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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

PART 7 OF 25

FILE NUMBER : 100-11392

SUBJECT; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FILE #: 100-11392

SECTION: 7

175 pages

May 12, 1956

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I would like some information regarding the organization, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. Are they listed as a subversive organization by your department? Are they listed as a subversive organization, that is not exempt from tax deductions as a charitable institution, by the U.S. Treasury Department?

My reason for asking this information is this: Our Yearly Meeting, Oregon Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church, severed all connections with the A.F.S.C. in 1954. They have had me on their mailing list, and I requested that my name be dropped because of the action of the Yearly Meeting and the action that I had heard was taken by the Treasury Department. Can you verify my misgivings about the Organization?

Sincerely,

217

May 21, 1956

Dear

Your letter dated May 12, 1956, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that this Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I know that you will understand the reasons for these rules and will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either that we do or that we do not have the information you desire.

Since your communication is of interest to another governmental agency, I am taking the liberty of referring a copy of it to The Honorable, The Secretary of the Treasury, Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Copy of incoming sent by form to Secretary of the Treasury.

NOTE: Bufile [redacted] reflects that American Friends Service Co
has opposed military conflict, preparedness and drafting of men sinc
foundation in 1917. It is very active in local and foreign relief. Dur
World War II, it assisted Conscientious Objectors, and in cooperatio
U. S. Government, aided in reallocating Japanese from the West C

~~AIR POUCH~~
PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL
(Security Classification)

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH (28)

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE
032 Fairfax, Jean/4-16

INDEXED

FROM : Amconsulate, LUANDA, ANGOLA — 180 DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON — April 16, 1956 DATE

RECEIVED FROM
MAY 15 1956
STATE DEPT OHB

REF :

For Dept. Use Only 67	ACTION NEA 4	DEPT. INFO RMK-1 PPT-2 SCS-2 P-1 OLI-6 SY-2
	REC'D 5/9	OTHER USIA-10 CIA-6

SUBJECT: Request for Information on Jean FAIRFAX

Miss Jean FAIRFAX recently visited Angola in connection with a tour that s[he is]
making, purportedly as a representative of the New England Regional Office of t[he]
American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Consulate would appreciate being informed whether she is in fact empl[oyed]
by the American Friends Service Committee; whether her travel is of a private
or business nature; and whether the Department has any information on file regarding her.

It is assumed that the American Friends Service Committee is the Quaker
organisation and that it is not a front agency. The Consulate would also appre[ciate]
learning whether this assumption is correct.

Albert A. Rabida
American Consul

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 11 1956
OFFICE OF SECURITY
NOT TO BE FILED W/O INITIALS

INDEXED-88

100-11392-218

NOT RECORDED
EX-120 14 MAY 22 1956

58 MAY 29 1956

AARabida:lm REPORTER

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION COPY
Retain in divisional files or destroy in accordance with security regulations.

CONFIDENTIAL

2030

INDEXED

83
ORIGIN NEA
INFO OLI
P
SY
SEV

CIA
USIA

NO.: A-18 May 18, 1956

SUBJECT: Information on Miss Jean Fairfax

TO: The American Consulate LUANDA, ANGOLA

Ref: Your Despatch 180.

RECEIVED FROM
MAY 23 1956
STATE DEPT OHB

The Department confirms that Miss Jean Fairfax has been employed by the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee, Cambridge, Mass., but is now on a leave of absence and is travelling in Africa at her own expense.

The American Friends Service Committee, which is the Quaker organization and not a front agency, informed the Department that it very much hopes to reinstate Miss Fairfax upon her return from her current tour and has already offered her a choice of three different positions. The organization regards Miss Fairfax as a mature, experienced worker for whom they have high respect and in whom they have much confidence. Miss Fairfax had previously represented the Service Committee in field work in both Austria and Israel.

DULLES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 21 1956
OFFICE OF SECURITY
NOT TO BE FILED W/O INITIALS

INDEXED - 25

EX-109

100-11392-21
NOT RECORDED
17 MAY 24 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFTED BY: NEA/P:RProhme:mm 5/17/56

APPROVED BY: NEA/P - Edwin M. J. Kretzmann

CLEARANCES:

AF - Mr. Dumont

SEV - Mr. Seamans

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI [redacted] DATE: 5/31/56

[redacted]

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMINFIL AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

[redacted]

THUMBNAIL SKETCHES ON SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

[redacted]

The following information is being submitted in order to bring up to date the thumbnail sketch previously submitted on the American Friends Service Committee:

Confidential Informant T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is familiar with some of the activities of the CP and CP front groups in the Philadelphia area, as well as the policies and activities of the American Friends Service Committee, advised on 11/10/55 that, to his knowledge, there have been no attempts by the CP to infiltrate the American Friends Service Committee.

220

Cromer

SAC, Philadelphia [redacted] June 27, 1956

Director, FBI [redacted]

COMINFIL AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE
[redacted]

Reurlet 5-31-56 submitting a thumbnail sketch of captioned organization.

In view of the nature of this organization and the lack of information indicating Communist Party infiltration, it should not be documented in reports. In view of the above, the thumbnail sketch of this organization is being cancelled. If, in the future, the Communist Party is successful in infiltrating this committee, the Bureau should be immediately advised and a revised thumbnail sketch submitted.

22

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

The AFSC, with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has stated that its purposes are to relieve human suffering wherever it is found and to ease tension between individual groups or nations. It maintains relief agencies throughout the world, including those countries under communist control. The AFSC is reportedly a sincere pacifist group and has been since its inception in 1917. There is no information available indicating that this organization has been engaged in any communist activities or is infiltrated by the Communist Party. [redacted]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted] DATE: 6-14-56

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA [redacted] ATTENTION: CENTRAL RESEARCH D

SUBJECT: COMINFIL
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[redacted]

VISIT OF AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE TO U.S.S.R., 1955
[redacted]

On May 29, 1956, Confidential Informant [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA [redacted] with the enclosed 94-page booklet entitled "Meeting the Russians" which informant had received on that date from the Information Service of the American Friends Service Committee.

This booklet is a report prepared by the six-man delegation of the American Friends Service Committee which visited the U.S.S.R. in June, 1955. It is being distributed by the Information Service of the American Friends Service Committee.

This booklet is being forwarded to the Bureau for review and if the Bureau does not desire to retain the booklet, it should be returned to Philadelphia for inclusion in the American Friends Service Committee file.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation DATE: July 2 1956

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Communist Infiltration of the American Friends Service Committee

100-11392

A review of the investigative reports furnished by the Bureau concerning the captioned organization indicates that, irrespective of the availability of informants, there is not sufficient evidence at this time to justify the filing of a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board to require it to register as a Communist-front organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

The file on this organization will be re-examined as additional information is furnished relevant to the applicable definition and criteria under the Act.

RECORDED-85 100-11392-6

24 JUL 6 1956

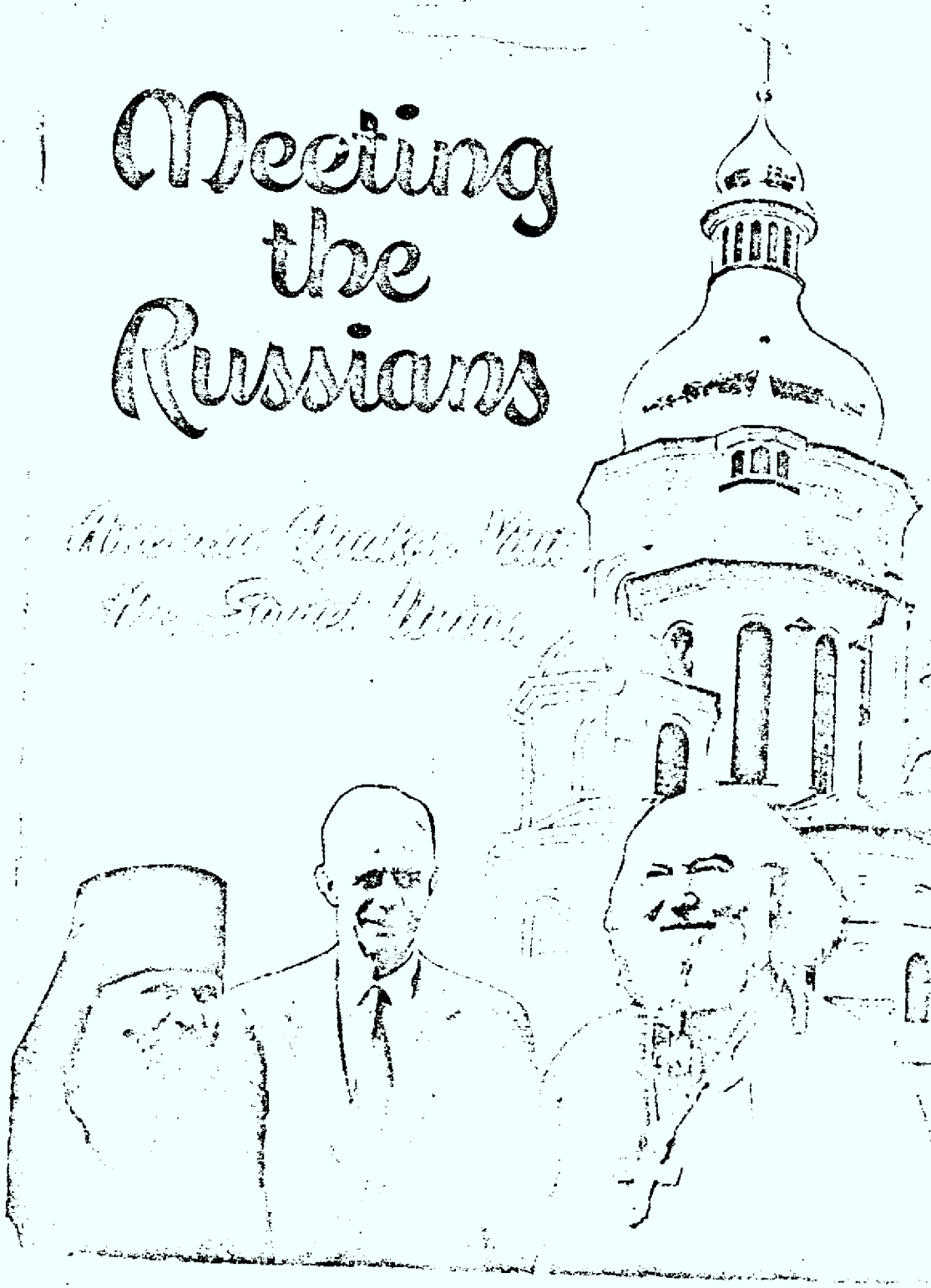
EX-PROC.

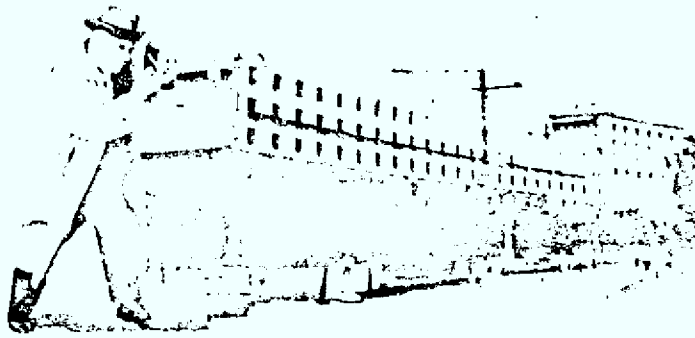
cc Phila by O-25 7/5/56

68 JUL 11 1956

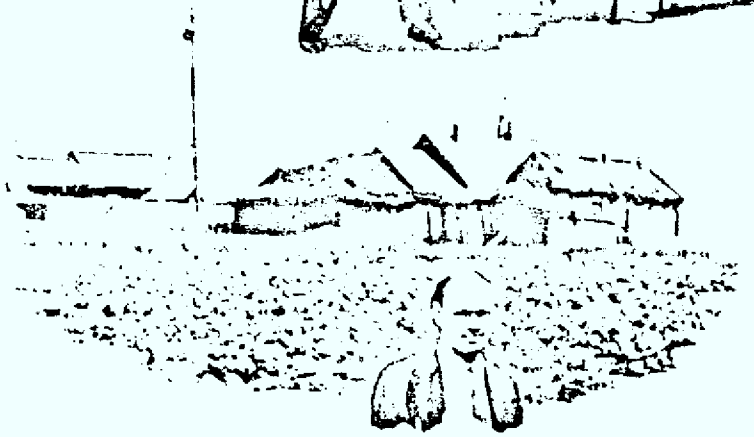
4

Meeting the Russians





Wroe Alderson photographs Kiev apartment building, part of widespread construction. Camera delivers immediate prints, and was a real icebreaker.



Stephen Cary lo
over a Russian fa
with thatch hu
Farm labor is oft
used wastefully
lack of machiner
Two-thirds of the R
sian people are rur

Hugh W. Moore and Pastor Orlov of 3000-member Leningrad Baptist church chat by Astoria Hotel. A main purpose of visit was religious fellowship.

Cover: Clarence E. Pickett meets Orthodox churchmen at Zagorsk Seminary. Inset, St. Sophia Cathedral, Ki

Six American Quakers traveled 12,000 miles in the Soviet Union in June, 1955. Since their return they have traveled even greater distances to speak in hundreds of meetings and by radio and television about what they learned. This written report, in answer to a demand for a fuller account, reveals that recent developments in the Soviet Union tend to bear out their personal observations.

MEETING THE RUSSIANS

American Quakers Visit
the Soviet Union

A Report Prepared by the Delegation

WROE ALDERSON
STEPHEN G. CARY
WILLIAM B. EDGERTON
HUGH W. MOORE
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
ELEANOR ZELLIOT

American Friends Service Committee
PHILADELPHIA
1956

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Introduction

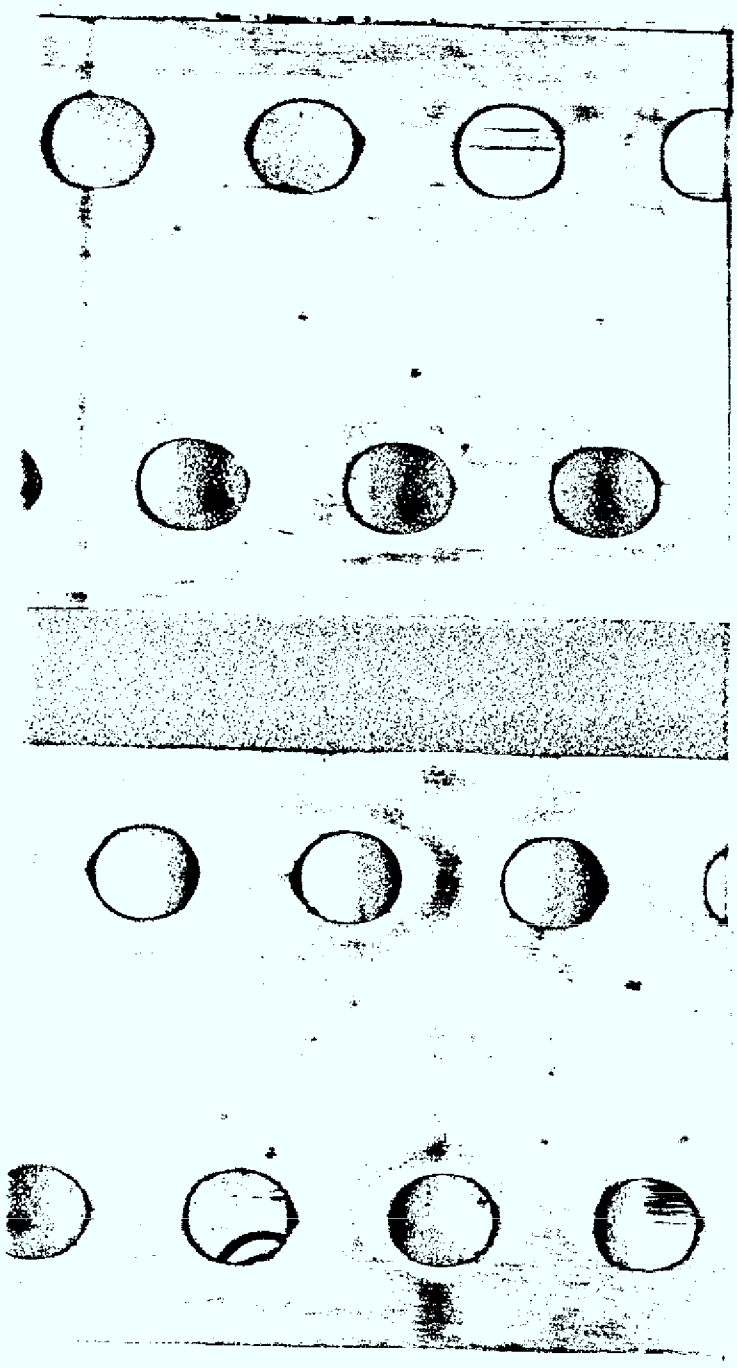
The Soviet Scene in Focus

It is easy for the foreign visitor in the Soviet Union to feel a little as if he were looking at a three-dimensional motion picture without the necessary colored spectacles that are normally furnished by the management. Through one eye he sees a political and social system vastly different from his own at home or from any of the systems he may know anywhere in the non-Communist world. Through his other eye he sees ordinary human beings, very much like himself, who appear to be leading fairly normal lives within this strange system, and who know so little about the rest of the world that it is difficult to discuss it in terms that are intelligible to them. The bewildered foreign visitor, after trying in vain to bring these two pictures into focus, is apt to give up and simply ignore one image or the other.

The resultant picture of what he sees will be clear but it will lack the full dimensions of reality. The consequence is that the impressions of visitors returning from the Soviet Union tend to be even more contradictory than those of the usual foreign traveler appraising a culture not his own.

Two Clues to Clarity

Unfortunately, the blurred images of what the foreign visitor sees in the Soviet Union cannot be brought into focus by any such simple expedient as looking at them through red-and-green spectacles. Facing the complex puzzle of a society vastly different from his own, the traveler finds himself casting about for some clue to the puzzle, some simple formula that will enable him to understand and interpret what is strange about it in terms that are familiar to him through his experience in his own society. This effort to find simple interpretations can be misleading, and we are aware of its dangers; but we should like, nevertheless, to preface this account of our visit to the Soviet Union by sharing two generalizations that have made our experiences more intelligible to us. One views Soviet morality in terms of military necessity. The other sees Soviet dogmatism as an expression of a belief in "one true faith."



Despite this persecution, a number of non-conformist Christian groups had arisen in the Nineteenth Century, and by 1917 could count a substantial number of converts. The Russian Baptist Union, originating in the Ukraine, and the closely related Union of Evangelical Christians that had sprung from Lord Radstock's missionary work in St. Petersburg, were two of the most important of these dissenting groups, and between them they could count more than 105,000 members in 1914.*

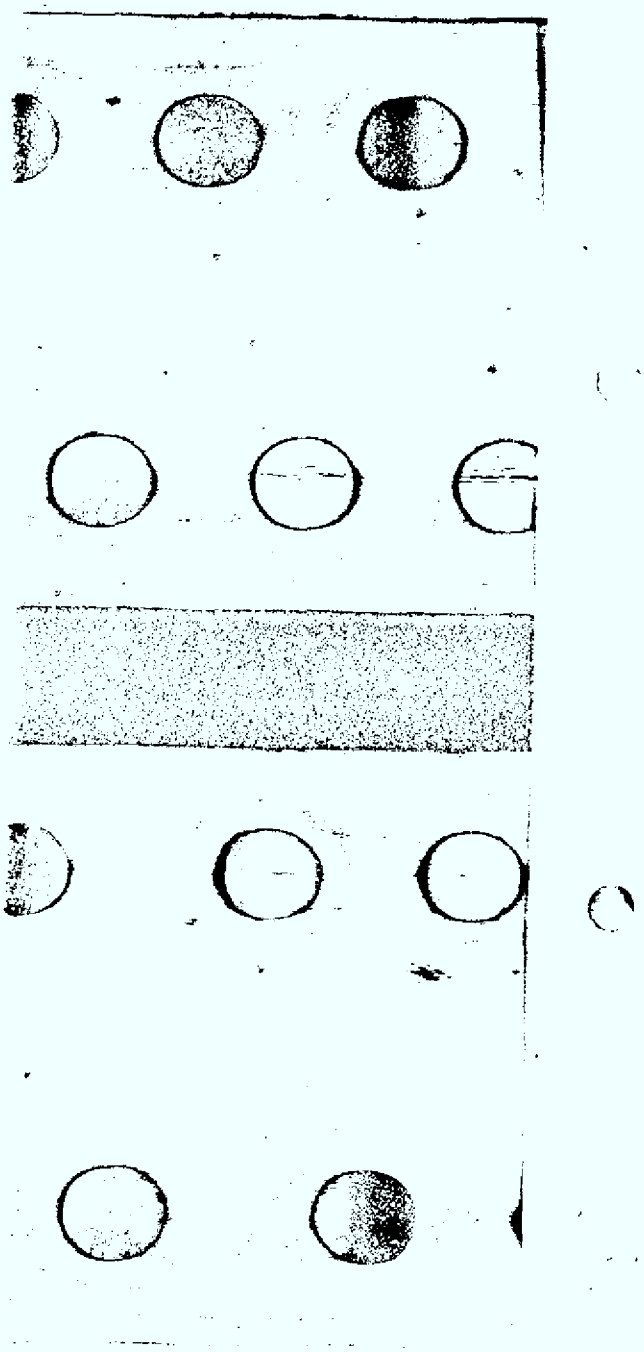
Orthodox Power Destroyed

The immediate impact of the Revolution was to benefit the non-conformist sects by destroying the power of the Orthodox Church. For the first time they enjoyed a legal status, and in spite of an atmosphere of increasing Communist hostility the Baptists and Evangelical Christians grew to a combined membership of at least 4,000,000 by 1928. The history of the Orthodox Church during this same period is, of course, quite different. The unfortunate intolerance, obscurantism and corruption of much of the State Church prior to the Revolution marked it as a particular target of the militantly atheistic Communists, and there began at once the long and involved struggle between the government and the now disestablished church that did not end until 1943, when an agreement was entered into which granted all religious groups in the Soviet Union a measure of freedom in purely religious matters in return for their pledge not to interfere in the spheres of activity that the state reserved to itself.

This struggle between state and church, aimed originally at the dominant Orthodox Church, in time was broadened to include all religious groups, and between 1929 and 1943 every religious faith operated under severe and hostile restrictions. It was still possible to hold services of worship, but the basic Soviet law on religion, issued in 1929, forbade activities other than worship, and struck so effectively at church organization that the number of functioning churches and congregations declined drastically during the 1930's. By 1940, for example, the number of Baptist and Evangelical Christian congregations was cut from its 1928 figure of 3,200 to less than 1,000.

All of this changed with the 1943 agreement, which is still the basic law under which all religious groups function. Under it any church is free to organize, train its clergy, seek new members and conduct its services without fear of persecution. We found

* Serge Bolshakoff, *Russian Non-Conformity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), p. 118.



VIII

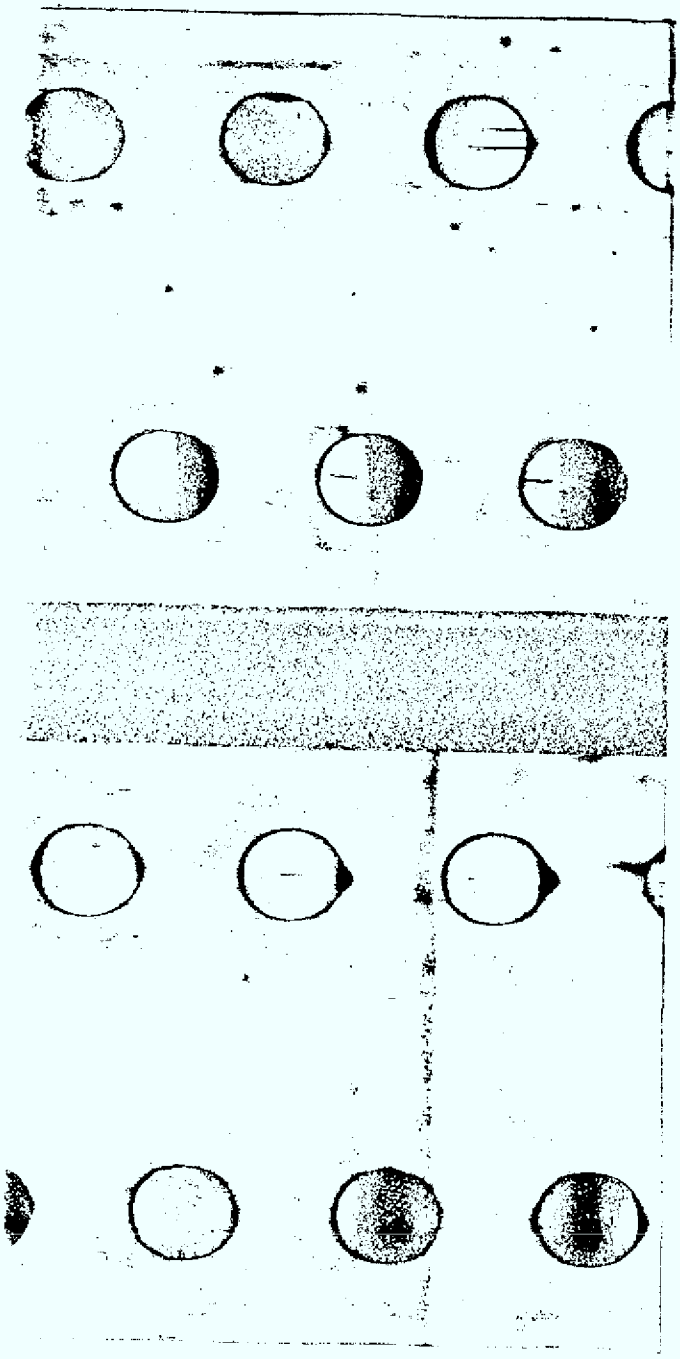
Religion in an Anti-Religious State

When our group requested visas at the Soviet Embassy Washington, we stated as one of our major purposes the des to see something of religious life in the Soviet Union. It wou appear that this desire was called to the particular attenti of the Evangelical Christian Baptists, for their leadership w comed us most warmly in Leningrad and Moscow, and la advised their provincial leaders of our itinerary, so that Bapt officials, usually bearing flowers, were almost a welcoming fixtu at the airports where we landed. We visited not only sev individual congregations of the Baptists, but also several Ortl dox churches, a theological seminary for training the Orthod priesthood, a church of the Old Believers, who separated fr the Orthodox Church 300 years ago, and two Jewish synagogu

In addition, we had a number of extended conversatio with Baptist leaders in different parts of the Soviet Union, n with Metropolitan Nikolai in Moscow and interviewed the s retary of the Council on Affairs of Religious Cults, the gove ment agency responsible for relations with all religious grou in the Soviet Union (except the Orthodox Church). All of th contacts helped provide an impression of the status of religi in Russia today and the prospects for its future vitality.

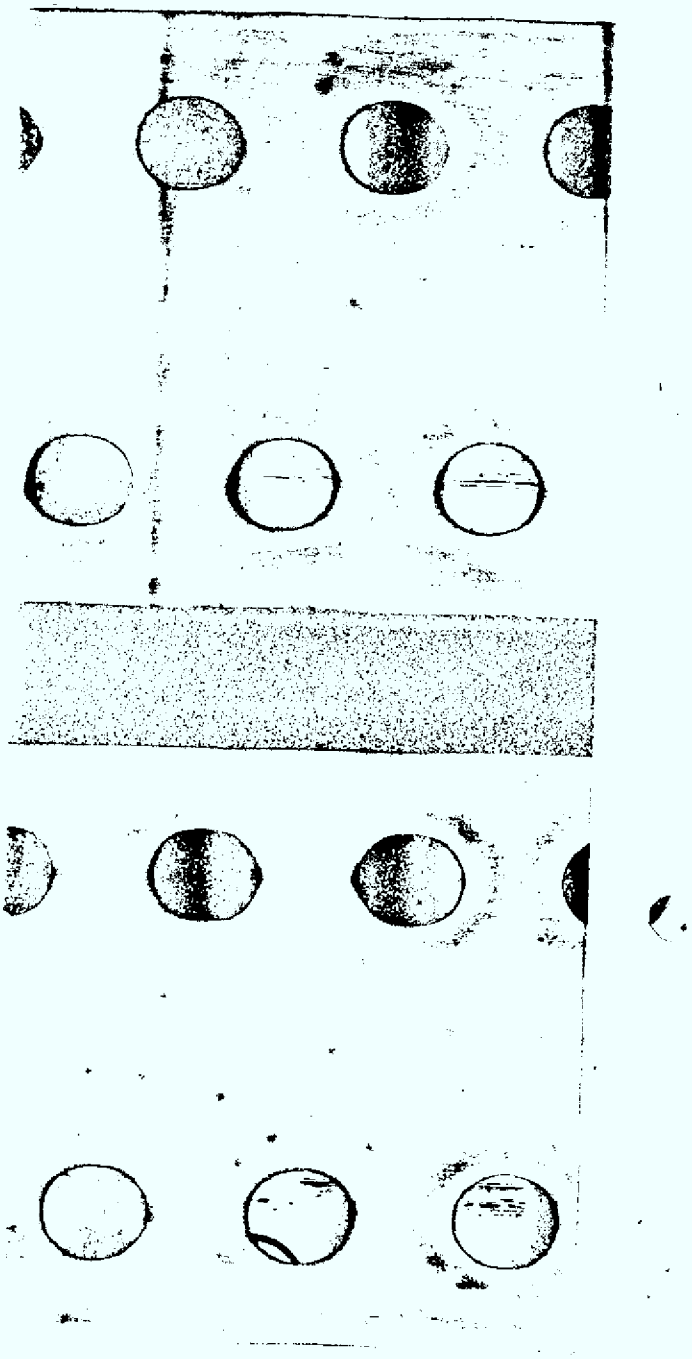
The various Christian churches in the Soviet Union ha had a dramatic history since the 1917 Revolution. In tsar times the Russian Orthodox Church held a privileged posit strikingly similar to that which is held in the Soviet Union tod by the official religion of Marxism-Leninism. Only the Orthod Church had the right to carry on missionary work among otl religious groups; and a government decoration, the third gra of the Order of St. Anne, was granted to any Orthodox m sionary "who is so fortunate as to make, with the aid of police, 100 converts among the schismatics or infidels."* It v a criminal offense, punishable by prison or exile, to criticize Orthodox Church or clergy, to convert an Orthodox follower any other faith or to publish or distribute any literature c sidered to advocate dissent from the established faith.

* M. Searle Bates, *Religious Liberty: An Inquiry* (New York: Har and Brothers, 1945), pp. 245-46.



of he thusiasm for O. Henry, Mark Twain, the Russian classics and a few of the better Soviet writers. Even though the foreign works in this reading material give the Russians an outdated and distorted picture of the outside world (based, for example, on such assiduously reprinted works as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), still they are steeping themselves in much of the world's greatest literature. Despite the selective process that determines what is to be published, this great treasury of literary classics that is being made available to Russian readers gives them a view of man, the world and the meaning of life that is far too rich and complex to fit easily into the confines of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. What is more, present trends in Soviet book publishing point in the direction of greater variety in the future. The most startling and encouraging news in recent Soviet literary history was the announcement we heard informally during our visit (which was confirmed in the Soviet press a few months later) that the first sizable edition of Dostoevski's works to appear in the Soviet Union since the 1920's would be published during 1956 as a part of the observance of the 75th anniversary of his death. Of scarcely less significance as a sign of the times is the announcement that the 125th anniversary of the birth of Nikolai Leskov will be commemorated with a 12-volume edition of his selected writings, which will include numerous works that have not been republished since the Soviet Revolution. Probably no other writers of their stature in all Russian literature fit so ill into the framework of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy, and these two editions of their works are significant literary events.

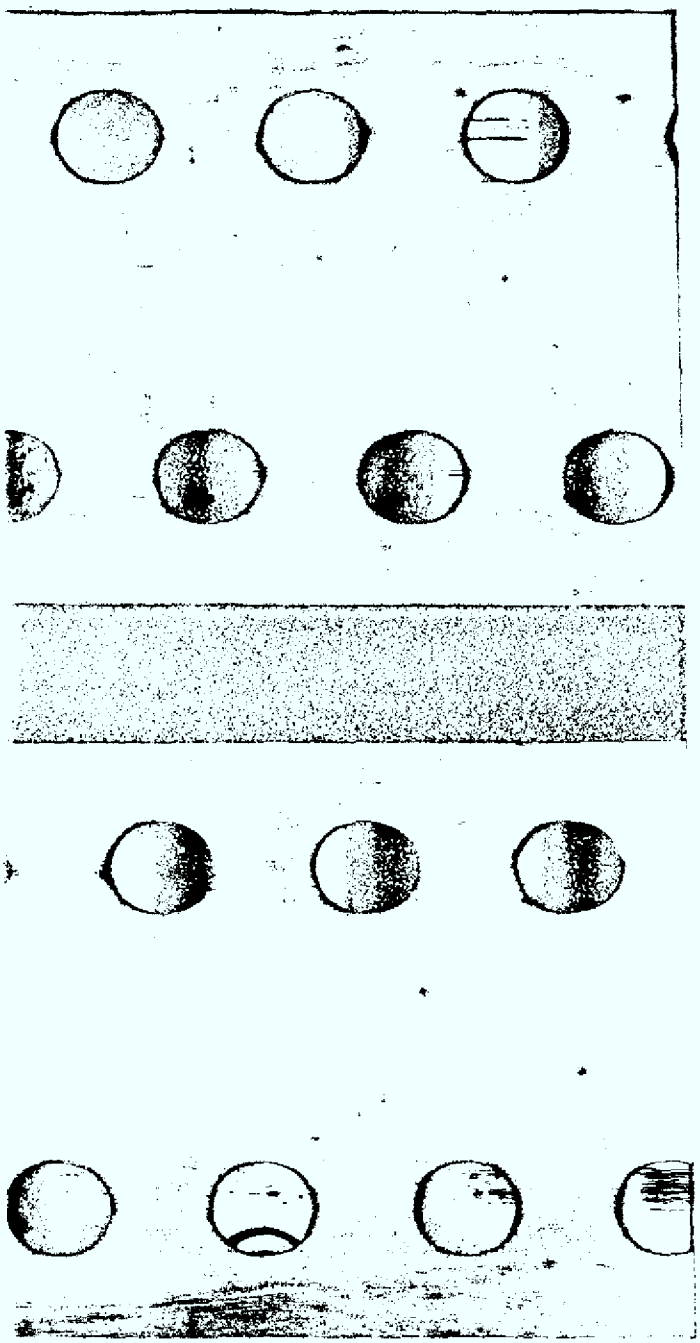
No one who has read *The Brothers Karamazov* or *The Possessed* will fail to see the clear contradiction between publishing these works of Dostoevski and attempting to impose Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy upon the whole Soviet population. It is such contradictions as these that should make foreign observers beware of easy generalizations about Soviet reality. Who can say what fruits of the spirit may yet come forth in some distant—or not so distant—future out of just such contradictions as these?



The George Washingtons, Thomas Jeffe s and Abraham L
colns who struggled for justice and freedom in Nineteenth C
tury Russia were not statesmen but writers. This traditi
interest in literature has been increased and reinforced by
phenomenal rise in literacy rates achieved by the Soviet emph
on universal education. Another reason is that the range
reading matter available to Russians in their bookshops is
narrower than the range available in most non-Commu
countries in the West. The authoritarian control of all publ
ing by the Soviet state gives the Russian reader no chanc
be tempted by crime comics, magazines of movie gossip or s
sensationalism. (It also gives him no chance nowadays to ob
the works of a number of distinguished Russian writers of
period just before and just after the Revolution.) If the Rus
wants to read anything at all, his choice is limited virtuall
political books, technical books, carefully selected classics
Russian and foreign literatures and Soviet works written in
officially recommended spirit of optimistic idealism whicl
called "socialist realism." The popularity of the Ninetee
Century Russian classics requires no particularly ingen
explanation; they are simply great literature. The popula
of foreign literature, however, seems to be due not only to
Russians' robust appetite for culture but also to the fact
they have so long been cut off from most normal contacts
the rest of the world. Translations from foreign literatures
virtually their only first-hand contact with the thought of
outside world.

Reading Choice Restricted

This paternalistic control of literature by the Soviet
thorities would be insufferable to most Western readers, who
accustomed to deciding for themselves what literature they
sider good and what literature bad. Nevertheless, it will be i
esting to see what finally comes of this state-enforced lit
tutelage in the Soviet Union. Today, thanks to his narrow r
of choice in reading matter, to his isolation from the ou
world and perhaps also to the rather drab reality of his
life, the average Russian—especially in the cities—read
more and far better books than the average American or
ern European. We saw taxi drivers reading Dreiser and
Zola, discussed Pushkin's and Lermontov's poetry with a
miner on a Volga excursion boat, saw ordinary people in tr
busses reading Leo Tolstoy (and others uncritically devo
Jack London!), and listened to a pretty airline stewardes



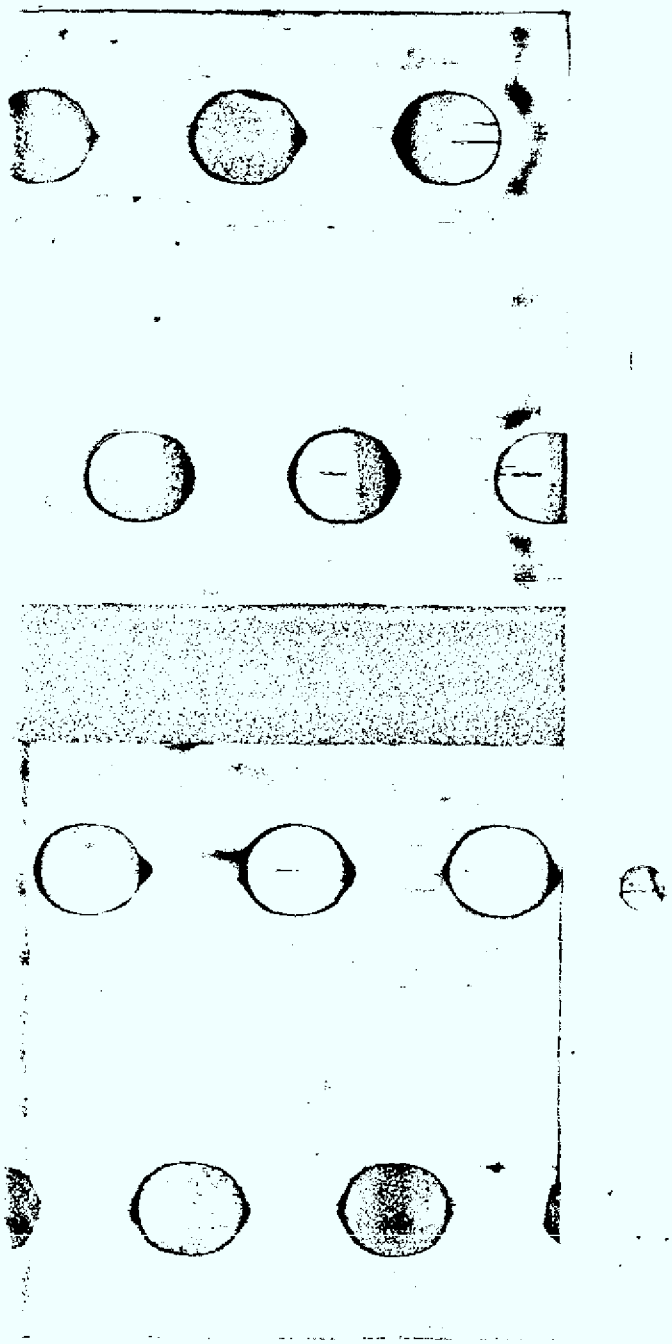
of *Quixote* in Russian translation, which was issu ‹ few months before our visit, did not appear in the bookstores at all, because the entire edition had been bought up by advance orders. We heard a few Russians grumbling about this state of affairs in terms that hinted at speculation in literature. These hints were apparently confirmed later when one member of our group happened upon a kind of ambulant literary black market in the heart of Moscow. The market was "black" not because the books that changed hands there were forbidden but because speculation in anything is forbidden in the Soviet Union. The books were simply works that were in such great demand they could not be obtained in the bookshops. Most of them were Russian translations of works by foreign authors—Dickens, Balzac, O. Henry, Dreiser, Jack London, Mark Twain and others.

Crowded Bookstores

In Moscow bookstores we often saw crowds standing three and four deep around the counters at which literary works were sold. The contrast between the literary counters and the political counters was so striking that we began deliberately checking on our impressions during our walks through the city. Not once did we see a crowd standing around the counter at which political books were sold. Several times we did not even see a clerk there. (No doubt she was helping to take care of the crowd at the literary counter!) Once when we teased a Soviet acquaintance about this implication of political indifference, he replied indignantly: "It doesn't mean a thing! That's only because there are always so many new books appearing at the literary counters. All of us have the Marxist classics at home already; so we don't have to spend a lot of time at the political counter. But you should see the crowd there when some important new political book comes out!"

We are still not convinced. To us the empty political counters in the bookshops reinforced our impression that Soviet citizens are among the most unpolitical people we have ever known. Here too, no doubt, one can see the Communists' own dialectical process at work, as if to spite them. Their overemphasis upon the forms of political activity without the political freedom that would give life to these forms has produced the very antithesis of what they wanted: political formalism and apathy, the transformation of political activity into political ritual.

What is it that has led to the great Russian interest in the classics of their own and foreign literatures? One reason, no doubt, is that the Russians have always taken literature seriously.

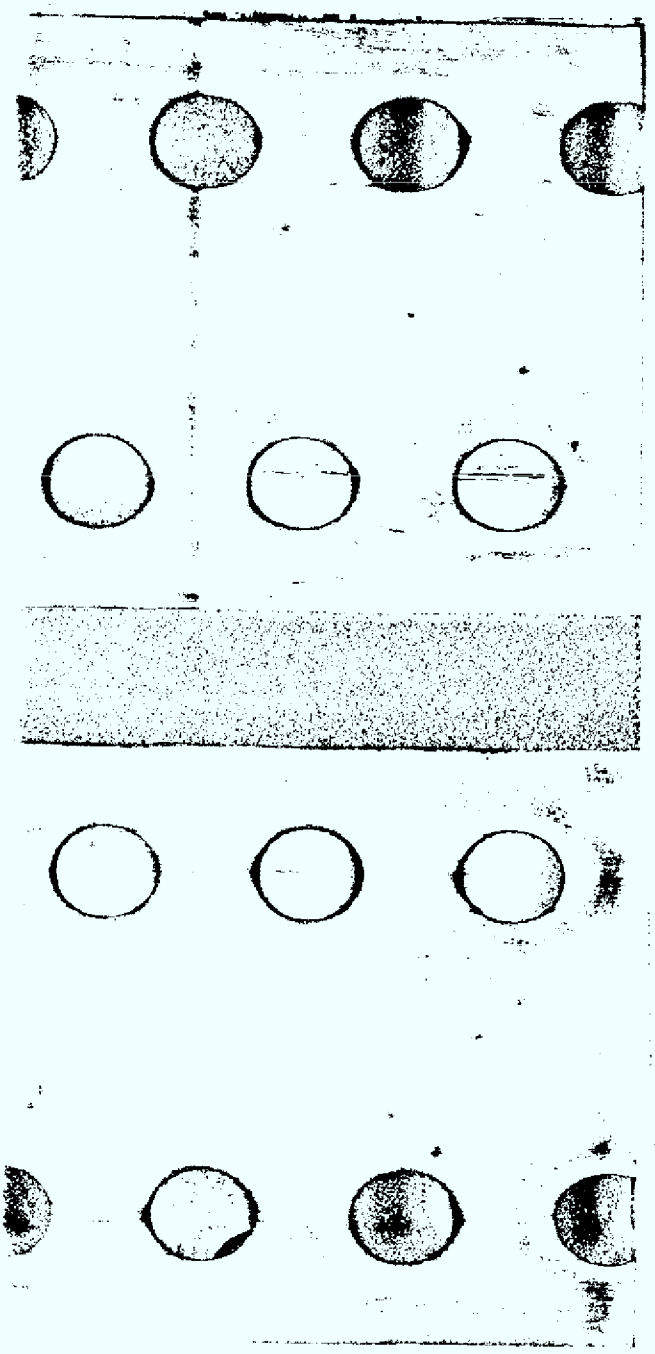


Igor is presented in such realistic detail :t one's attention in danger of being drawn away from the music by the sta that come out one by one when the eclipse reaches its heigl In the final act of Moussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* at the Bolsh Theater ancient wooden Moscow burns down with enough re: ism to make the audience start looking for the nearest exit.

The Soviet theater inherited a magnificent theatrical tradi tion, which had been created by such masters as Stanislavsk and Nemirovich-Danchenko and was enriched in the early year of the Soviet period by the bold genius of Vsevolod Meyerhol The experimental vigor of the 1920's was numbed, however, i the cold winds of conformity that swept through the Sovie Union in the 1930's, and the Soviet theater has remained fairl static ever since. This conservatism has been reinforced by th traditional repertory system of Russian theaters. Virtually th same selection of Russian and foreign plays is produced yea after year. The strength of this system is that it offers Sovie theatergoers — particularly in the large cities — a magnificer array of the best drama of all times. During one week of ou visit the theaters of Moscow alone offered five plays of Shakes peare (*Hamlet, Othello* played in two different theaters, *Twelft Night, Much Ado About Nothing* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*) and plays by a dozen other foreign authors, including the Eng lishman John Galsworthy, the German Friedrich Schiller, th Spaniard Lope de Vega and the American Lillian Hellmar Foreign and pre-revolutionary Russian drama made up abou half of that week's repertory of all the theaters in Moscow. Alon with its strength, this conservative Soviet theatrical system als has the weakness of monotony. While New Yorkers are able t see some 80 new plays every year, Londoners about 100 an Parisians about 150 (few of them masterpieces, to be sure), th Moscow theatergoer rarely has a chance to see more than dozen new plays from one year to the next.

Literary Black Market

The most interesting manifestation of the Russians' cu tural interests was to be found in their bookshops. Books in th Soviet Union are relatively cheap, and the Russians are insa tiable readers. Their tastes run strongly to their own classics an to the foreign works that are permitted to circulate in Russia translation. Works by Tolstoy, Turgenev, Pushkin, Gogol and host of lesser Russian writers of the Nineteenth Century ar published in enormous editions, often running into hundreds o thousands of copies. Several Russians told us that a new editio



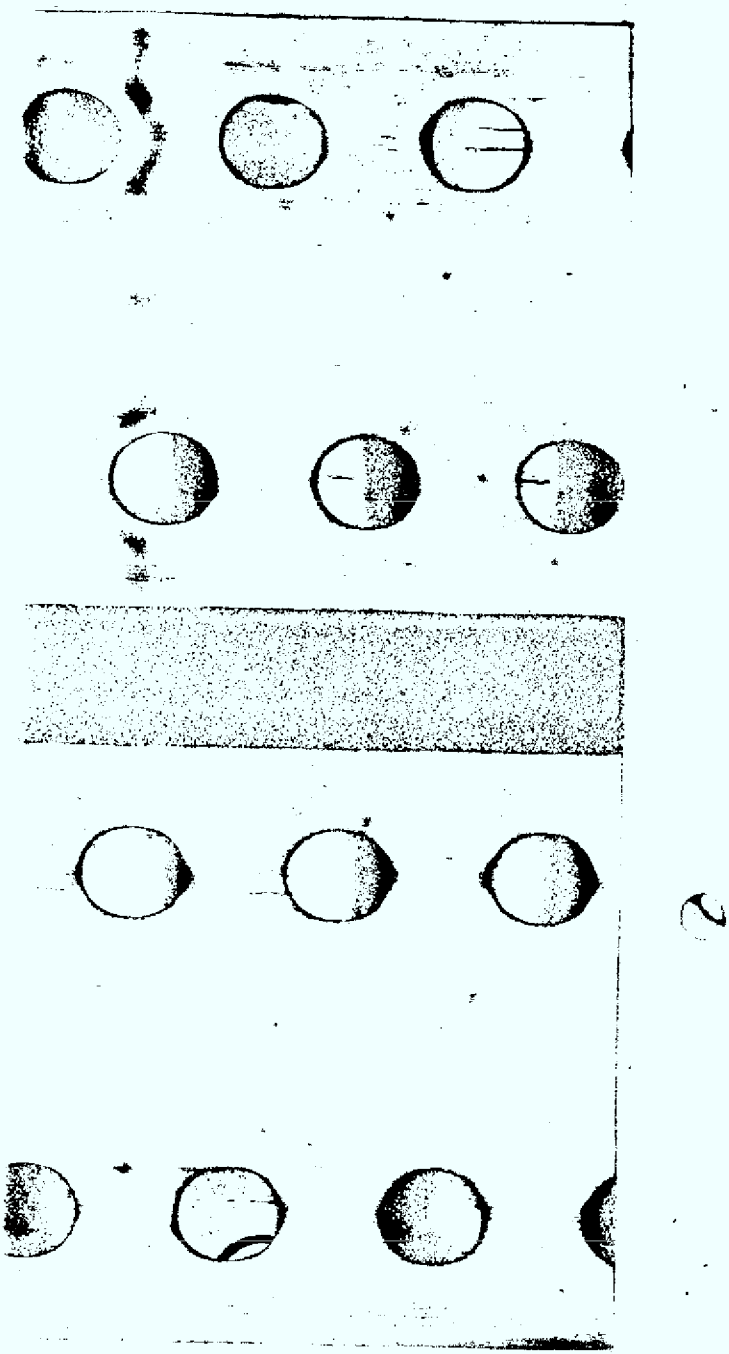
every c .nd all day long there was a line of people in f of the museum awaiting their turn to see the collection.

Some members of our group were particularly interested in the plastic arts and made an effort to determine what new trends or innovations had appeared since 1939, when the flower of Soviet realism was exhibited at the New York World's Fair. We spent some time in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, which specializes in Russian art and is arranged by years, thus facilitating our effort to study the trends. We got the impression that there was probably some greater freedom in the choice of subject matter today than in 1939. Along with the prevailing type of painting with an obvious social message there were some landscapes and some still lifes. As for techniques, there was nothing new or experimental. A very few canvasses had touches of impressionistic brush work but nothing reflecting the influence of Twentieth Century painting in the West. While considerable technical skill of a conventional kind was reflected in numerous paintings, the general result might be described as calendar art. Going back to the Nineteenth Century and before, we felt that even Soviet realism was perhaps an improvement on early Russian painting. For many decades Russian painters seemed to be concerned largely with portraiture in a static style.

The canons of Russian taste are perhaps more acceptable in sculpture than in painting. There were some effective character studies in this medium, and in some public buildings we saw monumental examples of high relief, with hundreds of sculptured figures marching out of a painted background. The absence of what we call modern architecture is one of the most striking things about the Soviet building program. New construction is almost entirely in ornate Victorian style, an indication perhaps of the cultural stage through which the Soviet people are now passing. The only "modern" building we saw was the box-like theatre in Rostov, built experimentally in the 1930's and now considered outdated by the Soviet citizenry.

Theatrical Realism

The Soviet cultivation of realism in art probably finds its best application in the theater. For perfection in creating the theatrical illusion of reality it would probably be hard to find an equal anywhere in the world to the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. On the tremendous stage of the Bolshoi, almost as deep as the auditorium itself, a river is not just a painted strip on a backdrop, but it has waves and ripples and keeps flowing throughout the scene. The total eclipse in Borodin's opera *Prince*



quite as impressive as present-day achie ents in the natura sciences.

In general the Soviet universities appear to be one of the most hopeful forces in Soviet society. By its very nature as an institution organized to explore the frontiers of knowledge, the university cannot be wholly regimented, for then it would cease to function as a university, and the vital sources of our expanding knowledge about man and the world would begin to dry up. The great emphasis that is placed on the natural sciences and the scientific method in Soviet education tends to cultivate in Soviet students and scholars an attitude of mind that is unlikely to prove compatible very long with any dogmatism, including the present dogmatic interpretations of Marxism. It will be interesting to see what the ultimate consequences will be of the present emphasis on science in Soviet education. One wonders what significance there may be even now in the proportions of Communist Party members in university faculties. While 34.6 per cent of all teachers in higher education in 1947 were Party members, the percentage among full professors was only 25.4 and among professors in engineering technical fields only 17.

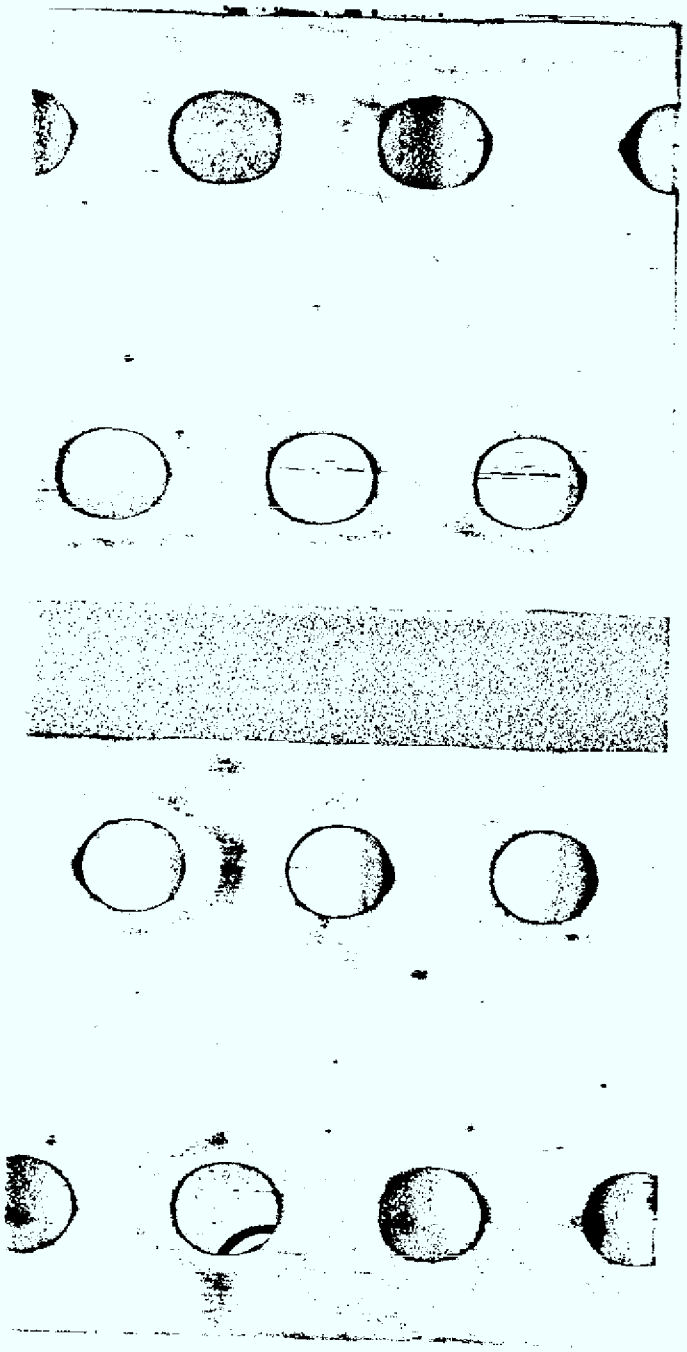
During World War II, when Wendell Willkie visited the Soviet Union on his trip around the world, he told Stalin he was impressed by the schools and libraries he had seen. "But if you continue to educate the Russian people, Mr. Stalin," he said, "the first thing you know you'll educate yourself out of a job."*

It must be admitted that the Communist Party is a long way as yet from having educated its own dictatorship out of existence. But in the emphasis it has placed upon education—even though that education is as "partisan" and biased as the Party can make it—the Party has set in motion a force that may possibly have a significant leavening influence, in the course of time, upon the Communist dictatorship itself.

Thirst for Culture

Few things in Russia impressed us so much as the well-nigh inexhaustible thirst of the Russian people for culture. In Leningrad we saw crowds of unsophisticated-looking Russians walking wide-eyed through the galleries of the Hermitage Museum, which holds one of the richest art collections in the world. In Moscow, where the Dresden art treasures (taken out of Germany at the end of World War II) were placed on display for the three summer months before being returned to Germany,

* Wendell Willkie, *One World* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1943) pp. 70-71.



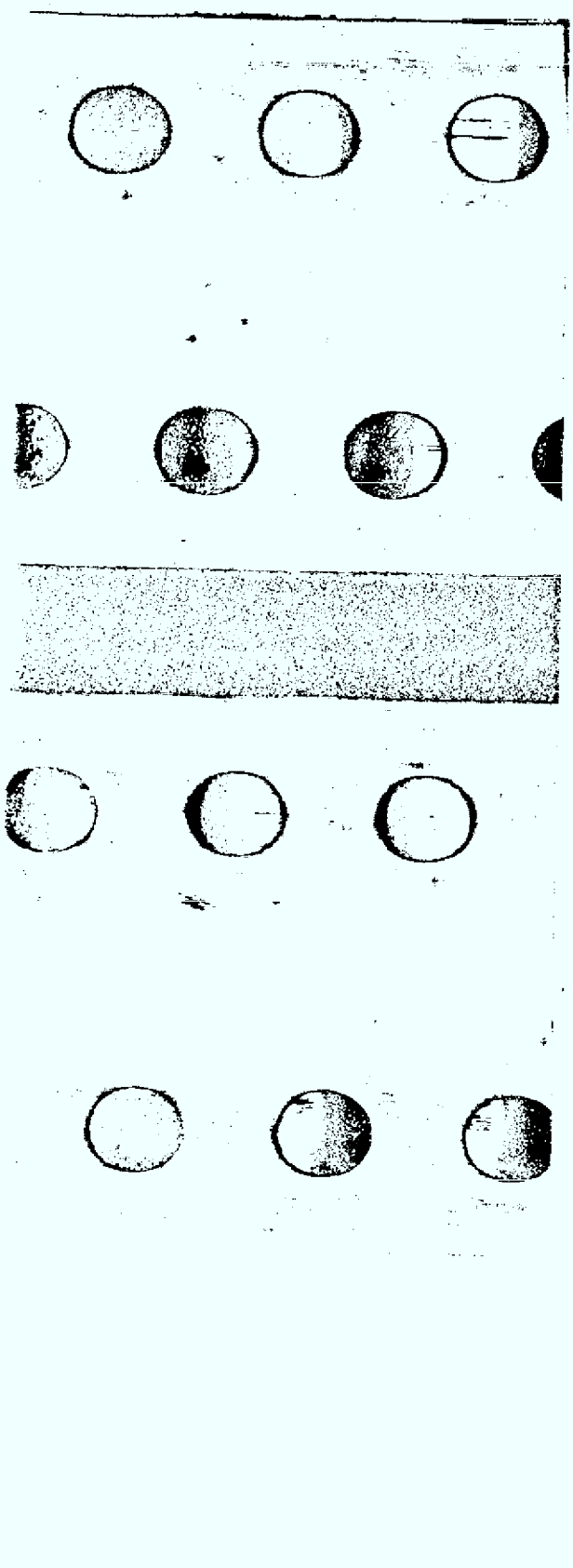
insti' ; was approximately 1 to 12.6, while in the United States it is ut 1 to 14. Although there were only 27,000 gr te students enrolled in the Soviet Union in 1952 (as compa. to 69,000 master's and doctor's degrees alone awarded in the United States that year), the Soviet Union in 1954 graduated twice as many engineers as the United States and three times as many physicians. More than 60 per cent of all Soviet graduates that year were in engineering and the sciences, as compared to 25 per cent in the United States. By 1950 the Soviet Union had about 100 persons with a higher education for every 10,000 population, which is a slightly higher proportion than that of most Western European countries but is far below the United States figure of 320 per 10,000 population. The number of Soviet citizens with higher education working in the applied scientific fields, however, is believed to equal or slightly surpass the number in the United States.

Up to 1940 all Soviet education was tuition-free and a broad scholarship program provided all students except those on probation with a monthly stipend for expenses. In 1940 moderate tuition fees of 150 to 200 rubles were introduced into the three upper grades of middle school, and fees of 300 to 500 rubles in all institutions of higher education. These tuition fees still exist in higher education, but almost all students (more than 96 per cent at the University of Moscow, for example) receive scholarships, which are awarded on the basis of grades.

Science Education Advanced

From what has already been said it is no doubt clear that the Soviet educational system is impressive and deserves to be considered one of the most notable achievements of the Soviet regime. Its level of scientific and technical work in general appears to be comparable to that of the United States.* On the other hand, much less attention is devoted to the humanities and social sciences in Soviet education than in American education, and Soviet work in these areas is much more seriously affected than Soviet science by the Procrustean bed of Marxist-Leninist dogma. If Soviet scholarship is ever freed from the dead weight of Marxist scholasticism and political censorship, the subsequent achievements in the humanities and social sciences may well be

* On January 2, 1956, *The New York Times* cited an article in the *Scientific American* showing that the United States had lost five years in time and spent $200,000 unnecessarily in an effort to solve a number of problems in the area of electrical circuits which had already been solved in the Soviet Union and described in a Soviet scientific magazine in 1950.



1955, marks the beginning of a transitic ward universal year compulsory education, which is e.. cted to be achi by about 1960.

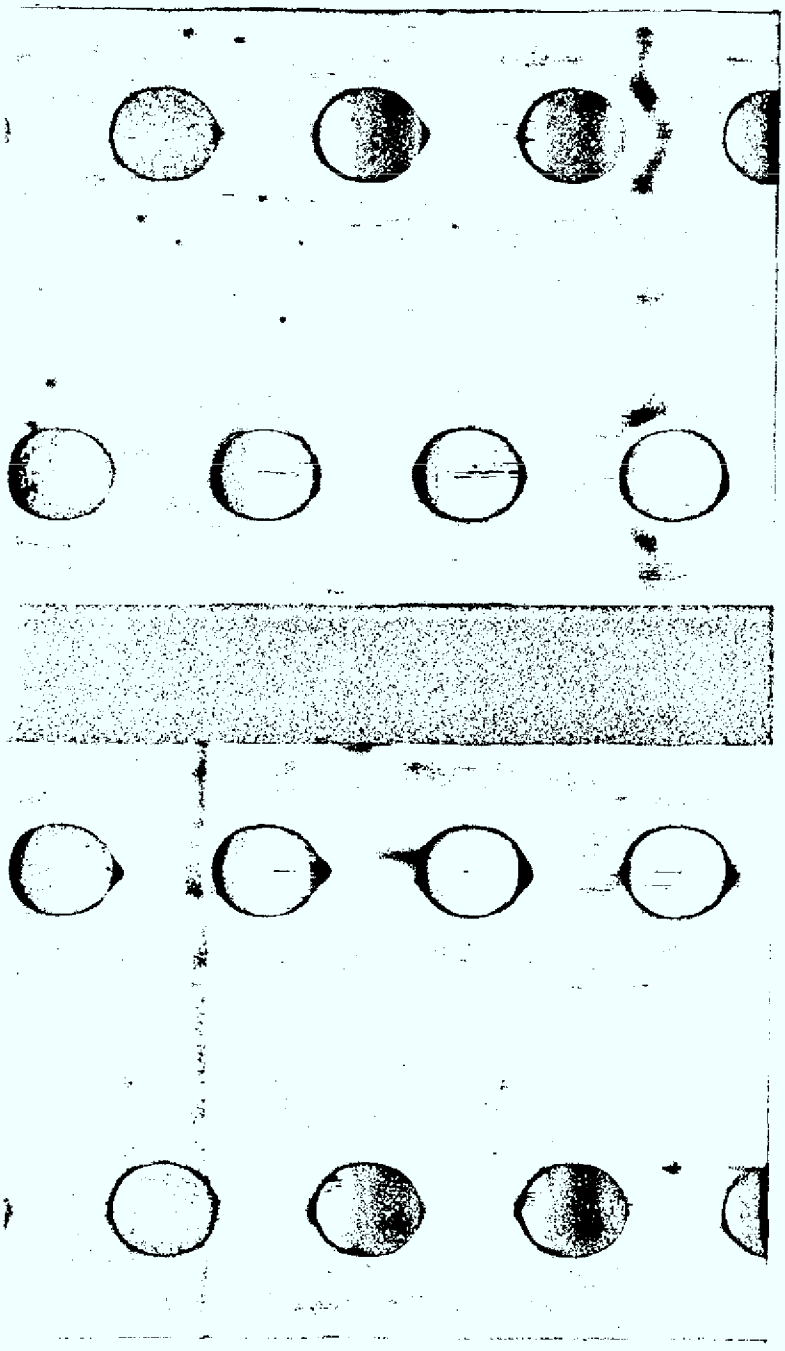
Except for the choice of foreign language (usually Eng German or French), the curriculum in all ten grades is the s for all students. Soviet schools devote much more time American schools to foreign languages, geography, mathem and the natural sciences. For example, a foreign languag begun in the fifth grade and studied for six years. Most versity curriculums require four more years of foreign-lang study, and medical students study two years of Latin in addi In 1953 almost 41 per cent of the class hours in the three u grades was devoted to mathematics and the sciences, an the fall of 1955 the proportion was increased even more. revised at that time, the required program in all ten-year sc now includes the following subjects: Russian language literature (including the study of some foreign works in t lation, among them Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Part I of Goe *Faust*), a foreign language, history, geography, the Cons tion of the U.S.S.R., psychology, arithmetic, algebra, geom trigonometry, chemistry, physics, astronomy, singing, dra manual arts and physical culture and sport (including military training as early as the fifth grade).

Teacher Ratio High

The pupil-teacher ratio in Soviet schools has been ste improving. In 1930 there were 36 pupils per teacher in pri and secondary schools, in 1940 there were 28, in 1950 there 23; and the ratio since 1950 appears to have dropped even l owing partly to the drop in enrollment as a result of the time decrease in birth rate and losses in population.

Soviet university work includes a basic program la four to six years, depending on the field; and graduate work comprises two advanced degrees, the *kandidat* (degree of didate), which requires three years of graduate work a thesis; and the doctoral degree, which is normally received siderably later than in the United States and is not consi a prerequisite for employment or advancement in a unive

In 1954 there were about 1,100,000 full-time univ students in the Soviet Union—considerably less than ha many as in the United States, where there were 2,600,00 1953-54 there were 803 institutions of higher education i Soviet Union, as compared to 1,851 in the United States. I 1954 the ratio of faculty to students in Soviet universitie

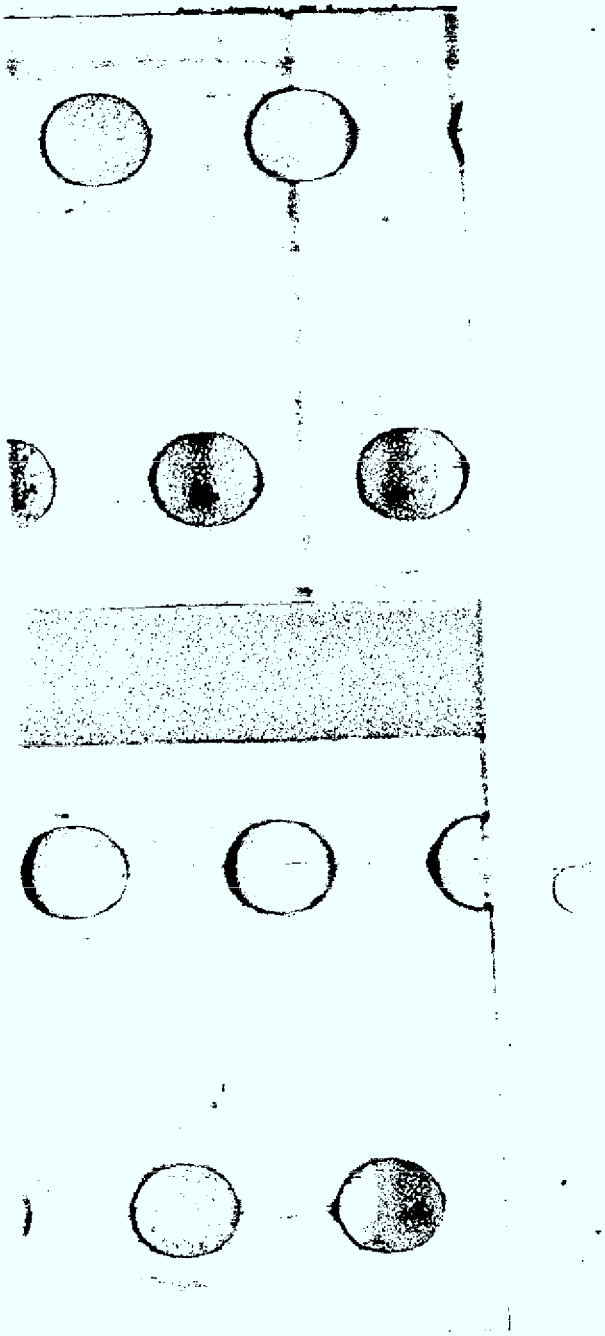


which comprises the first four grades; the "incomplete middle school," comprising the first seven grades; and the "middle school," comprising the full ten-year program that prepares students for entrance into the university. The teaching program is identical at corresponding levels in all three types of schools. The student who has completed a seven-year school or the seventh grade of a ten-year school can enter a "technicum," or trade high school, which allows him to complete his ten-year school program with three years of semi-professional technical training in one of a great variety of fields.

An example of the distribution of these schools might be given by citing the town of Penza, which as was noted earlier has a population of perhaps 175,000. When we asked the alert young principal of one of its middle schools how many schools there were in the town, her answer was simple: "Enough for everybody." Apparently the Soviet State Secrets law of 1947 still makes Soviet citizens reluctant to give any kind of statistics to foreigners. Fortunately, there is less reluctance in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, which declares that on January 1, 1955, the town of Penza had 12 primary schools, 15 seven-year schools, 22 ten-year schools and 7 trade high schools. In addition it had 11 "schools for working youth," which operate normally in three daily shifts and provide the basic ten-year education for young people who for one reason or another have dropped out of regular schools and wish to continue studying while they work. These schools for working youth were set up near the end of World War II as an emergency measure for young people whose schooling had been interrupted, but now they appear to have become a permanent part of the Soviet educational system.

Longer Schooling Given

In the United States about 55 per cent of the children who enter the first grade complete the full 12 years of grammar and high school. In the Soviet Union the proportion of those who complete the ten-year-school program was only about 5 per cent in the past and even today is only about 12 per cent. This has resulted partly from lack of school facilities and partly from a highly selective educational policy, designed to weed out all but the most able students and direct the others into types of education or occupations more suited to their ability. Until recently the ten-year middle school served primarily to prepare the abler students for the University. A substantial revision of the ten-year curriculum, which went into effect in the fall of



VII

Soviet Education and Culture

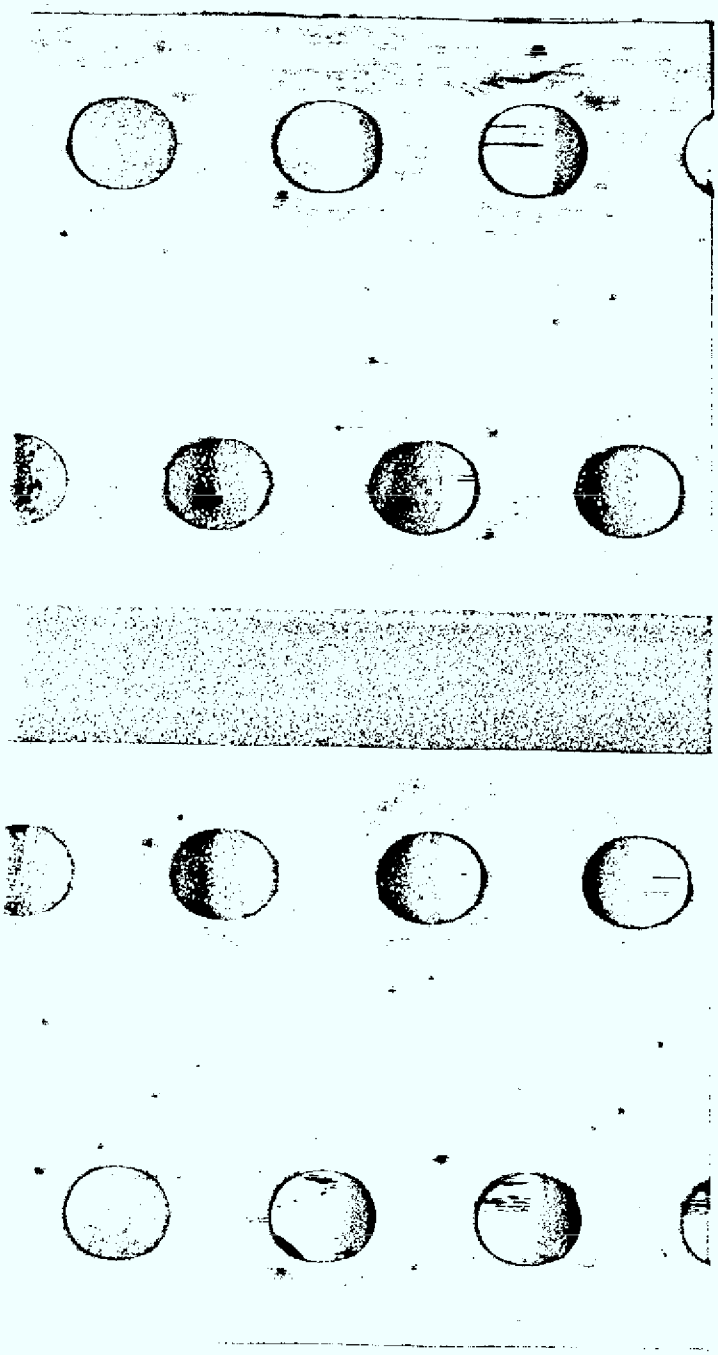
Since Leninist doctrine in the Soviet Union is proc
as the one infallible key to truth, the principle function
Soviet school system is to bring the younger generation u
staunch believers in the Marxist religion. And since the Ma
doctrine of class war has led logically to the extension of mil
thinking, military strategy and wartime ethical values t
areas of life, the Soviet educational system can likewise be
pared to the special training programs set up within mc
armies to supply whatever cadres of trained personnel the
of the armies require.

According to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, there is no con
between these two aims and the aim of giving every perso
opportunity to develop his own abilities. Since Marxist-Leni
doctrine teaches that the individual finds real self-fulfillm
only in identifying himself with his Soviet society, the us
Soviet schools as instruments for the propagation of the Mar
faith and the gearing of Soviet education to the needs of
state are considered actually to make it easier for the indivi
Soviet citizen to achieve self-realization.

Within this framework, reflecting as it does a system
values considerably different from those which are reflected
American education, it can be said that the Soviet educatio
system offers significant opportunities for a large number
young men and women to get training in proportion to th
ability. It is understandable that the opportunity is greater
present in the cities than in the country. Whereas rural childre
form 69 per cent of the total Soviet school enrollment and or
number city children in the first four grades by three to or
the proportion is almost reversed in the last three grades (eight
ninth, and tenth), where city children form 59 per cent of t
total enrollment.*

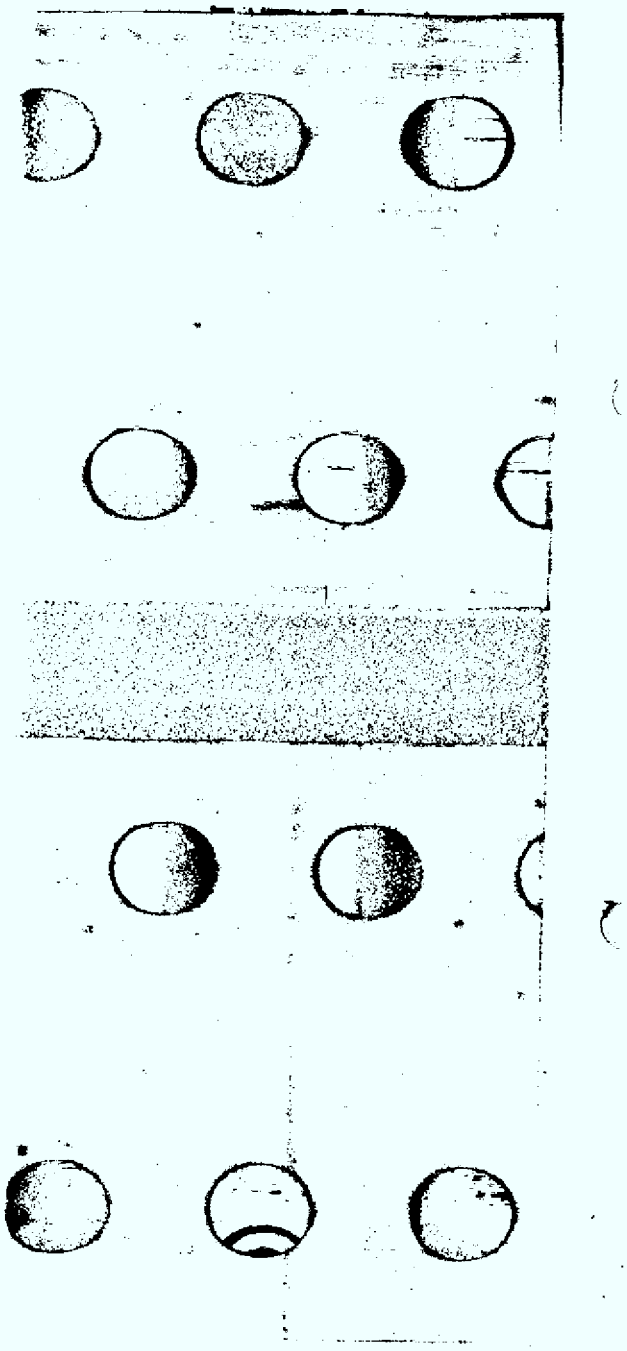
Soviet children start to school at the age of seven. Thr
types of basic schools exist side by side: the "primary schoo

* These figures and much of the other statistical data in this chapte
are drawn from the excellent new study of the whole Soviet education
system by Nicholas DeWitt, *Soviet Professional Manpower* (Washingto
National Science Foundation, 1955).



ed to an interview with an official in the Akmo[illegible] Agricultural Ministry. From this discussion and from [illegible]ers in Moscow, as well as from our own observation in Central Asia, we conclude that the whole vast experiment represents an enormous gamble. Rainfall is the key to success or failure, and rainfall per year averages only a marginal 12 inches. With a weather break, good crops will be produced, as they were in the first year (1954) of the experiment, but in a dry year they will fail. Eventually enough snow fences may be built and wind breaks planted to help hold moisture and top soil, but in the meantime it seemed likely to us that several years of consecutive drought might turn the whole region into a dust bowl, especially in view of the wind which seems to sweep constantly across the flat plain. The land itself is adequate, but we were advised that some fertilizer is necessary and is being widely used. No irrigation is attempted, since the engineering and supply problems are to great for present Soviet resources, although irrigation is a theoretical possibility.

It is too early to predict with any certainty the chances of success without irrigation. All that can be said is that if the project succeeds, it will make a major contribution to the solution of the Soviet farm problem. If it fails, it will be a failure of vast proportions, carrying with it the hopes and dreams, if not the lives, of great numbers of Soviet citizens. On the basis of our own inadequate visit, and bearing in mind the drought conditions which prevailed in the course of it and may have influenced our view, we are inclined to the opinion that the new lands are not the basic answer to the Soviet agricultural problem. Dramatic as is the experiment, we suggest that a more fundamental answer must be found on the farms of European Russia, an answer which will result in increased productivity on existing farms, especially in the fertile Ukraine.



a reasonable quantity of maps. Labora equipment and onstration apparatus for the physics and mathematics d ments were, however, limited and poor in both schools. we were told with pride that two graduates were studying University of Moscow, a large painting of which forme backdrop of the auditorium stage. This school also boa farm and a model railroad. Each class was required to two afternoons a week working its plot on the school farm we were particularly impressed with the work of the grades, who were being taught irrigation techniques and applying them on their plots.

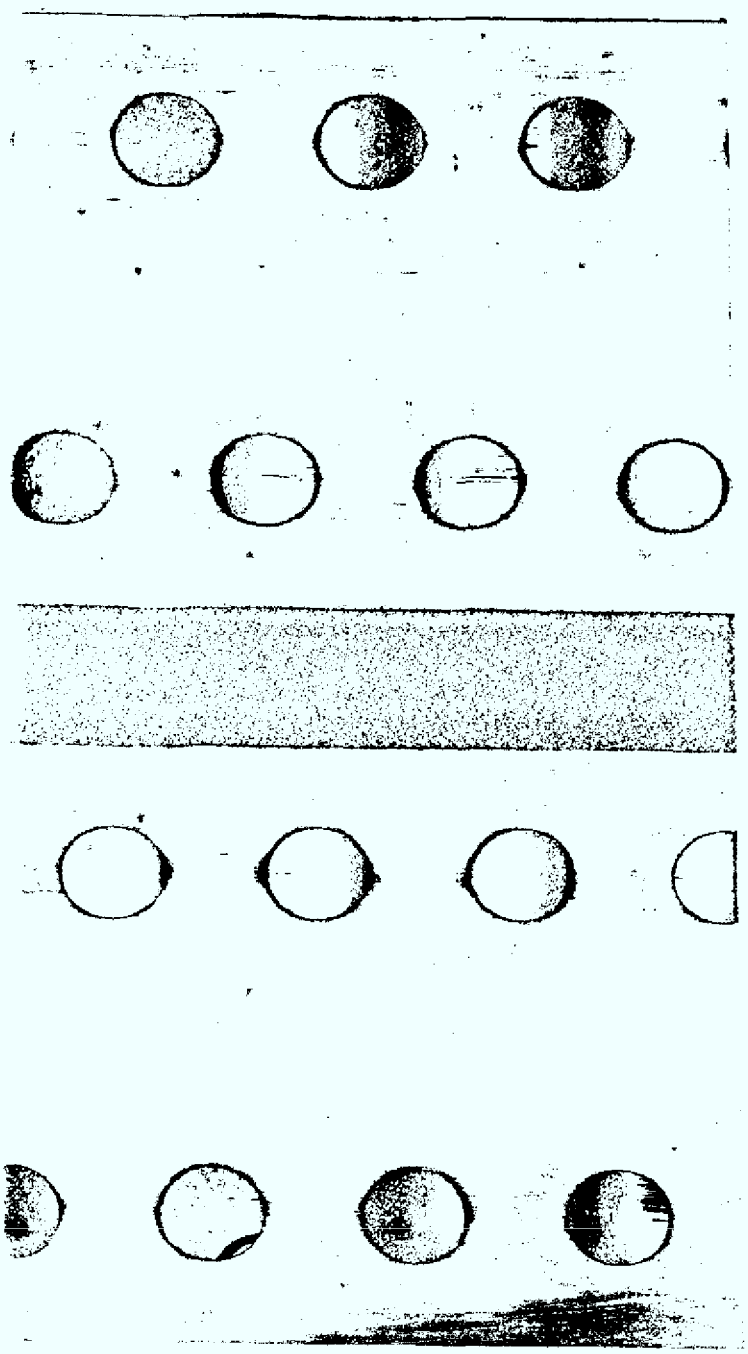
The model railroad is a rather common adjunct of middle schools, but we were surprised to find one in Akm The Soviet Union is in the midst of the railroad age, and in in railroading among school children is stimulated by pro them with opportunity to operate small model railroads one at Akmolinsk included two stations and two kilomet track, with a four-car train running on a regular schedule older children serve as engineers, conductors, switchmen, s masters, ticket sellers and so forth, while the younger ch do work under their direction and ride as passengers.

There is a functioning Orthodox church in Akm built of wood and painted a faded blue, but we did not attracting large numbers of people to its evening services was in sharp contrast to our experience with church atte in other parts of the Soviet Union, and it may have been the pressure of agricultural activity, since our visit occur the height of the growing season.

Sewing Machine Villain

Several movie houses were playing Russian and Uzbek and were being well patronized. We saw an Uzbek film th been produced in Tashkent and were impressed with its t cal quality, if not its story content. The plot related capture by Communist forces of the city of Bukhara in and suffered badly from the stereotyped casting that ha most Soviet art expression in a straitjacket since the revo One noteworthy aspect of the picture was the presence villain's role, of course—of a Western businessman wh identified only as "the representative of the Singer Com which suggests that the impact of American merchandisi deep enough to be recognized by Central Asian audience after 40 years.

Our direct contact with the new lands program itse

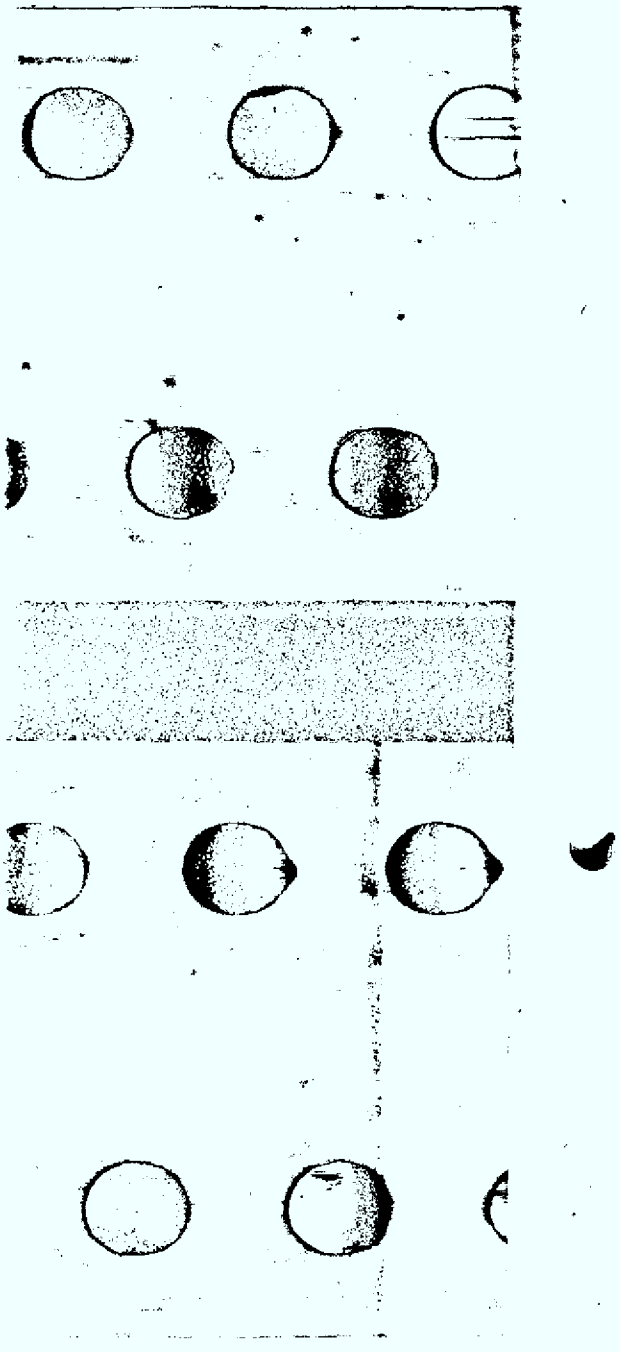


. . a large anti-American poster depicting a greedy ple Sam riding an atomic bomb and grasping at a gold do.. r as he approaches the edge of a cliff, at the foot of which lies the wreckage of the Nazi war machine. This poster was the only remaining example that we found in the Soviet Union of these once common expressions of propaganda. Much more annoying were the obvious suspicions of the functionary from the Education Ministry assigned to show us the sights. This young man accompanied us on most of the excursions around town—to a chick hatchery, to two middle schools, to the "house of culture," to the model railroad and to the "park of rest," and rarely did he let us out of his sight. On one occasion, after one of our group had gotten grease on his hands, our guide instructed the taxi driver to accompany him to the river edge, ostensibly to show him how to wash his hands, but obviously to make sure he took no pictures under cover of the bank. Pictures were not permitted of any living creature and only of especially approved buildings so conventional that their counterparts could be found in every country of the world. This excessive caution, and a cool detached manner, marked our guide as a young man anxious to succeed by hewing to the letter of every regulation. He was only trying to do his duty, but he sorely tried our patience in the process.

Limited Facilities

In spite of these difficulties, we managed to see a large part of the town and to gather some impression of the new lands program. For its size, Akmolinsk was the most poorly equipped community from a cultural standpoint that we visited. Its "house of culture" was a rather large two-story wood structure badly in need of paint both inside and out, with a fair library on the first floor and an auditorium on the second. Large posters giving statistics on 1954 farm production and announcing the 1955 goals lined the corridors on both floors. Few persons were in evidence, but our visit occurred during the work day, and we were assured that the facilities were well utilized in the evening.

Ten years of schooling is available to Akmolinsk children, and we visited two of the town's middle schools. One was undergoing extensive repairs, including the installation of a completely new heating system, although the building was only eight years old. The other was notable for its cosmopolitan atmosphere, with a North Korean principal, a Tartar associate and various racial strains evident on the playground. Equipment in both schools was limited, although there was an adequate supply of desks and chairs, blackboards in every classroom and

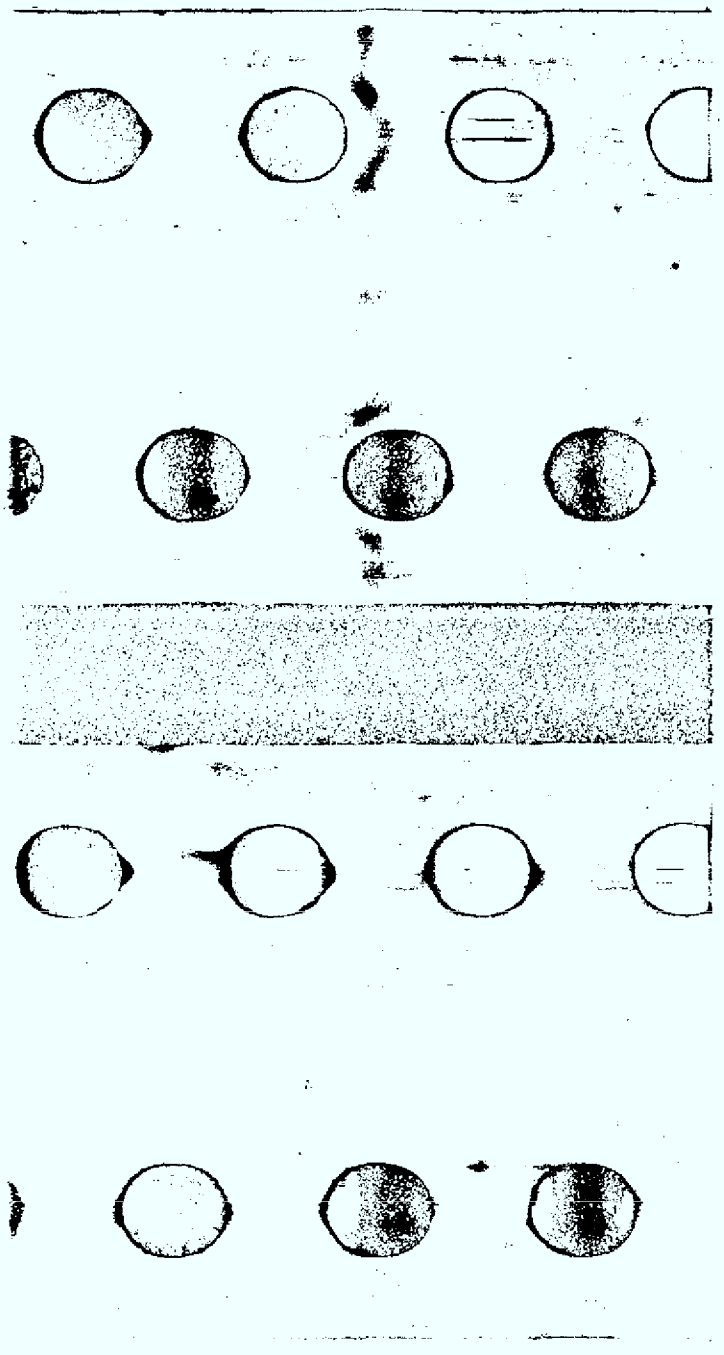


we clashed head-on with Soviet bureaucra)it was here th we were kept under definite surveillance; it was here that found a remnant of the old, hostile, anti-American displays a attitudes that have happily gone out of fashion in more acce sible parts of the Soviet Union. As a result, we were unable accomplish our main purpose in coming to Akmolinsk: we nev got outside the town onto one of the new farms. The only vie we gained of the new lands program itself was from the air the way to and from Akmolinsk. This glimpse of vast new fiel stretching as far as the eye could see across the flat emptine of the central Asian plain was breathtaking and impressive, b it was no substitute for direct ground observation of the hu machines at work, the new farms in construction or the 19 crop in preparation. Judged by this result alone, the Akmolin visit would have to be written off as a failure.

Fortunately, there were some valuable by-products. In t first place, we learned something about the plight of the ind vidual and unknown citizen who tries to do battle with t massive Soviet bureaucracy. Bureaucracy and big governme always go together, and in the Soviet Union where governme is bigger than anywhere else, bureaucracy manages somehow keep pace. As in Penza, we spent three days trying to beat dov its provincial expression in Akmolinsk and retired in total defe Basically, the problem was that the particular official who giv permission to foreigners to move outside the city was away, a in his absence nothing could be done. Delegation of respon bility is not a part of the Soviet system. Nobody will give permission not specifically within his sphere of responsibili Neither will he provide a direct answer as to when the need official will return or whether he can be reached in the interi In our case, local agricultural officials were in constant telepho communication with their chief, but even our able Intour guide was unable to learn where he was or whether our reque was ever transmitted. For three days we went from pillar post, and the only answer we ever got was: "The countrysi is no concern of mine."

Anti-American Feeling

We also saw something of the openly suspicious clima about which Westerners have complained in the past. In sha contrast to the relaxing atmosphere and lack of surveillan that we noted in other Soviet cities, Akmolinsk officials h apparently not yet been notified of the change in Soviet poli toward the West. Still to be seen in the town's "park of res



ater in the well, the washroom was alternately [illegible] to overflowing or completely deserted. When it was filled, three or four persons sometimes crowded around a single basin, one attempting to wash his face, another his feet, a third to cup his hands for a drink and a fourth to fill a water jug. Under these circumstances, washing was not a leisurely occasion.

The hotel teemed with a melange of people from all parts of the Soviet Union, and indeed from the whole Communist world. Most of the accommodations were dormitory style, but there were a number of small private rooms into which as many beds as possible were crammed. The overflow slept on the floor and on benches or chairs in the central lobby. Most of the guests appeared to be minor government officials or farmers in town for business purposes in connection with the new lands program. Certainly the hotel was not being used as a transient center for new recruits coming into the region to work on the massive new state farms. These people are quartered in dormitories better equipped to handle the numbers involved.

Labor Not Quite Forced

Akmolinsk is an overcrowded community thrust into prominence by the great project which it helps to service. We were impressed by the large numbers of young people to be seen on the streets and concluded that young people make up the bulk of the new farm labor needed in the region. As far as we could learn, these recruits are not actually dragooned into coming out into this empty prairie land, but they are certainly given every encouragement to do so. In the first place, there is a wage incentive: wages offered by the government on a three-year contractual basis are almost double those offered by state farms in the Ukraine. Second, since this is apparently not enough, considerable pressure is placed on the graduates of agricultural schools to go into the new lands region on the completion of their training. We have no grounds for suggesting that such a move is actually obligatory, but we concluded that unless a person had a pretty good reason for not doing so, he would be likely to end up in Akmolinsk or Barnaul or one of the other centers serving the new lands program. Obviously, some pressure is exerted, because the region is not an appealing one in which to invest one's life, or even a few years of it.

In retrospect, our stay in Akmolinsk emerges as one of the most interesting and illuminating experiences of our whole Soviet visit, although while it was in process we felt only frustration, annoyance and physical discomfort. It was here that