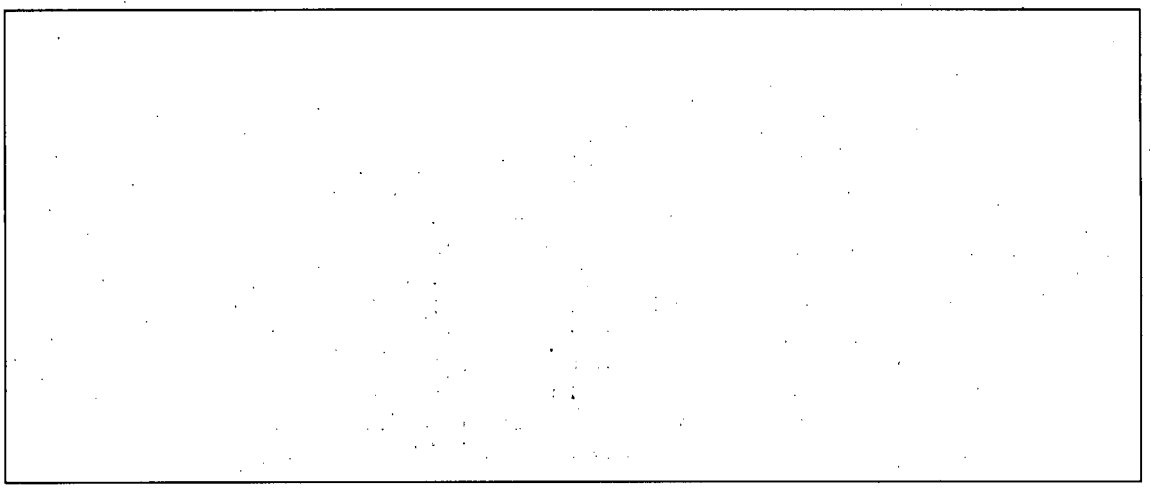
WE'RE FED UP! WE'VE HAD ENOUGH! CUT IT OUT!

Capitalism and the West

The Soviet exchange student whose year of study in the United States had convinced him that the "laws" of Marxist class structure are not applicable to the United States has already been noted. A young Soviet engineer visiting London also found his belief in Marxism shaken by what he saw: "According to Marxism, capitalism and unemployment are inseparable. Yet I could not find any beggars or impoverished people in the streets of London...When I saw the Labor Exchange, I was very much impressed by the absence of those long lines of unemployed which are often described by Soviet propaganda." He added that his former belief in the inevitability of proletarian revolution in capitalist countries had been destroyed.

The conclusions concerning the American economic system, reached by a Soviet biochemist during his visit to the U.S., are somewhat startling. At the beginning of his visit, he was convinced that U.S. income tax laws were for propaganda purposes only, since if they were enforced they would "eliminate incentive." He reasoned that since the American scientists whom he met obviously had incentive, no one obeyed the laws. He was finally convinced that even though income taxes are progressive, one still takes home more money if he makes more, and that there are, moreover, other incentives to consider. He then commented that the U.S. system was far too socialized and would not work in the USSR where, according to him, you do not accept more responsibility unless you are paid more.

A French intellectual reported that one young philosopher whom he met on a trip to the USSR in 1957 made the following statement about the alleged pauperization of workers inthe West: "Pauperization in its ordinary sense is not to be taken seriously. In the end, wages in all countries are in proportion to the community's resources. Everyone knows that, and I shall not try to defend the contrary theory, the official (Communist) theory, which one cannot take seriously."



Concepts of Freedom and Democracy

Soviet "theorists" for years have labored to change the meaning of these words to conform to Soviet conditions. A typical formulation is the one used recently by the Soviet newspaper, Literary Gazette, to describe the regime's demand for intellectual conformity: "Laws which protect people from those who endanger the freedom of normal life are the expression of the loftiest democracy." Despite the years of double-speak, however, individual Soviets have on occasion used the words "freedom" and "democracy" in the same sense in which they are used in the West. The youngsters against whom Literary Gazette was inveighing were described as demanding "freedom of the soul, freedom to disagree, freedom to be sad."

A Soviet engineer, about 35 years old, explained to a guide at the French Exhibition in Moscow in the fall of 1961:

> "Now everything is on the right track. The present development must inevitably lead to real freedom, to your Western freedom and not to our faked Soviet freedom. Several years ago the spiritual oppression was still very heavy. But at that time, the material conditions were very bad too, and for this reason the spiritual oppression was not felt so much. We had other problems - to do our job and get the most necessary things. Now the situation as far as the necessities of life are concerned has improved and there is time available to think about different questions. That's why the spiritual oppression, although it has become less violent, is much more strongly felt.
>
> "In less than ten years, Communism will disappear. Communism has done its part and now away with it. We have outgrown Communism. It is boring to be

[redacted]

considered juveniles, it is boring to be under the Party's guardianship. The Party must understand that we need freedom, not for revolutions but for a human way of life. However, the Party will never understand that. Therefore, we will liquidate the Party."

When asked how the Party would be liquidated, he gave only a generalized answer. Ironically, however, he turned the weapon of the Party on itself, using the phrasing of the dialectic: "The Party will be liquidated by time itself, by the circumstances and by the dialectic development of history, in accordance with the teachings of Marx."

[redacted] clearly knew [redacted] would just 'free me', I would heal rich and poor." He went on to add: "Now my idea is that everyone should be allowed to say exactly what he wants to, and if it's good people will approve it because people are good..."

The would-be poet, writing in a 1961 underground magazine in Moscow, might equally well have been writing in the West: "The spiritual individuality of the poet is incompatible with lies. I therefore fight for conditions which will facilitate the development of the individual. No matter what sort of opinions the individual may express, we cannot fail to call them a vital truth..."

[redacted] reported that while most of the Soviet students present seemed to agree with their government's position, they shouted down efforts by the authorities to curtail the time allotted to the [redacted] and insisted that they be given adequate time to present their case.

[redacted] declared that since the Communist Party had failed to justify the faith of the people, it should disband and free elections should be held in the USSR. These students "disappeared" from the University.

[redacted]

In 1959, however, similar demands were made concerning the Komsomol organization. At a general meeting of the university Komsomol organization, the secretary of the Komsomol opened the proceedings with a long speech concerning Komsomol goals for the coming year. In the debate which followed, many students demanded (1) that the structure of the Komsomol organization be changed to make it more responsive to the wishes of the majority of its members and (2) that the plan drawn up and sent down from above without consulting the students, be abandoned in favor of a plan to be drawn up by those present at the meeting. After an hour-long discussion, the group voted to reject the secretary's proposal. The session was then adjourned by the secretary with no subsequent meeting scheduled. Six more students "disappeared" from the university.

Despite this incident, appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party to authorize a discussion club for Moscow youth, to be completely unaffiliated with any existing organization including the Communist Party:

> "We say, give us a club. We shall occupy ourselves with literature, art, science and politics in it. The country has felt the refreshing wind of democracy and this democracy should speak a wholly new literary and political language. This democracy should put forward wholly new scientific, esthetic and technical values. This democracy should completely restore legality and assure the constitutional liberties of the citizens. Only thus can it inspire the people with confidence, only thus can it achieve a conscious movement of the masses."

The most explicit statement on democracy came from he described the Soviet political situation thus:

"You must realize that the chairman of a village Soviet, for example, represents nothing as an individual. Everything is decided by the Communist Party. It is a dictatorship, pure and simple, and from the bottom to the top, without the slightest attempt toward democracy."