Spring 4-1-1981

San José Studies, Spring 1981

San José State University Foundation

a publication of san jose state university volume 7 number 2 may 1981

$5.00

san josé STUDIES

SAN JOSE STUDIES

SAN JOSE

Volume VII, Number 2

ARTICLES

FICTION

STUDIES

May 1981

POETRY

SPECIAL FEATURE

SAN JOSE STUDIES

Volume VII, Number 2 May 1981

ARTICLES

Beauty and the Beast:

Seductions from the Old Testament in Sixteenth Century Netherlandish Painting

Gina Strumwasser

FROM the beginning of the Reformation, the Old Testament provided a rich source of subjects for the Netherlandish artist, which he turned to for generations to come with ever increasing frequency. It is no accident that interest in the Old Testament first found artistic expression in Northern Europe especially around the turn of the sixteenth century. The Reformation encouraged and witnessed an unprecedented popular interest in the Bible which resulted in intimate familiarity with Old Testament themes by artist as well as patron.

The Bible, translated into the vernacular and made widely accessible through the invention of the printing press, became a source for moral themes divorced from sacred meaning. Old Testament subjects especially came to be appreciated for their intrinsic value. After 1520, however, the Old Testament

served the artist primarily as a source for expression of human emotion and sensuality. This is particularly true in the representation of subjects newly favored in the sixteenth century.

In addition to exploring further the Old Testament subjects that were popular in the Middle Ages, painters from the sixteenth century often turned to subjects that previously had excited little attention. Specifically notable are the stories of Judith and Holofernes, Susanna and the Elders, Lot and His Daughters and Judah and Tamar, which generated particular interest after the first two decades of the century.

Judith and Susanna had been employed during the Middle Ages as symbols for the Virgin Mary, yet in the age following they take on new and largely non-religious meaning. They are represented as physical ideals, similar even in terms of setting to the goddesses of antiquity. The Netherlandish artists introduced scenes and motifs from antiquity apparently to strengthen the relationship of the biblical heroines to those of mythology.

The stories of Lot and His Daughters and Judah and Tamar also begin to take on new meanings that touch only lightly upon sacred themes. Even when the moral implication of the story is made explicit, as in the case of Lot and His Daughters, the figures are treated as players in a human drama. Lot, for instance, appears only as a man under the sway of physical desire. He is represented as a sinner restricted to his cave, the age-old symbol of the mouth of Hell.

Consequently, the paintings of these four subjects were probably appreciated as heroic and erotic tales rather than as the embodiment of sacred meaning. The paintings drawn from the stories of Judith, Susanna, Lot and His Daughters and Judah and Tamar are often difficult to understand in religious and devotional terms. Because they were intended for the home rather than for the church, they may have been explained to the pious on the basis of their biblical background and moral significance. Thus they were perhaps not only viewed for their moral content, but also enjoyed as expressions of the erotic.

Judith and Holofernes

Judith, a widow who undertook to save her nation, is remembered as a symbol of courage. Faithful to God, she symbolizes piety as well and is celebrated as a righteous woman undergoing personal risk to save her people.[1] In this way, Judith personifies the Jewish nation and, as a national hero, is compared to David.[2] Although more brutal, the story is similar in plot to the story of Esther, another national hero. In terms of her courage and piety, Judith also resembles Susanna (see below). While Judith appears in the Middle Ages as a prefiguration for the Virgin's triumph over the devil[3] and as a symbol of the struggle of the Church,[4] it is not until the sixteenth century that the subject is commonly represented in panel painting. The popularity of Judith after 1520 may be explained in part by the sensuality of the theme, although sensual emphasis is not necessarily required in its treatment.

In the biblical account, Judith, convinced that there is only one way to save her people, feigns a seduction of the Assyrian General Holofernes. Having spent hours in prayer, Judith dresses herself to meet with the illustrious general. Beautiful in form, radiant in devotion to God and self-confident in her desire to save her people, Judith is able to captivate Holofernes. He invites her to a private banquet in his tent and, plied with wine and food, the general falls asleep. As he sleeps, Judith takes Holofernes' sword and slays him.

Judith's stature is established at the beginning of the story: "And she was greatly renowned among all, because she feared the Lord very much, neither was there any one that spoke an ill word of her" (Book of Judith 8:8). The story is told in the book of Judith (Chapters 1-16). It continues:

> . . . And Holofernes was made merry on her occasion, and drank exceeding much wine, so much as he had never drunk in his life . . . . And Judith was alone in the chamber . . . . She went to the pillar that was at his bed's head, and loosed his sword that hung tied upon it. And she struck twice upon his neck and cut off his head . . . and delivered the head of Holofernes to her maid, and bade her put it into her wallet. (Judith 12:20, 13:3, 13:8, 13:10-11)

Judith and Holofernes are represented in sculpture on Chartres Cathedral.[5] As a prefiguration for the Virgin Mary and the Church of Christ, Judith can be explained as the prototype of the Church that has to endure hardships "in a successful struggle against its enemies."[6] The head of Holofernes symbolizes the Antichrist, and thus Judith represents the Church's triumph over him.[7]

Judith is one of the models for the Virgin Mary triumphing over the devil in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. The Old Testament heroine Jael, who killed Sisera, and Tomyris, the historic figure who slew King Cyrus, also prefigure the Virgin Mary, although they are not shown here. In the plate, Judith is depicted with sword in hand about to cut off the head of the sleeping Holofernes (Plate 1).[8] According to the *Speculum*: "The Virgin Mary was prefigured by Judith who resisted and beheaded Holofernes: she opposed the Devil, the Prince of Darkness."[9]

The figure of Judith reflects the image of the Virgin Mary supporting the cross in the adjoining scene. The act is thus given symbolic and visual focus. As in the other scenes which also provide prototypes for the Virgin Mary, the protagonists are female and are shown slaying their adversaries, proudly displaying the instruments of destruction. In addition, Tomyris holds up the head of King Cyrus as a symbol of her victory.

Plate 1 **Alsatian: Detail of Page from a Fourteenth Century *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Left, The Virgin Triumphs over the Devil; Right, Judith Slays Holofernes. Munich, Staatsbibliothek.**

The first representation of the story of Judith and Holofernes on panel is by the Master of Flémalle (Robert Campin) and survives today in a sixteenth century copy (Plate 2).[10] The artist represents Judith in the exact center of the composition. She puts the head of General Holofernes in a sack held by her maid. The body of Holofernes reclines as if he were still sleeping, with blood pouring from his neck. The scene occurs out-of-doors; the backdrop of nature is reduced to sky. The figures in the scene stand against an open tent. Judith stands by the entrance with her foot raised as if to balance the weight of the head that she holds by the hair.

In every way, Judith is triumphant—proud, strong and victorious. The events described in the Bible lie behind her and she appears in the painting in full heroic glory. The magnitude of her triumph depends on narrative details. The body of Holofernes is clearly displayed, blood drips from his head, and, in silent reminder of the story's beginning, the tent stands in clear view. The Master of Flémalle is careful, though, to subordinate these elements to the central figure of Judith.

The story of Judith can also be interpreted in a more sensuous manner. In the present panel, however, sensuality plays no part. The narrative is enhanced only by violence.[11] The inherent sensuality becomes realized only in later representations, especially in the paintings by Jan Massys.

Judith is represented partially unclothed in the four paintings of this subject by Jan Massys (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Paris, Musée National du Louvre; and Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada).[12] In each, Judith stands in the center of the composition in the foreground, close to the spectator. Her nude upper torso is set against a background of drapery, perhaps the interior of the tent. She holds her sword in one hand and the head of the general in the other. The gruesomeness of the act of killing is totally overshadowed by the alluring and smiling figure of Judith. She is still triumphant, but her triumph somehow seems less that of a nation than that of a woman.

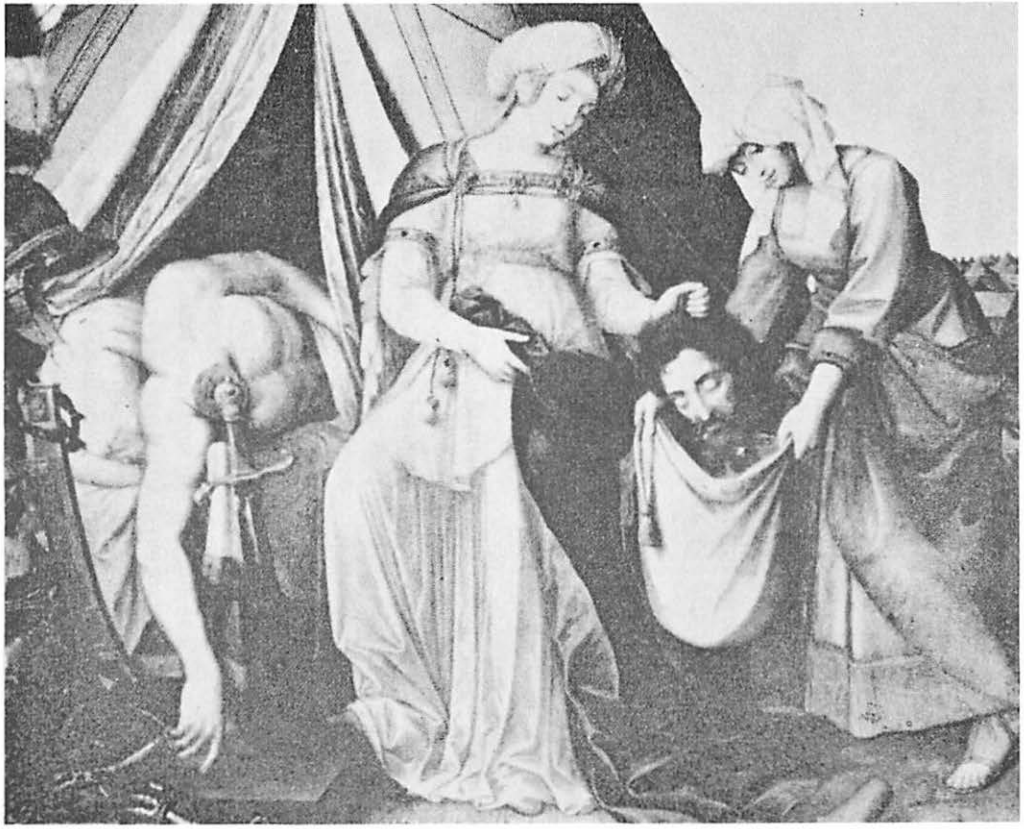

Plate 2 Master of Flémalle (Robert Campin): Judith and Holofernes. Greenville, Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings.

In the Antwerp panel, Massys represents Judith as dressed in a fanciful costume of transparent cloth that clings seductively to her form (Plate 3). A necklace decorates her upper torso and bracelets decorate her upper arms. Her headdress resembles a crown. She wears a long, pearl-drop earring not unlike those found later on Rembrandt's models.[13] Noble in birth and elegant in bearing, Judith further strengthens her regal image through her attire.

With sword in right hand, Judith appears unmoved by the slaying. The head of Holofernes, held by the hair, rests partially upon a low stand, and his eyes remain shut as if still closed in drunken sleep. Massys confronts the brutality and horror of the event, yet the gruesome is subordinated to the sensuous, evident partly in Judith herself and partly in the luxuriant setting and costume. The elegant, polished nude dominates this painting as it does in Massys' other representations of the same subject.

In light of the number of paintings of Judith and Holofernes by Jan Massys, the subject must have had particular appeal. The sensual treatment of the subject of Judith and Holofernes conforms to his treatment of other Old Testament subjects with similar potential.

A Protestant, Jan Massys was accused of heresy and banished from Antwerp from about 1544 to 1558.[14] It is possible that he spent this time in Italy and France, where a certain "chilly sensuality" was in vogue.[15] For Massys, this new approach found application primarily in paintings of themes from the Old Testament.[16]

In the Protestant Bible, the Book of Judith is placed in the Apocrypha. Luther regarded her as a legendary rather than an historical heroine. He considered her story "as an allegory of God's help to the Jews, and acutely observed that the false chronology and names were used to warn the reader that this is a holy parable."[17]

For a Protestant, the story of Judith may also reflect a critical view of the Catholic Church. During the Middle Ages, the death of Holofernes symbolized the victory of Christianity over the Antichrist; however, to Martin Luther it was the Pope who was the Antichrist standing at the head of the Roman Church governed by "crass, imprudent lies."[18] Continually, Luther refers to the Pope as the real enemy of the Church:

> We are here persuaded that the papacy is the seat of the true and genuine Antichrist, against whose deceit and iniquity we think all things are lawful unto us for the salvation of souls. For myself, I do not admit that I owe any obedience to the Pope, unless I also owe it to the Antichrist.[19]

The medieval symbol of the Antichrist, the head of Holofernes from the story of Judith, has been transformed to accommodate a more modern symbol. The Antichrist, a medieval enemy of the Catholic Church, becomes for sixteenth century Netherlanders the main adversary of the New Protestant Reform.

Plate 3 **Jan Massys: Judith with the Head of Holofernes. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.**

Plate 4 **Lucas van Leyden: Susanna Before the Judge. Bremen, Kunsthalle. Destroyed.**

Susanna and the Elders

As fully as Judith represents courage, Susanna is the personification of justice. A model of chastity, she is also the symbol of the Church and a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary.[20] She is sometimes described as a lamb among wolves.[21] Altogether, Susanna constitutes a popular artistic and religious theme for the Netherlandish painters of the sixteenth century.

The story of Susanna is told in the Book of Daniel, Chapter 13. Susanna, a pious and beautiful woman, is married to Joakim, a prominent citizen of Babylon. Two elders, recently appointed judges in the community, fall in love with her while one day watching her bathe. They make overtures to her which she rejects. Angered, they accuse her of having an affair with a young man. She is brought before the people for determination of her guilt:

> Thou knowest [Susanna says] that they have borne false witness against me: and behold I must die, whereas I have done none of these things, which these men have maliciously forged against me. And the Lord heard her voice. And when she was led to be put to death, the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young boy, whose name was Daniel. (Daniel 13:43-45)

Susanna Before the Judge (Bremen, Kunsthalle [destroyed], ca. 1509)[22] by Lucas van Leyden is the earliest painting of Susanna on panel (Plate 4). In the painting Susanna stands to the left center of the composition with the young Daniel just in front of her. To the left of Daniel is the judge who holds a small scroll in his hand. Distinguished in appearance, he looks rather kindly at Susanna, who cannot return his gaze. Instead, she looks downward at the floor as if too modest and ashamed to confront him directly. Other figures demonstrate their involvement by gesture and expression.

It is not clear from the biblical account exactly where the judgment of Susanna took place. The Bible explains only that it was the people of the community who determined Susanna's guilt.

Lucas van Leyden presents the scene as if it were a contemporary event. Crowded together, the eight figures are depicted in what appears to be a courtroom. Susanna stands before the judge, as the ancient event is thus transformed into one more modern. From the courtroom a large window offers a view of a landscape in which two men, the elders, point toward a young man, Daniel, who is represented in the scene for the second time. The three are seen in front of a large tree which will be used by Daniel to dispute the testimony of the accusing Elders (Daniel 13:54-55). Since their stories do not coincide, the innocence of Susanna is proven. For their crime, the two elders are sentenced to death.

In this painting, Susanna takes second place to Daniel. He is the principal actor, and he serves as a human instrument for divine justice, acting to restore life and dignity to the righteous Susanna. Lucas van Leyden emphasizes Daniel's wisdom rather than Susanna's miraculous salvation. He underlines the prominence of the role of Daniel in choice of subject as well as in depiction. Daniel is represented twice, once with the elders in the background and again in the courtroom in the foreground. His function in the painting clearly outweighs that of the passive Susanna.

Susanna Before the Judge may serve as a pendant to another painting by Lucas van Leyden, *Potiphar's Wife Showing Joseph's Robe* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).[23] Joseph, like Susanna, is an innocent victim, and, in resisting temptation, is a symbol of chastity. Together, these two subjects from the Old Testament illustrate the moral lesson inherent in the contrast between the Wife of Potiphar and the chaste Susanna.

Of the remaining paintings of Susanna and the Elders, all postdate 1538 and all depict Susanna at her bath rather than before the judge. These examples focus on the nude Susanna. Only the first portion of the biblical story is chosen for representation. Susanna is neither the Early Christian image of the Blessed Soul nor a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary. She is the embodiment of classical, sensuous female beauty as dictated by the three versions of Susanna by Jan Massys (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts; Bruges, Musée Municipal; Paris, location unknown).

In the painting now at Brussels signed and dated 1567, Jan Massys captures the heroine at a most alluring moment (Plate 5).[24] The story, up to the point where the painting takes place, is explained in Daniel 13:19-21:

> Now when the maids were gone forth, the two elders arose, and ran to her, and said: Behold the doors of the orchard are shut, and nobody seeth us and we are in love with thee: Wherefore consent to us, and lie with us. But if thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee, that a young man was with thee . . . .

Massys presents Susanna in the center foreground. She is about to begin her bath and she gestures to her attendants to leave her in privacy. The attendants look backward at Susanna as they run out of the bathing area, draperies flying in the wind. They have already brought her bath oil, which is placed upon the top of a screen that looks like a high sarcophagus supported by a pedestal. It serves to protect Susanna from the elders, who try to view her from behind. Susanna has already shed most of her clothing, which now lies at her feet. The lower portion of her body remains draped. She still wears a delicate pearl necklace, which only accentuates her nudity. Trees and a distant city frame the background.

Plate 5 Jan Massys: Susanna and the Elders. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts.

Susanna's position among the five figures is central to the composition. In the foreground with the others, she is the only unclothed form, and her strikingly smooth, elegant beauty provides a dramatic contrast to the grotesque elders behind her. As if to heighten the contrast, she remains oblivious to their presence. The artist decorates her garment with ermine, a luxurious fur reserved for the aristocracy[25] and also a symbol of purity.[26] As a virtuous woman and the wife of a prominent citizen, the fur is thus suitable.

A head of an animal decorates the sarcophagus screen. The animal has scroll-like horns and is therefore meant to represent a ram, the dominant male sheep. The ram suggests strength, and, as a leader of a flock, is associated with Christ.[27] Appropriate to the story of Susanna, the ram may allude to the medieval symbol of Susanna as the lamb among wolves.

Inherently erotic subjects from the Old Testament were a favorite of Massys. In the painting *Bathsheba Bathing* (Paris, Musée National du Louvre), signed and dated 1562, the heroine stands in the center of the composition with her upper torso unclothed (Plate 6).[28] Two servants kneel at her feet. Behind her, the messenger from King David, a dog and a black servant are represented. The figure of King David appears only in the background, looking down from his palace at the woman bathing below. Bathsheba's form, features and even garments resemble those of the Antwerp Judith and are similar to those found in Massys' two paintings of *Lot and His Daughters* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).[29] The artist employs the same model and costume just as he returns to the same composition. He substitutes only those narrative details that would be essential to the story. For Massys, the subject frequently seems to have a sensuous emphasis and contrast: male-female, young-old, lovely-grotesque, good-evil. He subordinates the particular biblical narrative to an interest in the nude and classical antiquity.

Plate 6 **Jan Massys: Bathsheba Bathing. Paris, Musée National du Louvre.**

William Key introduces Susanna at the moment that she is surprised by the two wicked elders (Plate 7). In the painting *Susanna and the Elders* (Pommersfelden, Gemäldegalerie), signed and dated 1546, Key no longer employs a screen to hide Susanna. She is bathing as the elders step into the foreground. The two elders approach Susanna from left and right as she stands totally naked in the center foreground of the composition. Susanna covers her breast in a half gesture of a *Venus pudica* and looks up startled at the entrance of the two elders. Gesture and expression explain the story which is reduced to three figures.

To the left of Susanna is an open rectangular basin which resembles a sarcophagus and which is used to hold water. The sarcophagus serves as a fountain and is surmounted by a large putto. The elder on the left of Susanna holds onto the upper torso of this sculptured figure as if to suggest his own intimate desire. The rectangular basin is carved with a variety of decoration. Just below the rectangular fountain, a pedestal in the shape of a sphinx supports the structure. Above the sphinx is a mask that is similar in facial features to a lion. A small putto holds up the mask. The battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs decorates the front side of the fountain. One of the centaurs has abducted a Lapith maiden. The woman is represented from the back and twists around as if struggling against the centaur's advance. She may be the bride of Pirithoüs, King of the Lapiths; she is swept off from her wedding feast by one of the centaurs.[30] This story from classical mythology reflects Susanna's own plight.

Plate 7 **William Key: Susanna and the Elders. Pommersfelden, Gemäldegalerie.**

Jan van Hemessen portrays the actual abduction of Susanna in his *Susanna and the Elders* (previously Madrid, present location unknown).[31] The painting signed and dated 1543 is more daring than the biblical description (Plate 8).[32] The elders now approach Susanna with a boldness that indicates strong desire. Susanna, just left of center, raises her hands and turns her head in a gesture of despair. One of the elders reaches around her, his arms extended over her body. Susanna attempts to call for help but without avail. The elders seem oblivious to her screams. Their heads and faces, intensely unattractive, seem to mirror their souls.

Hemessen represents the story of Susanna in its first dramatic moment. He transforms the religious narrative into actual reality.[33] There is no need in the painting for reflection or inner turmoil; the conflict is expressed in the most vivid physical terms.

Several important differences can be discerned in the treatment of the story of Susanna. The moral function of Lucas van Leyden's panel is later supplanted by the sensuality of Massys, Key and Hemessen. In *Susanna Before the Judge* by Lucas van Leyden, the vindication of an innocent victim is celebrated along with the wisdom of Daniel. The painting derives its meaning from the scene of judgment; the initial event, of attempted seduction, bears no significance. In contrast, the other examples of Susanna Bathing focus on an earlier event from the biblical narrative. In the paintings by Massys, Key and Hemessen, the biblical narrative takes its meaning primarily from the lustful advances of the elders and the nakedness of Susanna. Massys and the others reveal a delight in and a fascination with the nude female form. Susanna's innocence and virtue, however important to the narrative, are subordinated here to the elegant display of nudity.

Certainly these nudes—Judith, Susanna and Bathsheba—are all similar. Only narrative details distinguish their stories from each other. In paintings of the sixteenth century, the story of Susanna evolves from the religious and moral to the secular and sensual. The Old Testament heroine, set against a background of plush exotic gardens with ancient sarcophagi, has become a goddess of antiquity. The artists depict Susanna as a synthesis of the Bible and mythology. She is interchangeable with a Diana at her bath or an Aphrodite emerging from the sea. These subjects also provide a transition from sacred to genre popular in the subsequent century.

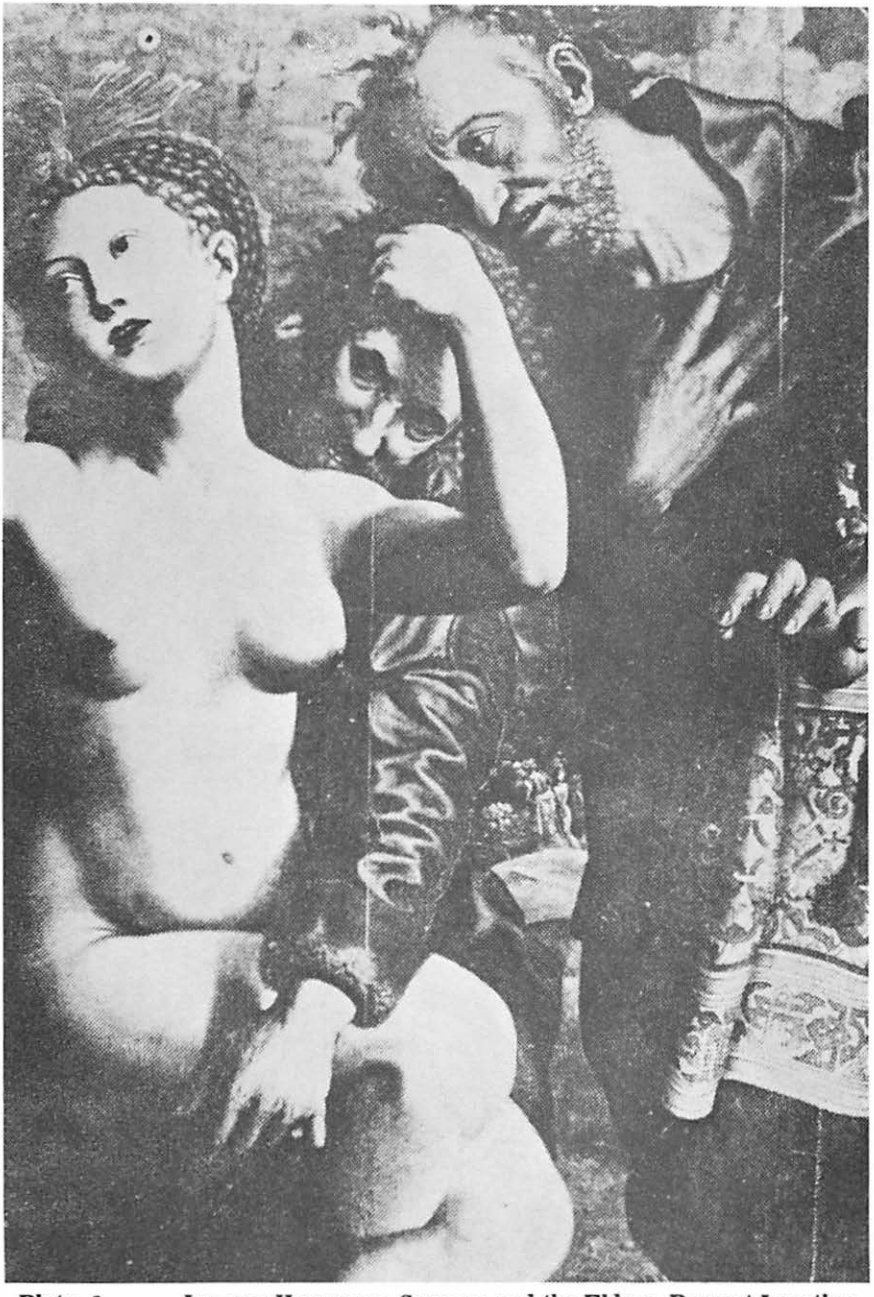

Plate 8 **Jan van Hemessen. Susanna and the Elders. Present Location Unknown. Previously Madrid.**

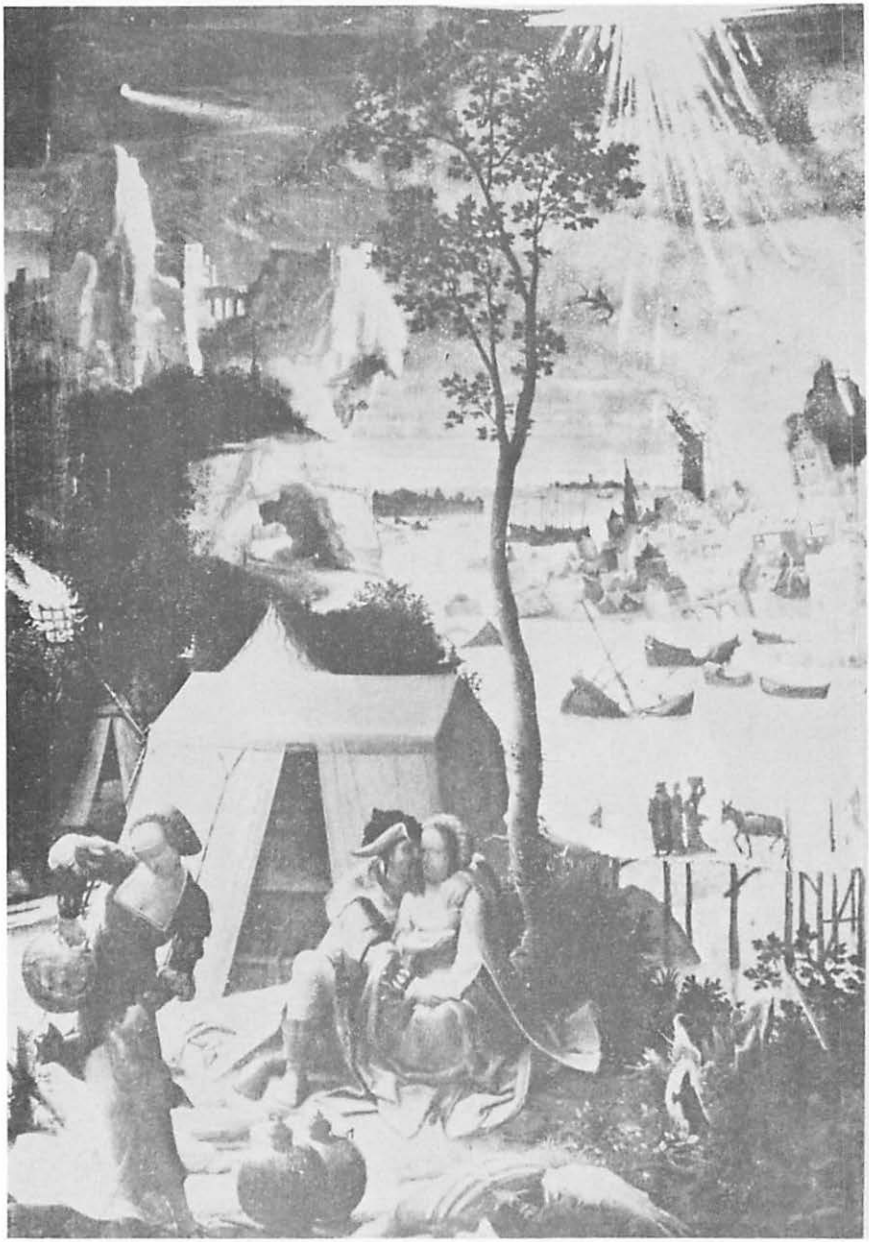

Plate 9 **Lucas van Leyden. Lot and His Daughters. Paris, Musée National du Louvre.**

Lot and His Daughters

As in the case of the paintings of Judith and Susanna, Lot and His Daughters becomes increasingly popular after 1520. The reason may again lie in the subject's erotic appeal, evident especially in the artists' emphases upon the themes of drinking and seduction. Altogether, the Lot paintings provide a clear prototype for the well-known tavern scenes of the seventeenth century.

The story of Lot and His Daughters occurs in the Old Testament as an interruption in the story of Abraham. Illustrating the effects of incest, the narrative provides an explanation for the origin of two new races, the Moabites and the Ammonites, the two traditional enemies of the Israelites.[34] Having fled the sinful city of Sodom, Lot and his daughters are the only survivors and, in order to guarantee the preservation of their race, the daughters are forced to seduce their father.

The Bible describes Lot as the only virtuous man in all of Sodom. Given salvation by God, Lot and his daughters are allowed to reach safety in a cave above the burning cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. The story continues in Genesis 19:31-32:

> And the elder [daughter] said to the younger: Our father is old, and there is no man left on the earth to come in unto us after the manner of the whole earth. Come, let us make him drunk with wine, and let us lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

In the Paris *Lot and His Daughters* (Musée National du Louvre), ca. 1509, Lucas van Leyden chooses the moment of seduction for depiction (Plate 9).[35] The seduction of Lot begins in the shadowy foreground. One of the daughters pours wine from a jug. Just behind her, in front of the tent, Lot sits next to his other daughter. With one arm, he reaches about her neck and shoulders, and with the other he holds her left hand. Behind the rectangular tent are two smaller tents partially hidden by the larger one. The Bible speaks only of a cave dwelling, but Lucas obviously finds a fairly sumptuous setting more fitting. Jagged mountains rise in the background. In reference to their departure from Sodom, Lot and his daughters cross over a bridge. A sole figure stands behind, seemingly frozen in movement:

> Save thy life: look not back, neither stay thou in all country about: but save thyself in thy mountain, lest thou be also consumed . . . . And his wife looking behind her, was turned into a statue of salt. (Genesis 19:17 and 26)

Lightning strikes from the sky to ensure destruction of the city. The light from heaven destroys all as buildings tumble, boats sink. Lucas van Leyden

represents the Lord as an angry God filled with wrath. Lot's righteousness is only heightened by contrast with the burning city of Sodom, the symbol of hell. The Biblia Pauperum notes:

> By Sodom and Gomorrah are meant those sinners living upon the earth according lusts of the flesh, which blind their eyes; and when the morning shall rise there will appear all the sinners on the earth; and alive they will be doomed to hell and damned.[16]

Ironically, Lot, saved from destruction in Sodom, cannot resist the temptation of his daughters. The burning city, a portent of hell, casts a foreboding light on the event in the foreground.

In the biblical narrative, the daughters of Lot seduce their father. In the painting, Lot becomes the aggressor, which perhaps is intended to point to the weakness of man in response to temptation. Leyden makes Lot appear fully conscious of his lust; he is in no way an innocent victim. The gestures and expressions of the principal figures only serve to reinforce this point. While he places the act of seduction in the foreground, Lucas still dramatizes the contrast between the brightly lit heaven and the dark sky, the ruined city and the darkened foreground. The presence of God can be sensed in the intensity of the heavenly light. The power of God's wrath surpasses all, even the significance of the seduction.

Like Lucas van Leyden, Frans Floris transforms the biblical narrative of Lot and His Daughters into a human story (Leningrad, Hermitage Museum). The narrative unfolds to include the burning city of Sodom, the seduction and the act of love (Plate 10). While Lucas van Leyden may have been content with a hint of sensuality, Frans Floris makes the sensual explicit.

Represented in the foreground of the painting, the second daughter of Lot is brought into direct contact with the spectator. She reclines upon a bed just to the right and behind Lot. Lot lifts his daughter's garments with one hand to expose her breast and with his other reaches around to caress her. The daughter looks outward at the viewer as if fully aware of the situation. Her lack of involvement suggests an inheritance from Eve, the seductress. She is in complete control and is conscious of her potential at cunning. The daughter of Lot serves as the model of "woman" which is similar in representation to other contemporary scenes of seduction from the Old Testament (see below for discussion of Judah and Tamar). Frans Floris presents a dramatic contrast between nude and clothed figures, youth and old age, pleasure and horror, and, most strikingly, sin and punishment. Sensuality is a dominant theme.

In the foreground of the painting, Floris presents a still-life arrangement that serves partially to separate the spectator from the figures in the painting. Laid out in a balanced and well-ordered composition, the wine, fruit and bread are given a prominent position. These objects enhance the narrative, suggesting the earlier moment when the daughters "made their father drink wine"

Plate 10 **Frans Floris: Lot and His Daughters. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.**

(Genesis 19:33). It is also possible that these objects suggest a symbolic association with ritual elements of the Mass.[37]

The scene of the burning city is represented behind the figures in the foreground. The spectator directly confronts this view of hell and the lustful act. The artist presents the viewer with a choice between accepting the erotic pleasures of life on earth and risking eventual punishment in hell or rejecting these pleasures to assure a reward in heaven.

Judah and Tamar

Like the story of Lot and His Daughters, the story of Judah and Tamar also involves a kind of incestuous relationship. In the paintings of this subject, the sensual aspects again dominate. The story is taken from Genesis. Childless after marriages to two sons of Judah, Tamar disguises herself as a prostitute and seduces her father-in-law, Judah. Like Lot, the unknowing and innocent Judah cannot resist temptation:

> When Judah saw her, he thought she was a harlot: for she had covered her face, lest she would be known. And going to her, he said: Suffer me to lie with thee: for he knew her not to be his daughter-in-law. (Genesis 38: 15-16)

The earliest painting of Judah and Tamar, signed and dated 1532 (Berlin, Jagdschloss Grünewald [destroyed]), is by Martin van Heemskerck (Plate 11).[38] The artist represents Judah and Tamar seated in the foreground set against a background of a ruined city, perhaps Thamnas. Judah reaches around Tamar to caress her breast, and she reaches toward his head as if to pull him to her. This gesture is similar to that depicted in the story of Lot and His Daughters and in the Fall of Man. [39] The gesture symbolizes seduction and is therefore employed frequently in brothel scenes of the seventeenth century. The loving embrace, developed in Venice by the second decade of the sixteenth century, suggests lust.[40] In addition, Tamar's legs are placed over Judah's left leg. This is similar to the "slung leg" motif commonly represented in the later Netherlandish tradition, also within the context of brothel scenes. The "slung leg" even more strongly implies the act of sex.[41] Both gestures of love, represented in the painting of Judah and Tamar, only enhance the erotic potential of the biblical narrative.[42]

As a token of his pledge, Judah extends his ring while Tamar holds the staff, which is located just below her on the ground. The two large forms of Judah and Tamar dominate the painting and establish the biblical story as a human drama. Tamar's facial features express a seriousness of intent. Almost introspectively, she looks beyond the spectator to avoid a direct confrontation. She invites the encounter with Judah and is aware of the consequences of her act, which lead—through Judah's and her sons—to the lineage of David and Solomon and ultimately to Christ.[43]

Plate 11 Martin van Heemskerck: Judah and Tamar. Berlin, Jagdschloss Grünewald. Destroyed.

In terms of Judeo-Christian history, the story of Judah and Tamar has an important place, far more important than that of the story of Lot and His Daughters. Nevertheless, Heemskerck presents the story as a simple scene of seduction. For Heemskerck, the story exists as an opportunity for artistic exploration of the human and erotic. In other words, the story has for him the same meaning that Old Testament stories have in general for Northern artists of the sixteenth century.[44] For Luther, the story of Judah and Tamar had a peculiar significance. It explained that even Christ had a sinful heritage:

> The highest patriarch Judah, a father of Christ, committed this unspeakable incest so that Christ might be born of flesh that was very sinful and was contaminated by the most shameful sin. For Judah begot twins with an incestuous harlot, his daughter-in-law. From here the lineage of the Savior is later traced.[45]

The four stories from the Old Testament—Judith and Holofernes, Susanna and the Elders, Lot and His Daughters, and Judah and Tamar—all suggest a moral message, yet in the paintings studied that message is consistently subordinated to an interest in sensuality and the nude. Many of the female figures are interchangeable with the goddesses from antiquity, and the devotional and symbolic aspects of the themes are entirely neglected in favor of the erotic and the secular.[46]

Divorced from the sacred connotation, Judith is no longer a figure of justice but becomes instead a seductress. Susanna, the chaste, pious heroine, also becomes more sensual, a principal actor in the drama rather than merely a victim. Lot's daughters, as well as Bathsheba and Tamar, acquire a greater artistic rather than religious or moral significance as the sacred content of the events becomes limited and the symbolic associations restricted.

These four Old Testament stories reflect a new sixteenth century attraction toward representations of the male-female relationship. Even for Luther, the symbolic agreement of the Old Testament with the New was no longer meaningful. The importance of the Old Testament had changed. "In his doctrine of salvation, the law, nevertheless, stands in dramatic antithesis to the gospel: it convinces us of sin, for which the gospel offers forgiveness."[47]

For the Netherlandish artist of the sixteenth century, the Old Testament provided constant inspiration at first for paintings dominated by medieval symbolism and sacred content, but later for paintings with a different thrust. The theme that became preeminent and was enlarged upon by the artists of the seventeenth century was the richness of human experience, best expressed in the representation of stories from the Old Testament. The Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth century effected a striking translation of the sacred and the divine into the profane and the human.

Notes

This paper is a revision of a chapter from my doctoral dissertation "Heroes, Heroines and Heroic Tales from the Old Testament: An Iconographic Analysis of the Most Frequently Represented Old Testament Subjects in Netherlandish Painting, ca. 1430-1570." It was presented at the Renaissance Conference of Northern California in May, 1980. I want to thank my two graduate students, Mrs. Cary Keisler and Mrs. Valera Lyles, for their comments regarding the oral presentation of the paper. I am also grateful to Professor Lawrence V. Ryan, Joseph S. Atha Professor of Humanities, Stanford University, for selecting the paper for presentation and to Dean Arlene N. Okerlund, San Jose State University, who encouraged me to submit it for publication.

[1] Buckner B. Trawick, *The Bible as Literature, the Old Testament and Apocrypha* (New York, 1970), p. 327.

[2] Both Judith and David represent the virtue of courage. Symbolising this virtue, a Judith by Donatello and a David by Michelangelo stand in front of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1955), II, Pt. I, 33. Réau also cites an example of David and Judith at the Hôtel d'Escoville at Caen.

[3] See discussion of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* below.

[4] Adolf E. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral, Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (New York, 1959), p 68.

[5] Reproduced in Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, plate 63.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

[8] Reproduced in J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, eds., *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Mulhausen, 1907-1909), plate 60.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

[10] Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York and Washington, 1969), II, 75.

[11] Panofsky mentions two paintings, the *Vengeance of Tomyris* and the *Slaying of Sisera*, which were painted by the Master of Flémalle, prefiguring the Triumph of the Virgin in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1971), I, 175. It is possible that the original Flémalle *Judith and Holofernes* was among this series from the *Speculum*. Earlier, Hulin de Loo had suggested that the *Vengeance of Tomyris* had decorated the Episcopal Palace at Ghent. George Hulin de Loo,

"Le tableau de 'Tomyris et Cyrus' dans l'ancien palais épiscopal de Gand," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand*, VII-IX, 1889-1891, 222-234. Taken out of their sacred context, these subjects could have been understood as symbols of justice. See Julius Held, "Book Review of Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*," *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1955, 216.

[12] Reproduced in Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, plate 10, nos. 15, 16 and 17 and in D.I.A.L., 72 A 77.1, no. 7652. The paintings of Jan Massys are dated 1558-1588. Friedländer, XIII, p. 17. See also Leo van Puyvelde, *La Peinture Flamande au siècle de Bosch et Breughel* (Paris, 1962), pp. 194-196. A. P. de Mirimonde, "Jan Massys dans les Musées de Province Français," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LX, 1962, 543-564.

[13] See for example Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* (Paris, Musée National du Louvre); reproduced in Bob Haak, *Rembrandt* (New York, n.d.), plates 417 and 417A.

[14] Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, p. 17. Martin Conway, *The Van Eycks and Their Followers* (London, 1921), p. 331.

[15] Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, 18. See François Clouet, *Lady in Her Bath* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art), reproduced in Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700* (Baltimore, 1952), plate 48; and the Unknown Master of the School of Fontainebleau, *Venus and the Goddess of the Waters* (Paris, Musée National du Louvre), reproduced in Marcel Brion, *The Louvre* (New York, n.d.), plate opposite p. 158. The two women in these paintings serve as examples of the elegant, chilled sensuality popularized in the treatment of the nude. Bronzino's *Exposure of Luxury* also illustrates this idea at mid-century in Italy; reproduced in Frederick Hartt, *Italian Renaissance Art* (New York and Englewood Cliffs, 1968), plate 80.

[16] Massys painted many subjects from the Old Testament. With the exception of those discussed in this chapter (*Judith, Susanna, Bathsheba Bathing and Lot and His Daughters*), Massys painted *Elias and the Widow of Sarepta* (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) and the *Healing of Tobias* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunsten); both are reproduced in Friedländer, XIII, plate 11, nos. 18 and 19. Massys' choice of Old Testament subjects may be related to his heretical view of religion. See Conway, *The Van Eycks and Their Followers*, p. 331.

[17] *Interpreter's Bible* (New York and Nashville, 1953), I, 403-404.

[18] Preserved Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (New York, 1911), p. 73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[20] Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York, 1958), pp. 158 and 160.

[21] Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, Pt. I, 394.

[22] The painting is dated the first decade of the sixteenth century. Max J. Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden* (Berlin, 1963), p. 51.

[23] The painting, also dated the first decade of the sixteenth century, is

reproduced in Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, X, plate 95, no. 119 (see also p. 82).

[24] Friedländer, XIII, 75.

[25] This idea was suggested to me by Professor Jeannette Bryon, Professor of Costume Design, Department of Theatre Arts, California State University, Fresno.

[26] George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London, 1954), pp. 72-76.

[28] Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, 75. Puyvelde, p. 195. The story of Bathsheba is represented more frequently after 1520 and in basic theme is similar to the other subjects discussed in this chapter. There is, however, much literature devoted to this subject and it will, in general, be left out of the discussion. Many of the same artists who painted the Old Testament "erotica" also painted Bathesheba bathing. See Elisabeth Kunoth-Leifels, *Über die Darstellungen der 'Bathseba im Bade'* (Essen, 1962), pp. 37-54, for discussion of the sixteenth century. M. K. Röthel, "Memlings 'Bathseba' als Stuttgarter Leihgabe in der Pinakothek," *Weltkunst*, XXI, 1951, 3. For a discussion of the *Woman Bathing* (copy) by Jan van Eyck see Julius S. Held, "*Artis Pictoriale Amator*, An Antwerp Art Patron and His Collection," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, L, 1957, 74-84.

[29] Reproduced in Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, plate 7, nos. 11 and 12.

[30] Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York, 1942), p. 155.

[31] Leo van Puyvelde, "Nouvelles oeuvres de Jean van Hemessen," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XX, 1951, 58.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 57 and 70. In the wealth of literature on Jan van Hemessen little has been devoted to an iconographical study of his Susanna.

[33] Puyvelde, "Nouvelles oeuvres de Jean van Hemessen," p. 57.

[34] Isaac Asimov, *Guide to the Bible, The Old Testament* (New York, 1968), p. 84. Trawick, *The Bible as Literature*, p. 56. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Bible* (New York, 1956), p. 119.

[35] Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden*, pp. 48-50. See also Ludwig Baldass, "Die Niederländischen Maler des Spätgotischen Stiles," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, XI, 1937, 128-129.

[36] From *Biblia Pauperum*, reprinted in Adolphe Napoleon Didron, *Christian Iconography, The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. J. Millington (New York, 1965, reprint from edition of 1886), II, 428. The burning cities also prefigure the end of the world. See Henrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum* (Stockholm, 1925), p. 300.

[37] The still life objects in the foreground, the wine and the bread, allude to the Eucharist and Christ's salvation for the sinner. The spectator is given the opportunity to choose salvation through the symbolic offering of the Mass. This is in contrast to the Old Testament sinner represented in the painting.

[38] Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, 42.

[39] The gesture is similar to that in the Leningrad and the Stuttgart paintings of *Lot and His Daughters* by Frans Floris (see above, note 47). It is not unlike the gesture of Adam in an engraving of the *Fall and Expulsion* by Cornelis Cort after Michiel Cocxie, reproduced in D.I.A.L., 71 A 42, no. 46282.

[40] See Sir Kenneth Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance* (New York, 1966), pp. 141-145. Clark discusses the development of this gesture in the context of his study of the *Jewish Bride*. He suggests that it was Giorgione and his school who developed a "lovers' embrace." While several Old Testament couples have been mentioned in an attempt to identify the couple in the *Jewish Bride*, Judah and Tamar, to the best of my knowledge, have not been suggested. This might explain the seemingly "older" age of the man represented in the painting. Ferdinand Bol did a *Judah and Tamar*, see Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, Pt. I, 154.

[41] See Leo Steinberg, "Michaelangelo's Florentine Pietà: The Missing Leg," *Art Bulletin*, L, 1968, 342-353. Steinberg discusses the "slung leg" motif as a reference to a sexual encounter. This motif was employed in the Netherlands as well as in Italy.

[42] The "slung leg" in the Heemskerck painting is a variation of the motif as described by Steinberg. Tamar is seated on the ground with both of her legs over one of Judah's.

[43] Matthew 1:3: "And Judah begot Phares and Zara of Thamar. And Phares begot Esron. And Esron begot Aram."

[44] Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, 42, explains that it was acceptable to utilize the Old Testament as an excuse to represent the erotic.

[45] Jaroslav Pelikan, ed., *Luther's Works* (Saint Louis, 1965), VII, 12.

[46] Many of the same sixteenth century artists painted Old Testament "erotica." Lucas van Leyden painted one Susanna and four versions of Lot and His Daughters. Both William Key and the Master of the Prodigal Son painted two Susannas. The Master of the Prodigal Son also painted two Lot and His Daughters. Both sixteenth century artists and patrons must have found the subjects of love and lust most appealing.

[47] *Interpreter's Bible*, I, 124.

"Why has mankind had such a
craving to be imposed upon? Why
this lust after imposing creeds,
imposing deeds, imposing buildings,
imposing language, imposing works
of art? The thing becomes an
imposition and a weariness at
last. Give us things that are alive
and flexible, which won't last too
long and become an abstraction. . . ."
D.H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*

The Ancient Now: Past As Present in Lawrence's Poetry

Donald Gutierrez

D.H. Lawrence's status as a major literary artist and critic is indisputable today. For years accused of formlessness, excessive subjectivity, dogma and doctrine, fascism, religious or spiritual eccentricity, and insufficient education, his work has nevertheless risen high in critical esteem. This esteem obviously includes his poetry. What is less obvious is how many poems have come to seem indispensable, or, at least, have found

critical admirers. This fact in turn implies a significant corollary: more of Lawrence's poems stand esthetically on their own than has been granted in the past by even friendly critics. Basic to these considerations about his poetry is the fact that his esthetics of poetry is not only important as a theoretical manifestation of his verse, but has a significant relation to his conception of pre-Socratic peoples and the ancient mind.

Lawrence's poetry harbors impressive qualities. These emerge sharply when we regard the verse without marked esthetic preconceptions, particularly those demanding a "high finish" to a poem—pronounced objectivity, impersonalism, tensed and balanced meanings. By these standards, Lawrence's poetry often seems too casual, personal, insufficiently "crafted." Yet some of his poems bear affinities in directness, intensity, or naturalness of expression with verse from a variety of ages and places: *Poems from the Greek Anthology*, Chinese and Japanese poetry, the more passionate and contemplative of the English Romantics, Rilke, and visual artists like Vincent Van Gogh and Edvard Munch. Here for example is a poem by the 8th century Chinese poet Li Po:

I sat drinking and did not notice the dusk,
Till falling petals filled the folds of my dress,
Drunken I rose and walked to the moonlit stream;
The birds were gone, and men also few.
("Self-Abandonment")

and the first and third quatrain of a three-stanza early poem by Lawrence:

Yesterday the fields were only grey with scattered snow,
And now the longest grass-leaves hardly emerge;
Yet her footsteps mark the snow, and go
On toward the pines at the hill's white verge.

Why does she come so promptly, when she must know
She's only the nearer to the inevitable farewell?
The hill is steep, on the snow my steps are slow—
Why does she come, when she knows what I have to tell?
("A Winter's Tale")

Li Po's poem is more compressed in its subtlety and poignancy, and desolating in its "concrete universal" image of a woman who has perhaps lost her husband or lover and relieves her misery by losing herself in alcohol. Autumn has come in more ways than one, and there is a hint of suicide. Lawrence's poem, less condensed, more specifically elaborated, also uses oblique references to the natural surrounding both to quietly silhouette "unnatural" conduct, and to suggest its complete inevitability. Both intimate tragic love experiences, all the more forcefully for doing so indirectly.

Again, "Heliodora's Fingernail" from *Poems from the Greek Anthology* and Lawrence's "You" from his early middle period, though at quite opposite ends of the spectrum of love (including a certain masochistic comic "touch" in the fingernail), possess a similar pithiness and starkness that make them seem to derive from the same world of feeling:

O Fingernail of Heliodora,
Surely Love sharpened you, surely Love made you grow:
Does not your lightest touch transfix my heart?

You, you don't know me.
When have your knees ever nipped me
Like fire-tongs a live coal
for a minute.

Lawrence may not sound like Gerard Manley Hopkins or T.S. Eliot, let alone Alexander Pope. Neither, the matter of foreign language aside, does Apollinaire, Mayakovsky, Lorca, Pablo Neruda, or William Carlos Williams. Lawrence has suffered in Anglo-American literary criticism from inappropriate comparisons.

A large point emerging both from the proper comparisions for Lawrence and a realization of the considerable variety of his verse, is a more accurate sense of his worth and scope as a poet. He provides a host of complex emotions and states of mind — such as the involuted emotional ambivalence of an early poem like "Lightning" or of the anthology-piece "Piano" — embodying some of the fundamental crises in feeling and relating of the modern age. If "Snake" is famed for depicting a split between "surface" and "depth" in the modern psyche, another splendid "animal" poem, "Fish," contains recesses which imply acute limitations in the religious mentality of Western man:

I saw, dimly,
Once a big pike rush,
and small fish fly like splinters,
And I said to my heart, *there are limits*
To you, my heart;
And to the one God.
Fish are beyond me.

. . . .

Unhooked his gorping, water-horny mouth,
And seen his horror-tilted eye,
His red-gold, water-precious,mirror flat bright eye;
And felt him beat in my hand, with his mucous, leaping life-throb.
And my heart accused itself

Thinking: *I am not the measure of creation.*
This is beyond me, this fish.
His God stands outside my God.

Some of the lyrics of the early-middle period volume, *Look! We Have Come Through!*, such as "On The Balcony," "A Young Wife," "Quite Forsaken," "New Year's Eve," and "New Heaven & Earth" retain integrity as poems even if read separately, rather than as part of a verse "story, or history" as Lawrence defines it in his "Foreword" to *Look!*. "On the Balcony" could be a verse episode, and a magnificent one, from *A Farewell to Arms* in its sensuous realization of two lovers lost to a world convulsed by war:

In front of the sombre mountains, a faint, lost ribbon of rainbow;
And between us and it, the thunder;
And down below in the green wheat, the labourers
Stand like dark stumps, still in the green wheat.

You are near to me, and your naked feet in their sandals,
And through the scene of the balcony's naked timber
I distinguish the scent of your hair; so now the limber
Lightning falls from heaven.

Adown the pale-green glacier river floats
A dark boat through the gloom — and whither?
The thunder roars. But still we have each other!
The naked lightnings in the heaven dither
And disappear — what have we but each other?
The boat has gone.

The movement from "still we have each other" to "what have we but each other?" is a characteristic Lawrence complication, giving his verse tension and depth. More than a few poems from the first period of Lawrence's career (called "Rhyming Poems" in *The Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence*) are memorable as separate poems. Two superior selective anthologies, edited by Kenneth Rexroth and, more recently, Keith Sagar, not only list twenty-six poems from "Rhyming Poems," but also offer variants among sixteen poems, or a total of forty-two poems considered to be of lasting value.

All this is not to deny that Lawrence wrote many poor or mediocre poems, defective in prosody, in being long-winded or rawly doctrinal. What surprises one is how may *good* poems he wrote. Sagar sets aside one hundred and fifty as the number of "poems on which his claim to the status of a minor poet must rest." Other critics, poets, and readers would add other poems (and probably subtract some). Today, in any case, one can readily counter the old detraction that Lawrence wrote only a handful of successful poems, or, worse, that he was not really a poet except in his better fiction.

Lawrence's poetry, further, embraces an impressive variety of experiences: immersion in and escape from a severe Oedipal situation, an ambivalent celebration of marital life during a World War, an acutely empathetic realization of the non-human-yet-human world of fauna and flora, a tendentious and satiric concern with contemporary "England." His verse ends in an enraptured resurrecting of the great pre-Christian Mediterranean civilizations and in death meditations of deep poignancy, serenity, and introspection. In light of the critical consensus that Lawrence as a poet moves from a technically crude but original verse to the assured technical audacity of the late collection *Birds, Beasts, and Flowers* and the numinous stillness of *Last Poems*, his poetic career unquestionably repudiates the notion that completing *Women in Love* also completed his career.[1] If the post-War works lack the grand design informing the whole of the career of Yeats (who, it should be recalled, lived thirty years longer than Lawrence), the abundance of fine short stories, novellas, essays, travel and speculative books, and volumes of verse issuing from the last fourteen years of Lawrence's life would easily make a lesser writer's career.

A consideration of some of Lawrence's observations about what poetry is or should be broadens the base for his verse, and reinforces both Lawrence's poetics and poetry by converting the past into the service of an esthetic of the present. Lawrence wrote an introduction in 1919 to the American edition of his *New Poems* called "Poetry of the Present," which is probably his greatest statement of a poetic, and one that deserves a more prominent place in the literature of modernist esthetics than it has received.[2] It is a passionate expression of a sensuous vitalism of the present as a paradoxical fixation and transcendence of time: "Life, the ever-present, knows no finality, no finished crystallization. The perfect rose is only a running flame, emerging and flowing off, and never in any sense at rest, static, finished;" and "Don't give me the infinite or the eternal. . . . Give me the still, white seething, the incandescence and the coldness of the incarnate moment: the moment, the quick of all change and haste and opposition . . . the Now."[3]

Immediately apparent here is Lawrence's wish to obscure the past and the future, a justifiable desire in view of how deeply etched into his early poems is the sense of his own most intimate, and, at times, desperate past. Like the past, the future seemed to Lawrence a limitation, even an unreality; it was an "exquisite finality" perhaps, yet also something inimical to his artistic instinct for the naturalness, essence, and authority of immediacy. His driving, Whitmanesque sense of the vital rightness of the unfinished, of experience in transit, the "permanent" or magical or revolutionary or apocalyptical instant, is exalted in the same essay into a mystical poetic: "free verse has its own *nature* . . . it is neither star nor pearl, but instantaneous like plasm. It has no goal in either eternity. It has no finish. It has no satisfying stability, satisfying to those who like the immutable. None of this. It is the instant; the quick; the very jetting source of all will-be and has-been. The utterance is like a spasm, naked contact with all influences at once. It does not want to get anywhere. It just takes place."

In later speculative books like *Etruscan Places* and *Apocalypse* one can relate Lawrence's esthetic of the Now — "The utterance is like a spasm. . . . It does not want to get anywhere. It just takes place" — to his conception of the mentality of ancient, pre-Socratic peoples like the Chaldeans and the Egyptians. If we substitute "poem" for the noun form of the word "thought" in the following extract from *Apocalypse* in which Lawrence theorizes about the mind of archaic man, a poetics comes into view:

> While men still thought of the heart or the liver as the seat of consciousness, they had no idea of this on-and-on process of thought. To them a thought was a completed state of feeling-awareness, a cumulative thing, a deepening thing, in which feeling deepened into feeling in consciousness till there was a sense of fulness. A complete thought was the plumbing of a depth like a whirlpool of emotional awareness, and at the depth of this whirlpool of emotion the resolve formed. But it was not a stage in a journey. There was no logical chain to be dragged further.[4]

The semantic affinities of terms like "poem," "pansy," "*pensee*," and "thought" in Lawrence's poetic, derived from such books as *Etruscan Places* and *Apocalypse*, and the brief but absorbing "Introduction" to *Pansies*, well repay consideration.

Emerging from this word-family are several striking characteristics about Lawrence's esthetic. Besides the apotheosis of the transient, the fragmentary, the magnificent moment, is a confirmation of the importance of thought. As Lawrence puts it in his "Introduction" to *Pansies*, "Each little piece is a thought; not a bare idea or an opinion or a didactic statement, but a true thought, which comes as much from the heart and the genitals as from the head."[5] There is, further, the implication of another (and impressive) kind of thought than the rationalistic cause-effect patterns of Western thinking. Lawrence's probing, empathetic conjectures about the ancient mind can be seen as a figure for an esthetic, but we can also regard his description of the Etruscan or Egyptian or Chaldean mind as a metaphor for a mentality, an artistic sensibility, conceivable in both a poet and a reader of poetry. Lawrence is describing an Etruscan burial vault in the ancient Cerveteri: "here all is plain, simple, usually with no decorations, and with those easy, natural proportions whose beauty one hardly notices, they come so naturally, physically. It is the natural beauty of proportion of the phallic consciousness, contrasted with the more studied or ecstatic proportion of the mental and spiritual Consciousness we are accustomed to."[6] An ancient vault. But he could also be describing his idea of a poem. When, moreover, Lawrence claims that "behind all the Etruscan liveliness was a . . . conception of the universe and

man's place in the universe which made men live to the depth of their capacity. To the Etruscan all was alive; the whole universe lived . . ." (p. 49), he could be describing both a poem and a poet. As Christopher Hassall, in his pioneer essay on *Etruscan Places* as a poetics, states: Lawrence's "last travel book becomes his most revealing statement on the name and nature of poetry, although poetry is never specifically mentioned, and poems themselves are disguised as what he calls 'black flowers.' "[7]

Lawrence in the "Poetry of the Present" essay is challenging conventional ideas of the nature of reality as time divided into past and future. Lawrence even suggests that we enjoy a "finished" art, or art of the past, the infinite, or the eternal, "because we are so frightened" by the challenge of the present. Free verse, which is or should be "direct utterance from the instant, whole man . . . is the soul and the mind and the body surging at once, nothing left out. They speak all together."[8] This demanding sense of the present, in poetry or in life, can be seen as a metaphor both for the present as a mystical culmination of past and future into present, and for engaging one more fully with life, in an important sense making a "poet" of anyone willing to confront experience as phenomena "without beginning and without end." "Instantaneity" itself can be criticized, of course. The "poetry of the beginning and the poetry of the end," as Lawrence terms verse dealing with the past and the future, not only has, he claims, an "exquisite finality;" it is also inextricably interwoven with the present. Lawrence knows this, as his fiction richly attests. He is concerned with those aspects of poetry in which the past and the future as two kinds of perfection, completion, or consummation also subtly serve to protect people from the disordering threat of imminence or immediacy, from the creative and disturbing unfinishedness of the present.

Lawrence, however, is also describing with poetic accuracy (not license) a heightened feeling or sensation or thought so powerful and transcendent that it crystallizes or even transfigures the moment into the Moment. To achieve this conception of life, mind, and time demanded a new kind of poetry: "the poetry of the instant present cannot have the same body or the same emotions as the poetry of the before or after."[9]

This is as good a definition and justification of free verse as one is likely to find, and an answer to Robert Frost's rebuke that free verse is playing tennis with the net down. But an equally important point can be made about Lawrence's "instant present" or "instantaneity." It is a sense of immediate vividness and vitality as applicable to the past and to the future as to the present. Lawrence in his vigorous presentation of the Etruscans brings these ancients alive, gives a whole past people "presence." Their — or at least, Lawrence's — conception and enactment of life is "poetic;" that that conception is also an esthetic for Lawrence's own sense of how life at its centers of intensity and change not only should be but is, embodies a unique quality of the realized instant in many forms found throughout his verse from beginning to end:

The quick sparks on the gorse-bushes are leaping
Little jets of sunlight texture imitating flame
("The Wild Common")

She opened her eyes, and green
They shone, clear like flowers undone
For the first time, now for the first time seen.
("Green")

A circle, swoop, and a quick parabola under the bridge arches
Where light pushes through;
A sudden turning of itself of a thing in the air.
. . . .
Bats!
("Bat")

Before anything had a soul,
While life was a heave of Matter, half inanimate,
This little bit chipped off in brilliance
And went whizzing through the slow, vast, succulent stems.
("Humming Bird")

The youth walks up to the white horse, he puts its halter on
And the horse looks at him in silence.
They are so silent they are in another world.
("The White Horse")

Bavarian gentians, tall and dark, but dark
Darkening the daytime torch-like with the smoking blueness of Pluto's gloom,
Ribbed hellish flowers erect with their blaze of darkness spread blue. . . .
("Bavarian Gentians")

Lawrence's poetics, instinct with an energy of presentness, with an urgency of and joy in immediacy that transcends time-structurings and renders past, present, and future timeless and one, could also intimate something about Lawrence's numerous literary dramas of death and new life. In one of his finest short poems Lawrence's "Etruscan" mind accepts limit, end, finality, and even death as almost a gift, such deeply-rooted beauty of stilled being seems, like the prelude to a resurrection into the Now, to result:

There is nothing to save, now all is lost,
but a tiny core of stillness in the heart
like the eye of a violet.
("Nothing to Save")

Notes

[1] See Roger Sale, *Modern Heroism: Essays on D.H. Lawrence, William Empson, and J.R.R. Tolkien* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973): "Imaginatively he [Lawrence] could only repeat himself in the last fourteen years of his life" (p. 106).

[2] James Scully, editor of a collection of essays by prominent 20th century Anglo-American poets entitled *Modern Poetics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), pays a brief tribute to Lawrence's "rhapsodic" essay in his "Prefatory Note," but fails to include the essay itself in the book.

[3] "Preface to the American Edition of New Poems," In *D.H. Lawrence, Selected Essays* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1950), pp. 287-88.

[4] New York: Viking Press, 1966, pp. 80-81.

[5] *The Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 417.

[6] *Etruscan Places*, in *D.H. Lawrence and Italy* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), p. 10.

[7] "Black Flowers: A New Light on the Poetics of D.H. Lawrence," in *A D.H. Lawrence Miscellany*, edited by Harry T. Moore (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959), p. 371.

[8] "Preface to the American Edition of *New Poems*," p. 289.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

FICTION

Dolphins

Marion Spillman

I heard it last night on the eleven o'clock news. "Dolphins rescued a herd of suicidal whales today," said the announcer.

Off the coast of New Zealand the fatal impulse seized them. Magnet-like, it pulled their gun-metal bulk ever shoreward. Observing their doom, men in boats could not deter them. Onward they swam through frothy waters, big fins flapping, humped backs surfacing and disappearing, growing heavier in the shallow harbor. The brown sand scraped the first fourteen bellies. For them there was no return. Locked in the dunes, they gave a feeble spurt, the coarse hair on their hides stiffening for the last time, the saucer eyes growing dim.

Behind them, still asea, their mates, longing for reunion, responded to the silent calls. But the dolphins heard the signals, too, and they denounced the lure. Their sleeker bodies mingled with those of their weighty relatives, and singing in loud buoyant voices, they overpowered the destructive dirge and led the survivors back to greener depths.

The red glow of my cigarette reached my fingers. I sucked the wound and understood.

I was living alone when Adam died. Now, for the time being, I am staying with my widowed mother.

I should tell you about my mother. I do not call her "Mother." She insists that all (even I, her only daughter) address her as Zelda. That is not her name. She was born Tillie Wychek, but Zelda, she says, has always been her name in previous female lives.

She is fifty-five years old, although few people know this. She dyes her hair red, not an orangy red — more the color of the cherrywood commode in her bedroom that she polishes reverently each Thursday morning. She has no job, but she is by no means retired. My mother is a professional doer.

She rarely sleeps more than five hours a night. Often less. From the time her feet touch the champagne carpeting at the first hint of sunlight to the instant she extinguishes the final lamp, she is constantly doing, doing, doing. Doing her nails or doing a charity bazaar. Playing tennis, hosting parties, reconstructing my life. Her vitality saps mine. She is one of the dolphin people.

I am with her now because one afternoon after a game of golf, my husband, the lawyer, came home and shot himself in the head. The bullet was accurate, the wound fatal. He was twenty-nine years old.

I was spared only the blood. Fearful, I had left him four months earlier and moved into an apartment of my own. I had seen the signs. The green depths of our ocean space had grown too dark for him and for me. He had lost his course. But I knew I was no dolphin. How was I to know he was a whale?

Despite occasional rumors to the contrary, I believe whales are very gentle creatures. Many species lack teeth. I admit it. I am attracted to whales. More than that. I identify with them.

What puzzles me is the fact that whales survive at all. A warm-blooded mammal in the middle of the portless sea is an absurdity to say the least. All those scaly, gilled bodies about him cannot ease his alienation. I wonder if he trembles each time his air hole fills with salt water. That proud spout does not deceive me. It is all whistling in the dark. Like me, he must harbor fears of drowning when he holds his breath beneath the surface. And sometimes he is lured shoreward by some evolutionary tug, only to find himself unsuited for the land.

Jonah knew best. His sins precipitated the storm that flung him overboard. They say he was swallowed by a big fish. (His mother, the whale?) Three days later it cast him upon the shore unharmed. Now that is a case to stifle horror stories spread by scandalmongers. If the whale can love a loser like Jonah, there's got to be some hope for all of us, I would think.

And it does not matter about Captain Ahab's leg. His white madness was to blame. The whale is always the victim. His ample flesh serves well to fertilize a lawn, feed a lap dog, oil an engine, line a mercenary pocket. In a place called Marineland they bill him as a killer.

I know he is no killer. It is just that he cannot always cope with his role of mammal-in-the-sea. In his position who would not swallow an errant castaway, bite off a predatory leg? Let he who is without sin fling the first harpoon.

Sometimes I feel like writing you a letter. Not asking you why you did it. I know why. But, perhaps, to tell you I understand. Perhaps, a Letter in Defense of Adam and His Ultimate Act.

First of all, I would like to state once and for all that I do not hold with those who hint at your lack of reason. Suicide is not irrevocable proof of insanity. I must confess I am curious about the shore. I sometimes long to feel the gritty sand beneath my bulk. This opaque ocean confuses me. It chills my warm blood. Perhaps I, too, have lost contact with the herd. I long to touch your gray hide once more on some distant beach.

I know what drew you to the strand. Self-dissatisfaction is not an easy matter to reconcile. In the glare of your success, you feared we would find you out. You feared that shark-like, sniffing the blood, we would detect your naked flaws. You thought we would perceive what your drunken father must have seen in you that night of your boyhood when, sleeping in your narrow bed, you were awakened by the repeated smashing of his fist into your beardless face.

On that last night your Scotch fortified you, guided your hand, directed your aim. I, too, am in need of a drink.

Dolphins, while members of the whale family, are leaner, more cunning than their kin. You can see it in their beaklike snouts. Slyer, even in appearance, than the moon-faced whale. Clearly a step up on the evolutionary hierarchy. You should also know that, unlike the whale, all dolphins have teeth.

The dolphin must possess a more sanguine nature than his leviathan cousin. (How often do you read about a beached *dolphin*?) With their amazing leaps, dolphins are somehow able to transcend the sea. Perhaps they shall also transcend the planet. In naming one pattern of stars Delphinus, the ancient mariners recognized their power.

Some zoologists contend that dolphins are nearly as intelligent as man. Maybe more so. They appear inhibited only by their lack of functional appendages. But, in time, who can tell? The dolphin shall inherit the earth. I am not certain why I am disturbed by this possibility. Perhaps I am responding to the distress calls emanating from the shoreline of my brain.

Zelda thinks I spend far too much time brooding. She may be quite right. Today she initiated The Plan of Action to Redirect My Life.

There are blisters on my heels from the morning of art museums. Zelda does not believe in hesitation and allowed no prolonged contemplation of the seascapes. Her idea of art (quite different from mine) is angular patterns, bright colors, even flashing lights. I find it difficult to relate to paintings that blink orange and purple at me.

This afternoon her bridge club met in our living room. Most of my mother's friends, I discover, are my age. That did not make matters any easier. I found it impossible to concentrate on the red and black spots. I lost count. Soon no one but Zelda will have me as a partner.

Tonight I am thankful to have the house to myself. Zelda is on a date. Widowhood never slowed her frantic pace.

They are going to the opera and offer to take me along. (My mother has ways of getting an extra ticket.) I do not like the opera. I hate not being able to understand the words. Especially if they are in English. Zelda's date does not protest when I refuse. In fact, he seems relieved. I scrutinize his face, the lines of his body before they depart. It is difficult to discern his classification.

I still dream of you, Adam. Your face is a dark outline, like an image in a child's coloring book. It needs filling in. I take my gray and yellow crayolas and do the job.

Your triumphs were never enough. They always left the taste of failure on your palate. Self-doubts consumed you, dried up the fine spray of your spout.

Isn't that why I left you in the first place? I could not accompany you on those deep dives you took. The waters press too heavily on the ocean floor for my transparent skin. A pale grape, I feared the crushing.

Perhaps if I had borne you the son you deserved. That evening I returned from shopping and found you in our bedroom, toying with the trigger, measuring the barrel, I thought of our unborn son. We had been so young, too green for parenthood. I was the one who decided and you agreed. Or I thought you agreed. Was I wrong? How was I to know this would be our only chance?

Would a child have made the difference, Adam? Would a son have scotched your sea serpents?

I awaken unaware. Zelda is not here to reassure me. Somehow in the middle of the night I have lost an hour of my life. The clock says nine when I toss back the blankets, but it is all deception.

After soft-boiled eggs and Rachmaninoff, the radio announcer tells me it is actually nearing eleven. An electrical break must have occurred during the night. It is the last Sunday in April all over again. Spring forward, fall back. There is nothing to fall back on. A dark October afternoon does not compensate for a shortened, budding morning. Twice in one year. It is too much.

The sands of time have escaped me. I long to smash the hour glass and retrieve them. But what would be the sense of that? The shore is coming up fast. I wish it did not seem so appealing.

Driving down the freeway, I reach for the knob to clear the static on the car radio. The high pitched whistles stop my hand. Strange singing which is meant for my ears alone. I think I recognize the siren's song. Is that you, Adam?

My movement is given direction. Guided by the piercing notes, I take the next exit ramp. Zelda does not know that I still have a key.

A slinking culprit, I return to the scene, seeking peace. The drapes are drawn. The furniture seems untouched since the day I left.

In the bottom drawer of your bureau, the revolver awaits me. It is small and silver and the handle fits so perfectly in my hand. Did you leave this for me, Adam? Or did I place it here myself? It does not matter.

Walking into our living room, I sink into the colorless sofa. I have forgotten how soft it is. My cheek burns and I lay the cool metal against it and find relief. In a few moments I am dozing. I curl in the darkness, the back of my hand padding my small, hard pillow.

Zelda is disturbed. Somehow whe knows where I have been though I have told her nothing. I rub my cheek seeking to erase the telltale imprint that must be the source of my betrayal.

"Why do you do this to yourself?" she pleads.

Because I must, I think, without responding.

"It's not your fault. I knew he was not right for you. You're not to blame."

The rays streaming through the sky light set her hair aglow like the bloody deck of a whaler at sunset. I flinch as her syllables slice into my flesh.

"You can't bring him back, you know," she says. Turning from her, I face the stark wall. My eyes are able to penetrate the paint and plaster and I can see the coast fifty miles away. Can't you hear him calling me, I ask without speaking.

Her hands grasp my shoulders, and she forces me back in her direction. Her strength surprises me. I can tell she is shouting by the blue vein that appears on her forehead, but her voice is distant, the message nearly lost.

"You've got to pull yourself together! Do you hear me?"

I remain in her painful grasp. Just barely, Zelda, I answer without moving my lips. Just barely.

Most of our conversations proceed in this manner.

I remain ambivalent toward the sea. It is too mysterious for my tastes. The constant churning makes me woozy, seasick. I am highly suspicious of a body that shrinks and expands with the winking of the moon. (The moon, as you know, is a symbol of lunacy.)

I think my image is sand-cast. In the sand boxes of my youth, I built sand castles, settled my accounts with sand dollars. I prefer a peanut butter sandwich to a diet of sea biscuits and sea lettuce.

Perhaps I am just not seaworthy. My sea-legs wobble in anticipation of a green sea-quake. I know you will tell me that there are earthquakes, but try to understand my dilemma. I am, after all, an air-breathing mammal, quite vulnerable in spite of my deceptive gray mass.

Masefield's "Sea Fever" gives me chills. My doctor recommends that I take two aspirins and refrain from sounding. If the sea snakes don't get me, the sea devil will. And you wonder why I get these urges to beach?

Damn you, Adam, the apple of my eye. I did not betray you. Do you blame me still for not lingering? Eden had become infested with unseemly beasts. The orchards ceased to bloom.

Was that bullet meant for me? Was my skull meant to explode with its impact? It does not take a legal mind to grasp the implication. Just deserts for the sin of abandonment? You did not miss your mark, my love.

The house rings with Zelda's laughter. Its light notes float through the heavy creases of the draperies, collide with the crystal prisms of the chandelier. They tickle me like the sea foam between my toes when I jog along the surf.

Her friend Charlotte is visiting us with her three-year-old child. Zelda entertains him with funny faces and her Donald Duck voice. The child squeals with giggles and Zelda laughs at her own success.

Zelda offers them her special vanilla fudge. I, too, am tempted, though I know I should resist. Her sweets are addictive.

Soon I must tell Zelda of my decision. I have enrolled in a stenographic course. I do not think she will approve. She always held loftier goals for me.

Before I married Adam, I was a good typist. We met, in fact, in the firm where he started as a clerk. It was the first job for both of us. We married and after his graduation, I resigned. Lawyer's wives, of course, do not work.

I think a secretarial role will suit me. Let us face the facts. We are not all meant to be dolphins.

I cannot deny the whale in me. Scrimshaw makes me shudder. The truth is, I lack the sand to be a dolphin. But perhaps until I find my herd again, I can allow the dolphins to direct me. Last seen, the survivors of those suicidal whales were fifteen miles off the coast of New Zealand, heading farther out to sea.

The Stroke

Lewis Horne

I got to the telephone first.

"Do you want to come and get me?"

Ken and my sisters stood in the center of the room, halted, waiting, and my father behind them, the handle of a mop in his hands, a shiny puddle of water spreading on the linoleum. The couch was pulled away from the wall, the radio and piano bench moved to the front porch, two wooden chairs lying on top of the couch. We had expected Mom back today and had been cleaning ever since my father got home from work, him digging in in a kind of all-or-nothing fashion while Ken and I milked the cows. What a relief it was to hear her voice!

My father took the phone. "How's Walt?" He smiled as he spoke. "We'll be there soon."

To us, he said, "Okay, let's move, move, move."

He took as much water from the floor as he could. Part was already drying as we shoved the furniture into place.

"A week's a long time," he said, as we backed out the drive, "a long time to be without your mother, isn't it?"

It was Ken's turn to sit in the front seat of the car with my dad. I sat in the back with my two sisters as we drove past the church house, the sun falling in a trough of yellow and gold and silver. I remembered listening as my mother and father talked about my mother's going, she uncertain, teased by the idea, so seldom did any of us ever travel anywhere.

"I think you should go," my father had told her. "You don't want your dad to go alone."

"But how could I help?"

Urged by my father to "get away for a while," she finally agreed, though it wasn't a pleasure trip, this drive to Wyoming with my widowed grandfather. He would need help with the driving, my dad reminded her. She didn't know what problems there might be when he saw Walt and Nola.

Not a pleasure trip, moving Walt and Nola back to Arizona. . . . Childless, they lived in a small town in southern Wyoming. Nola worked in a beauty parlor, Walt on a train as a fireman making regular runs to Salt Lake City and San Francisco. Two months ago—perhaps a little longer—my grandfather had called us. "Walt had a stroke," he told my mother. "Nola says he's almost fully paralyzed." The doctor said it was too early to tell: he might get some control back or he might not.

We only saw Walt every four or five years when they came for a visit. Talkative and energetic, plump and shapely, Nola had a toughness about her, her language always a step to the side of the profane, a slight pause thumping as she slipped in her substitute for "hell" or "damn." Walt grumbled, his mutters edged with irony. But without malice or bitterness—rather a pose. Each snort, each wink—part of a character we found amusing. Occasionally, seeing him without a shirt, I'd been fascinated by a cavity in his skinny back, sinking red, glowing, and wrinkled into his body, as though a claw had ripped a part of him away. "He had pneumonia when he was young," my mother said, "and the doctor had to drain his lungs." He was a thin man, of normal size, who held his chin high when he walked, his large bony nose seeming to test the air, his shoulders back and toes turned out. A swagger. A tip of the head. "Sure enough now. . . ?"

Together they bickered. Both smoked cigarettes, for Walt like most of my mother's brothers was a jack Mormon and Nola like their wives not a Mormon at all.

"Did it hurt when they drained his lungs?" I asked.

"I don't know," my mother said. "I was a little girl then and we all had to go outside when the doctor came. Grandpa was foreman for Pitchford. He had to help hold Walt."

As my father turned the car along the canal bank, the sun almost gone to our right over the flat alfalfa fields and the citrus groves, I asked, "Did Mom say how Walt is?"

"Not as bad as she thought he would be. We'll see for ourselves."

See what? A man crippled?

Not so. Not entirely so as it turned out.

Nola was boisterous with her greetings—"Look how tall this one is! I'd never know him!"—while my mother smiled quietly at each of us, pulling my two sisters close for a kiss. Nola's hair was tightly curled, small flowered earrings a pale glow to either side of her rosy face. Nola never looked unkempt, my mother and aunts remarked.

We sat on the sunporch running the back length of the house. An overhead light burned. Three or four wicker chairs stood about a braided rug while at either end of the porch was a metal bed. On one of these Walt rested.

"You look well," my father said. "You look really well."

"Oh, I'm fine," said Walt, "fine."

Stiff but not crippled. His cigarette he held between long unbending fingers,

pointed-looking because of the nails. He crossed and uncrossed his legs as he lay on the chenille spread, two pillows under his head, and he turned, twisted as he looked about.

"When I was in the hospital," he said, "all I could do was move my fingers—like that. . . ." He lifted the third finger of his right hand half an inch. "That was all. But now—" he gestured with his full arm—"I'm fine. I'm not going to be the way I was. But I'm lucky. I and Nola—we were worried."

Had it been a tiring trip?

"No," Walt said, "but the old man's driving scared hell out of us. In the mountains he was on the shoulder of the road half the time. You don't like to nag him, but when he can't judge distance. . . ." He spoke in a low voice so my grandfather wouldn't hear, wherever he was in the house. "He'd let Nola or May spell him. But in the mountains, in the tough places, he'd take the wheel back."

My grandfather came out of the bedroom then—a tall, thin, handsome man with a large nose and a flourish of gray hair—so Walt spoke of something else.

Then Nola brought out the hamburger, peas, and store bread for supper. When Walt walked to the table, he reached forward with both hands, as though to balance himself, as though sinew, muscle, bone, everything from the base of his spine to the back of his head was welded to a single thin rod. No one spoke. I wasn't embarrassed. I don't think anyone else was. For Walt, walking, was showing off. Look, he seemed to say, see what I can do.

"Yes," said my father, "you're doing very well."

Driving home along the canal bank, the dark water to the left shining in the moonlight, my mother in the front seat holding my younger sister on her lap, my father asked about my grandfather's driving.

"It was awful," she said. "Walt got mad and told him if he couldn't stay on the road to let someone else drive. . . . That didn't help a bit. I'm sure he didn't use to be this way."

In the back seat, we were half asleep. But I thought of what my mother had told me about Walt and his pneumonia—my grandfather's work, his helping the doctor, watching the knife cut into the smooth young back, the blood and mucous. . . . I imagined this, thinking of the tall gray-haired man holding his boy. Hearing the hoarse and tortured breathing. . . . Except, I remembered, my grandfather hadn't been gray-haired then. The occasional photograph I saw, stiffly posed, showed a man with a thin serious face and hair as dark and shiny as a crow's wing. Did my mother remember her father that way? I wondered. Or did Walt?

At first, my grandfather worried about Walt. The surprise and relief we felt at how well he could walk, given the earlier paralysis, diminished, and we noticed with how much real difficulty he did move. He walked a good deal, all the same, trying a cane and then rejecting it because it was too awkward. He walked out the long driveway to the dirt road leading to the highway or he walked past the empty chickenpen toward the corral over the packed dirt behind the back lawn,

his old swagger grotesquely exaggerated. When my father rented my grandfather's ten acres of alfalfa to pasture our cows for a few months, we milked in the corral. Sometimes in the evening while we milked, Walt stood at the fence, resting his arms on the top rail. He joked, he complained, he gossiped. Once or twice as the days grew warm, he took his shirt off and I saw that cavity in his back, opening and closing with his movements like a misshapen mouth.

"The old man gets nervous," he said. "If I and Nola go to town, he has to drive us." They had sold everything when they left Wyoming. "Maybe we should buy a car."

My aunts and uncles thought it a good thing that Walt and Nola stayed with my grandfather. It gave my grandfather something to do, something to think about. He was at such loose ends, they said, after my grandmother died. Ever since he retired from Pitchford's. . . . I had only dim memories of the old two-story house my grandparents had lived in, the immense flat acres of lettuce stretching off toward the mountains, the machines and the pickers, the other workmen. . . . My grandfather was the foreman. That two-story house with the rock railing around the front porch was the house my mother lived in when my father courted her. That was the house from which my grandfather in his faded overalls directed Pitchford's operations. From that porch I'd watched the big trucks full of dusty green lettuce move off for the packing sheds, my grandfather directing it all.

"The old man doesn't know what to do with himself," said Walt. Then he chuckled. "Me neither."

Later as we were getting ready to go home, my mother said, "He's taking care of you."

Walt snorted.

Over the weeks, with his exercise, his sunning, his walk began to approximate what it had been and he developed a movie star suntan. Even his back browned, the darkness obscuring the old wound.

Meantime, my grandfather was spending more time at services in the Mormon temple. Walt felt more comfortable with him gone. "Jesus, sometimes you'd think I was a kid again. I tell him I'm forty-five years old. But in his house. . . . I think of the way he used to lose his temper. It's not easy to be this way." I'd never hear him complain about his stroke and even what he said now was a statement of fact, not a complaint. "But I don't think it's easy for him neither. I know he wants to help. But I'm not that kid, for Christ's sake, and he's not—well, he's not Pitchford's foreman. Not anymore."

Nola said he might find himself a girl friend among the Temple workers.

Walt scoffed.

"There's a lot of widows around there," she said.

Maybe she was right. When one Sunday near Easter we went on a picnic, my grandfather stayed home, saying he had been invited to dinner that day. Nola said, "Ho, ho!" Walt told her to shush. "What's the matter with you anyway?"

We drove out on the desert, heading north from Apache Junction on a dirt road with knotted and jagged mountains gray and purple in the distance. We

could have stayed on the main road and climbed into those mountains, but at a junction—marked by a weathered board dimly lettered—we turned east, skirting the looming slopes, driving between smaller hills covered with thorny bushes, spindly ocotillo, prickly pear. The dust from our car settled on mesquite trees. Where were we going? To Blue Point, where a wide slow river backed up from one of the dams. Such a rich sight in the desert. To come down out of those low hills and see the blue water shining in the sun, green damp grass lining it and farther back cottonwoods that gave way to large clusters of mesquites. My brother and I loved it. We loved, too—and feared—crossing the long narrow bridge, resting only a few feet above the water, the car wheels clicking rhythmically over the ridges underneath.

Following a jouncy trail into the mesquite grove, we found a picnic spot and spread quilts on the sparse grass. Two or three large rocks were trussed in the sandy ground.

"Sure enough now," said Walt, stretching.

We set up a folding chair for him. We put the cardboard box with the tomatoes and potato salad and fried chicken on one of the quilts. While my mother and Nola opened the bags of paper plates, of cups, of potato chips, my brother and I stood at the edge of the water, squinting across its blue surface to the sunny hills on the other side. My father skipped rocks, dancing them over the bright water one, two, three times.

"Let me try," I said. But I couldn't throw well.

"How do you do it?" said Ken.

Walt said, "Here. Let me show you."

We handed him a rock. An awkward wind-up, a grimace. . . . His throw was shorter even than mine. He teetered, and my father caught his arm.

Nola called from the quilt. "Don't be too ambitious."

"I know," he muttered. To my father, he said, "Anybody told me a year ago—"

My father looked down at the stone he held. "It can happen to anybody."

"It sure can," said Walt. He seemed to shudder, twisting his shoulders as though a chill rippled his spine. I'd seen him do that before and thought the motion might have been caused by his stroke. "It makes you afraid when you think about it."

I waited for my father to respond, but he remained silent. When my mother called, he spun the stone he held out across the water.

"Four times!" cried Ken.

Walt chuckled, his spell past. "Your old man's pretty clever, huh?"

Mainly Walt refused to feel sorry for himself. Yet as he sat in the lawn chair, holding a piece of chicken in his stiff fingers, he said, "You remember when I had the pneumonia? You remember how the old man was? I heard him tell Mama he'd never felt so helpless. I wondered why it was me with the pneumonia, why I had to be the one to have it. I wanted to ask him."

"You didn't want it to be somebody else, did you?" asked Nola.

Walt frowned. "You know what I mean."

"No, I don't."

"I think it scared me most to see the old man, the way he was, worried and feeling helpless. Why does it strike you down? If the doctor couldn't help, what could he do? That scared me more than the not breathing good, the fever. . . ."

After lunch, my father went for a walk, carrying a long stick forked at the end, his guard against rattlenakes. My two sisters lay beside Nola on one of the quilts, while Walt sat in his chair, stiff and a little somber in appearance. His face—lined, burned, hair-line receded, forehead smooth and shiny around a widow's peak—was impassive, as though he'd drawn back into himself, leaving the bony features as a cover like the front of a quiet house. Standing at the edge of the water, Ken and I tried to skip rocks. Ken managed a short jump, but neither of us was pleased.

Then my father returned.

"That wasn't a very long walk," said Nola.

"I killed a snake."

Walt stood, teetering. "A snake?"

"A rattler. Back there a ways—toward the powerline. . . ."

We wanted to see. Even Walt came, picking his way stiffly, the group of us moving over the smoothest ground, sand spilling in shoes, short grass brushing ankles. We climbed a small incline, past rocks settled in the ground like large and misshapen turtles. At the top of the rise, my father said, "About here."

And there, as the sand fell more sharply away to a shallow gully, half way down in a coiled scoop, lay a dark switch, its thin shadow making it look thicker than it was, itself as dark as the shadow, lying limp, heavy with its limpness, in the hot sand. I wanted to see more closely, but felt fearful of approaching.

"I came over the top," said my father. "It might have been a rock. It was all wrapped up. But I heard it whirring, rattling. . . . I tried to hold back, but the sand kept slipping under my feet. Like a treadmill."

I edged forward. Patterns shaped themselves as I looked more closely, the body curving behind the wedge of the snake's head, scaly patterns of light and dark receding along the dusty body to the pod-like rattle. I expected it to writhe, arc, spring.

My father lifted it with the stick he carried, prodding under its middle, paler than the top. It hung like something wet. I saw Walt shudder, that strange movement that wrenched his shoulders. Nola counted its rattle, hanging opposite the stone-shaped head.

"Can we take its rattle?" she asked.

"What do you want that for?" asked Walt.

"Because I want it," she said, as my father cut through with his large pocket knife.

"Aren't their mates supposed to stick close?" said Walt.

"I don't know," my father said.

"I heard their mates are supposed to be close," he said. "We better go."

Seeing how slowly he turned himself on the uneven ground, I sympathized

with his fear. He said that snakes can strike before you see them, so rapidly that even if you see them, even if you hear their rattle, you can't move in time, that snakes can come out of nowhere, poisonous snakes. . . . They spring out of nowhere. Some snakes, he'd heard, could freeze you, hypnotize you with their eyes. Did we mind if he sat in the car? He didn't want to scare the kids but snakes gave him the blue devils. Why the hell Nola wanted the rattle—

"I'll throw it away if you want me to?"

No, no, he said. She had it now. My father had gotten it for her because she asked. But he hoped she wouldn't leave it sitting around, for Christ's sake. . . . He didn't want to see it. Horrible things, snakes. Never knew where you might see one.

As we drove home a couple of hours later, the excitement about the snake receded, I felt Walt shudder again beside me in the back seat. And I wondered, as though something had been passed to me through the shudder, what I would have done had I and not my father come upon a coiled snake. And then—as part of the same thought, the same shudder—I wondered what I would do in the future, a grown-up, whenever I took a walk, moving as I inevitably would, sooner or later, alone. As we all do.

Suppose I saw. . . . What?

When we returned, we told my grandfather, who was sitting in a lawnchair in the back yard, about the snake. He nodded as Walt made his way into the house.

POETRY

Naomi Clark

Point Barrow: The Hard Winter

I blanched them, sealed them carefully into bags,
arranged them in the new freezer:
Nostradamus, in his plastic shroud,
in a crescent behind the Minute Maids and Birds Eyes;
Trismegistus between ice cube trays,
his wand beside him;
Zoroaster to one side of the roast beef.
Maharishi, his face—clear through the film—
still crinkled in laughter, I gave a corner to himself,
near the strawberries.

The first year we didn't need them,
nor the second. The third year,
we finished the berries in November,
feasted, at the solstice, on turkey,
Australian lobster for New Year's.
Full of jokes and applesauce, peas, little potatoes, pies,
we sang. Late in April,
after the worst snows but the ground still dead,
stores sold out, weeks of fog banked on the landing strip,
one by one I took them out.
Seals had cracked,
fibers burned to straw in the sucking frost.
One by one I soaked them,
placed them in a pre-heated oven or dropped them in boiling water,
lightly salted and buttered.
We could not chew them.
Even Christ, in triple bags, tight, golden, had gone,
his blood dried to bitter crystals,
the bread of his eyes turned to copper.

The freezer stands open and empty.
The children suck blood from sores on their arms.

In The Year Of The Tiger: For Those I Have Eaten

In the dark of my belly their eyes glow.
Among hills of my lungs they walk.
They seek grass, the seeds of grasses,
chicory, apples, berries.
At streams of blood they drink.
Herds congregate; they stampede;
they huddle blindly against snow.
Lamb, you bleat
in nerves of my eyes.
A great salmon swims in a deep pool.
Among the roots of stars I snuffle
for the nuts of our birth.

Freezer

She put all the plums, the corn
out to melt,
hollowed a nest,
crawled inside.
Pulled shut the door.
In a dream she crosses
the kitchen, opens
the door.
Frost salts the eyes;
curled up, knees to chin,
feet crossed,
hands under one cheek,
in Antarctic summer
the child sleeps.
The eyelashes begin to melt.
She closes the door.

Joanna Thompson

Rustic Canyon

Hawk flattens wing against air/where
are the other two who lay on
shifting currents?

Summer crackles dry/hot, crisp
in canyons
and on the rims. Lilac
trees/ironwood/ceanothus
california, white
blossomer of spring,
bare.
Evil madonna/dodor/yellow
parasite
waves
in dry air, stretching,
having sucked the juice
of ironwood it reaches
with twined/trailing comic's legs,
up,
for moisture.

A twig snaps with echo
of the canyon
the Santa Ana
the sound of a rifle.
Is that why, today.
when heat quivers dry air,
seeking water where
there is none/none at all,
and mountains heave
beyond waves of air/is that why,
I wonder,
that a shot/rifle crisping in the echo
made only one hawk left of three?

Or do the others wait for better winds
to flatten with thin edged wing?
To swing
upon moister currents/dance
above the salt licked seawind
so playful in its dying fall
where hawk can be master?

Hypothesis

Slowly the world moves into nursing homes,
yet we keep the gnomon, the figure left
after one parallelogram, smaller, is removed
from the larger that touched it at one corner.

If I plant a tree beside the sundial,
the style will change its shadow indicator,
not interpreting the day correctly;
yet my tree is hidden in their forests.

Today is cloudy and the gnomon stops.
Having found its certain path, the ancients
never questioned what the young would question.
What dark days produced their elaborated theorems
and their clocks whose styles move
no matter what?

I see a strange gnome, hunched indicator
of my parents' passing sun, tangental
to the moon, which, in the narrow eyes
of minutes, calculates certain dark.
I am one parallelogram removed
from their graves.

Lament Of A Once First Lady

I did not dream of castles
in snow, nor warm-thatched
huts on shell white beaches:
no. I saw a mantle
in the mist, smelled
the victories of men
who win
the mansions
of leaders.

Grounds green & rose, draped
with deer, pale yellow rooms
stripped of former women
painted mine,
became mine.

I overlooked the rest/other
men as ugly wrote great poems,
some as nasty painted oils
on canvas, those as sick
made parts in plays
for women who were less.

I closed my eyes and became
a queen of porcelain & rose
slipping behind varnished
masks of what I supposed
they wanted me
to be
I lived within the mansions
of my soul, strolling
through the aisles.

I cannot speak to you of price
someone else has said
what price
reflected glory/I am a woman
though few believe it.

It is not easy past the goal
once the goal is reached
when he who has carried
your well-stitched balls
has fallen. For myself,
I prefer to think of
better things—
receptions, luxuries,
occasional domestic
tranquillities.

I give interviews rarely to lesser
women or to men since no one
can understand/who can understand
a woman such as I.

Sometimes I walk the beach below
my exile early, so early
in the morning that I
cannot be seen/I see
the spies
laughing
behind their fingers.

I am composed/I believe
in composure, don't you?
My mask was fitted
to my face
by craft
& I compose my hatred
for a fallen sovereign
because:
although the deerpark green & rose
is gone & the pale yellow water
silken sitting rooms belong
to other women,
I still have
a mansion of sorts,
bougainvillea, azalea
in pots, a solar
palace by the sea.
I forgot the reasons
why I could not run.

ARTICLES

The Retreat from Communism in 1934

Milton Loventhal
and Jennifer McDowell

This article is the third in a series on the Stalin Resolutions. In the previous two issues the authors set forth the history and description of the Stalin Resolutions, the methods used to authenticate them, and twenty-one of the Resolutions translated from the Russian.

IN May of 1934, the Soviet Communist Party had held the reins of power for almost seventeen years. During this tumultuous period the Party and the Politburo's grip on the destiny of the nation they were determined to develop politically, industrially, agriculturally, and militarily was fervent and at the same time profoundly uneasy. The depth and breadth of the problems the Soviet leadership faced, and the lengths to which it was prepared to go to solve these problems — even if this meant postponing vital ideological objectives — were vividly outlined in a dramatic resolution formulated by the Politburo on May 24, 1934.

This resolution, based on a report by Stalin to the Politburo, is the most important resolution in the entire set of 247 documents obtained by German intelligence in the 1934-36 period. This resolution is important because it spotlights critical changes of an internal and external nature bearing on Soviet foreign policy in the spring of 1934 and because it supplies unusual and highly significant revelations on the nature and intensity of the Soviet leadership's ideological commitment. The resolution allows us to see a host of critical changes instituted in the spring of 1934 through the Politburo and Stalin's eyes, and at the same time answers highly contemporary questions about the Politburo's ideological sincerity, the strength of its adherence to its ideological underpinnings, and the approaches it used in reconciling theory and action. The importance of the resolution, was fully recognized by the Politburo for the resolution is the most heavily underlined in the entire set of documents,[1] and it is the only one actually stating that it must be kept secret.[2]

The resolution, translated by the authors of the present article, reads as follows:

Resolution of the Politburo CPSU(b) of May 24, 1934
(based on Stalin's report)

Having heard in its extraordinary meeting of May 24, 1934, Comrade J.V. Stalin's report "On the Reconsideration of the Basic Premises of the General Line of the CPSU(b)," the Politburo CPSU(b) comes to the *unanimous* conclusion that the international political and economic situation compels the Party leadership to adopt a fundamental decision which, with all its *exceptional* importance, must remain ABSOLUTELY SECRET from all comrades, with the exception of responsible officials of the central Party organs. The Politburo CPSU(b) considers it necessary that all measures be adopted to prevent any publicity with regard to the present resolution even in the form of vague rumors and "confidential whisperings."

The Politburo CPSU(b) cannot but express its admiration for the straightforwardness of Comrade Stalin who has the courage to draw political and tactical conclusions which might, at first superficial glance, seem an open betrayal of the principles and ideas of communism. Considering it impossible, for tactical considerations, to publicize these conclusions widely, the Politburo CPSU(b) cannot but acknowledge them as entirely correct conclusions which are, under present conditions, the only way out of the situation in which the Party and the Soviet Union find themselves.

The Politburo CPSU(b) fully subscribes to the first thesis of Comrade Stalin's report, that *the CPSU(b) must temporarily reject its innermost ideological essence in order to preserve and strengthen its political power over the country. The Soviet government must, for a time, cease being communist in its acts and measures, having as its sole aim that of being a stable and strong power, basing itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of threat from without.*

The Politburo CPSU(b) completely subscribes to the second thesis of Comrade Stalin's report, that *under the conditions of encirclement by capitalist states which are armed to the teeth, and have in addition a tendency to go through a prolonged stage of fascist political and social pseudo-revolutions (which slow down the historical process, whose final stage is the world* COMMUNIST *revolution), the CPSU(b) and the Soviet government must reckon with the compelling necessity of the "postponement" of the world triumph of communism and opportunely carry out a difficult maneuver of retreat within the country for the strengthening of its resistance to a possible external attack.*

The Politburo CPSU(b) fully approves of the third thesis of Comrade Stalin's report, that *the world communist movement must remain ideologically, tactically, and organizationally intact, becoming a mighty weapon in the hands of Soviet foreign policy and remaining an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital.* The Politburo

CPSU(b) completely shares Comrade Stalin's point of view that *the rank-and-file fighters for the communist revolution by no means must know about the tactical retreat of the CPSU(b)*, whose leadership is obligated, in good time, to attend to a suitable, and ideologically precise, formulation of a new general line of the Party.

An Exegesis

This dramatic resolution, rich in information of an ideological, factual, and stylistic nature, is impressive, surprising and memorable. Most of the factual and ideological points contained within it have never been acknowledged publicly by the Soviets, and western scholars have deduced the broad outlines of events and policies which it set in motion only with the aid of several years' hindsight.

In order to provide an example of one of the important methods used to verify the body of documents (for a detailed discussion of the methodology used in the study, the reader is referred to the February 1981 issue of *San Jose Studies)*, an intensive analysis of this important resolution is offered so that the scholar and general reader can gain a broad introduction to one of the important approaches to the material. This "single document" approach, which covers the document from every conceivable angle — chronology, events, subjects, ideology and language — is highly detailed, complex and exhaustive.

This analysis of what must be a record of one of the major decisions made by Stalin includes the following: the resolutions has been located in the rushing current of Soviet history and politics and its vital role in this tumultous vortex of pressures has been documented in depth and detail.[3] The resolution and the other resolutions have been interwoven with Soviet and Comintern (the Communist International) policies, and with events pertinent to these policies. Special historic connections spanning more than two decades — between the resolution and important events — have been spotlighted. As we shall see, parts of this resolution have their antecedents in Lenin's retreat from War Communism to the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, and in Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" in 1924. Contemporarily we will see the resolution is an integral part of the revival of Russian nationalism in 1934, the turn to the United Front[4] by the French Communist Party in June 1934, and of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern (the Congress of the Popular Front)[5] in July-August 1935. Looking towards the future we will see that the resolution's influence reached forward in time to touch Stalin's famous victory toast of May 24, 1945. A linguistic study that probes the question of the unity or kinship of the document with other published high level Soviet material and with material authored by other top communist officials has been set down, and the amazing linguistic consistencies in both meaning and diction between the resolution and later Soviet and Comintern material have been brought to the surface and examined. As a final note, the analysis will bring to light surprising links which existed between the May 24 resolution and the cult of Stalin

flourishing in that period. This document provides intriguing insights into the dynamics of the cult of Stalin as it operated at the highest levels of Soviet society.

Let us now turn to the exegesis.

AN HISTORICAL INTERWEAVING

German-Soviet Relations. Upon becoming chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, Hitler initiated a chain of events that ultimately would lead to Stalin's secret report of May 24, 1934. Clandestine Russo-German military collaboration, begun in 1921, continued over the years until September 1933 when Nazi anti-Soviet demonstrations forced Russia to sever its secret collaboration and look toward another type of alliance.[6] The Soviet leadership did not find it easy, however, "to overcome the old, deeply-rooted orientation for an alliance with Germany, even with a reactionary Germany, for the purpose of bringing about an explosion in the victorious countries,"[7] e.g., Britain, France, Italy, etc. Extensive discussions must have taken place in the Politburo in 1933 on the question of changing the Rapallo policy which favored an alliance with Germany to one favoring a Franco-Soviet alliance. Nonetheless, the new blatantly anti-Soviet position taken by the Hitler government ultimately forced the Politburo into a dramatic, far-reaching "reconsideration of the general line."[8]

Franco-Soviet Relations. In 1933, Franco-Soviet rapprochement was stimulated when Germany withdrew on October 14 from both the Disarmament Conference and from the League of Nations.[9] Fearful of the specter of German rearmament, Joseph Paul-Boncour, the French Foreign Minister, approached Maxim Litvinov, the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, with the idea of a Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact.[10] Since the Soviet Union for its part was also apprehensive about rising German militarism, it agreed to the opening of secret negotiations. By "December 12, 1933, Paul-Boncour began to insist on simultaneous acceptance by the Soviet Union of the proposals to join the League of Nations and to conclude a mutual assistance convention with France."[11] The same day, the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) adopted a secret decision envisioning "the possibility of the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations and the conclusion of a regional agreement of mutual defense against aggression with the participation of a broad circle of European states."[12] Despite the decision taken by the Central Committee, the Soviet government delayed 16 days before replying to Paul-Boncour's proposal.[13] When the French finally received a favorable reply from the Soviets, "the French Foreign Minister agreed to draw up a draft mutual assistance pact."[14]

During the next four months, Franco-Soviet negotiations made no progress.[15] Nevertheless

> during this period . . . three events of high significance for the rapprochement took place: the German-Polish declaration of Non-Aggression, 26 January 1934, the final break in German-Soviet relations

[14 April 1934], and the French disarmament note of 16 April 1934. All three events favored the prospect of a Franco-Soviet entente.[16]

Finally on April 20, the new French Foreign Minister, Louis Barthou, informed the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, Valerian Dovgalevsky, that "the French Government had empowered him to continue negotiations with the USSR."[17] On April 21, the Politburo made the decision that "the USSR must enter the League of Nations within the current year."[18]

Changes in the Comintern Line. As the Soviet leadership responded to the threat from Hitler, top Comintern officials in their turn debated the best means of approaching the problem of the new Germany. Discussions took place concerning the best tactics to adopt to meet the changed political situation with regard to Germany. Should the old anti-socialist policy be continued, or should a new broader policy of alliance with the socialist leadership be adopted? The position the Comintern had previously held laid great stress on a "class against class" policy with the Social Democrats cast in the role of "social fascists;" this policy, of course, minimized the real danger posed by German fascism. The traditional "class against class" policy versus a policy of broader alliance with the socialists was debated throughout the spring of 1934.

Soviet Internal Changes. While discussions were taking place within the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), the Soviet government began to institute a number of changes in the educational system as a direct response to the rise of German militarism. These changes were to have a profound impact on the whole of Soviet society. In late April, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in elementary schools was actually abolished.[19] By mid-May, two decrees were issued reinstituting traditional methods of teaching. These decrees were the opening wedges in a broad-scale educational reform which culminated in an emphasis on basic subjects, on patriotism and nationalism, and which minimized the role of class conflict.[20] The decree reinstituting the use of traditional methods in the teaching of history has been described as "a document of primary importance, which signalized a change, not only in the field of Soviet historiography, but in Soviet life in its entirety, in deep-seated habits and opinions."[21]

Continuing Developments in Franco-Soviet Relations. Meanwhile, negotiations between France and the Soviet Union continued and on April 28, Alexis Leger, the Secretary-General of the French Foreign Ministry, proposed a "version of a Franco-Soviet pact connected with a regional pact."[22] A week later, Leger was informed by the Soviets "that the scheme was regarded as in the main acceptable, but that not all the questions connected with it were clear and that the Soviet Government therefore considered it necessary to conduct negotiations with French leading officials."[23] On May 18, the Barthou-Litvinov negotiations on the Eastern Pact and on Franco-Soviet mutual assistance took place at Geneva.[24] Five days later, Litvinov was given carte blanche in negotiations on Franco-Soviet relations and on the Eastern Pact.[25] And around

this date, Franco-Soviet negotiations had progressed to such a point that a change in the line of the Comintern was necessary.[26]

Initiation of the United Front. Thus on May 24, after several months' discussion, Stalin decided, very reluctantly,[27] that it was in the interest of the Soviet Union to push the United Front. On May 24 Stalin submitted a report to the Politburo entitled "On the Reconsideration of the Basic Premises of the General Line of the CPSU(b)." This report, a general policy statement setting forth the new directions to be taken by the Soviet leadership, in effect instructed the Comintern to take the first steps toward effecting a basic change in its policy. Four days later, on May 28, the Presidium of the ECCI adopted the agenda for the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern which was scheduled to be held in the fall.[28] At this Congress, which as matters turned out was actually held July-August 1935, the Popular Front (a later development of the United Front) was made official for the entire International.

On the last day of May 1934, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, on the basis of a coded telegram sent from Moscow, made the first direct proposals for a united front to the leadership of the Socialist Party by sending it a letter calling for the liberation of Ernst Thälmann, leader of the German Communist Party who was then in Hitler's prisons, and for the organization of common action against fascism.[29]

However, it was not until the Ivry Conference held by the French Communist Party on June 23-26, 1934, that the outside world first became aware of the turn already adopted.[30] At the Ivry Conference, Renaud Jean, an important French Communist and member of the Central Committee, stated:

> The united front, or rather the problem of the united front was posed in a concrete and general fashion in February in the street.
>
> I am happy about the solution [to the problem of the united front] which our Party's letter to the Socialist Party concerning Thälmann has given. But I would have wished that all our Party would have participated in the formulation of this solution. We did not lack time. The letter concerning Thälmann was sent at the end of May. February, March, April, May, consequently more than three months had elapsed since the fascist demonstration of force in February. There was more than enough time for a complete discussion on the question of the united front to have taken place at all levels. And the decision arising after such a complete discussion would have improved the political education of our Party, whereas a decision coming unexpectedly from on high has not taught us anything. . . .[31]

The significance of the May 30th appeal was also confirmed by another top French Communist, Albert Vassart, the French representative to the ECCI, in an article published on August 20 in *L'Internationale Communiste*, the French weekly organ of the Comintern. In this article Vassart stated:

. . . The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France directed a proposal on May 30th to the leadership of the Socialist Party for common action to lead a campaign in favor of the liberation of Thälmann . . . and in order to fight the fascist intrigues in France. The leadership of the Socialist Party did not immediately accept these proposals but asked to discuss the conditions of the united front. . . .

The National Conference of the Communist Party of France [at Ivry, June 23-26] then repeated the proposals which had been made by the Central Committee of the Party. . . . At the national Socialist council on 15 July an overwhelming majority . . . pronounced itself in favor of the united front with the communists.

Thus a month and a half (from 30 May to 15 July) passed by between the first proposals of the Communist Party of France and the acceptance of the proposals by the Socialist Party.[32]

Additional confirmation of the significance of the May 30th appeal came from *Inprecorr (International Press Correspondence*, the English language weekly of the Communist International). In the first *Inprecorr* article to make favorable mention of the United Front and which appeared in the June 8, 1934 issue, an appeal to the French Socialist leadership to make common cause was issued. The headlines proclaimed: "United Front Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of France to the S.P. of France." The article which followed was a reprint of the May 31 *L'Humanité* article: "Save Ernst Thälmann! For the Victory Over Fascism. The United Front of Action."[33] Since "*a week is necessary in order to put into effect in Paris a decision taken in Moscow*"[34] [italics added], *it is clear that somewhere around May 24, the decision had to have been reached in Moscow to change the French Communist Party line to the United Front.*

Some Reactions from the Communist Right to the Comintern Changes. The full implications of the turn in the Comintern were not at first understood even by astute observers of the International Communist Opposition, who welcomed the turn with the following statement:

> We of the ICO view with increasing satisfaction the recent turn made by the CI [Comintern] in Germany, Austria, Italy, and France. Here is a change in tactics by the CI . . . entirely in the direction of the tactics for the advocacy of which we were once expelled and branded as outcasts [in 1929].[35]

Not until the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern[36] did the International Communist Opposition begin to comprehend that the turn that was instituted in the spring of 1934 went far beyond any yet effected in the history of the Comintern. According to the ICO, "Here are no mere tactical differences such

as separated the Comintern and the [International Communist] Opposition till now. The [Communist] International is actually in danger of breaking with revolutionary principles."[37]

Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. The proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International made official the French Popular Front, which was a further, more inclusive development of the United Front of communists and socialists. Both of these developments — the United Front and the Popular Front — were initiated by the Politburo resolution of May 24 based on Stalin's secret report, and were natural outcomes to the situation in which the Politburo found itself. The resolution's essential points are the following: The changed world situation compels the Party leadership to reconsider [*peresmotret'*] the General Line of the CPSU(b) and to carry out a tactical retreat. These basic points, significantly, closely approximate the points made by Georgi Dimitrov in the closing speech he gave to the Seventh World Congress (by now Dimitrov was General Secretary of the Comintern): "To meet the changed world situation," Dimitrov observed, ". . . our Congress has reconsidered [*peresmotrel*] the tactical lines of the Communist International."[38] Since the Comintern was controlled by the Party leadership of the CPSU(b), it is reasonable to equate "our Congress" with "the Party leadership" and "the tactical lines of the Communist International" with "the General Line of the CPSU(b)." Having made these substitutions, one obtains the following statement: "To meet the changed world situation . . . the Party leadership . . . has reconsidered [*peresmotrel*] the General Line of the CPSU(b)." It is evident that the May 24 resolution prescribed both the course of action to be adopted by the Comintern (as set forth in Dimitrov's closing speech) and the choice of words utilized in presenting this action to the Seventh World Congress. The Seventh World Congress, of course, never admitted a compulsory retreat from communist principles had been carried out.[39]

NEP Parallel (implicit). The new policy which Stalin enunciated in the May 24 resolution has many interesting parallels with the retreat from War Communism (1918-1920) to the New Economic Policy which Lenin was forced to institute in 1921. These parallels make clear that Stalin's action in May 1934 was by no means unprecedented in the brief annals of Soviet history, and that the mode of response to the two situations was quite similar. In 1921 Lenin publicly acknowledged that a Bolshevik retreat from pure communist principles had been carried out in order to meet the urgent needs of the moment. He hastened to add, however, that this retreat was only temporary and effected "in order . . . [to] . . . retain political power"[40] and because "sheer necessity has driven us to this path."[41] Lenin was willing to admit frankly that he fully intended "to revive . . . capitalism" which, he noted, "compared with the previous revolutionary approach . . . is a reformist approach."[42] And Lenin was forced "to use all his powers of persuasion and personal prestige in order to compel the adoption of policies that seemed to many a betrayal of ideals"[43] since the "NEP [had] unleashed tendencies which appeared to challenge the basic premises of Communist ideology and strategy."[44]

As Lenin justified his dramatic retreat to the NEP, Stalin also was forced to justify his dramatic retreat of May 24, 1934. Like Lenin, Stalin asserted that the CPSU(b) was forced to carry out a "retreat" from communist principles, but that the retreat was only temporary and a necessity in order *"to preserve political power;"* further, this was "the only way out," and the "international . . . situation compels the Party leadership to adopt" this distasteful course of action. Furthermore, since the decision ultimately led to an extreme turn to the right on the part of the Comintern for the sake of Soviet foreign policy,[45] and since Stalin had publicly stated in 1926 that "a right-wing policy" on the part of the Comintern for the sake of the "interests of the U.S.S.R." would amount to "betraying the interest of the working class in one way or another,"[46] it was essential to Stalin and the Politburo that the resolution remain *"ABSOLUTELY SECRET* from all comrades with the exception of responsible officials of the central Party organs." And these officials were warned that *"the rank-and-file fighters for the communist revolution by no means must know about the tactical retreat of the CPSU(b)."*[47]

NEP Parallel (explicit). The parallel with the NEP was stated frankly a year later in 1935 by a top French communist official in an important article defending Moscow's second directive to the French Communist Party, a directive which was intended to strengthen the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact of May 2, 1935, to initiate the Popular Front, and to make known Stalin's approval of "the policy of national defense undertaken by France."[48] On May 18, 1935, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, editor of *L'Humanité* (the leading official publication of the French Communist Party), in an article which defended Stalin's agreement with Pierre Laval, French Foreign Minister, vis-à-vis French rearmament, stated that

> Stalin reasons as a man of the government *and as a Bolshevik.* When Lenin proposed the NEP, the reestablishment of free commerce to the men who had fought without bread, without shoes for four years in order to suppress every survival of capitalism, he also acted as a Bolshevik. Was it hard? Yes it was hard. I was then in the U.S.S.R. and I experienced the sad amazement of the revolutionary masses faced with the retreat of the NEP. What was the result of this today? *The Socialist victory.* The strength of the Leninists lies in this magnificant capacity to maneuver.
>
> It is hard also today I know. Stalin's words [to Laval] resound like a thunder-clap. The class enemy utilized them with real dishonesty, stating they run counter to our discourses and to our writings.[49]

Vaillant-Couturier's article is particularly significant because it is the first public admission by a prominent communist that the Russians had carried out a tactical retreat from communist principles in the 1930s. In addition, the article reveals an important continuity in the mode of communist thinking from Lenin to Stalin to Vaillant-Couturier.

The "Two-Truths." Stalin's insistence on secrecy in the May 24, 1934 resolution is in line both with Stalin's method and temperament, and was

propounded by Stalin on two other occasions — in July 1928[50] and in May 1929. Stalin urged the need for secrecy in his May 1929 speech to the Presidium of the ECCI when he stated:

> . . . If a factional regime prevails in [any Communist] . . . Party, the wirepullers of both factions immediately inform the peripheral machine of this or that decision of the Politburo. . . . As a rule, this process of information becomes a regular system. . . . As a result important secret decisions of the Party become general knowledge [of the rank and file].[51]

Stalin's insistence, on May 24, 1934, on keeping unpleasant and potentially damaging facts away from the rank-and-file communist thus accords with his usual style of leadership.

This insistence on secrecy brings into sharp relief one of the basic differences between Lenin and Stalin. In Lenin's time, unfavorable, unflattering facts were generally made known to the public. In Stalin's time, unpleasant facts were restricted to the "decision-makers."[52]

Stalin's First Thesis

The three theses which form the substance of the May 24 resolution contain highly significant ideas which resulted in important changes in Soviet policy, Comintern policy and world politics. In order to place these theses firmly in the context of Soviet history, each thesis will be examined in turn, tracing the events which grew from the new ideas, exploring the important linguistic features incorporated in the theses, and analyzing the ideological concepts.

It is vital to emphasize that the substance of Stalin's first thesis — that the CPSU(b) must temporarily reject its innermost ideological essence in order to preserve power over the country, and must base itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of war — was not fully deduced by any student of Soviet affairs at the time the resolution was formulated. As events matured, there were a few astute observers who later on were able to pinpoint the essence of Stalin's first thesis. Boris Souvarine, in 1939, for example observed that

> the hasty resurrection of patriotism [in 1934] corresponded directly to considerations of foreign policy. Stalin then feared a military alliance between Germany and Japan. . . . He attempted to give Russia spiritual reasons for fighting in case of war; one by one he sacrificed the principles and dogmas to which he owed his power with the sole object of preserving it.[53]

Franz Borkenau, also writing in the same year, noted that

> The new change [in 1934] . . . implied a wholesale overthrow of the basic principles of communism. Instead of the class struggle, co-operation with the bourgeoisie, instead of internationalism, nationalism.[54]

However, Léon Blum, a prominent French socialist and later Prime Minister, did grasp the reason for the coming Soviet alliance with France and the turn to the United Front of the French Communist Party at the time. On July 13, 1934 he wrote in *Le Populaire* that

> Hitler's accession to power . . . confronted the Russian Revolution with the most serious danger it had faced in thirteen or fourteen years. This danger has increased now that Hitler, after establishing closer ties with Pilsudski, is preparing a German-Polish coalition to attack Russia. There is no need to go farther afield in seeking the cause for this diplomatic N.E.P. and for Russia's impending entry into the League of Nations.[55]

Stalin's first thesis was an integral and vital part of the dramatic revival of Russian nationalism in the mid-thirties. This revival was, as Konstantin Shteppa noted, a child of Stalin's theory of the building of "socialism in one country" (set forth in 1924) and a further revision of Marxism.[56] Stalin's turn to Russian nationalism in 1934 had the most profound ideological dangers: it laid Stalin open to one of the most serious charges in communist circles, the charge of revisionism. As early as 1926, Gregorii Zinoviev, a prominent Politburo member, "With obvious reference to Stalin's formulation of [socialism in one country] . . . [had] warned against theories of 'nationalist narrowness' which . . . violate Leninist orthodoxy."[57] Stalin was forced to defend his theory and was careful to make a clear distinction between the word "reconsideration" and the word "revision:"

> Did Stalin have the right to alter and make more precise his own formula concerning the victory of socialism in one country (1924) in full conformity with the directives and basic line of Leninism? According to Zinoviev he had no such right. Why? Because altering and making more precise an old formula means reconsidering [*peresmotr*] the formula and in German reconsideration mean revision [*reviziia*]. Is it not then clear that Stalin is guilty of revisionism?[58]

It cannot be a coincidence that seven years later, in the dramatic secret report to the Politburo of May 24, 1934, Stalin again was very careful to use the relatively harmless word "reconsideration" [*peresmotr*][59] and to avoid the word "revision" [*reviziia*] which is, according to Ushakov, the author of the major Stalinist dictionary, "the reconsideration of some teaching or theory with the aim of introducing changes which violate or distort the foundations of this teaching or theory."[60] (This definition of the word "revision" is accompanied almost universally in Soviet dictionaries by the illustrative phrase "revision of Marxism," which means "the distortion of Marx's teaching by opportunists under the pretense of corrections and additions to it."[61])

Significantly, in the *Communist International, an Historical Sketch*, published in Moscow in 1969, a history based on the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the authors, in a discussion of "the new political orientation" of the Communist International (the change from a policy of class conflict to the United Front) the first stages of which were hammered out in June-August 1934, made most frequent use of the very word used by Stalin in the May 24, 1934 resolution: "reconsideration" in its various forms. The other word which the authors also use in the discussion is "change" [*izmenenie*].[62]

This use of the word "reconsideration" [*peresmotr*] in discussions of highly important, highly sensitive issues involving departures from Marxist-Leninist ideology is subtle but convincing evidence of the May 24 resolution's genuineness. Any of seven other neutral words could have been utilized, yet *peresmotr* was selected.

The Revival of Russian Nationalism and Stalin's Victory Toast of May 24, 1945. Two weeks after Stalin's May 24 report, *Pravda* launched a campaign for a revival of Russian patriotism. *Pravda's* new appeal — "For the Fatherland" — "was to swell into a mighty chorus during the next few years."[63] This turn toward nationalism, laid down in Stalin's first thesis, continued throughout the decade, and reached a pitch of enthusiasm in the "Great Patriotic War" when all communist propaganda was thrown overboard and nationalism became the reigning principle. Ultimately, the first thesis found its way into a highly publicized event in Russian history, Stalin's victory toast of May 24, 1945, in which, for the first time in the history of the Soviet Communist Party, the Great Russians (the ethnic Russians as opposed to the Belorussians and the Ukrainians) were elevated to a position of privilege in Soviet society.[64] (The May 1934 turn toward Russian nationalism is also linked with Stalin's victory toast by Konstantin Shteppa.)[65] This toast, which played a significant role in the unleashing of excessive Russian chauvinism in the last years of Stalin's reign, resulted in the overestimation of everything Russian and a corresponding policy of denigration and purging of non-Russian peoples, with anti-Semitism a starring feature.[66]

Stalin's report to the Politburo of May 24, 1934, contains the germ of ideas which reappear in modified form in the victory toast of May 24, 1945, a re-echoing of views which suggests a correspondence between Stalin's approach to Russian nationalism in 1934 and his approach in 1945; the date chosen underlines Stalin's preoccupation with anniversaries. The decision which Stalin made in 1934 to base the Soviet government "on the broad masses of the people" in the event of war finds an echo in Stalin's tribute in 1945 to the Russian people as possessing a "clear mind, a staunch character and patience" and having faith in their government. Similarly, the 1934 ideological "retreat" which Stalin felt compelled to institute and which he insisted was "the only way out" of a terrible dilemma finds an interesting parallel in the 1945 victory toast justification of the Red Army retreat in 1941-42, when Stalin also states "there was no other way out."

Finally, the tantalizing question must be posed — was it mere coincidence that the date chosen for the highly publicized victory toast was May 24, eleven years to the day after Stalin had placed his faith in the Russian people to defend, not the Communist regime, but Mother Russia? The date of the war's end was May 9,[67] and the victory toast could have been given on any day following, yet Stalin chose May 24. Stalin's preoccupation with anniversaries has been admirably documented and summarized by William O. McCagg:

> Anyone who read the Soviet press in Stalin's day will recall not only the overt attention paid to birthdays and anniversaries of revolutionary and political events and dates of death but also the uncanny "silent" anniversaries. I have mentioned the occurrence of a "March crisis" in 1946, just a year after that of 1945, and the publication of Stalin's letter to Razin [February 23, 1945] exactly a year after it was written [February 23, 1946]. Yaakov Roi has called my attention to an extreme case: the announcement of the doctor's plot in January 1953 on the anniversary of the murder of the Jewish leader Salomon Mikhoels on 13 January 1948. Such coincidences were typical of the late Stalinist terror and should not be ignored. Cf. Alliluyeva's account of Stalin's dread of 8 November each year, the anniversary of her mother's suicide [on 8 November 1932]. (*Twenty Letters to a Friend*, p. 193.)[68]

This superstitious observance of private anniversaries is a persuasive argument in favor of a deliberate choice of May 24 as a date worthy of commemoration.

Stalin's Second Thesis

The four basic ideas which are expressed in the second thesis (as well as the language in which they are expressed) fit harmoniously into the shifting currents of this critical period. First of all Stalin's hypothesis that capitalist states have a tendency to go through a period of fascism which slows down the historical process contrasts sharply with the belief previously widely held in communist circles — prior to Hitler's accession to power — that capitalist nations with fascist governments experience an *acceleration* of the historical process. This change vis-ã-vis fascism which Stalin enunciates in his second thesis was formulated in Russian communist circles towards the end of 1933,[69] and the fact that this new view of fascism appears in its correctly modified form in the resolution is a point in favor of the material's authenticity.

Second, Stalin's expressed view that the final stage of the historical process is the *world communist revolution* is, of course, traditional communist dogma. Yet this view is affirmed on only seven other occasions in the resolutions.[70] This relatively small number of affirmations suggests that the final outcome, world revolution, was taken for granted. However, the use of the term, "world communist revolution" in the May 24 resolution deserves special comment because the term has rarely been used publicly by Soviet officials though it is

found three times in the Stalin resolutions.[71] The use of this term in the resolutions may be surprising at first glance (the term does not appear in Stalin's collected works), yet "world communist revolution" *does* appear in at least two of Lenin's speeches[72] and Lenin's usage establishes the currency of the term among top officials.

Third, Stalin's reluctant pronouncement in the resolution that the world triumph of communism must be *postponed* because of the international situation, i.e., capitalist encirclement, and the need to strengthen the center of communism — the Soviet Union — is both intimately related to Stalin's program of "socialism in one country" and to the Soviet Union's pressing security needs. That the Soviet Union's position during this period was one of special vulnerability in a world of more powerful nations is an assessment few would argue with. It was this very vulnerability, of course, that deceived and deluded Hitler.

Fourth, the view expressed in the second thesis that the CPSU(b) must carry out a difficult maneuver of *retreat* within the country in order to *strengthen the nation* to meet external enemies — a view which signaled the rapid decline of internationalism inside the Soviet Union — is an idea that became the focus of a book written more than a decade later by Nicolas Timasheff. In *The Great Retreat*, Timasheff set forth the nature and dimensions of the *volte-face* and commented on the dating of the retreat, stating the withdrawal "from purely communist positions . . . started in 1934."[73]

Stalin's Third Thesis

In the third thesis Stalin set down his views of the role of the Comintern, views which diverged sharply from the international aspirations of many Comintern members, but which Stalin believed were necessary in view of the state of international relations. Stalin delineated a new role for the Comintern: it must become "a mighty weapon in the hands of Soviet foreign policy," and correspondingly the internationalist aspirations of the Comintern must be held in temporary abeyance. This new role which the Comintern was forced to adopt was acknowledged several years later by students of Soviet affairs. According to Franz Borkenau, prior to 1934 "Russian foreign policy interfered with the policy of the Communist International. . . . Now [in 1934] for the first time it became essentially an instrument of Russian foreign policy."[74] According to Richard Lowenthal, in 1934 Stalin

> decided to use the Communist Parties to try and bring about "anti-Fascist" governmental coalitions; for the first time in their history, they were to attempt seriously to influence parliamentary politics within the bourgeois state. . . . But as in China ten years earlier, the aim was not to seize power and carry out a social revolution, but to influence foreign policy in alliance with all "progressive" classes. This time, the reason for limiting the objective was not the backwardness of the countries concerned, but the need to avoid civil war with Hitler on the doorstep, and the

professed danger to the Soviet Union if the Western countries without strong Communist Parties — particularly Britain and the United States — should be scared into Hitler's camp by the spectre of Communist revolution.

Here was the essence of the "Popular Front" strategy: it was the first great experiment in using totalitarian Communist parties to gain influence within the state machinery of Western democracies by parliamentary means. Since the objectives were limited to foreign policy, the Communist parties were ordered to modify their social and economic programs to keep them within the "capitalist framework." The strategy was thus an attempt to combine the lessons of the Chinese experiment and of Hitler's victory in a spirit completely foreign to the Leninist tradition.[75]

Despite Stalin's new view of the Comintern, however, he was also careful to assert that the Comintern was to remain "an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital." Though tactics could be altered to meet the needs of the moment, the conflict between world capital and communism would ultimately take place; i.e., the goal of the ultimate triumph of communism would by no means be abandoned. That Stalin remained a revolutionary with international aspirations was not discerned, however, by most students of foreign affairs during that period. Arnold Toynbee, editor of *Survey of World Affairs*, for example, believed that Stalin had settled down to cultivate his own garden, and that the victory over Trotsky represented an "important gain for the cause of world peace."[76] According to many analysts at the time, it was Trotsky, not Stalin, who was the real revolutionary. This view of the Soviet Union — as a defensive power with limited political ambitions — continues to have present-day supporters though the recent events in Afghanistan have forced a broad reevaluation of Soviet foreign policy since the fall of Vietnam. Yet current events underline the significance of Stalin's words in the third thesis, that the Soviet Union's defensiveness and focus on internal affairs has a temporary character and that the drive for international preeminence will assert itself.

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Let us now turn to an examination of the linguistic aspects of the May 24 resolution in order to make a definite judgment as to whether the language used in the resolution is Bolshevik and Stalinist in character. Obviously, while the facts and perceptions in the resolution must accord with Soviet reality and perceptions, and with the events of the time, it is also clear that the language used in the resolution must be consistent with Bolshevik and Stalinist usage. Language is as much a fingerprint or signature as the accurate arrangement of information.

We will begin with the key concept, "retreat from Communism." We will then review comparisons between the resolution's political language, and

definitions, quotations and illustrative phrases from the major Stalinist dictionary of the period, D.N. Ushakov's *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language*. We will next review comparisons between *other* key words and terms, and language usage from a variety of Soviet sources. Finally, to close, we will consider a note on the formal structure of the May 24 resolution. Let us turn to "retreat from Communism."

"Retreat from Communism." The three theses in Stalin's May 24 report to the Politburo may be summed up in the simple phrase "retreat [*otstuplenie*] from Communism." (*Otstuplenie* occurs in the second thesis: "difficult maneuver of retreat . . ."). The basic points made in these theses found an uncanny reverberation four years later in Ushakov's dictionary. Significantly, in the definition of the verb "to retreat" [*otstupit'*], and in the illustrative quotations which accompany both the verb and the noun form [*otstuplenie*], major concepts contained in the theses make an appearance.

The first thesis — that the Party is temporarily retreating in its ideological battle in order to preserve power and to prepare for war [out of which will come the world communist revolution] — bears an uncanny resemblance to the *quotation* used to illustrate the verb "to retreat" [*otstupit'*] in Ushakov: "We are [temporarily] retreating . . . but we are doing this in order to get a better run for our longer leap forward. (Lenin on the NEP in 1922.)"[77]

The second thesis — that the world revolution must be temporarily delayed for the purpose of accumulating forces for the final advance — is strikingly similar to Ushakov's *definition* of the *verb* "to retreat:" "To delay temporarily the carrying out of something with the aim of accumulating forces for the advance forward."[78]

The third thesis — that the Comintern, in becoming a mighty weapon in the hands of Soviet foreign policy is temporarily retreating, yet is at the same time accumulating communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital — is visibly similar to the *quotation* Ushakov used to illustrate the *noun* "retreat:" "The Party was able to effectively make use of a retreat during the early stages of the NEP period in order, in the later stages of the NEP, to effect a sudden change and launch a successful offensive against the capitalistic elements [during 1929]" (Stalin, in "A Year of Great Change," 1929).[79]

The Political Language in the May 24 Resolution, a Comparison with Ushakov. Although the May 24, 1934 resolution (based on Stalin's report to the Politburo) was in German hands before June 19, 1934,[80] the resolution is linked intimately with D.N. Ushakov's *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language*. The dictionary consists of the following four volumes:

Volume No.	Coverage	Begun Work	Ready for Printer
1	A-K	9 May 1933	9 July 1935
2	L-O	15 April 1937	15 January 1938
3	P-R	16 August 1938	19 January 1939
4	S-Ia	22 July 1940	3 December 1940

The dictionary was seen by its compilers as an important weapon in the struggle to achieve a Bolshevik language — as the repository of a newly evolving, accessible language, and (by implication) as a means to assist in the establishment of new beliefs, values and norms. The four volumes faithfully follow the Stalinist Party line year by year. The first three volumes, published during the Popular Front period, for example, are strongly critical of the Hitler regime, while the last volume, begun and published during the Hitler-Stalin period, is neutral on German fascism.

Interestingly enough, approximately fifty percent of the words used in the resolution which are political in nature or which are contextually political are defined or illustrated in Ushakov with definitions, quotations, or illustrative phrases that *are remarkably close to the meaning or usage found in the May 24 resolution.* The following selected listing of words documents this close linkage with the major Stalinist dictionary, and *makes manifest the overwhelming use of Stalinist language in the resolution.*

Word to be verified*	Use of the word in the May 24 resolution	Use of the same word in Ushakov: in definitions, illustrative phrases and quotations
1. central (tsentral'nyi)	...responsible officials of the central party organs.	Central organs of the Party
2. Party organ (partorgan)	...responsible officials of the central Party organs.	Section of the leading Party organs of the central Committee of the CPSU (b)
3. to have (imet')	...Comrade Stalin...has the courage to draw political and tactical conclusions which might, at first superficial glance, seem an open betrayal of the principles and ideas of communism.	He had the courage to openly acknowledge his mistakes.
4. consideration (soobrazhenie)	Considering it impossible for tactical considerations, to publicize these conclusions widely...81	For tactical considerations it was decided to occupy new positions.
5. only (edinstvennyi)	...the Politburo...cannot but acknowledge them as entirely correct conclusions which are, under present conditions, the only way out of the situation in which the Party and the Soviet Union find themselves.	It is the only way out of the situation.

*Form of the word is the same as in Ushakov's alphabetical listing.

Word to be verified*	Use of the word in the May 24 resolution	Use of the same word in Ushakov: in definitions, illustrative phrases and quotations
6. way out (vykhod)	...the only way out of the situation in which the Party and the Soviet Union find themselves.	To find a way out of the difficult situation.
7. to preserve (sokhranit')	...the CPSU(b) must temporarily reject its innermost ideological essence in order to preserve and strengthen its political power over the country.	Will the state be preserved** also in the period of Communism? Yes it will be preserved** so long as capitalist encirclement is not liquidated, so long as the danger of military attacks from without is not eliminated (Stalin, report at 18th Party Congress).
8. to strengthen (ukrepit')	...the CPSU (b) must temporarily reject its innermost ideological essence in order to preserve and strengthen its political power over the country.	The new Constitution strengthens our deeply democratic structure even more (Molotov).
9. power (vlast')	...The CPSU(b) must temporarily reject its innermost ideological essence in order to preserve and strengthen its political power over the country,	In the USSR the Communist Party has power.
10. government (pravitel'stvo)	The Soviet government must, for a time, cease being communist in its acts and measures, having as its sole aim that of being a stable and strong power, basing itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of threat from without.	Only the Soviet government enjoys the confidence of all the toilers.
11. aim (or goal) (tsel')	The Soviet government must... have as its sole aim that of being a stable and strong power, basing itself on the broad masses of the people...	The final goal of the Party is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.
12. to be based (opirat'sia)	The Soviet government must ... have as its sole aim that of being a stable and strong power, basing itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of threat from without.	The dictatorship of the proletariat is revolutionary power based on violence over the bourgeoisie.

*Form of the word is the same as in Ushakov's alphabetical listing.

**Reflexive form of verb in Ushakov.

Word to be verified*	Use of the word in the May 24 resolution	Use of the same word in Ushakov: in definitions, illustrative phrases and quotations
13. broad (shirokii)	The Soviet government must ... have as its sole aim that of being a stable and broad power, basing itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of threat from without.	As long as the Bolsheviks preserve contact with the broad masses of the people, they will be invincible (Stalin).
14. masses (massa)	The Soviet government must...base itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of threat from without.	Contact with the masses, strengthening of this contact, in this lies the strength and invincibility of the Bolshevik leadership (Stalin).
15. threat (ugroza)	The Soviet government must... base itself on the broad masses of the people in the event of threat from without.	We are not afraid of threats on the part of the aggressors and are ready to reply with two blows for one blow against the instigators of war who are attempting to violate the integrity of the Soviet borders (Stalin).
16. from without (izvne)	The Soviet government must... base itself on the broad masses...in the event of threat from without.	Danger threatens from without.
17. encirclement (okruzheniia)	...under the conditions of encirclement by capitalist states which are armed to the teeth...	As long as capitalist encirclement exists, there will exist among us wreckers, diversionists, and murderers who are sent into our rear as agents of foreign states (Stalin).
18. state (gosudarstvo)	...under the conditions of encirclement by capitalist states...	Capitalist state.
19. armed (vooruzhennyi)	...under the condition of encirclement by capitalist states which are armed to the teeth...	Foreseeing the inevitable war, the imperialists are persistently arming** themselves.
20. strengthening (usilenie)	...the CPSU(b) and the Soviet government must...carry out a difficult maneuver of retreat within the country for the strengthening of its resistance to a possible external attack.	Our country, steadfastly carrying on a policy of preservation of peace, has developed at the same time the serious work of strengthening the military preparedness of our Red Army, of our Red Navy (Stalin).

*Form of the word is the same as in Ushakov's alphabetical listing.

**Reflexive form of verb in Ushakov.

Word to be verified*	Use of the word in the May 24 resolution	Use of the same word in Ushakov: in definitions, illustrative phrases and quotations
21. cadre (kadr)	...the world communist movement must remain...an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital.	Cadre of the revolutionary workers.
22. decisive (reshitel'nyi)	...the world communist movement must remain...an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital.	It is our last and decisive battle (from the Internationale).
23. against (protiv)	...the world communist movement must remain...an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital.	The city workers have begun a new, great struggle of all the poor against all the rich (Lenin, 1901).
24. world (mirovoi)	...the world communist movement must remain...an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital.	We live in the historical moment of the struggle against the world bourgeoisie.
25. capital (kapital)	...the world communist movement must remain...an enormous reservoir of communist cadres for the future decisive offensive against world capital..	International capital is preparing a new attack against the USSR.
26. rank-and-file (riadovoi)	...the rank-and-file fighters for the communist world revolution...	Rank-and-file member of the Party.
27. general (general'nyi)	...the CPSU (b) ...leadership is obligated, in good time, to attend to a suitable, and ideologically precise, formulation of a new general line of the Party.	General line of the Party: the main tendency, the guiding political principle in the work of the Communist party (Soviet term introduced since the Revolution).

*Form of the word is the same as in Ushakov's alphabetic listing.

The above listing includes only one-third of the total number of words for which comparable usage can be found in Ushakov. The remaining words, however, omitted in the interests of brevity, only reinforce the picture of an overwhelming use of Stalinist language in the May 24 resolution.

A Comparison of Other Words and Terms with Other Soviet Sources. The following comparisons shed still further light on the unity between the language of the May 24 resolution and the language used in other Soviet sources.

1. "Resolution" [*postanovlenie*]: Each of the 242 documents bears a common title or designation which reads as follows: "Resolution [*postanovlenie*] of the Politburo CPSU(b) [of such-and-such a date]." According to Soviet sources, a

Politburo resolution is almost always termed a *postanovlenie*. For example, see the 23 draft resolutions of the Politburo in *Leninskii sbornik* [The Leninist miscellany], volume 36.[82] See also Lenin's *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [Complete collected works] 5th ed., volumes 41-45 inclusive.[83]

2. "Politburo CPSU(b):" The term which is most commonly used in official Soviet sources to designate the Politburo is "Politburo CC CPSU(b)." Soviet sources also employ other variants such as "Politburo CC" or "Politburo."[84] "Politburo CPSU(b)" *was*, however, used by Leon Trotsky, former Politburo member, in an open letter to the Politburo dated April 24, 1931. In this letter, published in the *Biulleten Oppozitsii* [Bulletin of the Opposition] of May-June 1931, under the title "Letter to the Politburo CPSU(b)," the term "Politburo CPSU(b)" was utilized three times: in the title printed in the table of contents and listed on the cover of the issue; in the title preceding the article; and in a footnote.[85]

Further confirmation of the appropriateness of "Politburo CPSU(b)" comes from resolutions issued by the Politburos of non-Soviet communist parties and which are translated and reprinted in the *Information Bulletin*, a supplement to the *World Marxist Review*. This review, begun in 1963, has served as the theoretical organ for the pro-Soviet communist parties throughout the world. These foreign Politburos, like the Soviet Politburo, are normally referred to in the *Information Bulletin* as "Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party [of such-and-such a country]." From time to time, however, the term "Central Committee" *is* omitted, and the Politburo is referred to in the same manner as in the Stalin resolutions: "Statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party,"[86] "The Political Bureau of the CP of Belgium insisted on. . . ,"[87] "The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel points out . . . ,"[88] "Comrade F. Fuernberg, member of the Politbureau of the Austrian Communist Party,"[89] etc. One can conclude from the foregoing that it is perfectly appropriate to refer to *any* Politburo without also citing its affiliation with its Central Committee.

3. "Having heard" [*zaslushav*]: Most Stalin resolutions begin with the following phrase: "Having heard [*zaslushav*] the report (telegram, communication) of comrade [so-and-so] in its meeting [of such-and-such a date]." A similar use of this verb occurs in the Party regulations for 1934 as follows: "The Congress is the supreme organ of the Party. . . . The Congress a) hears [*zaslushivaet*] and confirms the reports of the Central Committees . . . and other central organizations."[90] Since the Politburo was actually the supreme organ of the Party, and since it heard reports from the most important Party and State organizations, one can conclude that the verb *zaslushivat'* (or its perfective form *zaslushat'*) would be used in the Stalin resolutions in the phrase "Having heard the report (telegram, etc)."

4. "Meeting" [*zasedanie*]: Almost every one of the 223 Politburo resolutions available in Russian refers to a "meeting [*zasedanie*] of the Politburo." Painstaking research utilizing Stalin's works, Lenin's works, and a wide variety of other official Soviet sources reveals that every Politburo meeting

located in these sources is designated a *zasedanie*. (See *Politburo Meetings from Soviet Archives* which contains a total of 257 such meetings.)[91]

5. "Report" [*doklad*]: In 174 of the Stalin resolutions (out of 223 which are available in Russian) the Politburo hears a report [*doklad*] from various officials. That the Politburo heard reports as part of its routine is established by official Soviet sources. For example, in the "Plan of Work of the Politburo CC and Plenum CC for 1926" the Politburo is to hear a report [*doklad*] from important State and Party organizations in forty out of forty cases.[92] In the "Plan of Work of the Politburo and Plenum CC CPSU(b) for 1928" the Politburo is to hear a report from important Soviet institutions in nineteen out of twenty instances.[93]

6. "Com. Stalin J.V.:" The May 24 resolution opens as follows: "Having heard . . . the report of com. Stalin, J.V. 'On the Reconsideration of the Basic Premises of the General Line of the CPSU(b),' the Politburo CPSU(b) comes to the *unanimous* conclusion that . . . ." According to official Soviet sources, when particular officials are designated, they are, as a general rule, referred to as com. J.V. Stalin, as an example. However, in this particular instance the "J.V." follows the last name, a type of inversion that is to be found in *Spravochnik partiinogo rabotnika* [Handbook of the party worker] as follows: "Having heard . . . the report of . . . com. Brezhnev, L.I. 'On the Current Problems of the International Situation and the Struggle of the CPSU for Unity of the World Communist Movement,' the Plenum of the CC CPSU *resolves* . . . ."[94]

7. "Reconsideration" [*peresmotr*]: This word is part of the title of Stalin's report: "On the Reconsideration of the Basic Premises of the General Line of the CPSU(b)." The word "*peresmotr*," according to a compelling body of evidence, is a word of choice in discussions of highly important, highly sensitive issues involving departures from Marxist-Leninist ideology. Significantly, use of this word is to be found in situations that are ideologically connected to the May 24 report, and which both precede and follow the report. In 1926, defending his theory of socialism in one country, the ideological predecessor of the May 24 report, Stalin stated that he was "reconsidering" [*peresmotr*] Marxism. In discussing the changes of the Comintern tactics during June-August 1934, when the first stages of the United Front, the ideological outgrowth of the May 24 report, were being hammered out by top Comintern officials, the word most frequently used was "reconsideration" [*peresmotr*]. At the Comintern Congress of the Popular Front, a further ideological development of the May 24 report, the General Secretary of the Comintern stated, on August 25, 1935, that "our Congress has reconsidered [*peresmotrel*] the tactical lines of the Communist International." (For a more extended discussion of this word see pp. 74 and 77-78 of this article.)

8. "Considers" [*schitaet*]: If we compare the twelve most frequently occurring primary verbs and participles in the resolutions and decisions comprising the second volume (1925 through 1935)[95] of the fifth edition of the *VKP(b) v resoliutsiakh i resheniiakh s"ezdov, konferentsii i Plenumov TsK*

(1898-1935) [resolutions and decisions of the congresses, conferences and CC Plenums (1898-1935)] with the twelve most frequently occurring primary verbs and participles in the Stalin resolutions, we find that the verb of most frequent occurrence, in both the Party resolutions and the Stalin resolutions is identical: the verb is *schitaet*. In addition, this verb occurs with the same relative frequency in both sets of materials, e.g., it comprises one-fifth of the total number of verbs noted for both the Party and Stalin resolutions.

9. "Straightforwardness" [*priamolineinost'*]: This word occurs in the resolution as follows: "The Politburo CPSU(b) cannot but express its admiration for the straightforwardness of Comrade Stalin . . . ." Evidence that Stalin considered himself to be a "straightforward" man is to be found in his speech of January 11, 1933, "Work in the Countryside:"

> Permit me . . . to express my opinion on the defects of our work in the countryside . . . with all the straightforwardness [*priamotoi*] characteristic of the Bolshevik.[96]

10. "*The Soviet government must for a time cease being communist in its acts and measures.*" In public Stalin referred to the Soviet government as a socialist government. On occasion, however, Lenin referred to the Soviet government and its institutions as communist in nature. For example, on October 17, 1921, Lenin spoke of a certain type of Soviet official "who imagines he can solve all his problems by issuing communist decrees."[97] See also Lenin's "The Tasks of the Youth League Speech . . . October 2, 1920" in which phrases like "communist education," "communist slogans," "communist science," "communist theory," "communist construction," etc., occur.[98]

11. "*World communist revolution:*" The term does not appear in Stalin's collected works, yet it does appear in at least two of Lenin's speeches, a fact which establishes its currency among top Soviet officials. (See pp. 79-80 of this article for further comments on the use of this term.)

12. "Approves" [*odobriaet*]: This primary verb is the third most frequently occurring primary verb in the Party resolutions.[99]

13. "*Ideologically, tactically and organizationally:*" This phrase occurs in the following context: ". . . The world communist movement must remain ideologically, tactically, and organizationally intact . . . for the future decisive offensive against world capital . . . ." This typical example of communist phraseology turned up, amusingly enough, three decades later in a sharp Chinese-Soviet interchange. In a letter published in the *Peking Review* (the leading English-language organ of the Chinese Communists), the Chinese leadership reproached the Soviets for a lack of adherence to revolutionary principles. According to the Chinese, "Even in ordinary times, when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks . . . for revolution . . . ."[100]

The Formal Structure of May 24 Resolution

The method of the formulation of the May 24 resolution as well as of the twenty other resolutions based on Stalin's reports also merits attention. Do these resolutions show structural similarities to procedures utilized by similar bodies? Frank Meyer's observations on the procedure utilized in "formal Communist policy meetings" sheds light on this interesting question. Meyer, who was familiar with the formal routines utilized by the American and British Politburos, noted that "formal Communist policy meetings" followed "the form of a discussion around a major report by the leader of the organization, which with his summary at the end is [then] condensed into a series of resolutions which are unanimously adopted."[101] The May 24 resolution as well as the others based on Stalin's reports exemplify these same features of unanimity and summarization.

The foregoing discussion of every aspect of language,[102] terminology and formal structure in the May 24 resolution based on Stalin's report makes clear that this resolution is fundamentally of a piece with other official and unofficial Soviet material. There is a unity of diction and meaning — a linguistic homogeneity — which points directly to a common origin in Soviet officialdom. Scholars who have raised such objections to the document as: "The language in the document is not Bolshevik language" . . . , "The Bolsheviks never used the term 'Politburo CPSU(b)' " . . . , "Soviet officials wouldn't use the term 'world communist revolution' " . . . , "The inversion 'com. Stalin J.V.' is inaccurate". . . . simply have not done their homework.

The analysis set down here demonstrates clearly that this highly important document cannot be faulted on the basis of language, terminology or structure, and that the linguistic homogeneity plainly present in it points directly to the conclusion that the document is what it purports to be.

SOME FINAL OBSERVATIONS

A Curious Note on "Treason." In 1934, the cult of Stalin — with its extraordinary outpouring of icons; its use of Stalin's name on political, economic, cultural, military and scientific institutions and points of geography; its outpouring of Stalin's works and the diffusion of his ideas throughout Soviet science, literature, philosophy and the arts — was in full bloom. The cult affected the Soviet citizen "on a visual and auditory level; it affected his thought processes, aims, relationships and emotions. It was more than a symbol of political life; it was a pervasive medium in which Soviet life was lived for over a quarter of a century."[103] Despite this rich flowering of political values, beliefs and iconography, the cult, for the most part, did not reach into the Stalin resolutions. As the eye of the hurricane is free of turmoil, the deliberations of the Politburo are surprisingly free of the sycophantic praise, extravagant claims, and obsequiousness that were the cult's main features.

The resolutions do, nonetheless, show some curious manifestations of the

cult, and these serve to underline the genuineness of the material. On five different occasions in the resolutions, Stalin is made the object of high or extravagant praise. Significantly, from a sociological and psychological standpoint, this acclaim occurs only on those occasions when Stalin or the Politburo take political positions which seem to be in violation of communist principles, as is seen in the following resolutions: May 24, 1934; February 21, 1935; April 3, 1935; May 13, 1935; and November 13, 1935. The May 13, 1935 resolution reads as follows:

> "If one had to 'bourgeoisify' oneself superficially for [the Franco-Soviet pact] . . . and if in the future one will have to make further compromises in this direction, then it is necessary to acknowledge that this price is very small in comparison with what the Soviet Union has acquired for it." [The Politburo is directly quoting from Stalin here.]
>
> The Politburo CPSU(b) unanimously expresses absolute faith in Comrade Stalin. The Party and the workers' and peasants' masses of the Soviet Union stand behind their great leader in closed ranks! The world proletariat estimates correctly and at its true worth the political and tactical line firmly carried out by Comrade Stalin.[104]

Jacques Duclos, a French Politburo member, in the same manner as in this resolution, also paid homage to Stalin thirteen years later at a secret meeting of important communist officials at Szklarska Poreba, Poland, a meeting which initiated the Cominform [Communist Information Bureau] — as a means of deflecting criticism. Duclos, who had opened his speech with "Greetings to the Great Stalin, master of us all," [105] wished to weaken in advance criticism of the French Communist Party for failing to seize power in the immediate post-war years.[106]

It might seem improbable, given the cult of Stalin and the tight control Stalin exercised in ideological matters, that the issue of "betrayal of communist principles" would surface at all in Politburo deliberations. However, the issue of "betrayal" was touched upon in the pages of a communist publication, *Inprecorr*, the weekly English-language organ of the Third International. In ten out of one hundred issues of *Inprecorr*, published in 1934-35, the question of "betrayal" is discussed in passing.[107] The most frank reference to the topic in *Inprecorr* was made by Klement Gottwald, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, while discussing the decisions of the Seventh Soviet Congress of February 6, 1935: "Some say that in these decisions the Bolsheviks 'abandon' their own doctrine, 'repudiate' their own principles."[108]

A further important example of the way in which issues of "betrayal" were treated privately, and one which closely parallels the May 24, 1934 example, was provided by Dmitrii Manuilski, ECCI member, in discussing the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 23, 1939 with Jésus Hernandez of the Spanish Politburo: "Certain national expediencies compel us [the Party leadership] to take steps which are incomprehensible at first glance" [to the rank-and-file com-

munist].[109] This statement is quite similar to the Politburo's statement of May 24, 1934 that "the international . . . situation compels the Party leadership [to take steps] . . . which might [to the rank-and-file communist] at first superficial glance, seem an open betrayal of the principles and ideas of communism."

Stalin versus Marx. Klaus Mehnert, Germany's leading sovietologist, supplied a cogent and careful analysis of the major events and ideas which defined Russia's dramatic spring of 1934. This analysis, based on sixteen years of research and reflection, was published in *Stalin versus Marx*[110] and included the following elements. According to Mehnert, first, the victory of Nazism, in combination with the 1933 Soviet famine, compelled the Bolsheviks to reexamine their position in May of 1934. Second, because of the increasingly dangerous international situation, it was necessary to postpone the goal of world revolution. Third, because of the vitality and menace of German nationalism and the realization that nationalism remained an overwhelmingly powerful motive and stimulus in contemporary politics, Stalin was himself impelled to fall back on *Russian* nationalism and to base his new policy primarily on the Russian people. Fourth, Stalin was the one who was mainly responsible for the reversal of the Party line in May 1934. Fifth, the turn in May 1934 resulted in an upsurge of Russian nationalistic feeling, which, though new to Bolshevik ideology, struck primeval chords in the society. Sixth, ultimately the May 1934 turn culminated in Stalin's victory toast of May 24, 1945, in which the Russian people were given special recognition as the most creative and productive element in Soviet society. Seventh, the May 1934 reversal is linked directly with Stalin's theory of socialism in one country, and is designated by Mehnert as a further departure from traditional Marxist theory. Eighth, the reversal of May 1934 with its sequels were portrayed by the Soviet leadership as completely natural developments — from Marx through Lenin to Stalin.

These eight points contained in Mehnert's detailed analysis of the May 1934 about-face are of course implicit or explicit in the May 24 resolution — as the present study has shown. However, this resolution was in Nazi hands by June 19, 1934, at the latest.[111] In view of the fact that it took one of the world's leading sovietologists sixteen years of research to assemble this complex and surprising picture, it is difficult to envisage this document as anything other than genuine. The document is obviously an integral part of Soviet history, beginning with Lenin's retreat from the NEP in 1921 and ending in the Russian nationalism of the late Stalin period (and of today).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This lengthy study of a single, very important document has brought forth the following points of evidence: the May 24 resolution fits naturally and smoothly into the major and minor currents of the period in which it was formulated, and is itself, in embryonic form, a record of one of the critical decisions made at the time by an important nation. This decision has been shown to have ideological,

historical and stylistic links with events in the past, present, and future, and to be a logical, reasonable outcome to the intersection of dangerous pressures. That the Soviet Union in fact made a decision in the spring of 1934 to suspend temporarily the Comintern's class-against-class policy in favor of a policy resistant to fascism, that it reinstituted nationalism within its own borders, and that it temporarily set aside its internationalistic strivings, is a matter of history. That, however, this important, far-reaching decision was made on May 24, 1934, was not known — then or later — and that the Soviet leadership would speak so frankly about the depths of the problems they were faced with and the lengths to which they were prepared to go to solve these problems was also not known.

The style, terminology and formal structure of the document have been shown to be of a piece with official Soviet (and other communist) materials. This document — and by implication all the other documents (since the documents are a stylistic unit) — is obviously from the same family as other top official Soviet material.

It would have been impossible for a forger to (1) capture, at the time and in a single formulation, this host of major and minor elements of Soviet policy, elements which had strong links with the past and which unfolded over a lengthy period (at least eleven years in the case of the victory toast), and most of which were not discerned by outsiders for several years; (2) duplicate official Soviet style, meaning and terminology; and (3) accurately render subtle psychological and sociological points centering around issues of ideological betrayal as these related to Stalin's adoption of new policies. The fact that our mythical forger was required to deliver these documents, with their highly sophisticated foreign policy formulations and accurate linguistic features, to the Germans within nine days, makes a forgery hypothesis a total impossibility."[112] (As Robert J. Kerner, specialist in Soviet foreign policy noted, "If you can show that the material was handed over day after day, it couldn't have been forged.")[113]

The hypothesis that the Soviet government deliberately *sent* the material to the Germans (thereby solving the problem of accuracy and style and terminology) is nonsense in view of the material's highly revealing nature.

In the May 24 resolution, then, we have a document that is both genuine and an interesting historical treasure. It captures an important moment in Soviet and world history, and illuminates the assumptions, value commitments and types of insights characteristic of the Soviet leadership. Like a painting or a photograph, it records essential features of its times and its creators, while its uniqueness gives it a special value.

This resolution, as one of the important documents of the 1930s and of Soviet history, enables present-day readers to assess both the weight of ideology in Soviet decision-making, and the determination of its leaders. It enables the reader to observe the disciplined, intelligent and pragmatic qualities of the Soviet leadership while at the same time revealing the clearly delineated self-assurance which originated in their powerful belief system. The sense of pur-

pose which infuses this resolution and the other documents is one of the weighty legacies of the Marxian system (a powerful modern belief system) and of the cumulated experience of the Soviet Communist Party.

This resolution, by allowing readers to look in on a highly unusual blend of significant elements — the pull of Soviet ideology, the shove of stern, unavoidable realities, the factor of the seasoned capabilities of an able leadership — permits readers to make more informed assessments of the current leadership and its approach to problems, for the present leadership and its approaches are still quite close to the Stalin era.

Notes

The authors would like to express their thanks to Edgar Anderson, Robert Lauritzen and Bruce Provin for their valuable comments in the preparation of this paper.

[1] The Germans did not underline any portion of their translation of the May 24 document. Many other translations of resolutions of lesser importance were underlined by the Germans in places of concern to them.

[2] None of the other Politburo documents have even "Strictly confidential" written on them let alone an internal warning. The reason that the Politburo resolutions are not marked "Confidential" may be found in the advice given to Peter Deriabin, a former NKVD official who was the author of many reports to top Soviet officials in 1952, by his chief Kravtsov, head of the Austro-German section of the Foreign Intelligence Directorate. Kravtsov informed him that there was to be no written notation like "Confidential" or "Secret" on any report to top Soviet officials since "the people who read this are presumed to have access to everything." (Peter Deriabin and Frank Gibney, *The Secret World* [Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959] p. 178.)

In striking contrast to the Politburo resolutions, almost the entire NKID correspondence, which is relatively insignificant, is marked "Completely Confidential."

This top-secret resolution has an internal reference to secrecy both at its beginning and at its end. This practice is similar to that utilized in a similarly top-secret letter written by Lenin to the Politburo on March 19, 1922 in which Lenin stated at the beginning and at the end of the letter that no copy should be made. (Lenin's letter is translated in "Lenin Attacks the Church," *Religion in the Communist Lands*, 7 [Spring, 1979], pp. 46-48.)

[3] In referring to Khrushchev's speech of March 8, 1963, Edward E. Smith, a biographer of Stalin, noted that "Communist speeches of this type cannot be comprehended unless they are subjected to a sort of exegesis usually applied only to archeology." E.E. Smith, "To Beat or Not To Beat," *Congressional Record* (1963) p. 7144.

[4] United Front: An alliance of the communists and socialists to combat fascism. The United Front was begun in France in 1934 and quickly spread to other countries.

[5] Popular Front: A further extension of the United Front which included the center parties. Begun in 1935 in France, in 1936 in Spain and in 1938 in Chile.

[6] John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1962), p. 346. F.L. Carsten believes that the Nazis broke off the military collaboration. See "The Reichswehr and the Red Army, 1920-1933," *Survey* No. 44/45 (October, 1962), p. 131.

For a chronology of the secret Russo-German military agreements, see Robert M. Slusser and Jan F. Triska (editors), *A Calendar of Soviet Treaties* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 409-412.

[7] Boris I. Nicolaevsky, "Letter of an Old Bolshevik" in *Power and the Soviet Elite*, edited by Janet D. Zagoria (New York: Praeger, 1965), p. 31. Originally published anonymously in 1937.

[8] "The general line of the CPSU(b) [Communist Party of the Soviet Union (bolsheviks)]," according to the *Slovar' inostrannykh slov* [Dictionary of foreign words] (3d. ed. Moscow, 1949, p. 150) is "the guiding line established by the highest party institutions [CPSU(b) Congress, CC Plenum] and which defines the policy of the Party under specific conditions at each given stage [of history]."

[9] William E. Scott, *Alliance Against Hitler* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1962), p. 131.

[10] "The Struggle of the U.S.S.R. for Collective Security in Europe during 1933-1935," *International Affairs* (Moscow) No. 6 (June 1963), p. 109.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Istoriia velikoi otechestvennoi voinu Sovetskogo Soiuza, 1941-1945* [History of the great patriotic war of the Soviet Union, 1941- 1945] Moscow: Voennoe Izdat, 1960), *1*:82.

[13] "The Struggle of the U.S.S.R. . ." *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[16] Scott, *Alliance Against Hitler*, p. 156. According to Scott, "The French withdrawal from the arms negotiations [on April 17, 1934] . . . ended a series of conciliatory approaches by the French leaders [to Germany from 1931 through 1933]," *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[17] "The Struggle of the U.S.S.R. . . ." *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

[18] Resolution of the Politburo CPSU(b) of April 21, 1934. Hereafter cited as *PB*, April 21, 1934.

[19] "O peregruzke shkol'nikov i pionerov obshchestvenno-politicheskimi zadaniiami. Postanovlenie TsK VKP(b) ot 23 aprelia 1934g." [On overworking school children and pioneers with socio-political tasks. Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) of April 23, 1934], *Pravda*, April 24, 1934, p. 1.

[20] "O prepodavanii grazhdanskoi istorii v shkolakh SSSR. Postanovlenie SNK SSSR i TsK VKP(b)" [On the teaching of history in the USSR schools. Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU(b)], *Pravda*, May 16, 1934, p. 1.

"O prepodavanii geographii v nachal'noi i srednei shkole SSSR. Postanovlenie SNK SSSR i TsK VKP (b)" [On the teaching of geography in elementary and secondary schools of the USSR. Resolution of the CPC USSR and the CC CPSU(b)], *Pravda*, May 16, 1934, p. 1.

[21] Konstantin Shteppa, *Russian Historians and the Soviet State* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962), p. 123.

[22] "The Struggle of the U.S.S.R. . . ." *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[24] Scott, *Alliance Against Hitler*, pp. 168-169.

[25] *PB*, May 23, 1934. The authors' analysis of the carte blanche initiative given to Litvinov by the Politburo on May 23, 1934 is presently in manuscript form.

[26] "The change in the tactics of the French Communist Party at this late date [late May] was due to the development of Franco-Soviet diplomacy." Luther A. Allen, "The French Left and Soviet Russia," *World Affairs Quarterly* 29 (July, 1959), p. 110.

[27] William O. McCagg, citing Herbert Dinerstein, points out that

> Stalin characteristically showed a great deal of reluctance when he had to abandon a policy. . . . He hated to admit failure and would grasp at virtually any sort of objective evidence to justify continued adherence to a worn-out policy; and . . . he would often not adopt a new policy explicitly until the debate in his entourage about the old one had been completely resolved. (McCagg, *Stalin Embattled, 1943-1948* [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978], p. 397, footnote 60).

[28] *Kommunisticheskii Internatsional* [Communist international], No. 16 (394) June 1, 1934, p. 64.

[29] The proposal was published in *L'Humanité*, May 31, 1934, p. 1 under the title "Pour Sauver Thaelmann! Pour Battre le Fascisme — Front Unique d'Action!" [To save Thälmann! To fight fascism — united front of action!] Not until 1959 was the significance of the May 31 appeal of *L'Humanité* noted by

scholars. See Allen "The French Left and Soviet Russian," p. 110, footnote 6 and James Joll, "The Making of the Popular Front," in *The Decline of the Third* Republic, edited by James Joll (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959), p. 44.

The reference to "the coded telegram from Moscow" which led to the May 31 appeal may be found in "Compte rendu d'une Conférence d'Albert Vassart au Cercle Zimmerwald du 17 Janvier 1957," *Le Revolution proletarienne*, No. 414 (February 1957), p. 24 which was cited by Daniel R. Brower in his *The New Jacobins* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 57. Albert Vassart was the French representative to the ECCI at the time. He later left the Communist Party in 1939.

[30] Evidence for this comes from the communist right-wing opposition to the Comintern: "In June [23-26, 1934] the [French Communist] Party convention at Ivry made the change [toward the United Front]." ("The Comintern and the United Front," by G.S., *Worker's Age*, September 15, 1934, p. 4.)

Further evidence comes from Vassart:

> . . . Therefore shortly after the Congress of the French Socialist Party [May 20-23, 1934] Vassart was entrusted by the Comintern with the task of drawing up a document to be sent to the French Communist Party to serve as a foundation for the national conference of the Communist party set for June 23 and 24, 1934 at Ivry. . . . This document contained the main bases for the future work of the Communist party including the principle of the popular front, though the term itself did not appear in it as yet.
>
> The document was sent to the [French] Communist Party and arrived in time to bring about the change in policy at the Ivry Conference." (Celie and Albert Vassart, "The Moscow Origin of the French 'Popular Front' " in *The Comintern: Historical Highlights, Essays, Recollections, Documents*, ed. by Milorad A. Drachkovitch and Branko Lazitch [New York: Praeger, 1966], p. 247.)

Since the Politburo resolution of May 29 (numbered 42 by the Germans) was shown to Hitler on June 19, 1984 (PS-198, Rosenberg's Diary), the Politburo resolution of May 24 (numbered 40) was most likely in German hands before June 19, or four days before the Ivry Conference of the French Communist Party.

[31] Renaud Jean, "Pour le front unique de lutte anti-fasciste [For the united front of the anti-fascist struggle]," *L'Humanité*, July 5, 1934, p. 4. Jean's report was delivered on June 24. Translation by the authors.

[32] Albert Vassart, "L'organisation de la lutte contre le fascisme en France [The organization of the struggle against fascism in France]," *L'Internationale Communiste*, No. 16 (August 20, 1934), p. 1045.

[33] *Inprecorr*, No. 33 (June 8, 1934), p. 877.

Brower gives in great detail the zig-zags of the French Communist Party toward the United Front after May 31 (*The New Jacobins*, pp. 59-61). He also states (*ibid*, pp. 48-49) that the May 23 issue of *Pravda* contains two articles ("For the United Front — Against Disruption!" [editorial] and "The French Communist Party in the Struggle for the United Front," by Maurice Thorez)

which signified a change toward the United Front. A close examination of these two articles reveals that they are fence-straddling articles rather than statments reflecting a change of policy. These two articles probably reflect discussions going on within the Comintern. (Translations of the two articles may be found in *Inprecorr*, No. 32 [June 1, 1934], pp. 859-861 and *Inprecorr*, No. 33 [June 8, 1934] p. 891, respectively.) Furthermore, Renaud Jean's speech of June 24 at the Ivry Conference makes it quite clear that the *first* definite signal of the coming United Front was given in *L'Humanité* of May 31.

[34] Letter of Boris Souvarine of August 6, 1960 in the authors' possession.

[35] Jay Lovestone, "Five Years of the Communist Opposition," *Workers Age*, November 1, 1934, p. 1.

[36] The Seventh World Congress was in session from July 25 to August 25, 1935.

[37] Bertram D. Wolfe, "The Comintern in Danger of Degeneration, Flashlights on the Seventh Congress of the Communist International," *Workers Age*, August 10, 1935, p. 1.

[38] Georgi Dimitrov [closing speech] *Pravda*, August 22, 1935, p. 1.

[39] Sixteen years later, Joseph Revai, Hungarian Politburo member, and Minister of Culture, admitted that "the popular front . . . was merely an historical detour forced on us by fascism." ("Literature and People's Democracy," *Masses and Mainstream*, 3 [September, 1950], p. 48).

[40] Lenin, "Report on the Tactics of the RCP(b)," [Report Delivered at the Third Congress of the Communist International. July 5, 1921] *Collected Works* [from 4th Russian edition]. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965) *32*:490 (hereafter cited as *Collected Works*).

[41] Lenin, "The Home and Foreign Policy of the Republic," [Report of December 23, 1921 to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets] *Collected Works, 33*:158.

[42] Lenin, "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism," [November 5, 1921] *Collected Works, 33*:110.

[43] Barrington Moore, *Soviet Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 93.

[44] Merle Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled* (Rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 528.

[45] The Politburo resolution of May 24, 1934 ultimately led to the Popular Front under which French communists defended French armaments and Spanish communists joined the Loyalist Government. The turn to the right by the Communist International is portrayed by Franz Borkenau as follows:

> The real tendency [of the French Communists during the Popular Front period] was to reach out beyond [the socialists] . . . and to achieve contact with the forces of the right, the representatives of the real ruling classes, of army, bureaucracy, church and plutocracy . . . [since] it was the right and not the left which could guarantee that army, diplomacy and bureaucracy would hold on to an eventual pact with the USSR.

(*European Communism* [New York: Harper, 1953], p. 134.)

[46] Stalin, "Speech Delivered to the German Commission of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI March 8, 1926" *Works* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), *8*:115 (hereafter cited as *Works*).

[47] *PB*, May 24, 1934 (based on Stalin's report).

[48] Allen, "The French Left and Soviet Russia," pp. 114-115. Moscow's first directive, leading to the United Front, was initiated by Stalin's report to the Politburo of May 24, 1934.

[49] Paul Vaillant-Couturier, "Les Bolshéviks défendent la paix [The bolsheviks defend peace]," *L'Humanité*, May 18, 1935, p. 1.

[50] Stalin, "On the Bond Between the Workers and the Peasants and on State Farms (From a speech delivered on July 11, 1928)" [not published until 1948] *Works, 11*:198-199.

[51] Stalin, "First Speech Delivered to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the American Question (May 14th, 1929)," in *Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party* (New York [?]: Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., 1931 [?]), p. 29.

[52] Nathan Leites, *A Study of Bolshevism* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953) p. 481.

[53] Boris Souvarine, *Stalin* (New York: Alliance, 1939), p. 620.

[54] Franz Borkenau, *World Communism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962) [reprint of 1939 edition], pp. 386-387.

[55] Vassart, "The Moscow Origin of the French 'Popular Front'," pp. 251-252.

[56] Shteppa, *Russian Historians . . .*, p. 304.

[57] William Korey, "Zinov'ev's Critique of Stalin's Theory of Socialism in One Country, December 1925-December 1926," *American Slavic and East European Review*, 9 (December 1950), p. 256.

[58] Stalin, "Zakliuchitel'noe slovo, 13 dekabria, 1926," [Reply to the discussion, December 13, 1926] *Sochineniia* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1948), *2*:96-97.

[59] In his report to the Politburo of May 24, 1934, Stalin could have used at least eight other relatively harmless words instead of *peresmotr* (reconsideration): (1) *izmenenie*: change; (2) *ispravlenie*: correction, amendment; (3) *peredelka*: alteration (of a conviction); (4) *peremena*: change (in views, policy, etc.); (5) *pereotsenka*: reappraisal, revaluation; (6) *perestroika*: reorientation (ideological); (7) *popravka*: correction, amendment (of a resolution); (8) *popravlenie*: correction, readjustment.

[60] D.N. Ushakov, *Tolkovyi slovar' russkogo iazyka* [Explanatory dictionary of the Russian language] Moscow: Ogiz, 3:1308 (1939).

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Kommunisticheskii internatsional. Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk* [Communist international. A short historical sketch] (Moscow: Politizdat, 1969), pp. 375-376, 378-380.

[63] Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled*, p. 113. The new appeal was launched in *Pravda* on June 9, 1934,, p. 1.

[64] Stalin, "Speech at the Reception in the Kremlin in Honour of the Commanders of the Red Army Troops, May 24, 1945." The complete toast as cited by

Robert Daniels in his *A Documentary History of Communism* (New York: Knopf, 1969), 2:137-138, reads as follows:

> Comrades, permit me to propose another toast, the last one.
>
> I would like to propose that we drink to the health of the Soviet people, and primarily of the Russian people.
>
> I drink primarily to the health of the Russian people because it is the most outstanding of all the nations that constitute the Soviet Union.
>
> I drink to the health of the Russian people, because during this war, it has earned universal recognition as the guiding force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country.
>
> I drink to the health of the Russian people, not only because it is the leading people, but also because it is gifted with a clear mind, a staunch character, and patience.
>
> Our Government committed no few mistakes; at times our position was desperate, as in 1941-42, when our army was retreating, abandoning our native villages and towns in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Leningrad Region, the Baltic Region, and the Karelo-Finnish Republic, abandoning them because there was no other alternative. Another people might have said to the government. You have not come up to our expectations. Get out. We shall appoint another government, which will conclude peace with Germany and ensure tranquility for us. But the Russian people did not do that, for they were confident that the policy their Government was pursuing was correct; and they made sacrifices in order to ensure the defeat of Germany. And this confidence which the Russian people displayed in the Soviet Government proved to be the decisive factor which ensured our historic victory over the enemy of mankind, over fascism.
>
> I thank the Russian people for this confidence!
>
> To the health of the Russian people!

[65] Shteppa, *Russian Historians . . .*, pp. 306-307.

[66] A recent Soviet dissident view of Stalin's victory toast is as follows: "Stalin . . . drank his famous toast to the great Russian people in secret gratitude that it had not overthrown him and put him on trial at Nüremberg." Leonid Plyushch, *History's Carnival* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), p. 185.

[67] According to the Russians, May 9 was the date on which the war ended in Europe.

[68] McCagg, *The Embattled Stalin*, pp. 396-397.

[69] Gordon W. Millikan, "Soviet and Comintern Policy Toward Germany, 1928-1933: A Case Study of Strategy and Tactics" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970), pp. 359, 450.

[70] *PB*, June 20, 1934; August 31, 1934; January 7, 1935; February 21, 1935; April 22, 1935; May 1, 1935; August 8, 1935.

[71] *PB*, May 24, 1934; August 15, 1934; November 23, 1934.

[72] The two quotes from Lenin are as follows:

(1) "No power on earth can halt the progress of the world communist revolution towards the world Soviet Republic." Speech opening the [8th] Congress [of the RCP(b)], 18 March [1919]. *Collected Works, 29*:145.

(2) "The victory of the world-wide communist revolution is assured." Speech at the opening session of the [First] Congress [of the Communist International] March 2 [1919]. *Collected Works, 28*:456.

[73] Nicholas S. Timasheff, *The Great Retreat, the Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia* (New York: Dutton, 1946), p. 3.

Stalin's reluctant retreat from Communism in 1934 is quite frank but so is Iacocca's reluctant retreat from Capitalism in 1979. The following amusing excerpt shows this graphically:

> William Proxmire: "The Government will be into your corporation when you come this way and ask for this kind of assistance. Doesn't this fly right into the face of what you have been preaching so eloquently for so long?"
>
> Lee A. Iacocca: "It sure does. I have been a free enterpriser all my life. I come here with great reluctance. I am between a rock and a hard place. I cannot save the company without some kind of guarantee from the Federal Government."

(U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. *Chrysler Corporation Loan Guarantee Act of 1979.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979, p. 640.)

[74] Borkenau, *World Communism*, pp. 387-388.

[75] Richard Lowenthal, "Three Roads to Power," *Problems of Communism, 5* (July-August, 1964), pp. 74-75.

[76] *Survey of International Affairs for 1934*, p. 374.

[77] Ushakov, *Tolkovyi slovar'* . . . , 2:994 (1938).

[78] *Ibid.* Ushakov gives other definitions for the word, but his definition number three of the verb "to retreat" is a unique Stalinist one which has appeared in neither Webster's Unabridged nor in a Russian dictionary of Czarist times, nor even in later Soviet dictionaries!

The second thesis was admirably expressed over a year later by William Bullitt, American Ambassador to Moscow, in a report to the Secretary of State: "The present restraint of the Soviet Government with regard to the world revolution does not mean abandonment of this aim, but is merely tactical policy, *'reculer pour mieux sauter'* [to step back in order to spring all the farther]" (Bullitt to Hull, July 10, 1935) *Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers. The Soviet Union, 1933-39.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 225.

[79] Ushakov, *Tolkovyi slovar'* . . . ,2:994 (1938).

[80] See footnote 30 *supra*.

[81] An Hungarian Politburo member used the word "reason" (another translation of *soobrazhenie*) in a similar context: "[In 1945 in Hungary] for political-

tactical reasons we could not yet launch the fighting slogan of socialist realism." Joseph Revai, "Literature and People's Democracy," p. 49.

[82] *Leninskii sbornik* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1959) v. *36*, pp. 91, 100, 106, 133, 137, 138, 144, 145, 146, 185, 209, 231, 317, 319, 327, 328, 329, 340, 344, 372, 422, 492, and 516.

[83] Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [Complete collected works] (5th ed., Moscow: Politizdat, 1958-1969) v. 41, p. 473; v. 42, p. 434; v. 43, pp. 423-424; v. 44, pp. 518-520; v. 45, p. 490.

[84] For example, in the latest volume of *Leninskii sbornik* (v. 36, 1959), which contains many unpublished letters to the Politburo, Lenin referred to the Politburo 97 times. On 85 of these occasions, he termed the Politburo, "Politburo."

Stalin used the term "Politburo" in his speeches and letters. See, for example volume 11 of his *Works*.

[85] *Biulleten Oppozitsii*, No. 21-22 (May-June 1931), cover page and page 17.

[86] "Facing the Consequences of the Devaluation of the Franc, Statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party," *Information Bulletin*, No. 19-20 (1969), p. 35.

[87] "Belgium," *Information Bulletin*, No. 19-20 (1969), p. 72.

[88] "Resolution of the CP of Israel," *Information Bulletin*, No. 3 (1968), p. 44.

[89] "Contrary to the Interests of Dutch Communists" (*Pravda*, May 12, 1972), *Information Bulletin*, No. 8-9 (1972), p. 91.

[90] *VKP(b) v rezoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s"ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK (1898-1935)* (5th ed. Moscow Partizdat, 1936), *2*:599-600.

Similar sentences occur in the Party Regulations for 1919 and 1925. See *ibid.*, *1*:327, and *2*:84, where "institutions" is substituted for "organizations."

[91] Milton Loventhal, comp., *Politburo Meetings from Soviet Archives: a Chronology*. (n.p., 1961) 18 leaves (mimeo at Hoover Institution).

[92] *VKP(b) v rezoliutsiiakh . . . 2*:103-105.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[94] *Spravochnik partinogo rabotnika* [Handbook of the party worker] 9th ed. (Moscow: Partizdat, 1969), p. 8.

[95] The second volume was chosen because it covered the first decade of Stalin's rule, including the two years of the Stalin resolutions.

[96] Stalin, *Sochineniia* [Works] (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1952) *13*:216.

[97] Lenin, "The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of the Political Education Departments, Report . . ." *Collected Works*, *33*:77-78.

[98] Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth League, Speech . . . October 2, 1920," *Collected Works*, *31*:286,299.

[99] From a count of the twelve most frequently occurring primary verbs and participles in the resolutions and decisions comprising the second volume (1925-1935) of the fifth edition of the *VKP(b) v resoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s"ezdov*. . . .

[100] "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," *Peking Review*, June 21, 1963, p. 12.

[101]. Frank Meyer, *The Moulding of Communists* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961), p. 151.

[102] An analysis of the percentage of words of foreign origin in the May 24 resolution and other resolutions was also carried out. The analysis showed that, for the first seventy-eight resolutions, twenty percent of the words of each resolution are of foreign origin. The May 24 resolution (based on Stalin's report) contained twenty-two percent words of foreign origin. Comparable official Soviet material — Stalin's Report to the 17th Congress, *History of the CPSU(b)* (1934 period only), Declaration of the 12th ECCI Plenum, etc. — contained nineteen percent words of foreign origin.

[103] Jennifer McDowell, "Religious Elements in Soviet Rule" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1973), p. 96.

[104] *PB*, May 13, 1935. The three other Politburo resolutions which combine "betrayal" with praise of Stalin are those of February 21, 1935; April 3, 1935; and November 9, 1935. The Politburo resolution of November 23, 1934, also contains a hint of "betrayal." However, since it is the Comintern which is suggesting that there is some departure from Communist principles, the Politburo does not feel the need to eulogize Stalin. The quote from the resolution of November 23, 1934 is as follows: "If at the present moment, it is essential to emphasize Soviet foreign policy, then it least of all befits the organs of the Comintern to hint at a betrayal of communist ideas and principles by the Party leadership."

[105] Eugenie Reale, *Avec Jacques Duclos au Banc des Accusés à la Réunion constitutive du Kominform à Szklareska Poreba (22-27 Septembre 1947)* [With Jacques Duclos at the bench of the accused at the constitutive meeting of the Cominform at Szklarska Poreba (22-27 September 1947)] (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1958), p.76.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[107] The ten issues of *Inprecorr* are as follows: October 12, 1934 (pp. 1390, 1392); December 29, 1934 (p. 1736); March 2, 1935 (p. 274); April 6, 1935 (pp. 402-403); April 20, 1935 (pp. 448-450); June 29, 1935 (pp. 711-713); July 6, 1935 (pp. 743-745); August 28, 1935 (p. 1066); October 1, 1935 (p. 1243); and December 17, 1935 (p. 1706).

[108] Klement Gottwald, "Two Paths — Two Worlds," *Inprecorr* 15 (March 2, 1935), p. 274.

[109] Jésus Hernandez, *La Grande Trahision* [The great betrayal] (Paris: Fasquelle Editeurs, 1953), p. 208.

[110] Klaus Mehnert, *Stalin versus Marx* (London: Macmillan, 1952).

[111] See footnote 30 *supra*.

[112] From August 20, 1934, to March 19, 1936, one hundred and ninety-seven Stalin documents were delivered. Ninety percent of these documents bear a delivery date. Ninety-six percent of those with a delivery date were received within nine days after a Politburo meeting.

[113] This observation was made to Milton Loventhal on July 1, 1955 by Professor Kerner after he had read two hundred pages of the resolutions. The fact that the resolutions were handed over week after week to the Germans had not yet been established.

Notes on Contributors

Naomi Clark, who earned the Ph.D. from University of California at Santa Cruz, teaches English and creative writing at San Jose State. Currently the director of the San Jose Poetry Center, Clark has directed workshops and read her own poetry widely in the Berkeley and Santa Cruz area. A volume of poetry, *Burglaries and Celebrations* (Berkeley, 1977), further complements the works she has published over the years in journals as varied as the *Ontario Review, Contact II* and *Poetry NOW.*

Donald Gutierrez, an Associate Professor of English at Western New Mexico University, is the author of a recent book on D. H. Lawrence, *Lapsing Out: Embodiments of Death and Rebirth in the Last Works of D. H. Lawrence.* (Fairleigh Dickenson, 1980), and a major contributor to the Lawrence Bibliography being published in 1981. Holding degrees in library science as well as in English, he has worked as reference librarian at the Metropolitan Museum, as editor at Grosset and Dunlap, and as teacher at Notre Dame.

Lewis Horne, a landed immigrant living in Canada, emigrated from the Mid-west where he earned his Master's and Doctorate from the University of Michigan. He has published fiction in the *Gramercy Review* and the *Literary Review* and critical essays in *Etudes Anglaises* and the *Dickensian.* Presently, he is an Associate Professor of English at the University of Saskatchewan.

Milton Loventhal earned Master's degrees from the University of California and San Jose State. Currently a bibliographer and documents librarian in the San Jose State library, Mr. Loventhal is a specialist on the Soviet Union in the 1930s. He is also a part-time editor and publisher whose titles include *Contemporary Women Poets: An Anthology* and *Blacks in America.*

Jennifer McDowell is an editor at the Merlin Press and publisher at the Lipstick and Toy Balloons Publishing Company. Having earned the Doctorate in Sociology, she has published on George Orwell and the Soviet Union. She is also a poet and short story writer, a composer of art songs, and of feminist and "people's" music.

Marion Spillman is an English teacher at Oak Grove High School in South San Jose. She came to the west coast having taught previously in the Chicago Public Schools. Ms. Spillman, who earned the Bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago and a Master of Arts from Stanford, is currently working on a novel.

Gina Strumwasser, Associate Professor of Art History at California State University, Fresno, was the recipient of an N.E.H. grant in 1980-81 and previously of a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome. Earning the Ph.D. in Art History from the University of California at Los Angeles, she taught at California State University at Los Angeles and at El Camino College before coming to Fresno.

Joanna Thompson, a student of the late Yvor Winters at Stanford University, has published poetry in the *American Scholar,* the *New York Quarterly,* the *Blue Unicorn* and many other reviews and journals. While primarily a poet, Ms. Thompson has been employed as a story editor in television and has worked for assorted magazines including the *New Yorker.*

Call For Papers

San Jose Studies announces an issue devoted to contemporary reflections on the cancer problem. We seek articles from scientists whose research bears on carcinogenesis as well as persons whose lives have been personally touched by the disease: investigators studying etiology at the level of nucleic acids and chromosomes; epidemiologists elucidating correlations between environmental agents and populations; clinicians developing means of treatment; engineers creating instruments for diagnosis and therapy; nurses and social workers pioneering in the delivery of patient care; philosophers and theologians concerned with the ethical issues of death and dying; individuals afflicted with cancer.

Manuscripts, conforming to the MLA format, should be sent to

The Editor
San Jose Studies
San Jose, California
95192

by May 1982.

To Our Readers:

San Jose Studies, a journal sponsored by San Jose State University, is published three times each year, in February, May, and November. The contents include critical, creative, and informative writing of interest to the general, educated public. We publish articles which originate in the scholarly pursuit of knowledge but which are written to appeal to the general reader interested in intellectual aspects of the arts, business, the humanities, science, and social science. Each issue also features creative and literary materials, including poetry, fiction, review essays, and occasional interviews and photographic essays.

The goal of each issue is to provoke that particular type of intellectual pleasure that comes with discovering a new thought or with reexamining old concepts from new perspectives. In that respect, *SJS* complements the formal learning that goes on within the university and contributes to the continuing education of our readers.

Past issues have included articles on topics as diverse as eugenics techniques and their implications for society, the misuse of intelligence tests to predict incompetence, Melville's deliberate "errors" in *Billy Budd*, the use of arithmetic for financial survival, historical disputes about the Battle of Hastings, and the letters of William James (several published for the first time). Special issues have been devoted to John Steinbeck and to the American Bicentennial.

Each February, a $100.00 award from the Bill Casey Memorial Fund is given to the author of the best essay, story, or poem appearing in the previous volume of *San Jose Studies*. In addition, authors of the best article, short story, and poem in each volume receive a year's complimentary subscription to the journal.

The recipients of these awards are selected by the Committee of Trustees of *SJS*.

Manuscripts are welcome from all writers and should be submited to:

The Editors
San Jose Studies
San Jose State University
San Jose, California 95192

All manuscripts should be limited to 5,000 words and must be typewritten and double-spaced on standard $8^1/_2$ x 11 white bond. The author's name should appear only on the cover sheet of the original. An identifying word from the title (rather than the author's name) should appear on succeeding pages of the manuscript adjacent to the page number in the upper right-hand corner.

Manuscripts are evaluated by a generalist reader, a specialist reader, and the Editors, a process that normally takes from six to eight weeks. Authors receive two complimentary copies of the issue in which their contribution appears. Manuscripts not accepted for publication are returned to authors if a stamped, self-addressed envelope is included with the submission. Previously published work and multiple submissions are not accepted for publication.

Subscriptions and business communications should be mailed to

Cornelia Brenneis, Business Assistant
San Jose Studies
San Jose State University
San Jose, CA, 95192

Subscriptions are as follows:

Individuals—$12.00 for one year
(Foreign—$14.00).
Institutions—$15.00 for one year, $27.00 for two years, $36.00
for three years.
Patrons—$50.00 annually.
Benefactors—$100.00 annually.

Single copies are $5.00 and may be purchased from the Business Manager or at the Spartan Bookstore.

Acknowledgments

The publication of *San Jose Studies* is possible only through the support of its benefactor and patron subscribers. The Trustees and Staff of *SJS* would like to acknowledge the contributions of the following supporters.

BENEFACTORS

Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Arends
Halsey C. Burke
Hobert W. and Patricia Burns
Stanley and Gail Fullerton
John A. Galm
Finn Jenssen
Jay D. Pinson
Fauneil Joyce Rinn
Margaret H. Williams

PATRONS

Alumni Association of
San Jose State University
American Association of University Professors,
San Jose State University Chapter
Association of California State University Professors,
San Jose Chapter
Mary O. Bowman
Charles B. Burdick
California State Employees Association,
Chapter 32
Lucius R. Eastman, Jr.
Glen E. Guttormsen
Joe Mattos
Arlene N. Okerlund
Dr. Robert Sasseen
United Professors of California
Gerald E. Wheeler
Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Williams
Dr. Robert H. Woodward
Arthur Young and Company

In addition, a number of anonymous donations have been received.

Subscription Information

San Jose Studies is published three times per year in February, May and November. Subscription prices are:

$12.00 per year for individuals ($14.00 for foreign subscriptions)

$15.00 per year for institutions
($27.00 for two years; $36.00 for three years)

$ 5.00 for single copies

Patron subscriptions are available for $50.00 per year. Benefactors may subscribe for $100.00. Credit is given in the journal to patrons and benefactors unless otherwise requested.

Individuals are requested to send payment with the order.

Please enter my subscription to *SAN JOSE STUDIES* as I have checked below:

Individual subscription:	$12.00 for 1 year	( )
Institutional subscription:	$15.00 for 1 year	( )
	$27.00 for 2 years	( )
	$36.00 for 3 years	( )
Patron subscription:	$50.00	( )
Benefactor subscription:	$100.00	( )

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

Please make checks payable to the *SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION* and mail to:

Cornelia Brenneis, Business Assistant
San Jose Studies
San Jose State University, San Jose, CA 95192

Applicable taxes are included in the subscription prices.

San José Studies
San José State University
San Jose, California 95192