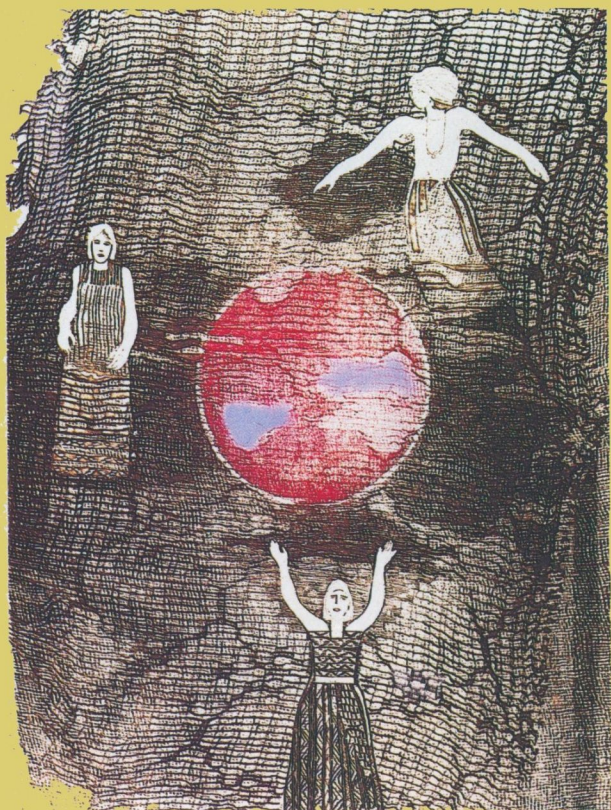


Sin and Science



Dyson Carter

SIN AND SCIENCE

Dyson Carter

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Author's Note To Third Edition

WHEN this book first appeared, a review in one of Canada's leading daily newspapers told the public that it "could be the most important book ever published in Canada." That was a very strong statement, one with which the author can hardly agree.

The merits of this book, in my opinion, are two. First: it is the only book which has recorded in considerable detail how the world's first Socialist country solved problems that today beset dozens of important nations: alcoholism, venereal disease and prostitution.

Second: this book is based upon historical facts, and thus, as many reviewers pointed out, it is an objective study of a little-publicised but highly important aspect of the Soviet revolution.

In eight years, this book has gone through seven editions—three in Canada, one in the United States, two English and one Tamil edition in India. A third Indian edition is now planned, and soon the book will appear in the Japanese language.

Of course it is always gratifying for an author to discover that his writing wins popularity far beyond the borders of his own country, and that a book gains more and more prestige as time goes on. However, "Sin And Science" has been a source of great personal satisfaction to me, for quite a different reason.

When the book was written, I had never visited the country about which I was writing, the U.S.S.R. I made no secret of that. The book was based upon official documents and statements of eminent persons who had personally studied Soviet conditions. These were my authorities. Years went by, and as might be expected, now and again some person would say to me: "It is all very well to report on what you have studied . . . but suppose you find that conditions there are very different to what you have presented in this book, if you go to the Soviet Union some day?"

The question never worried me. But who can escape some feeling of uncertainty in such a situation? As time went on I quite naturally developed an ever keener curiosity to see for myself.

When the opportunity did at last come, I made sure that I would test the facts in this book in real life. I went to the Soviet Union, with my wife, in connection with my work as editor of "News-Facts". Our hosts, the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) had no knowledge of my intention to investigate "morality", because my wife and I kept this intention to ourselves, *deliberately*, in order that no one could say afterwards that Soviet doctors, jurists and others were "prepared" in advance for our questions.

We succeeded, because neither our hosts nor anyone else in the Soviet Union had any idea that we were conducting our own personal survey of Socialist morals. And much to our satisfaction, we were able to make a quite extensive trip, visiting a wide variety of regions. We travelled many thousands of miles, all the way from Leningrad on the Baltic down to Stalingrad on the lower Volga. We visited large cities, old and new. We stayed in smaller towns and in farm communities. We met all manner of Soviet people and we had countless talks with them. We were in their streets late at night, on their trains, buses, planes and boats, in their homes, factories, farms, hospitals and holiday resorts, their courts and schools, nurseries and old folks' homes.

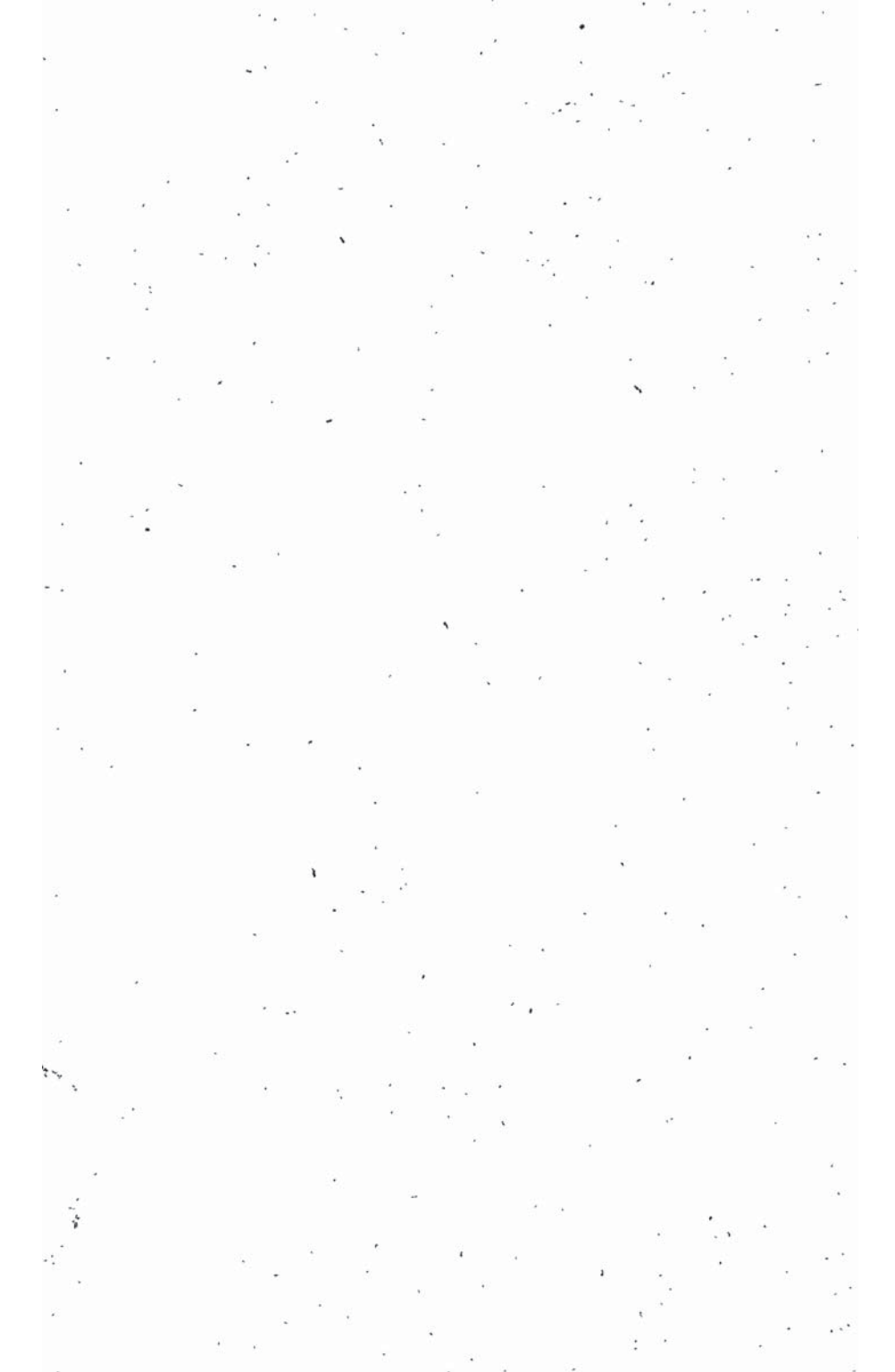
And when our trip was over we were able to say without hesitation: "The facts set down in 'Sin And Science' are actually the facts of life in the Soviet Union. What is described in this book is really what took place there. The results achieved by the Soviet people in developing a new morality are even more impressive than given in this book."

We saw for ourselves. Our personal verifications of the facts in this book have been added to the text for this present edition, wherever that was possible without disturbing the flow of the report.

We have only one reservation to make about this book today. "Sin And Science" does not fully set forth the tremendous changes that have been made in 200 million human beings during the Socialist epoch. Other aspects of this re-making of human nature we have recorded in our much more comprehensive report, "We Saw Socialism".

DYSON CARTER

Toronto, 1952.



F o r e w o r d

EVERY person who has reached social maturity in a modern city can say that the meaning of crime, sin, and science is self-evident. Most of us, in India at least, know that sin depends upon the particular religion professed; drinking wine is a sin for a Muslim, beef-eating for a Hindu, while the Christian does both without a qualm. This variable concept of sin being no longer sufficient to regulate society, legal sanctions are applied to forbid certain actions which are labelled as crimes, to be punished by police and court action. A crime must be detected and the offender put through some legal formalities before punishment becomes effective; retribution for sin can hardly be proved in most cases, hence is usually relegated to the next world or the next rebirth. For science, the consequences rest upon logical materialist interpretation of careful experiments or observations, independently of theological or juridical regulations. He who swallows a certain dose of poison must die whether the action is legal or not; allowing the proper number of bacteria to lodge in your system develops corresponding disease—whether God wills it or not—with a definite statistical frequency.

If now all three of these approaches tell us the same thing, if the commission of sin should lead to a strong possibility of disease while being also a crime, society then seems to be doing its best to stamp out a dangerous evil. This is certainly the case in the regulation of sex-relations, with its concomitants: divorce, venereal disease, prostitution; similarly for drunkenness and its effects upon the individual, upon his family, and upon society as a whole through increase of accidents in a machine age.

Dyson Carter reports fairly and dispassionately upon the methods used quite recently to stamp out these evils in two entirely different contemporary civilizations, each a leading model of its own type. In the USA no one can deny the powerful development of science, with an even more powerful development of the police force; all American religious groups

combine their efforts upon such questions. Nevertheless, the divorce rate is increasing, and is about the highest in the world; venereal disease, prostitution, alcoholism remain uneradicated in spite of 'reform' political campaigns, special police drives, and constant exhortations from the pulpit. In the USSR, the first and greatest representative of a new form of society, there was every reason for these deadly byproducts of modern society to have flared up. Organized religion was smashed by the revolution, most former restraints removed, the prostitute no longer punished as a criminal, divorce made almost effortless, and cheap liquor provided by the Government. Add to this the misery of wars of intervention following the revolution and the constantly increasing rate of production; then bourgeois logic would lead you to expect a continuous debauch. Yet, we find that prostitution has disappeared altogether, the divorce rate forced down to a negligible level, drunkenness now almost unknown in a country once notorious for its besotted muzhiks and workers.

These results, which might seem paradoxical and even fantastic, were obtained simply by turning scientific inquiry upon the roots of the problem, following its conclusions to their logical end. What the policeman dare not, priest cannot, scientist does not ask in capitalistic countries is *why* the social evils exist at all. The Soviet answer is that they exist because certain classes of people make heavy profits thereby. The exploitation of vice is a simple consequence of that general exploitation of the vast mass of people which necessarily drives a considerable number to vice. Removal of the general exploitation took away the prime cause, and ruthless punishment was served out to those who tried to make profit, not to their victims: to the brothel keeper, not the prostitute; to the bootlegger, not the drunkard. At the same time, the right to employment became part of the way of life, a decent livelihood being made possible for all. Then it was easy to observe the effects of the new freedom, to turn on legislation, party propaganda, scientific education of the people. Alternative forms of amusement and relaxation had been provided for all with full literacy and cheap as well as good reading matter, fine music, excellent cinema, parks of culture, sport. The former

evils disappeared simply because they no longer had any reason to exist. Life became so well worth living for the first time that escape from it was no longer necessary.

We face the same problems in India and are now trying the American system, including prohibition. However, any profiteer is free to shorten the lives of his countrymen by denying them the essentials of life and he does this as member of a highly respected class. The police protect him and his gains against the victims. The scientist ignores the effects of starvation, filthy lodging, lack of education upon those who made the profit possible, and rushes to help the capitalist with technical advice, medical aid, or even gratuitous praise; for who but the rich can pay well, who but those who have made heavy profits endow research? As for religion, it merely proclaims that the oppressed will get their due in some other life, or still more comfortingly that they must have misbehaved in a previous birth to suffer so now; that is, they may be ignored altogether or squeezed even more painfully. The reformer, with the best of intentions, attempts to gain the benefits of a revolution without the revolution itself.

PROFESSOR D. D. KOSAMBI.

Poona, September 10, 1950.

WITH NO APOLOGIES

I HAVE been warned not to write this book, and I have no doubt that a great many people will be sternly instructed not to read it.

This is neither an invitation nor discouragement. It is simply a candid statement of fact.

The subjects dealt with here, the problems raised in this book, are customarily summed up, and hushed up, by those vague words *immorality* and *sin*. Specifically: vice, prostitution, white slavery, venereal disease, abortion, illegitimate births, divorce, the most deplorable aspects of juvenile delinquency, and the liquor traffic.

Although extreme care has been taken to avoid offence, I realize that sensitive readers may be astonished by the frankness of some material in these pages. To them an apology would be due. Only, however, if this book were simply another sensational *expose*, or if it dealt with sin from a personal, intimate point of view. Many such volumes have appeared. The present book is something very different.

Not so much the revelations, but the purpose and practical conclusions given here will be the object of indignation and attack. Because this book treats of immorality in a unique fashion. Scientifically, objectively, it sets forth a practical and wholly understandable and completely successful solution to the problems of immorality.

You could reasonably greet such a claim with amusement or outright scorn. Every adult understands that the burden of moral evil has cruelly tortured human society for ages. An enormous amount of honest study, preaching, writing, and lawmaking has been devoted to overcoming sin. All this striving has dismally failed, as any realistic observer can deduce

from the critical weakening of moral forces in our highly advanced countries during the war, and from the undeniable prospect of further worsening in the postwar years. Who, then, would have the brazen audacity to claim that where all else has been in vain, one book will succeed?

Not this writer!

We should settle now that this book is an impartial report of an experiment in social morality, carried out with extraordinary success on a vast scale, and presented here with no intrusion by any theories of my own. To my knowledge this information has not previously been made available to the general public. Those authorities who have been in possession of the facts have suppressed them, and have shown a singular unwillingness to present them even to the medical profession and to social workers.

Allow me to repeat: this book deals with facts, and it details the proved, practical steps by which immorality can be banished from modern society as completely as the great plagues of the Middle Ages have been eliminated.

So blunt an assertion may puzzle those readers who, while they are willing to accept a "scientific" programme for the conquest of venereal disease, nevertheless firmly maintain that only a spiritual approach is possible to those aspects of sin which concern the sanctity of the family, divorce, moral relationships between the sexes, the destruction of human dignity by prostitution or chronic alcoholism, and so on. To many the very word "immoral" implies limitation to the individual's spiritual life and therefore falls outside the bounds of reason. Or at the opposite extreme we find those who believe that medical research alone can solve immorality, as though social evil were a sort of virus which—when the laboratory experts are given a free hand—will be conquered as easily as the new drug penicillin cures a case of gonorrhoea.

Today both these points of view have powerful support. Each appeals to great numbers of people precisely because each is partly correct. Nevertheless, all intelligent and conscientious persons must arrive at one conclusion: neither the so-called medical nor the purely religious approach to sin is effectively working now, in practice, in our countries. Immo-

rality is not being overcome. Demoralization is increasing at a rate never before experienced by democracy.

What has happened in the last few years hardly gives us a social picture of enchanting loveliness.

VICTORY GIRLS AND SOCIALISED WOMEN

CYNICS are fond of shrugging from their irresponsible shoulders all the urgent problems of morality with the bright observation that sin began with Adam and Eve. We are not concerned here with the religious conception of original sin. Certainly one man, and he a scientist, is to be credited with having done more than any other individual to arouse the modern democratic nations for action against immorality. In 1936 Dr. Thomas Parran, former Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, wrote an historic magazine article. It shocked millions. For the first time a doctor of international prestige released the subject of venereal disease from the hypocritical censorship which formerly sealed it from our reading public. He named in cold print, where everyone young and old could see, the two diseases that had formerly been editorially taboo: syphilis and gonorrhoea.

Briefly, here are the bewildering facts made public by the Surgeon General:

In 1936 there were more than three million syphilitic Americans. Approximately nine million victims of gonorrhoea. Five hundred thousand persons being infected with syphilis every year, and roughly three times that many new cases of gonorrhoea. Tens of thousands dying each year of heart disease caused by syphilis. Tens of millions of dollars annually being spent to provide asylum care for the syphilitic insane. An almost inconceivably horrifying total of physical and mental anguish directly resulting from infection with these two diseases. In Canada, Great Britain, and most other countries

the situation was as bad or worse. The venereal diseases were revealed by Dr. Parran for what they are—not the “moral punishment” inflicted on a small number of persons as retribution for private sins, but two social plagues striking at people of every economic, religious, racial, and social type, and increasing at a rate which threatened the foundations of national health.

There was some prudish opposition to Dr. Parran's call for action. But despite scepticism regarding this medical attack on immorality, most clergymen joined with doctors, social workers, editors, and legislators in sober determination to conquer venereal disease. They were heartened by the Surgeon General's declaration that the principal killer, syphilis, could be stamped out within one generation.

That was in 1936. The campaign got under way two years later. Laws were passed. Larger sums of money were provided. Clinics and laboratories were opened. Millions of leaflets were circulated, millions of blood tests were taken. On a huge scale the attack went forward.

In 1940 Dr. Parran wrote another article. Syphilis had been barely one-fifteenth wiped out. No change whatever had been registered for gonorrhoeal infection. The crusade against V.D. had failed to score its promised victories. Soon official statistics warned that the campaign might slip into reverse: in 1942 the number of infected men in the United States Army was higher than it had been in 1939.

All of a sudden, military authorities picked up the big stick. They began vigorously to “clean up” vice. Blind to the lessons of the past they decided to chase sin with patrol wagons. Very soon they whipped up a chase after that perennial scapegoat, the prostitute. A wave of enthusiastic persecution seized those moralists who delight in hurling epithets like “shame” and “crime” and “punishment.” A far cry from the efficient white-coated scheme that had guaranteed, only a few years earlier, to wipe out V.D. with scientific politeness.

Final bankruptcy was reached when several well-known figures—notably Gene Tunney—came out with stirring gentlemanly appeals for men to stop sinning, to forget sex, to stamp out disease with that hoary virtue called “continence.” Millions

in the armed forces, in effect, were urged to stop being men for the duration, to turn themselves into hermits. The principle behind this was the truism that a hermit never contracts V. D. Thus did the crusade of stream-lined science wind up preaching Victorian sermons.

Early in 1943 North America was startled by a public conflict that stormed between Army commanders and Washington's Office of Defence, Health, and Welfare Services. The ODHWS was alarmed by the rising tide of infection, and clamoured to have all larger centres drive women out of "houses of shame". They demanded that infamous red-light districts be shut tight. Many churchmen hastened to pledge support, and found no difficulty in waking public sentiment against a form of organized vice which most people professed to believe had long since died out. Surprisingly enough, the new campaign met with a hard-boiled rebuff from the Army. To the horror of the moralists a number of Army authorities stated their side of the question with painful frankness: to clean up the "streets of shame," they argued, would simply chase the girls all over town; while so long as they did business in restricted areas the military police could at least try to keep men in uniform away from such districts.

Editors and public officials found it hard to take sides in such an offensive dispute. But Charles P. Taft of the ODHWS was sure of the righteousness of his plan, and he came out with one of the choicest statistical morsels readers had ever seen. His agency had proof that a woman in a house could infect as many as fifty soldiers in one night, whereas the same woman forced to solicit on the streets would be able to infect not more than half a dozen customers nightly. Mr. Taft had little faith in the continence plea. He reminded Army heads that keeping a city's vice under control in a red-light area served only one purpose: it advertised sin to the troops, especially the young men.

This debate had one practical result. It forced millions of respectable people to realise how revoltingly systematic the business of prostitution actually is, with the discomfiting afterthought that a sizable proportion of the customers must be ordinary male citizens living in every neighbourhood.

By this time a new word blossomed in the vocabulary of the antivice crusaders: Victory Girl. Two U.S. Navy doctors fired publicity torpedoes. Lieut. Commander Wishengrad told New Yorkers that in the world's greatest city the prostitute was no longer a grave menace. Three out of four sailors who caught V. D. were being infected by non-professional girls, pickup dates they thought were safe. Lieut. Commander Buckley raised this figure for Philadelphia and insisted that young girls now outnumbered immoral women by four to one. Who were these girls? Youngsters of fourteen and up.

Time quoted its Norfolk correspondent: "Whereas before Pearl Harbour, the majority of Norfolk's prostitutes were professionals, today probably 85 to 90 per cent are amateurs. Many are young girls lured to Norfolk by the promise of big-paying jobs. Hundreds of these girls arrive each week—farm girls and clerks from small towns find it easy to have all the men they want."

The *Journal of the American Medical Association* verified these facts. "The old-time prostitute is sinking into second place. The new type is the young girl in her late teens or early twenties the carrier and disseminator of venereal disease today is just one of us, so to speak."

Across the Atlantic the British Medical Association's *Journal* independently reported identical facts for England, fixing the infection score for London at the figure Buckley gave for Philadelphia. One case of syphilis from a professional to four cases from what the English medicoes bluntly called amateur prostitutes. Australian doctors put the average for their country still higher on the side of immoral youngsters. Canadian authorities politely refrained from making public estimates, but juvenile court records showed teen-aged girls to be systematically taking up sin all across the Dominion.

To judge by the facts noted here the Victory Girl was a phenomenon of depravity, spawned by the war. Certainly the war and its huge shifts of population and its mushroom industrial booms have contributed to immorality. But the facts refute all ballyhoo about a new menace, a new trend away from virtue and decency, a new type of immoral girl. Hickman Powell's *Ninety Times Guilty* and Courtney Ryley

Cooper's *Designs in Scarlet*, both published in 1939, were studies of immorality which revealed the trend since 1925. In the fall of 1944 Senator Claude Pepper's Subcommittee on War-time Health and Education reported that recent alarming increases in moral crimes among juveniles cannot be attributed to the war. They are the culmination of a process that began after the First World War, when the social barriers between persons good and bad swiftly melted away.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this summary. First, the medical attack on venereal disease has not succeeded. Dr. Parran's belief that syphilis can be stamped out in one generation, by clinics and education, cannot any longer be accepted. Many progressive church leaders, had predicted this sorry result; for quite apart from Sunday school ethics it is a plain, common-sense fact that venereal disease cannot possibly be separated from the whole problem of immorality. While V.D. cannot be stamped out by preaching men to be good, the most elaborate medical plans will also fail so long as millions have no moral scruples about paying for promiscuous sex relations.

The second conclusion is less obvious. Apparently the crusaders against venereal disease suffer from a peculiar form of one-eyed sight. With unerring accuracy they can trace infection to women and girls. They can even calculate with precision the number of times per night a prostitute is capable of violating human dignity. But when it comes to investigating the other partner in sex they can only blink and pass by. Outraged by the infected, irresponsible, delinquent girl, these vice-blind reformers pound the table for action. Speak of women, and we get cleanup campaigns. But mention the men—and they are merely statistics! Girls must be chased, arrested, sentenced, reformed. Men simply have to be cured, warned, handed a prophylactic kit, or a sermon.

Even in the supposedly impartial realm of scientific literature the one-eyed view is employed consistently throughout. Doctors always speak of women *giving* disease, and of men *getting* it.

As a basis for solving social evil this approach is about as convincing as the ring of a cracked bell. Immorality—even if we limit our concern to the menace of venereal disease—is

now a problem of gravest and increasing social consequence. And in their attempt to solve it our scientific and religious leaders have so far succeeded only in heightening the confusion.

Without a doubt, many "experts" on moral problems are to be described as Philistines. They have a disease of their own. It is Philistinism: an almost incurable ailment of the spirit, caused by the twin mental microbes of stupidity and prejudice. Dictionaries usually define a Philistine as one who cannot be reached by either ideas or ideals. But the novelist Gorky, who regarded Philistines as the deadliest enemies of human happiness, wrote of them with a pen that turned into a flame thrower.

Said Gorky: "All that represents the 'spirit of the law' and what is called 'tradition' creates within the brain of the Philistine a simple mechanism, similar to that of a clock, whose mainspring sets in motion the wheels of Philistine ideas." He wound up his attack thus: "The chief motto of every Philistine is 'As things have been, so shall they be.' Like a dead fish, the Philistine rots from the head down!"

Harsh words? What have they to do with sin? The answer becomes painfully evident. In our failure to solve democracy's moral problems we are burdened with thinkers who attack sin in public, while in private they smile and shrug their shoulders and murmur: "As prostitution has been, so shall it be." They dress up their ideas about immorality in new medical discoveries, but their appeals are as monotonous and futile as the two words of a clock—tick and tock. They get us just as far. There you have pure Philistinism. A state of contentment stupidly hugging the evil past.

In a word: rotten.

We cannot possibly tolerate rottenness in any disguise today. Our generation is unique in history. On a gigantic scale we are battling to destroy the miseries of the past, the prison of war and poverty in which the human race has been chained for centuries. With quickening pace a real and splendid destiny is being shaped by all mankind.

The Philistine attitude toward immorality is that social evil has always been with us and will be eternal. How wrong

this is can be understood by recalling the evils of slavery. The buying and selling of human beings as slaves existed for thousands of years, was justified by generations of Philistines who loftily pronounced the system to be eternal, and yet in a century or so the civilized nations uprooted and crushed slavery. Later we vanquished the terrible plagues such as typhus, also "eternal" in the eyes of the Philistines. Technologists of the United Nations are planning now to banish famine from the whole world. For ages millions upon millions of people needlessly perished of slavery, disease, and starvation, while healthy well-fed Philistines moaned that all evil is everlasting.

I quote Gorky once more: "Let us be honest for a little and see the truth."

At the height of the American crusade against venereal disease, Philip S. Broughton of the Federal Security Agency wrote a widely distributed booklet titled *Prostitution and the War*. This was published by the Public Affairs Committee, and was "carefully checked with the departments and agencies dealing with the problems discussed." The booklet was authoritative. Describing the typical upsurge of vice in an American Army boom town, Mr. Broughton says:

"That kind of business doesn't require a national campaign to get it under way. It moves right in. Like flies after honey. Like gulls following a ship. Every army in history has had to contend with it. Every seaport. Every industrial boom. And with it has always come disease."

Having echoed the morbid cry that vice and V. D. are eternal, the author then devotes thousands of words to contradicting himself, by elaborating on how the public can defeat these evils. I quote Mr. Broughton's statement because it is semi-official and expresses the almost unanimous, pessimistic superficial attitude toward immorality. The statement is blatantly untrue.

One of the world's largest armies is free from prostitution. The greatest industrial boom on record was featured by elimination rather than a rise of vice. There have been scores of factory towns and huge seaports built with extraordinary speed during the last twenty years, in which immorality has never been even a minor problem.

In fact there is a country where prostitution and venereal disease have for all practical purposes been banished from a society of two hundred million people. That land is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Such investigators as Lord and Lady Passfield (*Beatrice* and Sydney Webb) and Quentin Reynolds, dozens of medical experts who reported to the scientific journals of America, Britain, France, and Germany and a great many such impartial observers have agreed that in the Soviet Union, within twenty years, all the most serious problems of immorality, including those associated with sex and liquor, have been solved with altogether startling effectiveness; and this in spite of the fact that some two decades ago, when the Soviet attack on immorality was launched, the USSR had a population more ridden with sexual and alcoholic degeneracy than perhaps any other great nation in recent history.

Shortly after Hitler opened war on the eastern front, Commander Norman of the United States Navy, then a member of the Harriman mission to Moscow and a health officer attached to the American Embassy there, told reporters: "The Red Army and Air Force are virtually free from venereal disease. You can't say that about any other army in the world." Few newspapers carried the statement, and it was greeted with silence by leaders of the anti-V.D. campaigns in Allied countries. Some three years later the Associated Press interviewed Professor V. V. Lebedenko, on his arrival in America to represent the Soviet Red Cross organization. Reporters were astonished by one of the professor's remarks. "The present generation of young Russians has not had an opportunity to know the meaning of prostitution." This aroused very wide interest and sharpest scepticism. But despite a great number of inquiries from the public, the subject was quickly dropped.

Five years ago I had opportunity to discuss the subjects of immorality and alcoholism with a group of Soviet technical men. Having good reason to trust the honesty of their statements I pressed a definite question: "Exactly how did the Soviet government proceed against prostitution, vice, V. D., sex delinquency among juveniles, and alcohol addiction?"

The answer was not forthcoming. These Soviet citizens were all young men. The first prostitutes they had ever seen were in the streets of New York and Toronto! They stated frankly: "It was long ago when the USSR solved these problems. At least ten years back. We were children. We recall our parents hotly discussing the measures being put into force, but we can't remember the details. It's a matter of history with us."

At that time relations between Canada and the Soviet Union were far from cordial. After many attempts to unearth the complete story of the Soviet struggle against immorality it was discovered that there had never been published in English anything approaching a thorough report. Eventually the details were obtained from private sources not connected with the Soviet government. These documents were technical and authoritative, and the material on prostitution and venereal disease had been edited by Prof. V. M. Bronner, consultant venereologist of the People's Commissar of Public Health and recognized in Europe as a leading scientist in this field.

The story set for in these and later reports makes up the present book.

However, this edition differs from those which have previously appeared in Canada, the United States and India. Some obsolete material, relating to North America, has been replaced by current facts. The most important changes in this edition have resulted from a study made by the author and his wife in the course of a recent visit to the Soviet Union.

What follows, then, is an objective report compiled both from official documents and from personal observations.

A PASSPORT SYSTEM FOR VICE

THE present Soviet regime took over control of what is now the USSR in the course of the Revolution of 1917. Along with a nation ruined economically and physically, the communists inherited a moral degeneracy that seems almost unbelievable to us. The foundation of Russian vice was an organized system of prostitution supported and encouraged by the czarist state; a system then known the world over by its brand of shame: the Yellow Card.

In czarist Russia all citizens possessed a certificate of registration and identification called a passport, which served principally to assist the police in their ruthless surveillance over the population. Without a passport travel was dangerous and one lived constantly in fear of arrest. The little card was therefore a precious credential, a sort of permit to exist. But there were great numbers of people who were permitted or compelled to surrender their passports. These were the women who took up prostitution as their life's work. Under the czarist regime, such work was considered essential to the welfare of the nation's men. The woman's position in society and her immoral activities were governed by official statutes.

These regulations stated that any woman who entered the profession must abandon her citizenship and accept, in place of her passport, the infamous yellow registration card. This document was issued openly by the police authorities. It identified the holder as a government licensee, granting her the privilege of carrying on her profession in accordance with the local police regulations. At the same time the yellow card prohibited the woman possessing it from enjoying any rights as a citizen. It frankly classed her as a creature lower than a human being. The most horrifying feature of the yellow-card system was the fact that a girl who once accepted this classification was doomed to a lifetime of vice. There was no escape. The authorities were willing to exchange any woman's passport for a yellow card, but the law forbade that she could

ever again change her mind. The card was as permanent as the brand that was burned on the foreheads of thieves in the Middle Ages.

All over Russia the local government set forth in details the rules under which these women lived and worked. We need not dwell on their "work". Once having taken up this livelihood a woman was prohibited forever from seeking decent work, for without a passport it was impossible to find employment. Under czarist rule there was not the slightest effort made to reform immoral women and girls. On the contrary, the law actually prohibited any such attempts by compelling all such females to remain within their profession or be sentenced by the criminal courts.

For the sake of decency we cannot go into the repulsive details of the czarist regulations. We should note, however, that such women were accepted as necessary members of society. In most localities the holders of yellow cards were required to live in certain houses, officially known as "places of debauchery." Where that was not compulsory there were certain restricted districts. Often the immoral woman would have her name listed in the entrance hall of an apartment house along with those of other tenants; but in such cases the police required that she have printed after her name a word indicating her profession! It is difficult for us to conceive of such depths of social degeneracy. Prior to the Revolution of 1917 this recognition of vice was universal throughout Russia. There was indeed a specific purpose in forcing prostitutes to declare their identity; it served to prevent any woman, who might slip into vice by reason of temporary poverty, from evading the police and their notorious yellow-card system.

Administration of vice in Russia was carried out on an elaborate scale. Ostensibly this control was for the purpose of restricting the spread of immorality. But this official hypocrisy fooled no one. In reality all vice "control" measures were designed to assure a very plentiful supply of women for the white slave market. Characteristic of the system was the division of immoral girls and women into a number of classes, ranging from the exclusive and highest priced—the youngest and most attractive who served members of the aristocracy

and wealthy businessmen—down to the very dregs of the profession who were confined to districts haunted by the lowest criminals. According to law all holders of the yellow card were under constant police supervision. They were also supposed to be examined regularly by doctors, and submit to having their premises searched. In practice this was found to embarrass the better class patrons, and therefore to avoid offending men of influence the police raided only the disreputable establishments.

The corrupt practices engendered by this system were shocking beyond belief. Sometimes there developed a scarcity of women in the brothels. Or the military authorities would complain of a syphilis epidemic among the troops. Then the police would organize a series of raids under the pretext of enforcing the regulations. Widespread searches would be made of all streets, houses, and amusement places in the working class districts, and while rounding up real prostitutes the police would take care to arrest a number of attractive girls who were obviously of good character. The latter would be dragged into court and be charged with soliciting without a yellow card. The fine for this offence was five hundred rubles. Such a sum could hardly ever be raised. The alternative was set down in the law: the helpless victim was required to surrender her passport at once and accept the yellow card. So cleverly were these abhorrent slave raids organized that the officers would bring to the police station, along with the real prostitutes and the young women who were to be forced into vice, a great number of poor, respectable women, often pregnant and nursing mothers among them. All but the intended victims would be magnanimously released by the magistrate, thus giving the inhuman procuring activities of the police a flavour of legality.

It should be stressed that the legal position of women before czarist courts was atrociously weak. This was true of all women, but applied with special crudity to those who lived by immorality. In Count Tolstoi's novel *Resurrection* we have a heartbreaking portrayal of the Russian girl who found herself betrayed into a life of vice. The novelist reveals how even a member of the nobility was unable to prevail against the

absolutely relentless persecution of women carried on by the czarist officers. The yellow card was literally a passport to utter destruction. For only two reasons would the law permit a woman ever to remove herself from police supervision. First: the contraction of so serious an illness that the patient could no longer serve men. Second: death.

Under such conditions venereal disease flourished. From time to time influential Russians who were aroused by such books as Tolstoi's, and prominent medical men alarmed by the spread of syphilis among upper-class families, would try to have the disease-control clauses of the law more strictly enforced. Decrees would be passed and farcical campaigns organized. The doctors employed by the police were paid according to the number of examinations carried out. Often the examiner was merely a laboratory technician. Or a panel of doctors would be assembled, each member being paid his separate fee, and the police would herd before them as many as four hundred women each hour. The patients were not required even to undress. Diagnoses under such arrangements were entirely haphazard. And because the unfortunate women were required to pay heavily for treatment if their infections were discovered, they took the cheapest way out and handed over cash bribes to police and doctors.

All this is not to say that Russian medical experts refused to search for a way out of the revolting yellow-card system. In prerevolutionary Russia, as a matter of fact, all the "solutions" now being discovered by our modern experts were examined and recognized for what they are: hypocritical evasions. A full thirty years ago Dr. Abraham Flexner's famous study, *Prostitution in Europe*, covered once and for all the entire field of argument. He established the incontrovertible fact that any control of prostitution is outright nonsense. The spread of venereal disease cannot be significantly lessened over an appreciable period of time either by supervised red-light districts or by the opposite—violent police terror against prostitutes. Medical inspection of immoral women and their customers is wholly impractical unless we mobilize the entire medical profession into an enormous V.D. army. To conquer syphilis and gonorrhoea with blood tests and drugs

lations came to an end with hypocritical conclusions about the horrible immorality of "lower class" women who lived by vice. The church gave its blessing with the Philistine pronouncement that the sinfulness of mankind is eternal.

In a word, the conference accepted the principle that immorality will last as long as the human race, and blamed women for it.

In this connection we should note a debate that has been proceeding in America for some time, around the notion that venereal disease, as a social problem, can be split into two racial divisions: black and white. Dr. W. G. Smillie, well-known member of the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Cornell University Medical College, published a remarkable statement in the *American Medical Association's Journal* (June, 1943). Referring to syphilis tests on U.S. Army selectees he stated:

"These data show that most of the popular propaganda that has been used in promoting syphilis control in the United States has been highly misleading. 'One person in ten will have syphilis' is a popular saying, but it is untrue. The incidence of syphilis among white men in the greater part of the nation is low, and is limited for the most part, in the white race, to the lowest classes of society. Among the whites syphilis has become, in the great majority of cases, a disease of the ignorant, the careless, the criminal, and the social outcast. It is truly a social disease."

Dr. Smillie then went on to discuss the syphilis rate among Negroes. "Since syphilis is more than ten times as prevalent in Negroes as in white persons, the administrator must make his plans to put at least ten times as much emphasis on control of the disease where it really exists in serious proportions, and bend every effort toward control of the disease in the Negroes of his community. These efforts will result in lower prevalence of the disease in the white people of the community as well."

This argument could be interpreted as an attack on Negroes, for there is an association of "ignorant, careless, criminal, and social outcast" whites with the Negro population in general. Let us credit Dr. Smillie with other intentions. He

was drawing the attention of doctors to an undeniable statistical fact. He further states :

“There has been a tendency in official health circles to gloss over or to ignore the high prevalence of syphilis in the Negro...the sooner this truth is recognized and appropriate steps are taken to control the existing situation, the better it will be for the Negro race and for the public health of the nation as a whole.”

The doctor's purpose is commendable. But he and others who support his specious argument are guilty of a far more serious mistake than the officials they criticise. This argument glosses over the facts in a manner unworthy of a scientist. It ignores reality.

Why is the disease rate so much higher among Negroes than among whites, Is it, as Dr. Smillie indicates, a *racial* difference? And among the whites, *why* are the “social outcasts” more often victims of venereal disease?

To an experienced social worker the answer is obvious. There is very good reason indeed why the truth about the prevalence of syphilis among Negroes has been glossed over. It is this : to expose the truth would be to expose the realities of Negro life in the United States. The vast majority of American Negroes are the victims of economic and political exploitation quite as ruthless as that of czarist Russia. More Negroes have syphilis for precisely the same reason that more “social outcast” whites have this disease. The reason has nothing whatever to do with race. The reason is *poverty*.

Dr. Smillie is glossing over this stark truth with polite statistical “facts” so dear to those who deliberately or unwittingly obscure the basic truths of immorality. “Syphilis is truly a social disease.” What does this mean? Whatever you want it to mean. Identical phrases were used during the depression, by so-called scientists who made a great show of impartially studying unemployed, the people on relief. Tilt- ing their clean noses skyward these “students” of society decided that “unemployment is truly a social phenomenon.” They gabbled ridiculous theories about the number of millions of “unemployables,” thus pandering to the reactionaries

who translated their "science" into clear Hooverism: "No man with guts ever needs to be without a job—only the worthless idlers want relief!"

Certainly syphilis is a social disease. So is prostitution a social evil. Meaning that immorality and all its associated problems derive straight from basic defects in our society. By classing Negro Americans along with criminal and outcast whites, Dr. Smillie is overstepping the bounds of scientific fact, and, whether he so intended or not, is delivering one of the most powerful weapons into the hands of the race haters. This sort of "analysis" of the syphilis problem is all the more vicious because that disease is of sexual origin, and the preposterous lie that Negroes as a race are less moral than whites is one of the foundations of anti-Negro propaganda, it is the poison that drives Southern fascists to lynching orgies. The South's moral problems both among the Negro and the white man originate not in the Negro race but in the ruthless oppression of the Negroes, which inevitably demoralises the whites along with their coloured victims. But Dr. Smillie would have us believe that by curing the Negroes of syphilis the disease will also disappear among the whites—a direct implication that coloured people are responsible for infecting the white community. Such notions are borrowed directly from the mouthings of Goebbels and company.

Now, what is the nature of "social disease" in other countries?

In Canada, which has an insignificantly small Negro population, and where there is far less economic discrimination than in the United States, no statistical division is ever made as to the prevalence of syphilis among whites and Negroes. I inquired among Canadian doctors and social workers. The average Canadian Negro is poor but not so crushed by poverty as are millions of American coloured families. And there is no observable difference between white and Negro Canadians so far as venereal disease is concerned.

There is, however, a much higher incidence of syphilis among the Indian population in those districts where the Indians are most severely oppressed. Still more interesting are the Canadian figures on tuberculosis. For this disease

Canadian authorities have long made a division between whites and Indians. The incidence of T.B. among the latter is enormously greater than for the population as a whole. But Canadian doctors today are not guilty of glossing over the truth. They put little stock in the theory that Indians, as a race, are highly susceptible to the White Plague. They point out that tuberculosis is a "social disease" in so far as it strikes those who are afflicted with the social curse of chronic poverty, with its attendant evils of malnutrition, wretched housing, lack of education, and medical care. The incidence of T.B. among Canada's Indians varies widely. One recent survey by Doctors E. L. Ross and A. L. Paine disclosed death rates as high as twenty times that of the white population in areas adjoining the Indian reserves; the average was over ten times.

The authorities commented: "Although it is generally considered that the Indian has poor natural resistance to tuberculosis it was interesting to observe the large number who had healed their disease. If given the same opportunity as the white man the Indian might respond to preventive and curative measures almost as well." These investigators stressed the shocking poverty, filth, and ignorance to which Canada's native population is brutally condemned by the government.

In America, syphilis is ten times more common among the coloured people than among the whites. In Canada, the incidence of tuberculosis is ten to twenty times higher among Indians than whites. Both diseases are truly social. Surely the real meaning of this is obvious.

The meaning is that America's Negroes and Canada's Indians are at the same social levels in their respective countries. They are the "lowest classes." They are forced to remain at the bottom of an economic pit. All the venereal clinics and T.B. sanatoriums the most inspired medical planner could imagine would not evade this social fact.

More than a generation ago Russian trade-unionists tried to bring before the futile Congress on Prostitution the same truth as it applied to their nation then. But in the Czar's empire there were no Negro scapegoats. The deliberators refused to consider the economics of social disease. They

threw up their hands, blaming the "lower class" women and the eternal lust of men.

And in Gorky's words, czarism and its moral authorities were like dead fish, rotting from the head down.

FREE LOVE AND SCIENTIFIC MORALS

THE November Revolution of 1917 ripped through all the gilded sham of czarist life. It pulled a tottering, semifeudal system down to final destruction. It uprooted privileges and customs hallowed by centuries. Temporarily it heightened the severity of Russia's long-standing economic, political, and social crisis, and for some time the government of the Soviets was unable to launch an effective attack against immorality.

But from the first day of the Revolution the Communist leaders appreciated that no social system professing to give its members any real freedom could tolerate a morality which depended upon the slavery of innumerable women. Wherever the Soviets took power the police administration immediately passed into the hands of the people, and one of the first measures to be enforced was the abolition of the yellow-card system. After 1917 the immoral women of Russia ceased to pay tribute to the authorities. That change was, of course, inevitable. The Revolution was carried out by and for the organized working class, supported by the poorest farmer, and since the vast majority of Russia's prostitutes had been recruited from the ranks of destitute women of town and country the new government could not permit the inhuman exploitation of these unfortunates to continue.

Thus ended the yellow card. Citizenship was restored to all women. This was, in effect, little more than a gesture. There were some political idealists among the revolutionaries who believed that granting an immoral woman the right to vote as an equal with her respectable neighbours would restore

her human dignity. These people were quickly disillusioned. As a result of the prolonged disorganization of Russian life that followed the collapse of the old regime, immorality in all its forms—including amateur prostitution — actually increased after the November uprisings.

Very soon it became clear that the new freedoms established by the Revolution were being given peculiar interpretations. "You have nothing to lose but your chains!" the communist slogan proclaimed; this famed battle cry of Karl Marx referred to economic exploitation. Many Russians, especially the youth and the intellectuals, took the slogan as an invitation—"You have nothing to lose but your inhibitions!" Along with the destruction of czarism these people thought it would be interesting to destroy what they called bourgeois standards of morality.

Just as they expected Lenin to create at one stroke a socialist society in which everything would be free for the reaching, so these idlers assured the Russian women and girls that love was no more complicated than eating and drinking.

This free-love theory is, of course, very old. It is accepted by a large percentage of our own young people today. Dressed up in fake revolutionary verbiage it attained great popularity with certain Russian men. They went so far as to advance the idea that the only possible way to abolish vice was to do away with all sexual restraints.

This approach to immorality became crystallized in a revoltingly simple idea. "When hungry you eat, when thirsty you drink. So when lustful you make love to whoever happens to be near. In that way, no more immorality." That such standards would result in an end to morality as well did not enter into their considerations. The majority of Russian intellectuals preferred to regard all morality as bourgeois, a phase of czarist life that could advantageously be eliminated from the new society. Obviously these people had no interest in society, czarist or Soviet. They wanted only to help emancipate the working class and farming women.

That is what they said. What they actually sought was the acceptance of free love. Take this away from its senti-

is no need to quote from the lengthy debates that were touched off by Lenin's pronouncement. We should understand that the Soviet programme was enormously more ambitious than simply a plan for the economic and political reorganization of Russian life.

The daring aim of the Soviets was not only to transform daily life but also to change the very nature of human beings. This aim was dramatically expressed in the motto of the Moscow Sports Club:

We are not only rebuilding human society on an economic basis—

We are mending the human race on scientific principles!

Suppose we disregard the first half of this slogan. The need for change in the economics of our own social system is pretty well accepted today. But to "mend the human race on scientific principles" is a very different proposition. In those seven words are compressed philosophical and moral ideas that have been debated for centuries. Quite an innovation in sports club mottoes!

First, the slogan sets forth the idea that the human race needs to be mended.

And then it asserts that humanity can be mended.

Finally it presents the strange notion that human nature can be mended by means of scientific principles: that is, by methods which can be worked out with exactness and then applied without risk of failure.

We are not concerned with philosophy but with facts. And it is a fact that the greatest experiment in morality ever attempted in all the course of history was based upon absolute faith in the three propositions just expressed above.

For the time being, we shall have to accept them with whatever reservations our personal beliefs may impose. But if for no other reason than curiosity regarding the success of the Soviets in eliminating venereal disease, vice, and the menace of alcoholism, we must accept the challenge of our impartial approach.

Still, in all sincerity, how are we to view the idea that

the human race can be mended with the aid of scientific principles?

We have seen medical programmes against vice launched with strongest support in our countries, and without significant results even when these attempts were limited to the conquest of venereal disease. Apart from this failure, no responsible scientists in the democracies have ever been bold enough to suggest research as a way out of immorality. What justified Soviet optimism in science?

In the first place their scientists made immorality understandable. They took the mystery out of sin.

CAPITALISM MADE LOVE RESPECTABLE

SEX is instinctive in human beings. In one respect it resembles hunger and thirst: it seeks satisfaction. But the Soviet biologists, psychologists, and anthropologists, examining the crude materialistic approach exemplified by the "glass of water" theory, agreed that sex differs fundamentally from thirst. Sex desire is not present at birth, but develops fully only at puberty; its appearance in a boy or girl is accompanied by vital physical and mental transformations. Its pleasurable satisfaction in human beings is increased by influence of the mind, by thoughts, ideas, dreams. Hunger and thirst must be satisfied constantly in order to keep the body alive, but such is not the case with the urge for sexual gratification. On the other hand, the biological purpose of sex is infinitely more important than an impulse to keep one person alive. The fulfilment of the normal sexual purpose makes us parents, it creates new individuals, it perpetuates mankind. These are of course, elementary facts. So is the truth that a very high degree of pleasure accompanies sex, a pleasure so complex and so coloured by the mind that it cannot possibly be compared to drinking or eating.

It was at this point that the Soviet scientists broke sharply with moral theorists who preceded them. They refused to accept the principle that sexual relationships have endured unchanged throughout the history of our race. They flatly denied that sex should be viewed as an eternal problem. They advanced this challenging idea: the sex relations of people in modern society are as completely different from the sex relations of the past as our intimate behaviour differs from that of animals.

And they set forth a new concept of what we call "love." Far from reducing love to the status of a pleasurable urge, the scientists of the new Soviet state concluded—from the historical facts—that love as we understand it today represents one of the great, progressive, revolutionary developments of human society; and that a full understanding and continued development of love is the only foundation upon which a truly moral society can rise.

To think of scientists theorizing about love is a contradiction to us. It is almost amusing. We cannot imagine what kind of love an erudite professor of anthropology might speculate about. Suppose we reduce the exhaustive Soviet studies to their essential conclusions....

In the beginning, among primitive, savage human beings, sex was on a plane little higher than that of animals. Sexual desire was an outstanding attribute of the male, with the female an instrument of enjoyment and the bearer of children. Early man had not the slightest grasp of biological facts. Since there was no understanding of how a woman became pregnant, there was no means of understanding the facts of double parentage. Therefore savage society was distinguished from later forms by the group marriage. This means what it says: all the women in the group were from time to time mated to all or most of the men. Silly fiction tales of the prehistoric world to the contrary, early man had not even a germ of romantic ideas. His woman was a childbearer and a menial toiler.

Slowly from this crude society arose the form of human life we know as barbarism. With it came the paired marriage, or monogamy. This was based on an elementary understand-

ing of biological facts; that is, that the mating of a man and a woman resulted in the birth of a child. The child was therefore not only "hers" but also "his". But the role of woman was little changed by her becoming the property of one man instead of many. She remained wholly the physical servant of the male, and in many barbaric communities she was required to do most of the hard work.

Out of this relationship arose the early civilizations. It is not believed today, either by Soviet students or authorities in other lands, that changing marital relations was the motive force in raising mankind up from barbarism. Far more complicated factors were involved. These we cannot take space to consider. But the practical effects of evolving civilization were simple enough. Civilized humanity produced far more food, shelter, clothing, and other essentials than had previous tribal organizations. And although the great majority existed as impoverished toilers, still even the most primitive civilizations did give a few the opportunity to live in a measure of security, with some leisure. There was time to think, to speculate about mysteries.

Naturally enough, one of the first mysteries which preoccupied the mind of man was sex. Anthropologists have proved that sex and religion were closely connected by the ancients. Deities like Venus, Ceres, Astarte, Isis, and Mylitta were frankly sexual in origin and function, the earliest religious ceremonies linked the fertility of the earth, the life-giving warmth of the sun and other simple phenomena with the complex and pleasurable facts of sex, and with the awesome mystery of motherhood. Most persons today understand these developments, and realise, without taking offence, that while primitive religions bore many resemblances to modern forms they differed profoundly in their spiritual concepts and manner of worship. How great is the gulf between ancient and modern religion is vividly illustrated by the historical facts concerning prostitution. It originated in the temples of the remote past.

Most barbarian and semicivilized religions required that all women offer themselves to the priests or others, once or repeatedly. The penalty for refusal was held to be a lifetime

of barrenness, a curse of the gods. For example, in Babylon every woman, rich or poor, had to go to the temple of Venus once in her life, and wait in the gardens until some strange man of the community came and mated with her. It is recorded that the most homely and undesirable women sometimes had to wait for years before they could induce a "worshipper" to perform the act that would release them. It is also a fact that this practice did not endure in its purely religious form very long. To maintain the temple and the priests who managed it, every male worshipper was required to leave behind a sacred silver coin. This custom started a train of most profane and unspiritual thought. In the first place, there never was any lack of men anxious to propitiate the gods in such fashion. And then, certain women discovered that unlike their unfortunate sisters they could return to the temple as often as they wished, each time receiving from a grateful worshipper the piece of silver.

Inevitably the heathen priests decided to share in this extra revenue. Gradually the worship degenerated into outright temple prostitution. Men went for the frank purpose of satisfying themselves, the women and temple managers made money, the temple became a brothel.

In that way vice was firmly established as a social institution. It remained half business, half religion, for many centuries. It still retains this form in some parts of modern India, where the Nautch Girls of romantic legend are no better than immoral dancers who receive their customers in temples and are available to any man who has the fee.

Christianity, as is well known, abolished such practices everywhere throughout the Western world. But what happened was not the end of vice, only the removal of the immoral woman from church premises to a commercial, non-religious house. Precedent for this had long before been established in Greece. With the due respect for poetic and scholarly enthusiasm for the Greeks, all the praise lavished on classical Hellenic culture appears peculiarly unbalanced when we examine the actual facts of life in that age. The woman Sais, who inspired the great philosopher Demosthenes, was frankly immoral. So was Aspasia, whom Pericles worshipped. These

women belonged to the top class of Greek entertainers, the hetaerae, and all the compliments that have been paid to their beauty and intelligence cannot make the truth less ugly: Sais and Aspasia and all the rest "loved" for money. They were superior women because they had qualities that enabled them to demand the most money. Beneath them were the aleutridae, for the pleasure of men more interested in dancing and music than in cultivated conversation. Still lower were the victeriads. They served the poorest men.

Such was the infamous Dictarion system of Greece. Although it was commercial vice without a vestige of religion, we must understand that it was not regarded as immoral in the slightest degree. Similar organization of vice existed in Rome at the time of its ancient glories; there the celebrated "baths" were nothing but what we call disorderly houses, embellished by artistic surroundings and extensive sanitary facilities.

In one respect Christianity brought about a practical change for the worse. True, by once and for all separating the house of immorality from the church it achieved a certain moral victory. Relegated to conditions of filth and depravity, however, the immoral woman became a breeder of social disease. If anything she increased in numbers. And for many centuries of the Middle Ages her formal loss of social respectability really meant little. Vice enjoyed incredible popularity during the Crusades. In the army of Charles the Bold, supposedly marching for holy war against the immoral and heathen East, there were more than four thousand female "camp followers". At tournaments and carnivals and church holidays immorality was organized on a scale that cannot bear discussion; it is a factor of medical histories.

It is instructive, however, to see how this widely tolerated immorality became recognized as a social problem. About the middle of the twelfth century the German and English nobles leading the Crusade against Lisbon found their armies seriously handicapped by hordes of accompanying women. Therefore they passed brutal laws against army prostitution. The famed Frederick I, for example, ruled that "No man shall have woman in his quarters, and whoever dares to keep one

will be deprived of his armour and shall be considered excommunicated. The woman's nose shall be cut off." This horrible mutilation of camp-following women had no more effect than did the disgracing of the knights or the invoking of church sanctions. But Frederick's punishments were widely copied from time to time and quite ineffectually. For the next five hundred years Europe's executioners were busy severing the noses of unfortunate women.

Significantly, this inhuman practice was not followed with immoral women who consorted with the rich, at least not in peacetime. The report of the monk Du Vigeois (about 1180) tells how the Queen of France and other ladies of her court frequently mistook beautiful prostitutes for respectable women, with consequent embarrassment. This situation led the king, Louis XIII, to pass a law forbidding prostitutes to wear a cloak, so that their profession could be less easily disguised.

Two hundred years later most of the European armies, having failed to stamp out immorality in the camps, began the infamous practice which has been advocated in certain quarters ever since, even to the present day: the so-called regulation of vice. Although others may have started it earlier, the Emperor Frederick II in 1380 gave his Marshal the task of collecting a set fee each week from each immoral woman serving with the imperial forces. Later regulations of English, French, Italian, and Dutch rulers delegated to various officers certain tasks of this nature which are repellent to us now. Only a little more than a century ago the Duke of Alba not only tolerated prostitution in his march through the Netherlands but had many hundreds of women dressed like princesses and provided with the finest horses. Others marched on foot, and all were in military formation, carrying their own flags which correspond with the battalion to which they belonged. The Duke enforced a rule that every woman was required to accept any soldier who offered the specified fee.

All European countries, including England, had closely parallel histories of prostitution. The British authorities first confined immoral practices to the public baths, from the custom of the Roman invaders. About the time of Henry I, these

establishments, especially those on the right bank of the Thames, became places for banqueting sexual orgies. Henry II found it necessary to pass laws regulating the "baths". For example, they had to remain closed on church holidays, the "master" could not admit any married woman or nun to the brothel service, no woman could be forced to remain against her will, and there was a peculiar ruling which required that the women were entitled to no fee unless they remained with their clients the entire night.

The growing cities of the Middle Ages went in for vice on a huge scale, profiting from the patronage of armies and merchant caravans. Numerous civic documents of the time attest the truth of the situation. It is on record that in 1414 the Emperor Sigismund trooped into Berne, Switzerland, with eight hundred horsemen. As a gesture of cordiality the city council voted this dignitary and his men free admission to the city's vice establishments for three days. The offer was not only accepted, but later the Emperor expressed his sincere thanks in writing!

We must clearly understand that what seems to us a foully repulsive situation was at the time a perfectly moral state of affairs. Prostitution actually was regarded as part of normal life during the Middle Ages. Long ago this open toleration of what we now call vice passed into disrepute. History indeed shows that the degree of civilization of any society is in a measure reflected by its attitude towards immorality.

In this regard we should note that pre-war Japan maintained several thousand houses of vice, which were supervised and in some cases operated by the government. Many sweeping changes have taken place in Japan since the war, but the country is still unique in one respect: certain sections of the male population, in the middle and upper economic groups, lose no social respect by openly marrying women who for years have served for the gratification of the general public. In Germany, the general decay of morality under Hitler was reflected in a shocking rise of sexual perversion, by the systematic organization of disorderly houses, by the appearance of sex advertisements in the largest newspapers. And it is an undeniable fact that in Western Germany and in Japan, espe-

cially in the areas occupied by American forces, the population has been subjected to a disgusting exhibition of American "morality". The behaviour of American troops, the extremely high rate of venereal disease among them, have been the subject of many protests by clergymen and medical authorities, not only in Germany and Japan but in America itself.

A great deal of nonsense has been written about Japanese morals. During the Pacific war some Allied officers actually reported in all seriousness that the famous geisha girls were positively not prostitutes but only respectable ladies such as our Stage Door Canteen girls! The facts about Japanese morals were long ago set forth in detail in Krauss' *Das Geschlechtsleben der Japaner* (Vol. VI, R. Hurtze's study entitled "Yoshiwara"). The Yoshiwara were the brothels in general, separate names being given to the various classes of accommodation. Usually these houses were operated by the State, sometimes by temples. The custom dated back for centuries and in its modern form is a unique example of morals of the Middle Ages enduring practically unchanged.

The Japanese government bought female children for the brothels and educated them for their profession. Bankrupt or starving peasants were usually willing to sell their daughters. Depending on the child's looks and intelligence she was prepared for service to one or another class of Japanese men. The "best" youngsters were given considerable education, especially in reading and writing, poetry, music, dancing, and etiquette. Teaching was continued in the house of prostitution, the instructors being the older prostitutes. One regulation prohibited the young girls from actually entering the profession until they were fourteen years old. Another provided for their leaving the brothel: they could be purchased by any customer, to become his wife.

In the Japanese language there is no insulting term comparable to "whore." Rather, the prostitutes are termed "temporary wives" or "the wife of an hour." And in famous Japanese poems can be found reference to this type of women as "the lotus flowers of the swamp."

The Yoshiwara of modern Tokyo was indeed a "Swamp of Reeds," interpreted poetically as "Swamp of Happiness."

It was a section of the city entered only over a bridge which crossed the confining moatlike ditches. Above the gate was an inscription, "A dream of spring when the streets are full of cherry blossoms." In 1872 the laws governing Yoshiwara were "modernized" and permitted the building of larger brothels, at the same time specifying rules of sanitation and so forth. Some of the modern establishments, for wealthy and military patrons, were as elaborate as palaces. Copied on a modest scale elsewhere throughout Japan, Tokyo's red-light district was unrivalled anywhere in the world. Thousands of girls, dressed more or less resplendently, sat in rows behind beautiful screens. To a Westerner these unfortunates recall the Victorian ditty, "Bird in a Gilded Cage". The finest brothels had the best "cages." In recent times the best places did not exhibit their girls to passers-by, but displayed photographs in their place.

In the Yoshiwara the customer was required to go through a fairly elaborate ritual. This led many unsophisticated Western men to mistake the places for mere social or entertainment establishments. Thus, a man negotiated for his "wife of an hour" in a tea room which appeared to be most decorous and unsensual. Here the better-class brothel keepers displayed pictures of their women to the prospective customer. Some of these even possessed a coat of arms which appeared on lanterns hung outside. Of course the cheaper brothels dispensed with most of these formalities, and in the rural areas Japanese prostitution was on a level of crudity comparable to the situation in Europe and America. The geisha were usually prostitutes of higher than average intelligence and training. Thus the Japanese system contained features of both Grecian and medieval vice.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages there appeared in Europe a serious struggle against prostitution, which more emphatically became accepted as immoral. A number of scientific investigators have reflected on the origin of this change. It has been variously ascribed to some mystical rise of moral ideas in the minds of men, to increased education, to religion, to the need of combating the spread of venereal disease, and so on. According to Soviet scientists who inves-

tigated this thoroughly, the explanation lies in a different and surprising direction. They claim that a determined social protest against vice appeared along with and because of what we today call love.

We immediately ask: How can science talk of the "appearance" of an emotional factor which we have always assumed to be fundamental in human nature? Haven't men and women fallen in love since time immemorial?

The Soviet authorities reply that love, as we know it, is a very recent phenomenon in human life. Stranger still, they assert that our modern economic system of capitalism, in its victorious struggle over feudalism, gave rise to the concept of enduring love, raised love from disrepute to the level of respectability and actually made love a moral relationship powerful enough to compete with vice.

This extraordinary conclusion we must grasp, in order to appreciate the methods by which the Soviets conquered vice. The findings of their experts are not difficult to follow.

We have seen how monogamy originated as far back as barbarism. With the coming of civilization this system of marriage was modified in a very important way. Soviet anthropologists verify what all historians have long known: monogamous marriage was everywhere accompanied by prostitution. But they go further. Their studies of civilizations such as the Greek and Roman convincingly prove that monogamy had a very simple economic purpose. The law established a one-wife system in order that all riches accumulated by the husband might be transmitted after his death to a limited number of heirs—specifically, the children born to him by his legal wife. This was a practical measure designed to concentrate wealth in the hands of the upper classes, by preventing the dispersal of property among children who were born out of wedlock. Monogamy was not, as we are sometimes led to believe, founded on the enduring love of one man for one woman. It is a matter of indisputable historical fact that the most cultured men of Greece and Rome rarely thought of marrying a woman they loved; instead they sought love, in a fashion, among that class of unmarried women which best suited their tastes.

To the rich men of the ancient world, marriage was a legal necessity by virtue of which they themselves had inherited their wealth and position, and by means of which they passed these on to sons borne by their legal wives. To poor men, marriage gave a female servant and childbearer. All men as a matter of course sought sexual gratification from women to whom they were not married. The practice was regarded as entirely moral.

Clearly, this system of monogamy applied restrictions only to women. The husband legally and morally was entitled to enjoy all the relations outside of marriage which he could pay for. The wife had no such right. The cruellest punishment was ordained for an adulterous woman. It was immoral for her to have a relationship with any man but her husband, for the biological reason that she might thus give birth to a son who would wrongfully inherit her husband's property. But it was not immoral for any man—even Charles the Bold or the Emperor Sigismund—to pass a week end in a place of vice. any more than it was immoral for Geek poets to sing of their love for women like Sais. What is still more shocking to us, during ancient and medieval periods of history society did not regard the life of a prostitute as especially sinful; on the contrary, prostitution was held to be essential.

This system of morality, based on legal property relationships, was taken over by Christian society almost two thousand years ago. It found the most advanced expression in what history books call the divine right of kings. Inheritance of land and money was extended to include inheritance of supreme political power. Finally the entire social, economic and political structure of feudalism was erected upon rigid inheritance. The prince inherited his father's crown, the duke handed down his duchy, a knight was born only of a knight, the lowly serf was bound forever to his father's hut. Even among the industrial craftsmen of the Middle Ages their restriction of marriage and birth was jealously maintained by the guilds, the organizations of skilled workers. Not only was it impermissible to marry out of one's social class: to marry for love was also unthinkable. Depending on her class, a girl's marriage was arranged by professional fixers or bro-

kers, or might even be a matter of concern to royalty. Only in the rarest of circumstances were the woman's personal inclinations taken into account. Her consent was a mere formality. Often she saw her husband for the first time on the day of her marriage.

In this period, therefore, the tremendously important human emotion called love remained legally unrecognized.

A woman at the time of her marriage was sternly commanded to love one man, her husband, faithfully and forever. The legal and religious act of marriage was supposed to guarantee this. Though society understood that the wife might actually love some man other than her husband, she was sternly forbidden to give expression to this. But the wandering emotions of her husband were encouraged and satisfied by armies of immoral women.

During the Middle Ages, however, there arose a very keen appreciation of women's love, its power and nobility. Poets and troubadours began to sing of this sublime emotion. What we call chivalry came into being. Chivalry was in practice almost the exact opposite of what our young people are given to understand, from reading Victorian literature. It was not "the gallant defence of chaste womanhood from the unwelcome advances of brutal men." It was really the expression of woman's capacity for romantic love, real love, outside of an enforced marriage relationship. To put it frankly, chivalry was the practice of men making love to women who really loved them, even though the women were married to other men, men whom they did not love.

From our modern point of view chivalry may appear to have been merely a justification of adultery, and therefore immoral. This is incorrect. We cannot judge chivalry by our social standards. It actually represented the beginning of a mighty new morality, because it raised the question of woman's right to love a man of her own emotional choice rather than a husband forced upon her by the state or the church.

At the same time the spirit of chivalry began to affect men. It gave them an awareness of the spiritual potentialities in love. Chivalry tore away the hypocrisy of the arranged

marriage, but it also exposed the shameful crudity of vice. Chivalry was "gallant" because it elevated women to their rightful place in love. It was moral because it proved that men were capable of returning such love. The great personal discovery of the Middle Ages was that a man and a woman who really loved, regardless of legal marriage, both behaved according to profoundly inspiring emotional forces that could endure throughout their whole lives. United by love a man and a woman could remain faithful unto death without compulsion of law or ceremony.

Chivalry strived to liberate woman from the chains of legal but immoral marriage, marriage to a man with whom she had not freely chosen to live. At the same time, and this is of greatest moral significance, chivalry tended to liberate men from the degrading necessity of seeking love outside of marriage.

Poetic literature of the Middle Ages abounds with praise of this conception of love. And the record of those centuries abounds also with outraged proclamations against poets! Chivalry did not burst forth as a new moral system. For centuries it was flavoured with pure licentiousness. This gave the church of that time a moral cause for attacking it with unremitting fury.

However, the real reason for opposition to romantic, chivalrous love lay in quite a different direction. Feudalism was being undermined by economic forces, by the growth of capitalism and its democratic philosophy. Arranged marriages and rigid inheritance—and vice—were the moral and legal bulwarks of feudalism. Romantic love added still another threat to the foundations of feudal society. And so the poets who dared to sing of such love ran the risk of having their tongues cut out or being racked and hanged in the market place.

All suppression of the new moral love was unavailing. A time came when Shakespeare could fearlessly present this problem on the London stage. Although our high schools never mention the fact, *Romeo and Juliet* was a political play of exceptional power. Its theme is obsolete, but it remains even for modern audience the most moving of all the tragedies that raised the romantic and moral issue of human right to

love freely, the right to marry for love. With supreme artistry Shakespeare proved that lovers will die for their love. This was not new. Poets had long sung of such love between men and harlots, or between men and other men's wives. *Romeo and Juliet* was new in that it made audiences weep for the right of lovers to marry each other!

Such a right we accept without second thought. But according to the Soviet historian scientists, the right to marry for love was in its day a revolutionary conception of morality. They maintain that all through the Middle Ages marriage was a political act, the purpose of which was simply to consolidate the power of the feudal lords, all the way down from princes to serfs. And one of the helpless instruments of this power was woman—from the princess languishing in her tower to the serf girl in the fields.

On the one hand that system openly condoned prostitution as a necessary service for men, and on the other hand it prohibited the respectable married woman from ever giving expression to love.

One of the astonishing conclusions made during the Soviet analysis of morals was that marriage for love became a social possibility only after capitalism had completed the overthrow of feudalism. What we call free enterprise had far-reaching effects upon morality. For the first time democracy raised personal freedom as a basic moral principle: that all human beings should be free in all their acts, free to work according to their choice, free to dress and behave without restrictions imposed by birth, free to make money regardless of their position in society, free to move wherever they might want to live. These were revolutionary ideas in their day. Under the impact of such principles Christianity underwent a transformation. Of course there are theologians who hold that freedom is fundamental in Christ's teachings: that a human being cannot be compelled to do anything which his conscience does not believe is moral in the sight of God. But such ideas certainly were heresies in the Middle Ages. Feudalism and the church denied them from beginning to end, for both were based upon universal compulsion from birth to death. As the old

system crumbled, the law and religion and morality were radically changed.

Under capitalism, for the first time in history, it became possible for marriage to take on a truly moral character and become liberated from immoral complusion. Previously, marriage had been a frank bargain, arranged by overlords and fastened with chains. Democracy raised this question: if all contracts within society must be entered into freely by the contracting parties, how can two human beings be denied the right to enter marriage freely? This is the most sacred of contracts, for it disposes of two bodies and two loves for a whole lifetime. Therefore it is a moral duty for people to marry for love alone. And therefore every marriage is immoral which does not rest upon mutual love.

This sounds quite tame to us. We have been educated to scorn or pity the man or woman who marries for convenience, for any reason other than love. So we find it difficult to appreciate the original revolutionary significance of democratic morals, their irreconcilable opposition to all previous moralities.

The Soviet investigators expressed it thus: the vast improvement in sex relations brought about by capitalist democracy was not so much the transformation of marriage as it was the change in woman's position, the legal and moral recognition of *woman's right to love and still remain respectable*.

Here is a surprising fact of history which is never brought home to us by our moralists. It is questionable whether they even grasp it.

So important is this fact to Soviet scientists that they made it the keystone of their moral structure.

Why?

First of all, it gives the lie to the commonly accepted fallacy that love and marriage and morals have been more or less unchanging throughout the ages of civilization. History proves that not only have morals changed, but as recently as the rise of capitalism and democracy they have been completely reversed.

Under feudalism it was morally unthinkable to marry for love. To our thinking it is immoral to marry for any other

reason. In feudal days the highest public figures would openly patronize and praise official places of vice, and this was not regarded as scandalous at all; it was not even criticized either by society or by the church. But after democracy was firmly established, organized vice became socially intolerable.

In reality nothing has changed so much as the attitude and practices of human beings in regard to love, sex, morals, and sin.

A second conclusion to be drawn from the facts of history is that by any standards we can think of, morality has vastly improved. In this an atheistic scientist, who might consider only the frightful prevalence of syphilis in Europe before the French Revolution, will heartily concur with the most devout clergyman, who recalls with horror the armies of women condemned to lives of debauchery during the Middle Ages. Humanity is less immoral than in the past.

Our final conclusion concerns the present position of women. As we have seen, capitalist democracy first gave women the right to love and remain respectable, the right to marry for love. When the Soviet experts examined this historical fact they soon detected its weaknesses. Woman's right to marry for love is not a privilege that can be conferred by decrees of law. The law can only prevent woman from being compelled to marry without her freely given consent; indeed, all civilized countries now have such statutes. But no law can guarantee that a woman will, in actual practice, be really free to marry for love alone. Such freedom demands complete social, political, and economic freedom for women. It demands that women be the equals of men.

Are they?

After the November Revolution it became evident that Russian women were not attaining equality with men except on paper in the proclamations of equality issued by the Soviet government. One aspect of their inequality we can appreciate in the light of our own experience. The new "freedom to love" so harshly condemned back in the twenties by Gorky and Lenin was supposed to make women—who were "glasses of water"—quite as free to indulge in sex as were men—the

"drinkers.": Such freedom was, of course, a vicious myth. No matter how revolutionary they pretended to be, Russian women who tried sexual promiscuity immediately discovered an elementary fact of life.

Transcending all laws and morals is the biological truth that men and women are not equal. Women are biologically superior to men. Both sexes seek momentary pleasure in the gratification of the mating urge, but only women are capable of fulfilling the supreme task of bearing children, of perpetuating the human race, of creating the human family.

And how does society recognize this superiority of women in actual life? By imposing severe penalties on motherhood.

It is the woman who must leave her job when she becomes pregnant. She alone must suffer the physical strains of motherhood. She is responsible for the care of the infant. In our countries, just as in the Soviet Union before the problems of immorality were solved, the only possible way for a woman to relieve herself, even partially, of the burdens of motherhood, is to have them taken over entirely by a man, her husband. She becomes dependent in marriage. No such compulsion faces men.

Therefore the equality of the sexes, under such conditions, is empty prattle.

True, history shows that democracy and capitalism did liberate women from the shamefully immoral compulsion to marry men for whom they felt no love, to take husbands who were selected for them by others, according to feudal principles. But practical, social, economic compulsion in marriage still remained for the vast majority of women who wished to exercise their highest function of motherhood. And in marriage they were compelled to make extreme sacrifices of independence. The efforts of the suffragettes and other would-be emancipators of women have gone in vain, for the chains now binding women in our society are economic in form and forged from the steel of biological facts.

It is highly significant that the moralists of Hitlerite Germany brutally gloried in this inequality of modern woman. Our own reactionaries find themselves fascinated by the Nazi

slogan: "For women....give them children, the cookstove, and the church!"

Many years before the sadistic Hitler elevated this outworn feudal ideal to the level of a pagan religion the Soviet authorities recognized it for what it was: the denial of woman's right to complete equality with men. Here, they said, was the key to the immorality of the modern world.

THE SEX QUESTIONNAIRE

"IN their remaking of the Russian peoples, Lenin and his followers began, not with Adam, but with Eve."

This was the conclusion reached by Lord and Lady Passfield in their study of the USSR, *Soviet Communism — A New Civilization?* They discovered that the Soviet leaders had never posed as "emancipators" of women. They did not limit themselves to fighting for such trivial rights of women as to wear their hair and their skirts long or short, to smoke in public, to be equals before the law. They condemned as immoral any such rights as the freedom of women to have relations with men in general but only because they denounced any similar freedom for men. It is important to grasp the fact that in the Soviet Union there was laid down a programme for the emancipation of women not "for their own sake" but for the sake of all humanity.

The scientists ruled that to mend the human race would be impossible so long as inequality of the sexes remained. From the very beginning of their attack on immorality and vice they regarded humanity as indivisible. Few people outside the Soviet Union realized that a quarter of a century ago Lenin declared the task of raising women from the humiliation of inequality to be one of the most important facing the modern world. In fact throughout large areas of the USSR, where the Mohammedan religion held sway, the struggle to give women their rightful freedom took precedence over all other political tasks.

Here is a summary of the principal measures long ago written into Soviet law :

1. Women were granted the right to vote and to be elected to all governing bodies. Most civilized countries recognize this privilege but ignore it in practice; our women can vote, but our laws are made and enforced by men.

2. All civil rights and all legal obligations were to be shared equally by men and women. For the first time in history women were given both equal privilege and equal responsibility with men, before the courts.

3. Extremely severe penalties were provided for any person, including parents, who in any way forced a woman to marry against her will. There was nothing revolutionary about this law except that it was determinedly enforced. In our countries similar laws are invoked only in cases of shocking physical cruelty.

4. Scores of decrees and regulations were enacted with the purpose of guaranteeing to women their complete economic independence.

In our countries the right of women, married or single, to seek paying jobs, is a privilege that has rarely been the subject of legislation. In the Soviet Union it is a guarantee enforced by law. One might think the distinction superficial. In wartime, at least, we have seen jobs for women become almost universally available. But this situation arose under the stress of acute manpower shortage, and the agitation for the return of women to the home is already growing; this is frankly based on the fear that there will not be enough work available for all men and women in the postwar era on the generally accepted principle that men must be given preference when employment slacks off. Further, our trade-unions have fought a generally unsuccessful battle for the right of women workers to enjoy "equal pay for equal work," and there has been a sluggish response to the urgent demand for industrial day nurseries in which working mothers could safely leave their children.

A whole generation of women in the USSR has grown up with a completely different approach to employment. And it was not economic expediency but *morality* that led the

Soviets to establish equality of employment for both sexes. Their scientists and politicians realized that all talk of emancipating women was idle so long as women were forced to pay an economic penalty for their sex. But they realized that a transformation of woman's economic status could not be achieved at one stroke, by making a single law. Meanwhile all the problems of immorality remained.

Four years after the Soviet Revolution, in 1921, a definite increase in vice was registered throughout the nation. This was a reflection of the general crisis of that time, result of prolonged war against foreign invading armies. Planned Soviet economy had not yet been introduced. There was a sharp rise in unemployment. Two-thirds of the unemployed were women. In a country devastated by war their suffering was acute. Immorality continued on the upswing for two years.

In 1923 the Soviet scientists were prepared to open a general offensive against evil.

Their first blow created a sensation. Nothing like it had ever been attempted. It took the form of a printed questionnaire—not unlike our Gallup Poll — that was circulated in secret among many thousands of women and girls. The questions were prepared by men and women doctors, psychologists, trade-union leaders, and other experts.

It is not possible to reproduce these intimate queries here. They had one extraordinary purpose. To discover under what circumstances a woman would sell her body.

This was the first mass survey ever made to determine why women become immoral. For centuries men had asked that intriguing question. Literature abounds with sensational "confessions" of noted courtesans, mostly pornographic and all unreliable. Medical and psychological experts have endlessly speculated on theories of sin. In the Soviet Union the answer was obtained not by cross-examining or psychoanalyzing a few delinquents, but by putting the question straight to a very large number of women of all ages, backgrounds, and social levels. All replies were written and submitted in complete secrecy.

That remarkable questionnaire exploded several long-accepted beliefs. What surprised the Soviet investigators most

of all was the complete frankness of nearly every reply. once the women were convinced of the poll's secrecy.

To the average person probably the most startling conclusion drawn from the poll was this: no really sharp dividing line exists between professional immoral women and women in general, for a shocking number of both single and married women disclosed that at one time or another, under definite circumstances, they had indulged in sexual relations for considerations other than love.

Many reported a single immoral experience. Others admitted several. Some confessed to having made a living by immorality for varying periods of time, yet without being branded prostitutes. A few simply could not say—having regard to the experiences of other women they knew—whether or not they should call themselves professionals. An appallingly high percentage of those admitting immorality indicated that they had lived by sin in order to supplement legitimate cash incomes too small to provide a decent living for themselves or their dependents.

We shall shortly examine this unique survey in more detail. But because the Soviet experts drew from it a number of conclusions sharply at variance with scientific and moralistic opinions held in our countries, we must take time to see what had previously been done in this field.

Precisely what is a prostitute?

The term has generally been restricted to women who sell themselves often, and to many different men, for cash.

But ever since the rise of modern social investigation this definition has been unsatisfactory. At the present moment our authorities agree that something like two-thirds of all disseminators of venereal disease are girls who cannot properly be termed prostitutes—Victory Girls are only one of several classes of amateur immoral women. Going to another extreme psychiatrists have attempted to define as immoral all sex relations except those between two persons who are in love. Here again the facts are most confusing. Investigations on this continent, and the Soviet questionnaire, show that great numbers of women are willing to "love" strangers in return for nothing more remunerative than an evening's entertain-

ment. Morally speaking, how can one distinguish between a girl who accepts a few dollars desperately needed to pay her room rent, and another who, pretending horror at the thought of a cash transaction will take payment more subtly in the form of an expensive dinner and show? The difference if any is in favour of the destitute woman's honesty, for there is no question of love in either case.

Of course the strictly religious attitude is that all indulgence of sex outside of marriage is immoral, regardless of money or love. And we should note here the little-known fact that such a view of morality has been for many years accepted in the Soviet Union. No doubt our clergy and the communist leaders of the USSR differ widely in their theoretical views of morals. But theories are best proved in practice. During the war, many eminent visitors to Russia reported that extremely few Soviet women would indulge in any form of intimacy with anyone but their husbands, and that Soviet youth for many years have regarded even petting as vulgar. Of course during the war, in those regions occupied by the Germans, the Fascists brought with them their infamous "standards" of morals. But only to a very limited extent was Soviet morality corrupted. The author can most emphatically verify this from personal observations. He visited and lived in quite a few Soviet regions, both those which had never been occupied by the enemy and those which had endured Fascist terror. There is no significant difference in the respective populations today. Soviet moral standards are of an astonishingly high order—we shall comment on this more fully later. Any observer in the Soviet Union today must find the contrast with the "Western world" very painful in this respect.

Let us carry that contrast to completion. It cannot be denied that most religious people consider marriage as a social institution or a sacrament which is permanent and which justifies intimate relations, without regard to whether the wife or the husband continues to love the other; in fact most modern laws continue to require submission in marriage even when love has ceased. Every sophisticated woman can name half a dozen friends who remain married and submit to their husbands only because they know of no way out, because they

and their children are economically dependent upon the husband. What is the moral basis for such a relationship? Modern psychologists maintain that often it cannot be distinguished, in its harmful effect upon the respectable wife, from outright vice. The Soviet people regard such a marriage as despicably immoral.

Suppose, without violating our personal beliefs, we attempt to strike a balance. Leaving aside the question of marriage, let us admit that a superior moral attitude would view with disapproval all sex relations between persons who are not really in love; and with the very strongest censure for all arrangements in which some form of payment, however disguised, is involved. This gives us a position from which to view the practical, social struggle against immorality.

No such struggle existed until the feudal system was destroyed by capitalist democracy. Indeed, organized war against vice began not alone for moral reasons but also because of the need to combat venereal disease. Syphilis appeared generally in Europe during the sixteenth century, probably being imported from Haiti. During the previous century the biography of Amerigo Vespucci mentions "the disease we call French." He claimed that it was brought back from America by the sailors who returned with Columbus; thence it was transmitted to prostitutes, spread throughout Spain, and carried into Italy soon afterwards by Spanish mercenaries of Charles VIII's armies. Other authorities confirm that the disease appeared with great frequency after Charles' troops celebrated the conquest of Naples in 1495 with an orgy lasting eighty days and nights. There is also an unsubstantiated tale that infected prostitutes were used deliberately about this time to spread physical disaster among those enemy soldiers who were not aware of the catastrophic effects of syphilis.

At any event, by the turn of the century the new venereal threat was apparent to all state and religious authorities. Those who contracted the frightening disease were branded criminals. The Emperor Maximilian issued a "blasphemer's edict" in which the disease is termed *boese Blattern*, an ailment "which formerly no one ever heard of or saw." Armies carried the dread plague all through France and Germany. The

victims were treated with revolting brutality. Women were tortured and executed. The infected of both sexes and all ages were condemned like lepers, driven from their homes and forced to live as outcasts at a distance from cities and towns. Within a few years syphilis had spread through all of Europe and the British Isles.

In the course of the following hundred years we find military leaders awakening to the menace of venereal disease. New restrictions were placed upon women following the armed camps. In 1515 Francis I ordered that all such women must accompany the soldiers on foot, and must not be encouraged by being supplied with saddle horses. In 1580 Albert the Pious of Belgium was convinced of the medical nature of the problem and sternly forbade the "admission" to his forces of any woman suffering from V.D. It goes without saying that diagnosis was crude and unreliable; probably the worst carriers were never identified. Punishment for violation of edicts such as that of Albert became increasingly severe with each decade. Legally the victims were criminals, morally they were regarded as wilfully depraved sinners. But this theoretical attitude was contradicted by the practical fact that great numbers of the most respectable nobles and burghers, and their wives were syphilitic; it seems that vicious punishments were meted out only to those unfortunates who could not protect themselves with money or social prestige. For hundreds of years periodic police cleanups were organised, and the penalty imposed upon prostitutes was usually the cutting off of their noses and sometimes their ears as well, by the public hangman. Often the women were beaten to death as they ran the gauntlet between rows of drunken soldiers.

Unique among the early laws passed against immorality is King Louis' ordinance of March, 1769. This directed that prostitutes were to be arrested and sentenced to three months on bread and water, followed by an indeterminate sentence for "a time deemed sufficient for their correction." Such a comparatively humane punishment was further humanized to include the medical treatment of the women during their imprisonment, with all expenses paid out of military funds. Since no effective treatment was then available for

syphilis, it is hard to imagine what benefit the unfortunates received. However, if they were arrested a second time or more, Louis directed that they be given lengthier prison terms, but he expressly forbade physical torture and public humiliation. Cynics of the time ascribed the unusual kindness to the fact that the king's court followers were largely prostitutes who had caught the fancy of titled gentlemen.

Further progress towards combating venereal disease is found in the report of the mathematician of the French Revolution, Carnot. In the camp at Douai in 1793 Carnot found some three thousand women. He observed the fearful ravages of syphilis and stated that the disease probably put out of action ten times more than did the enemy's gunfire. Medical recommendations were not followed, and the reign of Napoleon saw partial return to brutal punishment. Bonaparte issued many edicts against immoral and diseased women. These usually instructed that the women have their hair cut off, their face dyed black, and then be exposed for public ridicule. Nevertheless slow medical progress continued. In certain places the local magistrates were compelled to provide treatment centres for the infected.

In 1811 a health commission was appointed at the Rostock German Army headquarters. It was one of the earliest groups empowered to inspect all women in a definite area. Significantly, it also had power to levy the cost of medical treatment against parents of the diseased women or against any who rented rooms for immoral purposes.

Soon afterwards we find a systematic effort being undertaken by the state to reduce social disease. In 1835 the Prussian police were entrusted with the surveillance of all persons suspected of having syphilis. This proving useless, the cabinet decided on a vigorous measure: all the Berlin brothels were to be closed within an eighteen-month period. Most of them did, with this typically disillusioning result—the incidence of disease among German soldiers in the area rapidly increased. The army commander Wranget in 1848 had to issue an urgent appeal to have the houses reopened!

From then on Germany and other continental countries wavered from one extreme to the other. Periodic cleanups

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1593

and closing of all disorderly houses were followed by reopening of those places under hopelessly inadequate supervision by police-appointed doctors.

British experience is especially illuminating. England was one of the last civilized countries to recognize the need for a vigorous struggle against syphilis; this is not to be explained solely by British conservatism but more accurately by the fact that medical experts of the United Kingdom had observed European experiments and were quite unconvinced as to their practicability. In June of 1866, however, there was passed "An Act for the better prevention of contagious diseases at certain naval and military stations," commonly known as the Contagious Diseases Act. This legislation empowered the police to take women to doctors for compulsory examination, and to commit them to hospitals for treatment if necessary. Quickly the law reduced syphilis among troops and sailors. But for no clearly established reason Parliament repealed the act eight years later.

Just before the outbreak of the First World War the famous English physician Sir William Osler induced a group of distinguished medical men to sign a letter which he was able to have published in the *Times*. This stern warning regarding the spread of V. D. violently shocked the British public, for it was the first publicly printed statement in the English-speaking world which actually named the disease syphilis. As a result of this bombshell the Asquith government set up the celebrated Sydenham Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases.

The commission submitted its report during the war. It verified Osler's charges. At least 10 per cent of the urban population of Great Britain was infected with syphilis, still more with gonorrhoea. The former disease was then killing approximately sixty-three thousand Britons each year and was by far a greater cause of death than tuberculosis. Today the situation is little improved.

Reviewing the slow progress of intelligent attitudes toward venereal infection, one inevitably is struck by the gross ignorance of the people up to very recent times. Modern authorities are all too apt to blame hypocrisy, religion, or vague social prudery for society's tardiness in adopting scientific mea-

sure to combat venereal infections. The truth of the matter is that scientific knowledge regarding all phases of sexual life simply did not exist until long after medicine became a science. Incredible though it seems, only lately did the human race arrive at an understanding of intercourse and human birth.

Before Greek civilization the phenomenon of child-bearing was held to be entirely supernatural. But the Greek philosophers, whose intelligence and powers of observation have been grossly exaggerated by romanticizing historians, advanced speculation only to the point where they took the thiracle away from the gods and ascribed it to the mother. Hippocrates in his great treatise "On the Nature of Man" (written some four hundred years before Christ) did guess at male and female "seeds," although he hopelessly confused conception with the menstrual function. Aristotle went so far as to compare human functions with those of animals. This naturally was heresy during the Middle Ages, since man was considered to be infinitely superior to lower species.

The Chinese made great advance long before the rise of Western science. Their philosophers speculated on male and female "elements" which could not result in conception separately, and they had words which might be interpreted to mean "ovary" and "semen." They realized that menstrual blood had nothing to do with germination.

All through the Middle Ages, man remained completely ignorant of the basic phenomena of life. Superstition, sorcery, and witchcraft took the place of any serious consideration of sex. We must remember: no one even imagined that a child was conceived as a result of understandable biological processes.

In the sixteenth century, Leeuwenhoek invented the microscope. But nearly a hundred years had passed since magnifying equipment first became available, before Leeuwenhoek's pupil Ham discovered spermatozoa. At the same time his colleague Graaf discovered certain details of the ovaries. Now it became possible to formulate a correct theory of conception. Another century, however, passed before Spallanzani demonstrated the movement of the spermatozoa. And almost exactly another century before Hertwig performed

the historic experiment of observing the actual penetration of the ovum by the spermatozoon. From prehistoric times until 1875, mankind remained in ignorance of the basic facts relating to impregnation.

It is worth emphasising that only since 1875 have we known how human and all other animal life originates; in this light we should judge humanity's tortuous progress toward sexual enlightenment. If we did nothing about venereal disease, it was largely because we knew nothing whatever about sex functions, our whole knowledge was a collection of preposterous superstitions and legends.

Summing up: the struggle against venereal disease, at first on a wholly unscientific basis, began about three centuries ago. As the terrible effects of secondary and tertiary syphilis were revealed, methods of treatment were slowly developed. Soon the prostitute was identified as a major source of public infection. Very rapidly—consider that places of vice had been a legitimate social institution for several thousands of years—commercial vice came into desrepute. It was attacked by medicine, and later by the church and the law. But for two hundred years the struggle against immorality was haphazard and wholly ineffective.

Then came the period of "official recognition." The red-light district was introduced, in which a semblance of medical control was exerted. At the same time the enormous growth of commerce, of what we call business, had a profound effect upon vice. There arose the nefarious traffic of white slavery, the systematic recruiting of girls for organized vice, with all profits confiscated by the operators. Prohibited by law, this business soon became so profitable that legislation was powerless to stamp it out.

As a result, the "abolition movement" began. New laws were passed, special antivice police bureaus were formed in most countries, the doctors redoubled their disease propaganda, and the churches carried on vigorous preaching, all with the purpose of eliminating vice. The work was largely sabotaged by ignorance and prudery. As recently as 1938 mention of syphilis and gonorrhoea in popular magazines and newspapers was considered indecent.

After the First World War the whole flimsy structure of regulation and abolition broke down. Vice and venereal disease soared in all countries. There came a determined effort to recognize the struggle on a scientific basis. Hundreds of case histories appeared in the medical and social journals. The broad problem of human morality, all the questions of human love, marriage, and the family were buried under a mass of materialistic pseudoscience. The vogue for psychoanalysis was reflected all down the line in antivice work, while many new tolerant theories of sin gained medical support. Still the eternal question remained. Why did women become immoral?

In other countries the most fantastic explanations of vice have been seriously put forward. Here are a few which you may have heard :

1. Prostitutes are always women of the lowest moral character to begin with, so nothing can be done until scientific breeding or religious revival improves the human race.

2. It is the nature of men to demand variety in their sex life, so the elimination of vice is impossible.

3. Men alone are responsible for vice, and they alone can stamp it out by taking a pledge never to support it.

4. Many immoral women were originally good girls who were subjected to bad social influences; the remedy lies within church and home.

5. There will always be vice because there will always be women who want the pretty things of life the easy way.

6. Nearly all immoral women are recruited among factory girls, and the way to abolish vice is to prohibit the employment of women in industry.

7. Girls who turn to vice have first gone through the disgrace of being unmarried mothers.

8. An immoral woman is invariably of a definite psychopathic type, and one can be restored to virtue by psychoanalysis.

What are we to make of this welter of contradictory falsehood and half-truth? Nothing. Small wonder that legislative bodies were paralyzed in attempting to curb immorality. Not a single legal measure could be introduced without convincing evidence being presented in opposition to it.

Some years ago still another approach to vice was foreseen by Paul de Kruif, in a sensational article appearing in one of the men's magazines. This story reported the existence of an amazing chemical which, when used by women, would act both as a contraceptive and as a preventive of V.D. That is, the drug would make possible unlimited promiscuity without fear of the consequences—no child, no infection.

That chemical turned out to be a product of Mr. de Kruif's fertile imagination. Still, such a development is by no means impossible. A great deal of medical research is now directed towards the discovery of a positive contraceptive and perfect venereal disease prophylactic (neither of which at present exists). Quite a number of scientists believe that these twin developments would automatically solve the menace of immorality.

Can we agree?

No serious thought is required to give an answer. Today the fear of disease and pregnancy are two natural factors contributing to the control of vice, by discouraging most girls and many men from indulging in promiscuous relations. The elimination of these fears would unimaginably increase all forms of immorality. Sin is in fact increasing now in proportion to the knowledge of disease prevention and birth control gradually being absorbed by the general public. This possibility holds true everywhere except in the Soviet Union. There, science was concerned with far greater moral issues than disease statistics and the illegitimate birth rate. The concern of the Soviet was to mend the human race.

WAR AGAINST WHITE SLAVERY

WHY do women take up sin as a means of making a living?

The answers given to the Soviet questionnaire were practically unanimous. Women temporarily or permanently take up vice because they are forced into immoral lives by

economic pressure, by poverty. This is only half the answer.

Clearly, the great majority of impoverished Russian women never sought immorality as a way out. Why? Were they "better" than the minority of unfortunates who did?

Not at all. Russian women again wrote a most emphatic answer. Those who fell victims to commercial vice did so because of inducements deliberately made to them by other persons. What persons? Not usually their first male customers, but men or women engaged in the business of making money out of prostitution. The vice operators.

There are readers who may be inclined to view these two cardinal truths as applicable only to Russian women. I would recommend that they read both Flexner's and Cooper's books. As in Russia of 1923 so over the rest of the modern world now, these two reasons apply almost without exception. Vice exists because there are great numbers of semidestitute girls; and because there are enormous profits reaped from the management of vice as a business.

The women do not share to any great extent in these profits. Contrary to romantic male notions, their yearly incomes are miserably low, their lives are wretched, their circumstances degrading in the extreme. Only an insignificant number of the Russian women stated that they entered vice with the idea of making it their profession. Many thousands of them agreed that they had actually become immoral before they were aware of the fact. Not often were they taken forcibly into the work. Either they were starving or they were employed at monotonous or 'unbearably hard work for pitifully small wages; or their leisure time was wholly devoid of entertainment. Then a professional operator appeared. He or she arranged a paying date for the girl. Usually the pay-off was not unduly high. The Soviet investigators found that most girls were given no promise of high returns: they were economically so desperate that even small payment was strong inducement to sin. This fact is confirmed by Cooper's study in America; he reported that during prewar years most girls were recruited with typical offers of "twenty-one bucks a week clear profit!" This was eloquent testimony that sin is rooted in the economics of extreme poverty.

At the time of the questionnaire the Soviet government had just begun a reorganization of the country's industrial and farm life. The jobs then available to women were few and poorly paid. In the questionnaire no offer was made to the women, no promise of decent work. And yet a high percentage stated that they would be eager to grasp at the faintest hope of resurrecting themselves morally by means of respectable employment. They were keenly aware of the economic factor in their degeneration. A great many confessed to supporting a child, and their constant dream was to escape from the profession before the child was old enough to be shamed by a morally outcast mother.

Another fact established by the questionnaire is familiar to all psychologists, social workers and sophisticated persons, but it is rarely appreciated by respectable women. Only a small number of girls take up vice in order to satisfy excessive, abnormal desire. The Russian women agreed that such a life led to personal disgust with sex, and that gratification was remote from their minds. From this and other answers the Soviet psychiatrists confirmed a plain fact of experience: most prostitutes are, to begin with, psychologically normal; at the worst, they suffer from no greater mental instability than do most moral women. Economic, not psychological strains, produce the breakdown from decency to vice. The attitude—prevalent in our countries now—that the immoral girl can be socially rehabilitated only by placing her in an institution where she can be given extensive psychiatric care, is pseudo-scientific and contrary to common sense. It leads to all sorts of ridiculous schemes, "rescue homes," elaborate women's reformatories, probationary system, and so on, all serving only to gloss over the inescapable factor of poverty. The Russian women were emphatic in this regard. In effect they said: "Give us respectable work with reasonable security, and we'll rehabilitate ourselves."

Their answers relating to the commercial exploitation of vice were illuminating. They swept aside the delusion that a small group of fabulously rich master-minds direct the operation of vice rings; they stripped the glamour from that mysterious creature, the white slaver. The men and women who

profit from vice are "ordinary people." Translating the Russian scene of those days to our own times, the great majority of vice profiteers are smalltimers found in the ranks of unscrupulous cabdrivers, hotel bellhops, habitual criminals, dope addicts; proprietors of disreputable dance halls, eating, drinking, and amusement places, and above all landlords operating cheap rooming houses, hotels and tourist camps.

We have now reached the point of departure, the crucial issue faced by the Soviet authorities prior to the start of their antivice campaign, the point of view which sharply distinguishes that campaign from all others attempted in any other country.

This can be simply expressed :

Having determined to undertake a relentless struggle against vice the Soviet Union resolved never to transform that struggle into a campaign against the prostitutes. Organized vice was recognized as a wholly social evil, rooted in the poverty of women, and perpetuated by the profits derived from its operation.

The moral basis of this policy has been perfectly expressed by Maxim Gorky: "Probably, when there is no longer a single slave, a single loser, left in the world, man will be ideally good. But if we are to see that there are no losers and no slaves, it is necessary to fight ruthlessly against the people who are accustomed to living on the labour of slaves."

In 1925 the Soviet government translated theories into practice with a decree entitled: "On Measures for the Struggle Against Prostitution." The preamble of this law was a call to alarm. It drew attention to the rising tide of vice and disease. It called upon every governing body, trade-union, co-operative, and people's organization to implement immediately the following emergency measures :

1. The armed workers' defence corps (militia), assisted directly by the trade-unions, must prevent at all costs the discharge of working women from their employment. Under no circumstances could self-supporting unmarried women, pregnant women, women having young children, and young girls not living at home, be fired from their jobs.

2. As a partial solution for the widespread unemployment then existing, the local governing bodies were instructed to organize co-operative factories and farms which would provide work and wages for destitute women.

3. Immediate encouragement was to be given to all women to attend schools and training centres, and prejudice against women entering industrial and professional work was to be victoriously fought by the unions.

4. The housing authorities were to undertake the establishment of co-operative living places for all women having "no fixed abode" and for women and girls arriving in cities from the farming areas.

5. Regulations providing protection for children and young girls without homes were to be enforced unreservedly.

6. A general attack on ignorance was to be launched with the object of awakening the entire population to the critical menace of venereal disease and prostitution, and arousing a national will to eradicate these evils from the new republic.

These were all preliminary measures, largely intended to strengthen the position of the poorest women and girls. But it was recognized that vice was firmly established through all levels of society. It could never be eliminated from the present generation—and perhaps not even from the future—simply by lessening the economic strain. Therefore a direct assault was opened. To this end three additional decrees were shortly issued by the central authorities.

First: All oppressive measures directed against immoral women by czarist law were to be completely removed from the law and from police activity.

Second: An absolutely ruthless war of extermination was begun against the parasites who derive income, directly or indirectly, from vice. In this connection the local people's governments were called upon to adopt an attitude as merciless as that of the vice operators themselves.

Third: All available doctors and medical facilities were to be made accessible, without charge, to venereally infected people.

Enforcement of these decrees became the responsibility of new bureaux set up under the public health administration.

But from the first months of its inception very serious difficulties arose. The purely economic measures were gradually showing results, but the actual struggle against organized vice got nowhere. The inhuman methods of the old czarist police were being taken over unchanged by some sections of the workers' militia, led by men unable to grasp the new attitude toward immorality. Therefore in February, 1923, the People's Commissariat of Justice amended the criminal codes, freely translated as follows :

"Article 170 : Anyone who aids prostitution for personal gain or other reason, by physical or moral influence is subject to imprisonment for a minimum of three years for the first offence.

"Article 171: All persons profiting by prostitution are subject to imprisonment for a minimum of three years for first offence, with confiscation of all their personal property. If the prostitute is under the care of, or in the employ of the accused, or if she has not yet reached the age of 21, the penalty is increased to five years minimum imprisonment."

Enforcement of these laws, first attempted by the Public Health Department, was turned over in January, 1924, to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, roughly corresponding to a Department of Justice or Attorney General's Office. Another decree was published and became law: "On the Action of the Militia in the Struggle Against Prostitution." This extraordinary law will go down in history as the first legal measure to succeed in destroying the social foundations of organised immorality, and it may well serve as a model for other countries. It may be divided into two main parts :

1. The task of the militia were concretely set forth. The immediate job was to discover all disorderly houses, which were recognized as among the major factors perpetuating vice profits. Every person operating, renting or owning such a house, or in any way connected with securing customers or women for it, was to be arrested and sentenced according to provisions in the criminal code. These house owners, landlords, landladies, procurers, madames, etc., were to be treated as slavers dealing in human merchandise. The militia was warned to pay closest attention to public places of amusement,

restaurants, etc., especially after the well-known houses had been raided. In every case the owners of the establishment had to be traced, convicted, and sentenced, regardless of his or her professed ignorance as to the nature of the business being carried on within the premises. Every place in which evidence of vice was found must be closed until such time as all persons owning and operating it were dealt with. (Of course, such drastic but absolutely essential measures have never been considered by legislators in our countries. A house of prostitution is one of the best real-estate investments known; no matter how many times the police raid such a place its owner remains unknown and uninvolved.)

2. This portion of the decree was radically new. It warned the militia and the public against applying any oppressive measures against the immoral women themselves. An astonishing clause absolutely prohibited the arrest of prostitutes. They could be summoned to court only as witnesses against their exploiters. (A single exception gave the militia power to bring very young girls before a special Soviet investigatory organization known as the Commissariat of Workers and Farmers Inspection.) In some detail the law set down the procedure to be adopted by the militia during raids on places of vice. All taking part in enforcement activities were required to treat the women as their social equals, to regard them as unfortunate victims of criminal operators, and whatever the women's attitude towards the militia she was to be spoken to in decent language and not subjected to any personal indignities. The officers were prohibited even from taking the name and address of an immoral woman.

Of course such regulations sound almost fantastic to a police officer in our countries; here it is customary to treat prostitutes as creatures of lower-than-human species. But the new laws produced immediate positive effects. The militia, and all organizations such as the trade-unions co-operating in the struggle, and slowly the general public, were brought to realise that a woman making a living by sin is doing so through pressure of material circumstances and in the interests of criminal profiteers.

What were the actual results? At once a stream of vice operators and real-estate owners began flowing into the courts and were channeled to prison. As might be expected, these people attempted to work up a counter-campaign. The Soviet press was flooded with indignant "letters to the editor." Usually these documents had a highly moralistic flavour. They accused the Soviet regime of horrible immorality in endeavouring to shelter the prostitute, while prosecuting innocent people such as tenant owners. And the more successful was the militia's activity in rooting out the men behind the scenes, the more panic-stricken their protests became. In fact the opposition took a pattern familiar to police authorities in other lands, who know too well how an antivice campaign can be sabotaged by clever twisting of public opinion carried out in the guise of "religious" and "legal" arguments. In the Soviet Union the protests were answered by ever more thorough action by the militia.

Soon the biggest and as yet unconvicted operators were accusing the regime of unfair persecution of property owners, hotel proprietors, and so on. To this the Commissar for Internal Affairs replied harshly that no society could grant any member the privilege of assisting to the slightest degree so foul a criminal activity as organised vice. As to the argument that the prostitutes themselves had a "right" to continue their profession, the authorities simply pointed to the result of the questionnaire: vice was a bitter necessity engaged in by women whom society must liberate and provide with the security of respectable employment.

Toward the end of 1926 still another difficulty arose. It was presented to the public in an editorial in the Moscow newspaper *Izvestia*. It marked a notable advance in Soviet planned morality. Up to this time the struggle against prostitution had been conducted solely by measures we have noted. Now a purely moral issue was raised. In our terminology: the heat was turned on the customers.

Izvestia reported great success in destroying the vice profiteers. The editorial warned that prostitution could be further overcome only if the Soviets succeeded in providing secure employment for all women; but it also pointed out that a

new moral attitude on the part of men was demanded if the struggle were to be victorious. The problem was phrased thus: "If it is criminal for a citizen to live by exploiting a woman, it is equally criminal for men to destroy that woman's dignity by purchasing her services."

Our earlier survey of the history of vice revealed this problem as one which first arose, on a social scale, after the collapse of feudalism, after society's attitude toward marriage and love fundamentally changed. But for the first time this issue was openly placed before millions of men.

Soviet males were presented with inescapable facts. A social system had been established in which women were granted full legal, political, and social equality with men. All barriers to the realisation of love, to the fullest gratification of sex within marriage, were being removed. Therefore, how could any man's conscience tolerate the purchase of sex? How could men continue not only to degrade the woman but also to violate their own decency?

This problem had been foreseen. After the *Izvestia* editorial, Professor Elistratov raised it still more concretely at the Second Congress for the Struggle Against Venereal Disease. He stated that the militia's remarkable success against the economic exploiters of women now made it necessary to exert social pressure upon men who continued to encourage vice.

"We regard this," he asserted, "not in its narrow moralistic sense, but as a question of highest political import. The Soviet Union is a state founded upon the abolition of all exploitation of human beings. No man can consider himself a citizen of our society while personally perpetuating this wretched exploitation of women."

True, the professor's statement sounds rather like a sermon to our ears. But here again the Soviet authorities followed up a theoretical idea with scientifically planned action. The Commissariat of Internal Affairs, not content with leaving this problem in the form of a question, turned it over promptly to the militia.

A really amazing decree was passed. Hereafter, whenever the officers raided a place of vice—whether it was a house,

a tavern, or simply a dark street—they were to take down the name, address, and place of employment of all men found there. The customers were not to be arrested. But on the following day, and for specified period, those men would have their names and identifying information posted in a public place, under the heading "Buyers of the Bodies of Women." These lists were to be prominently displayed outside public buildings or on factory bulletin boards.

One needs little imagination to vision the tremendous effect of this law. In our countries an unwritten law has always compelled the police to treat men with respect and secrecy, in full awareness of the shameful disgrace that falls upon a respectable man who is exposed as a patron of a disorderly house. The Soviet decree simply took this powerful, secret, social conscience and transformed it into a devastating weapon against vice. At one stroke it exposed the individual man's private conscience to public scrutiny. Instead of persecuting sin or preaching against moral hypocrisy, the Soviet authorities made continued male hypocrisy absolutely impossible.

Nothing so daring had ever before been attempted. The psychologists who planned this "abolition of hypocrisy" had timed it carefully; it was not introduced until the economic and criminal aspects of organised vice had been shaken by the earlier effective decrees.

We should particularly note that there was no moral compulsion in this measure. Men were not prohibited from or punished for buying sexual gratification. Instead, they were told that the new state recognised the practice as immoral because it was a horrible form of exploitation of human beings, and the decent members of society, who did not prey upon the helpless degradation of unfortunates, had a right simply to know which men insisted upon continuing such exploitation for their own personal satisfaction.

Standing alone, without careful explanation of the issues involved, this decree might have lost much of its potential effectiveness. But at the time it was put into force a national campaign of enlightenment was introduced. The most notable feature of this was a dramatic presentation offered in Soviet

theatres: a play picturing a court trial of immorality. This story told how the militia had raided a house of vice and had brought before the People's Court the house owner, the woman, and her customer. On the basis of complete and candid evidence of the activities connected with such places the landlord was sentenced to prison, the woman acquitted, and the man convicted of violating not only his own and the woman's decency but also the national morality. This drama naturally had exceptional public appeal. It played to packed and tensed audiences everywhere. Its deliberate, almost childish simplicity raised it above pornography and gave it compelling force. Here was a problem play stripped of all nonsensical complexities and prudish evasions—naked moral truth on the stage.

And then the actors were speaking truth plus law. Every man, woman, and youth leaving the performance understood the moral issues involved and also knew that something real was going to happen—from that night henceforth any man found with a prostitute would be known to all, would stand accused and condemned in the eyes of his relatives, his work-mates, the entire community, when his name was posted in public as a "buyer of the bodies of women."

CHRISTIANITY AND THE DOCTORS

WE have said little concerning the struggle against venereal disease. This problem was inherited in a most acute form by the Soviets from the czarist yellow-card system. Syphilis was then so prevalent in Russia that certain communities, especially along the Volga, were typified by facial disfigurements characteristic of the untreated disease. Experiments in free love had increased the incidence of both venereal plagues.

In spite of the critical situation, the Soviet medical authorities resisted all temptation to follow the ineffective cam-

paigms of other countries by concentrating their attack upon disease alone. They adhered to a sound decision: V.D. would be eradicated only as and when prostitution, together with immorality in general, was conquered. They considered the moral issue to be basic. When it was solved syphilis and gonorrhoea could be attacked scientifically, as diseases pure and simple, free of social embarrassment and as part of a far broader campaign against tuberculosis, alcohol addiction, and so on.

The first step was to cease all fruitless argument as to which type of immoral woman might be the greater disease-spreading menace. Of course the plain truth is that any man or woman with V.D. is a potential source of infection for others. Carefully considering the disastrous effects of both diseases in present and future generations, the Soviets wrote into their criminal code a new article. This law made it a serious crime for any person to have intercourse with another while knowing himself to be suffering with V.D. in infectious form. Thus the transmission of disease was not left to the individual's conscience; offenders were made answerable to the state.

Here again the Soviet authorities did not simply pass a law. Coincident with this measure they provided a nationwide system of venereal disease treatment clinics and diagnostic centres.

It must be noted that when these centres were established some twenty years ago, the diagnosis and treatment of syphilis and gonorrhoea were much less advanced than today; and at the same time the USSR was handicapped by severe economic problems which made the importation of equipment and drugs very difficult. In spite of this the clinics were successful to a degree that shames the medical efforts being made in our countries.

The reason is not hard to discover. The Soviet clinics, known as prophylactoriums, were made an integral part of the whole campaign against prostitution and vice.

From the start these centres were organised along lines similar to tuberculosis sanatoriums; they handled both out-patients and cases confined to bed. Early in the campaign

the larger clinics found it necessary to concentrate their efforts on prostitutes. The criminal code was not blindly enforced with regard to these women; that is, rarely did the courts sentence one for continuing in her profession after becoming aware of an infectious condition. Such women were recognised as victims of social evil beyond their control. After the appearance of a prostitute in court she was interviewed by a citizens' committee which tried to induce her to enter a clinic for such treatment as would render her noninfectious.

No sooner had this procedure been adopted than a problem developed which is well known to our police and medical men. What sense is there in curing a woman if she returns to the profession and quickly becomes reinfected?

Soviet scientists responded by radically reorganising the clinics serving women patients. They avoided the establishment of "institutions." Instead these scientists transformed the prophylactoriums into training schools and places of employment.

The primary purpose remained that of curing completely all diseased persons who went to them. Admission was voluntary. There were no guards or locked doors. The remarkable feature was that all patients were given opportunity to learn a socially useful occupation, at which they worked and earned money while undergoing treatment. The psychological purpose of this is obvious. Instead of being subjected to punishment, or pious sermons, or elaborate psycho-analytical treatment, the women were given practical economic skills, jobs, money earned by honest work. Many of the patients were not prostitutes at all, but jobless girls who, under czarism, had been unable to acquire training for decent work.

A considerable percentage of these patients slept out, in their own homes, after the treatment had rendered them non-infectious; they attended the clinics in daytime for training and therapy. There was no segregation of "good" and "bad" women. All patients were made to feel socially equal to citizens who were being treated in similar tuberculosis centres.

Thus the Soviet prophylactoriums in practice developed into centres of struggle against organised vice. Within a short time the Moscow clinics alone had an output of needed con-

sumers goods valued at five million rubles per year. They rapidly became popular. At first brigades of women workers visited the old red-light districts, inducing women to call at the treatment centres. Their great difficulty was to overcome a natural fear that the clinics were disguised prisons. Once this was overcome the majority came voluntarily. All publicity was based on information obtained in the famous questionnaire, so that every effort to popularise the system was intensely realistic.

The authorities soon decided to permit patients to remain in attendance for a period of two years, regardless of earlier cures. Principles of self-government were widely applied in the workshops. On their own initiative the women established codes of behaviour, and the most serious punishment that could be inflicted upon a violator was to be expelled from the clinic.

The prime function of the Soviet prophylactorium was to combat disease. Did it succeed?

A single contrast speaks louder than a volume of statistics. Compare the situation in America, where an all-out medical attack on V.D., has been under way for years, and the results of the Soviet clinic system, organised to solve a far broader moral problem.

American public health authorities have pointed with some pride to the fact that in the five years from 1935 to 1940 the amount of drugs used to combat venereal disease in the United States had doubled. Two years later—with a still greater expansion of the campaign and marked improvement in methods of treatment—both diseases had increased.

The Soviet campaign became effectively organised about 1926. For the next five years it expanded. At the end of 1931 the plan had proved so successful that the clinics began to close their doors for lack of patients. Two years later more than half of all the special venereal centres in the Soviet Union had gone out of existence! By 1938 syphilis and gonorrhoea had been completely eradicated from the Red Army and Navy; among civilians venereal infection was reduced to the

level of a quite minor health problem—the prophylactoriums had been closed for good and prostitution had virtually disappeared.

Additional details of this astoundingly successful anti-V.D. campaign are obtainable from other sources. Dr. J. A. Scott surveyed the Soviet work before a conference of British specialists in 1945 (reported in *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, March, 1945). He pointed out that just before the Soviet regime came into power, Russia had only thirteen medical schools compared to around seventy today. In 1914 the czarist empire was estimated to have the world's highest incidence of syphilis. In the Yakut region almost 30 per cent of the population was infected. The rate in the Moscow area was 338 per ten thousand. In addition to ordinary forms of the disease Russian doctors faced widespread extra-genital syphilis. This resulted from the universal practice of kissing holy pictures, smoking communal pipes, and feeding babies on chewed bread. After 1920 Dr. Bronner was called on to organise special educational campaign against these filthy customs.

Apart from measures taken to treat prostitutes, a vast organisation was built up to tackle venereal infections in the population as a whole. According to Dr. Scott a system of V.D. dispensaries, often mobile, played a leading part. They were what we would call clinics, and averaged almost one visit per year per inhabitant in the districts covered. The smallest dispensary was staffed by two specialists, two medical technicians (without medical degrees), one female visiting investigator, a clerk, and two orderlies; this minimum staff was specified in the law. The dispensary was equipped with the latest facilities for making bacteriological and serological tests, for treating syphilis and gonorrhoea, and included separate premises and treatment times for men and women. At one time there were some two thousand clinics of this type throughout the USSR. In later years these groups took over the task of diagnosing and treating parasitic diseases of the skin.

The Soviet V.D. dispensary staff had social as well as medical functions. Members arranged lectures and courses.

on venereal disease, prostitution, and sexual problems in general. Public support was won by means of movies, posters, and exhibitions. As a result universal testing for V.D. was achieved without public opposition or indifference. There was a sharp reduction in the number of infected persons who were negligent about completing necessary treatment. Dr. Scott states that men or women who wilfully and knowingly expose to infection or infect others are liable by Soviet law to penalties of from six months to three years imprisonment, but that these powers are rarely invoked.

According to this authority the modern Soviet V.D. clinics use both arsenicals and sulfonamides. This was prior to the introduction of penicillin. But one of the most successful Soviet preparations is a glucostreptocide, combining the heavy glucose molecule with that of a sulfonamide.

Before the outbreak of war in 1941 the antisypilis campaign in the USSR had virtually eliminated the primary and infectious forms of this disease—to such an extent that in 1935 the Moscow medical schools had great difficulty in finding cases for demonstration to students. Of course tertiary syphilis is persistent, symptoms frequently appearing thirty years after the time of infection, so that the identification and treatment of this stage is still proceeding.

In commenting on Dr. Scott's report, Dr. R. Forgan said that "this immense work on health education in the factories in Russia was a challenge when it was compared with what was being done in England at the present time. It was perfectly true that the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Labour were encouraging health education in factories, but they were very far from the Russian plan." He contrasted the attitudes of the two governments. "A couple of years ago, when it was suggested that there should be a brief reference to the necessity for any individual who thought he or she might be infected with venereal disease to consult a doctor or attend a clinic, in a leaflet which was being circulated in factories, the Ministry of Labour objected."

Another specialist, Dr. Nabarro, said in reference to the Soviet campaign in rural areas: "If this state of affairs could be brought about in such an enormous country, then it should

be child's play in a country like Great Britain, if there were the will to do it; but it seemed that the will was not there."

Clearly, the facts are undeniable. In all the capitalist countries our scientists and public health officials are straining every facility of research and treatment to bring venereal disease under control. They are on the way to perfecting one-day and one-week cures for both syphilis and gonorrhoea. Only in the armed forces, as a result of extreme measures difficult to apply against civilians, are they really gaining ground. But what is the perspective before them?

Gradually some scientists in our own countries have lately been approaching the view expressed in 1943 by Dr. Roger E. Heering of the U.S. Public Health Service (to the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association):

"Venereal disease control does not involve a lot of mysterious hocus-pocus but rather an appreciation of the problems, a reasonable knowledge of the diseases to be dealt with, a little understanding of human nature, and the conviction that something can and must be done." He added: "These diseases are communicable diseases, not a disgrace." He went further: "The prostitute is not a criminal but a social problem. . . . who already is or will become a health problem. Her exploiters are the criminals."

This is far from constituting a programme for V.D. eradication. But it does grasp some fundamentals. Dr. Heering also drew attention to the unfortunate publicity given to a "one-day cure for syphilis" (in a magazine article by Paul de Kruif). He asserted that such pseudoscientific ideas, together with the real improvement in treatment for syphilis, are "removing the fear which was often effective in preventing venereal disease." In the spring of 1944 the U.S. Public Health Service published the fact that an 11 per cent rise in gonorrhoea had been recorded among civilian Americans, probably to be explained by the publicity given to "sensational cures" by means of sulfa-drugs. A definite trend was noted—as medical research improved the treatment methods, there followed a weakening of moral restraint due to the lessening of fear. Often this results in a disease increase even in the face of intensified medical efforts. Large-scale experiments are now

going forward with the objective of developing a positive preventive for both syphilis and gonorrhoea; what effect this will have upon promiscuity and prostitution we will see in a moment. It is a discomfoting fact that many of our leading medical authorities, narrowly pre-occupied with the public health problem of venereal infection, attack prostitution solely because of its role in the spread of disease. Some doctors see no reason to consider the broad problems of immorality and vice, insisting that these are not the concern of science.

The only practical difference between the sex traffic of czarist Russia and the vice now increasing in our own countries is that the former was cold-bloodedly supervised and publicly acknowledged, whereas we pretend that our organised vice exists only on the lowest fringe of our social system. Nowadays we have become "scientific" to the point of being able to talk and read about syphilis and gonorrhoea without blushing. But that is the limit to which we will go in regarding the facts of immorality. Our medical authorities make a great display of being rational. They are repeating the futile antivice crusades of our grandfathers' day — using sulfa-drugs and penicillin instead of revivalist sermons.

There is no other conclusion to be drawn from the bewildering confusion we have already noted. How else are we to explain the ridiculous debate going on regarding the comparative "safety" of vice conducted in recognised brothels or in illegal places that are secretly or openly tolerated by the police? This is nothing but camouflage for the disgusting argument as to how we can make V. D. more difficult to contract.

It is a matter of record that in czarist Russia this debate was long ago carried to its ultimate sordid conclusion. Suppose we get down to fundamentals. How is venereal disease disseminated? Primarily by sexual intercourse. Men and women are the carriers. Certainly they cannot be eliminated. They cannot even be imprisoned or confined to treatment hospitals, simply because we could not possibly build or maintain enough institutions to accommodate the millions of patients. Nor is it feasible to prevent the infected persons from

continuing to have contact with others. The problem takes us round and round in a vicious circle.

From this apparently hopeless position is derived the widespread belief that both organised vice and venereal disease are eternal. At the same time, in our advanced civilization, we simply cannot admit that such destructive plagues as syphilis and gonorrhoea shall remain with us forever. So the medical alarm is sounded—and we start off in a circle once more.

FIFTY MILLION TIMES A MONTH

BEFORE we consider further details of the Soviet Union's battle against vice, it is necessary to bring up to date the struggle against venereal disease in America. Here, since Pearl Harbour there have been launched a number of geographically isolated but very elaborate anti-V.D. campaigns. These are distinguished from Soviet efforts in a number of significant features, but especially in this: American cities have concentrated on purely medical problems, whereas in the USSR the emphasis was on eliminating the social cause of social disease.

Outstanding among the early campaigns was that launched by the Sacramento City Health Department in August, 1941. The primary cause of an alarming rise in the V. D. infection rate at that time was known to be the prostitute and the Victory Girl. Since the law made it difficult to take whatever action had been suggested by doctors and police, the health department decided to tackle the urgent problem from an entirely different angle. An experimental prophylaxis station was opened. To this treatment centre all male civilians and servicemen were invited for emergency attention.

The objective of the station can be quite simply stated. It remained open from seven in the morning until three in the morning, the hours during which most men were likely to

come into contact with venereal infection, and a male attendant was on hand to supply suitable chemicals helpful in preventing syphilis and gonorrhoea after contact with these infections. The station itself was gruesomely utilitarian. It was located in a basement room with a street doorway. The latter bore the sign "Prophylactic Station" and a green light. Inside there was a minimum of equipment. In daytime hours regular health department technicians brought other supplies and maintained more elaborate treatment facilities.

Two methods of "advertising" were adopted. First, all known prostitutes and vagrant women were tipped off that if they did not care to have the V.D. rate increase to the point where a police drive against them would be inevitable, then they should advise their customers for safety's sake to hasten to the station after contact. The second advertising medium was less direct. Hundreds of stickers were put up in dance halls, service stations, bars, and so forth. These bore the brief notice :

**MOST VENEREAL DISEASE CAN BE PREVENTED
FREE PROPHYLAXIS**

Go within 15 Minutes to the

Health Department's Free Prophylactic Station

(Address Here)

Trained Male Attendant on Duty

In the first four months of the station's existence about four thousand men applied for attention. They were almost equally divided between civilians and those in uniform. The average time between exposure to infection and attendance at the station was given by the men as a quarter of an hour. Since strict secrecy was maintained, no record was kept of the "patients." Consequently there was no evidence whatsoever that the prophylactics were effective in preventing syphilis or gonorrhoea. Undoubtedly they were in a high percentage of cases. But the complete lack of all statistical information (except that the attendant asked each man whether he had contacted a prostitute, a pick-up, or a "clandestine"—

the answers being duly recorded in the department's statistics!) and the impossibility of any check on the treatment's effectiveness placed the whole scheme on a quite unscientific plane. Accordingly, in his report to *Venereal Disease Information* of August, 1942, Dr. Russell Frantz of the Sacramento City Clinic did not extend his conclusions beyond this terse statement: "The feasibility of introducing effective civilian chemical prophylaxis on a wide scale requires reinvestigation."

A description of similar experiments in other centres would be repetitious and serve no purpose. The whole situation radically changed in 1944. Mass production of penicillin and confirmation of its altogether startling effectiveness in treating both syphilis and gonorrhoea raised once again the possibility of not only preventing venereal diseases but eliminating them. The Army and Navy had superb facilities for conducting many closely controlled experiments on thousands of men. At the same time methods were perfected for testing great numbers of patients for venereal infection. Therefore it became medically and socially feasible to launch public campaigns of unprecedented magnitude.

The first of these was organised in Alabama. In 1943 State Senator Bruce Henderson, wealthy plantation owner of Wilcox County, succeeded in passing a law requiring all inhabitants of the state, between the ages of fourteen and fifty, to have their blood tested for syphilis. A companion law required that persons in whom infection was discovered should undergo treatment by their own physician or by the State Department free of charge. Provision was made for a \$100 fine if the test was evaded or refused, and for compulsory treatment of infected persons. These laws were passed very reluctantly by a sceptical legislature, which, to put it mildly, never dreamed of the type of campaign that ultimately developed.

Senator Henderson's motives were perfectly clear. He had found it profitable to attack V.D. on his plantation. By having doctors take blood tests of his Negro workers each year, medical expenses had been reduced about 75 per cent. The Senator felt that comparable savings could be effected for the whole state.

Only seventy-five thousand dollars was voted as an an-

nual appropriation for blood testing. Consequently the experiment was given its first mass trial in one region, the metropolitan area of Birmingham, which has a population under half a million. Forty per cent of the inhabitants are Negroes who suffer all manner of exploitation typical of the Deep South; they are subject to a poll tax and their standard of living and education is extremely low. However, the mass campaign against V.D. was launched for the entire white and coloured population.

Sensational publicity forms were used. Huge posters were hung throughout principal streets. "Penicillin cures gonorrhoea—the great crippler and sterilizer—in four hours" "Syphilis can be treated with penicillin in nine days!" Billboards, show cards, streetcar advertising, radio announcement every half hour, all the familiar techniques of a typical high-pressure commercial selling campaign were brought into play. The U.S. Public Health Service and the U.S. Army Sanitary Corps co-operated fully. Several famous health officers participated. They were assisted by almost a thousand volunteer men, women, and girls recruited by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, trade-unions, women's clubs, and even the churches.

Observers were astounded to discover that Birmingham—where even the words syphilis and gonorrhoea would have shocked polite citizens a few years ago—took to the anti-V.D. crusade as though it were a social event. Newspapers actually plugged the slogan: "Meet your friends and relations at the blood-testing station!"

The drive opened in mid-May and continued through June. Unquestionably it was the greatest public campaign of this nature ever undertaken anywhere in the world. Never before had V.D. tests been organised on so vast a scale. A special laboratory was set up at the Hillman Municipal Hospital. In a room which had served as basement storage place for coffins there was established the world's largest serological laboratory.

This laboratory was quickly dubbed "Willow Run," for its civilian and Army technicians handled up to 10,000 blood tests per day. In all, more than 300,000 tests were made within

forty-two days. Collected from a great many testing stations the blood samples were taken to the laboratory by taxicab. The Mazzini microscopic flocculation test was employed. It is not entirely reliable but is sensitive and fast. More elaborate testing would have been impractical. As it was, girl volunteers had the task of washing and sterilizing more than 20,000 tubes and 12,000 pipettes every day.

Naturally the clerical and blood-sampling work involved was enormous. Testing stations resembled polling booths. A clerk took each citizen's name, address, age, and phone number; then handed out a glass tube and a white card of identical numbers. The tube was for the blood test, the card served as evidence that the holder was a "tested person." Other clerks made out duplicate coloured slips bearing similar information and numbers. These went to a central tabulating office and were used in following up those persons whose blood tests were positive.

Close checks were made to insure that everyone received the test. Sick persons had to be tested by their own doctors at home or in hospital. The entire population was checked against OPA ration book records. Only a very small percentage was missed, and there were extremely few deliberate violators.

Within forty-eight hours of the test the central office had a laboratory report. If negative, the record was closed. Those who did not hear from the health department within three days could assume that they had a negative test. But when positive reports came from the laboratory, special investigators went after the corresponding patients. The latter were required to have a second blood test examination by a doctor.

Some 290,000 persons in the campaign were within the age groups making them eligible for the test, and more than 300,000 tests were made, including doubts and repeats. Over 90 per cent of those tested came voluntarily.

From the results we can see exact confirmation of the incidence of syphilis as given by the medical profession for the past several generations. Of the 290,000 individuals checked, roughly 40,000 had syphilis, or approximately 13.7 per cent.

That was during the war. Radical developments took

place in the next few years. Penicillin and other drugs drastically improved the treatment of venereal disease. Dozens of "Rapid Treatment Centres" were established in the United States. Some authorities began to express highly optimistic ideas about the "elimination" of V.D.

These hopes were shattered soon after the war ended. Despite the new treatments—or, as some believe, because these treatments offered people a "quick and easy cure"—venereal disease became more prevalent in Canada and the United States, the two countries where penicillin was most widely used for several years. After distributing tens of millions of articles on V.D. and carrying on preventive work among millions of soldiers, both the U. S. and Canadian armies, in 1945, had to admit that the disease rate was rising.

In December, 1945, I interviewed Lt.-Col. Thomas Sternberg, chief of the venereal disease control division of the Surgeon General's Office, Washington, by long-distance telephone, and the following are his facts: "The rate of V.D. in November was nearly double that of last year—60 cases per thousand instead of about 30. The average for 1944 was 33 per thousand. A marked increase in incidence is noted among our troops everywhere, but the rates are different in various theatres. In the Philippines and South Pacific it is between 80 and 100 per thousand. The sharpest rise has been noted in Europe, since V-E Day. Before the war ended, there the rate was 40 per thousand. Now it is 170 per thousand, a rise of 325 per cent."

I asked: "How can you explain such an enormous increase in infection?"

"It is not surprising, since it has happened after all wars. There is a general letdown after the war is over. Men in the Army have more time on their hands. Men overseas waiting for a boat to take them back . . . they get bored sitting around and find other means of entertainment. They get more leave in the cities, where they are more readily exposed to infection."

"Well, Colonel, what would you say was the most serious factor of all?"

"The answer is self-evident. The most serious factor is promiscuity."

Major Georges Leclerc, who held a similar position in the Canadian Army, reported an equally alarming rise in V.D. among Canadian troops. A number of American and Canadian civilian authorities were interviewed. They declined to be quoted, but their facts were all identical. Since the war ended there has been an altogether staggering increase in venereal diseases; and there is every prospect of a record V. D. epidemic on this continent. Far from taking a serious view of syphilis and gonorrhoea, discharged soldiers appear to have forgotten all their "education" and are taking little interest in testing or treatment. The situation in this respect is so bad that the *New York State Medical Journal* in November issued a warning to all veterans, pointing out the terrible menace of syphilis and gonorrhoea to the returned man's family.

One civilian doctor, Gordon Bates, well-known director of the Health League of Canada and for many years prominent in anti-V.D. work, commented thus: "It is obvious that many people who ought to know better have taken the view that mere education as to the facts of V.D. and the provisions of facilities for diagnosis and treatment are sufficient to control venereal disease. Another group has emphasised the value of information as to the physical facts of sex, almost as though this type of education alone would control syphilis and gonorrhoea. It should be evident that, if the control of V. D. is to rest entirely on instruction, then education plus increasing efficiency of treatment *may result only in the shortening of the duration of the individual case. The omission of moral and social controls may result in an increased contact rate and hence more cases.*"

Dr. Bates was even more specific: "It has been unfashionable to discuss venereal disease in terms of morality. Yet without morality—in the true sense, affecting both conduct and social conditions—venereal disease cannot be controlled."

Clearly, this view completely contradicts that of our Army doctors. We have mentioned the Larimore-Sternberg report on the U.S. Army campaign. It is most illuminating to find

that these authorities dismissed purely moral arguments as being quite ineffective. The Army's struggle against venereal disease was just that—whatever weapons were used, the objective was simply to control infection. As a result, Doctors Larrimore and Sternberg reported that from this strictly medical viewpoint the success of the Army's work (a "success" publicised before the shocking V.D. increase that began with the ending of hostilities) could best be judged by one exactly determinable fact: the number of prophylactics (devices and chemicals for the prevention of venereal disease during intercourse) used by troops.

Since we are not limiting our study of this problem to medical matters, we shall have to face this matter of prophylactics quite frankly.

The Army, let us repeat, was able to determine the "success" of its fight against venereal disease, from time to time and in various localities, by counting how many of its freely supplied prophylactics were taken by the men. This figure is nothing more or less than the approximate index of how many times the men had sexual intercourse with benefit of the disease preventives.

Many will be appalled by the actual figures. They are enormous, almost unbelievable. Early in 1945 the American Army was using *fifty million individual prophylactics per month*.

Here is the measure of the Army's success. Even sophisticated cynics, even those who sneer at the padres and moralists, will pause at the thought of the promiscuous fraction of our eight million soldiers using fifty million prophylactics per month.

Never in history has a nation boasted of having achieved safe promiscuity on a mass-production scale.

Fifty million times a month!

Many chapters could be filled with additional facts about the situation that developed from 1945 to 1952. But these facts can be summarized briefly.

First: in the American Army, especially among troops stationed overseas, venereal disease rates stayed near their all time high level.

Second: after five years of continuous, intensive campaigns of testing and treating the civilian population in the U.S.A. venereal disease showed no signs of decreasing. This was vividly proved by a report issued by the American Medical Association on March 23, 1952. It described a five-year program in the city of Atlanta, Georgia. More than a quarter of a million citizens were examined. But in spite of immediate, free treatment for all V.D. cases, at the end of the campaign the doctors found that almost 100 in every thousand people had syphilis!

No mention was made of gonorrhoea. The author has been informed the figures for this disease are even higher. In other words: the American people, who pose before the world as the bearers of "civilised morality", today reveal a level of V. D. infection that is probably higher than ever recorded in any civilized land.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR SIN

WE return now to the Soviet struggle against immorality. In the summer of 1929 this reached a final critical phase. No less than eight of the largest government ministries were linked in a scientifically co-ordinated plan.

The Commissar of Labour took over the task of providing employment for all single women and "graduates" of the prophylactoriums. The People's Commissariat for Social Security undertook the expansion of women's training centres and workshops on a national scale, and guaranteed decent living quarters for all women who might be threatened by immoral influences.

The Commissariat of Public Health enlarged the prophylactoriums, speeded the training of venereal specialists, organised a vast plan of assistance for abandoned mothers and opened Centres for the Defence of Maternity and Infancy.

The Commissariat of Justice, which had meanwhile reorganized the militia and developed a highly efficient police force

imbued with a humane spirit of social responsibility, launched a final assault against the vestiges of organized vice. In the preceding five years the vice operators who were not in penitentiaries had gone underground, concentrating their efforts on girls and women of subnormal mentality. Co-operating with the justice department, the Commissariat of Internal Affairs had special detectives trained to discover secret bawdy-houses; extreme penalties were invoked on the operators, and the entire community assisted in this work of extermination. The People's Commissariat of Public Inspection made a special effort to rouse all men to awareness of their personal responsibility and social obligations in this struggle, and increased the severity of public criticism that was turned on men who contributed to delinquency among young people.

Finally the two Commissariats of Commerce and Finance were called on to give every possible financial help to all organizations, institutions, clinics, workshops, and maternity defence centres.

In this way the original struggle against prostitution sharply changed. It passed over into a broad national effort for the total eradication of vice and immorality.

The stage had now been reached when purely scientific attacks on vice would assume ever greater importance. With the disappearance of unemployment the number of destitute women shrank to the vanishing point. The economic factor in prostitution ceased to be a simple question of whether or not a woman in desperate circumstances would turn to immorality as a means of livelihood. The problem became one of rehabilitating those women who had been conditioned, by long periods of impoverishment, to regard vice as the sole occupation for which they were fitted. So long as this small group remained there would be men to patronize them, and they would form a nucleus to attract young, unstable women to their ranks.

Naturally the easiest method of dealing with this "rear-guard of prostitution" would have been to arrest all such women, treat them as incorrigible misfits, and remove them permanently to institutions. This the Soviet authorities refused to consider. To the very end they maintained their

scientifically moral principle that the prostitute was a victim of economic and social forces, a human being, one of the "slaves and losers" of society, who could be rehabilitated only by bringing to bear new, positive, healthy social forces. After a period of consultation with the citizens' committee which had aided the clinic-workshops, Soviet psychologists decided to carry out the eradication of vice by changing the nature of these centres.

This was dictated by an outstanding change in the situation. In 1924 only one-quarter of the women in the clinics were professionals; whereas by 1934 almost three-quarters belonged to this class. Many of the clinics had closed. Quite a number of the remaining patients suffered from incurable illnesses, and many exhibited signs of psychological abnormality. The psychiatrists viewed this as the result of prolonged degenerate living, and set about systematically to cure them. The methods used differed from those advocated by experts in our countries. Rather than concentrating on personal treatment of a woman's psychopathic state the Soviet doctors bent every effort toward improving the social-economic environment in which she lived, changing it in such a way as to condition her for moral living.

The actual methods used were characteristically simple and logical. In 1934 the clinic-workshops ceased to be completely open centres. The women were still not forced to enter them, but once having agreed to take the treatment they had to remain in residence for two years. The daily routine of the clinics was practically reversed.

Previously it had resembled life in a country sanatorium—early rising, regular meals and rest periods, an easy working day, time for medical treatment, recreation and schooling, with an early bedtime. This had worked for the majority of women and girls. But it was too great a psychological strain on the older professional prostitutes. These women had for years been conditioned to start their working day with the coming of night. They found it hard to sleep in the evenings. The boredom and tension of lying awake produced a negative attitude of disgust with the clinic, it aroused their deeply rooted

habit of prowling the streets after dark, haunting cabarets and taverns.

All this was changed by turning the clock upside down. The working day at the clinic-workshop now began in late afternoon and carried through to the small hours of the morning. Rising time was moved to almost noon, and other activities shifted accordingly. In this way the prostitute's daily routine was practically unchanged upon entering the clinic. The curative power of useful work was brought into force at the very time of night when habit usually tempted her to leave the place in search for men.

The psychological principle involved here is clear. The typical patient had two powerful conditioned reflexes. One, compelling her to greatest activity at night: the other, leading her toward solicitation rather than useful work. To break both these habits at once was almost impossible and led only to discouragement. Therefore each was tackled separately, with the nature of the women's work first to be changed.

Many other fundamental improvements in the clinics soon followed. The Commissariat of Industry planned for reorganization of the workshops. As a psychiatric experiment the clinic in Kiev was given a small but important and exclusive new industry—the manufacture of special electro-medical apparatus much needed by Soviet doctors. Producing this equipment had an amazingly beneficial effect upon the women. Previously they had found the making of clothing or mass-produced articles very monotonous; now they were given a fascinating job of great usefulness to the nation. Their response was enthusiastic. Even those patients who had been considered mentally subnormal underwent remarkable personality improvement the moment they grasped the significance of their new work. They understood clearly that the equipment they made with their own hands was urgently required for saving the lives of fellow citizens. Now they knew they were not simply being put to work. They were working for the nation.

The experiment was so unexpectedly successful that it was soon extended to other cities. Near Moscow an agricultural centre was set up for women in poor general health.

This farm specialized in the growing of crops and breeding stock needed by the expanding Soviet farming system. Here again the woman's social responsibility and contribution were emphasized.

During these experiments the women developed specialized skills to fit them for quite useful places in the national economic life. The eagerness with which formerly demoralized women seized on such opportunities moved even the most detached psychiatrists. They promptly discussed the situation with committees of workers and farmers. In these conferences it was decided to speed the rehabilitation process.

To this end the medical authorities redoubled their efforts not only to cure V.D. but also to attain physical rebuilding of the women. A plastic surgeon was attached to the clinics; he formed difficult operations on the nose and palate, frequently deformed by syphilis, in order to make the most unfortunate patients socially presentable. Gynecologists cooperated in the treatment of those who could be prepared for a normal life of marriage and childbearing. At the same time an extensive cultural programme was initiated. Prominent Soviet artists and actors visited each institution. Newspapers were published by and for the patients.

The clinics were not isolated from the national life. Nor were the patients advised to forget their past. On the contrary: every woman was made fully conscious of her personal responsibility in the struggle against a social evil of long duration and extreme persistence, a struggle that had failed in every other country. It was impressed on her that her personal victory over a degenerate past would play a vital part in a social experiment of enormous consequence, that she was actually in the front line of a battle to help mend the human race.

Despite all signs of success within the clinics there were Soviet experts who doubted the ability of these "rear guard" women to re-enter society without eventually relapsing into vice.

This danger was appreciated by the women themselves. In the end a system of social rehabilitation was mapped out, summarized as follows:

1. Each woman patient was to be released only after complete arrangements had been made for her arrival in a community where her past life would remain a closely guarded secret, to all except a small group of specially chosen citizens, with whom she had corresponded during the last few months of her stay at the clinic. These volunteer social workers obtained in advance a place of employment, work for which the woman had special training; and they arranged for her to live with a respectable family. Careful attention was paid to details of the woman's arrival, so that none would have any suspicion of her past.

2. The select group of guardians guaranteed long-lasting assistance to each woman. This supervision was basically different from the probation system applied in our countries. It was founded on personal friendship of equals, with emphasis on the ex-patient's success in her new employment. At least one of the guardians worked with the woman at her job.

3. In each district the various groups of guardians were organized into Councils of Assistance, which met three times monthly for consultation with doctors, psychologists, and factory managers. Thus at the first sign of difficulty in any individual case there was available skilled and experienced assistance. As time went on a number of fully rehabilitated patients volunteered to join in improving the work of the councils.

4. The councils set up a special legal service to provide utmost protection to the women when they became involved in difficulties of marriage, jobs, wages, rent, and so on.

5. All former patients were urged to enter into personal correspondence with women still being treated in the clinics, with a view to inspiring them and hastening their entrance into community life.

We have now surveyed the entire strategy and tactics of the scientific struggle against prostitution waged during some fifteen years in the Soviet Union.

That struggle has long since been abandoned. It is a memory. It was brought to an end in the manner of battles that are forever memorialized by the names of Stalingrad, Kiev, Sevastopol...ended by total crushing defeat of the

enemy. Prostitution, as all foreign observers have admitted, has been eliminated from the towns and countryside of the U.S.S.R.

In 1917 the incomplete czarist police statistics revealed at least sixty thousand prostitutes in the city of Leningrad (then St. Petersburg) with several thousand more women indulging in unregistered activity.

In 1928, only five years after the first phase of the campaign opened, amateur prostitution had practically disappeared. More than twenty-five thousand professional immoral women had passed through the clinics to become respectable citizens. Approximately three thousand still earned their living from vice.

According to Dr. J. A. Scott, in the previously referred to report in the *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, March, 1945, the number of prostitutes in Moscow was further reduced by 1930 to approximately eight hundred. Similar figures applied to most other Soviet cities. These were the women in whose interests the final struggle for rehabilitation was organized on a national scale.

The results ?

Just less than 80 per cent of these women left the clinics for positions in industry and on the farms, and remained successful in their first jobs for five years or more.

More than 40 per cent became "shock brigade workers" or were otherwise singled out for meritorious service to the nation. The majority married and became mothers.

Less than 19 per cent of the clinic patients failed to adjust themselves to the demands of normal life and had to return for a second period of training. The remainder was made up of those too severely ravaged by the diseases and mental strains of their former life ever to take a place in the new society.

Thus the struggle against prostitution, transformed into a struggle on behalf of "the slaves and the losers", succeeded in permanently eliminating from Soviet life the age-old social curse of commercialized vice. Simultaneously and inevitably it achieved the eradication of venereal disease. The present young generation of Russians has never seen a prostitute.

That situation changed very much for the worse during the German occupation of Soviet territories. After the expulsion of the enemy in 1944 it was found that communicable diseases of all kinds were raging unchecked in the occupied regions. Tens of thousands of Soviet girls and women had been violated by Nazi soldiers, and a high percentage was infected with syphilis or gonorrhoea. Statistics have not yet been compiled, and the curative measures being taken are still on an emergency basis as this is written, but we can get a clear picture of the problem by considering the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This nation was probably the hardest hit of all. Information on what happened there to public health, and what is being done to restore the victims, comes directly from Illarion Kononenko, People's Commissar of Health in the Ukraine.

Just prior to the Nazi invasion the Ukraine took pride in its highly organised public health system. The Republic had nine medical and two pharmacy colleges, graduating some 3,500 students a year. In addition there were 199 "medical schools" graduating more than 20,000 medical specialists each year; these specialists correspond roughly to our trained medical technicians, although in the Soviet Union such men and women play an active part in serving the public, and have authority somewhere between that of our doctors and registered nurses.

The Ukraine had 1,932 hospitals with 129,000 beds in 1941. There were 2,445 rural medical centres. Dispensaries and clinics numbered around 6,000 with 10,000 smaller dispensaries. Trade-unions and collective farms had 400 sanatoriums and 173 rest homes accommodating each year over a million adults and children.

This huge health organisation had achieved outstanding success in the fight to stamp out venereal disease. No less than 90 per cent of all syphilis had been eliminated by 1941, the remaining cases being virtually all of the older variety. Chancroid was unknown, gonorrhoea vanishing. At the same time, the tuberculosis rate was sharply diminishing.

Contributing importantly to this success were the mater-

nity hospitals totalling 31,000 beds, and the 1647 specialised health centres for expectant and nursing mothers.

Under Nazi occupation this superb public health structure was shattered. On a mass scale hospitals, clinics, colleges, and medical institutes were deliberately razed. Those left standing were nearly closed to the public, frequently being taken over for German army brothels. The systematic establishment of such places for the service of German soldiers and officers led to shocking increase in venereal disease. It is doubtful if the incidence will ever be accurately determined since millions of children and adults were forcibly expelled from the Ukraine, and the return of the survivors over a long period of time has made the keeping of accurate medical records almost impossible.

But this situation rapidly changed after the occupied regions were liberated. The author personally visited many districts in the Ukraine and the Russian Republic, which had been overrun by the Germans. Thousands of foreign visitors to the Soviet Union, since the war, have commented upon the amazing speed with which the government and the people restored medical and health facilities, and yet to this observer the actual results seemed really astonishing. Even in huge areas where virtually every factory, railroad, hospital and farmhouse had been burned or blown up by the Germans before their retreat—and the evidence of this was unquestionable, because almost every structure in those regions was brand new in 1950—a highly civilized existence was quickly restored.

The author's wife is a trained public health expert, and the author has had considerable experience in reporting on medical services. Both of us, after personal study, affirm that even in the recently devastated areas of the Ukraine and other Soviet republics there has been restored a highly efficient and universal system of both preventive and curative medical care. We visited a good many hospitals and clinics, ranging from small farm units in rural parts to large urban medical centres. In not a single one of these did we find venereal disease regarded as anything like a common ailment. Very often the doctors told us that they had so few cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea that they considered these diseases virtually eradi-

cated. Had it not been for the war, they said, V. D. would have been really a clinical rarity for them.

This conclusion is supported by a group of leading British doctors, who visited the U.S.S.R. in 1951. They wrote of their findings in the *British Medical Journal*. Prostitution, they said, does not exist in the Soviet Union. And they agreed that the situation regarding V.D. there is such that these diseases will soon be entirely abolished.

MURDER: STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

IT would be a serious mistake to examine the Soviet victory over vice and disease as a spectacular but isolated effort at social improvement. That effort was strikingly successful. But all that has been related here would be meaningless unless fitted into the broader picture of Soviet morality, that "mending of the human race on scientific principles" so boldly undertaken in the U.S.S.R.

We have already seen how the questionnaire submitted to Russian women shortly after the Revolution convinced both scientists and politicians that the prime factor in vice is economic—poverty and unemployment. Those experts understood, however, that the struggle against organised vice positively could not succeed, automatically, when the Soviets eliminated unemployment, as they did in the years following 1929. But the opposite is equally true: the struggle would have failed if the economic plan had not succeeded in providing permanent jobs for every woman who wanted to work. The historic Five-Year Plans and the gigantic industrial development they involved not only laid the foundation for Red Army triumphs in this war; they also had profound effects upon the personal life of every Soviet citizen.

By this time some will have raised a very important question. What happened to Soviet morality in general, after the prostitutes abandoned their profession in favour of

honest work? More to the point: what happened to the sex relations of men and women and youth in the USSR? Did the abolition of vice and V.D. result in a general loosening of morals among respectable people?

We might as well phrase this in its frankest form. Were the immoral activities of the prostitutes simply taken over by women in general, through the practice of that very doctrine of free love which Lenin and Gorky so strongly condemned?

Such was not the case. What actually happened can be expressed very concisely. Not only was prostitution eliminated, but all such manifestations of immorality as free love and promiscuity were successfully overcome to an extent never realised in our nations, and the progress is today continuing. This revolutionary change was achieved as the scientist predicted it would be — by planned social-economic measures which made it possible for the overwhelming majority of all citizens to realise the highest forms of personal gratification in marriage founded upon love.

To speak of love and marriage in the same breath as scientific and economic planning sounds preposterous to many people. We could devote several chapters to philosophical argument on this problem. It is a matter of record that Soviet newspapers and magazines really did print millions of words of debate on this fascinating subject. Looking backward, it is easy to condense the Soviet controversy into two diametrically opposed viewpoints.

On the one hand, there were the people who maintained that hard-boiled facts of human experience gave no hope for "mending human nature," in so far as sex is concerned, and that if prostitution and vice were formally done away with men and women would continue to live immorally.

And on the other hand, there were the scientists and political experts who insisted that humanity had never in all history been given the practical opportunities to live and love in a truly moral fashion; they demanded that the Soviet regime give these opportunities to a hundred and eighty million people.

The latter group won the debate. The USSR embarked upon the most extraordinary of all its imposing social experiments—the *planning of morality*.

That the outside world understood nothing whatever of the Soviet objectives, or deliberately and unwaveringly refused to understand them for twenty years, was vividly proved by the fury that greeted the first step taken toward planned morality. In truth, this step appeared at first sight to be a giant's pace in the opposite direction, toward a complete breakdown of morals. It was the historic Soviet decree that made abortion legal and free to all women.

Abortion, the destruction of a new human life before it is born, is in violent opposition to both materialistic and religious principles of civilised society. Everywhere people rightfully regard abortion as a form of murder, the killing of an unborn child in order that the mother and father may escape their responsibilities of parenthood. What the critics of the Soviet Union, and many of its friends, have never understood is this pointed fact: the Soviet scientists and politicians also believed that abortion is murder, contrary to morality, opposed to the good of the individual and the nation.

How, then, was it possible for the USSR to legalise this immoral practice?

No purpose would be served by taking up an involved theoretical discussion. There is, in fact, nothing mysterious about the social problem of abortion, though countless scientific papers and religious articles have been written about it, for or against, in our countries. In the Soviet Union abortion was regarded as a social crime which, like prostitution, had its roots in the unhealthy soil of mass poverty.

Once again we can clear away a litter of argument and confusion by means of challenging contrast. Consider the world situation at the time of Russian Revolution. Then in all civilised countries, including czarist Russia, abortion was severely punishable by law. But in all countries abortion was practised on a shocking scale: for the most part the operation was not performed by doctors but by criminals who were rarely brought to justice. For example, in Germany some ten thousand women were officially recorded as having been killed each year by illegal operation: many times that number were permanently injured or made chronically ill. This represented but a small fraction of the total number of abortions. In North

America it was estimated, on the basis of incomplete statistics, that several hundred thousand abortions were being performed each year. Twenty-five thousand was the annual death toll of women in czarist Russia from this cause.

That was the situation when every country had stern laws against abortion.

Now picture the facts today. Twenty years after the Soviet experiment began, every country, including also the USSR, has laws prohibiting abortion. The Soviet Union has now ceased to recognise legal abortion, the operation has been a crime for some years, and the law was stiffened in 1944. Then the experiment failed? On the contrary. Abortion, like prostitution, has been virtually eliminated in Russia. While in all other countries this criminal operation, practised without proper medical facilities and despite powerful religious and legal opposition, continues to rise, with an appalling toll of killed and injured women.

Exactly what is the situation on our continent? It was recently examined by numerous doctors. For example the psychiatrist A. A. Brill told the Conference on Abortion Problems, New York Academy of Medicine, in June, 1942.

"Abortion belongs to those social problems which cannot possibly be solved, because we do not know enough of its phyletic implications."

And what does "phyletic" mean? It relates to "changes that have taken place during evolution."

Later on in his report Dr. Brill becomes more specific: "Abortions are symptoms of cultural maladjustments," he states. "In sum, nature forces the individual to reproduce himself, and civilisation for good reasons of its own strives to stop it, or permit it only under special regulations."

Dr. Brill's conclusion must be read to be believed: "Let us do away with the abortions by allowing every honest physician to manage such cases as he sees fit."

Morality is to be handed over to the safekeeping of the neighbourhood physician; the right of women and their unborn children to live is to be determined in a doctor's Office; every practitioner is to become a combination of Solomon and local executioner!

But to what extent was this psychiatrist pleading the cause of unrestricted abortion, and to what extent was he veiling a situation that already exists?

Doctors Olson, Lahmann, Mietus, and Mitchell lately reported a careful survey of abortion in the authoritative *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. They exposed in the privacy of this scientific publication facts which the public press and our health authorities dare not bring into the open. Of a great number of abortions studied by them, almost 30 per cent of the criminal operations were performed by practising physicians, and more than 35 per cent by midwives. On the average, only half of those obtaining the operations were single, divorced or widowed.

Say these reputable objective doctors: "That the problem of abortion is one of progressively increasing importance is evidenced by the fact that its incidence has increased by an appalling percentage during the last several decades."

Perhaps they are exaggerating? They present statistics indicating that in America in 1941 there were at least 680,000 abortions performed. Despite the use of modern safeguards, more than 8,000 American women die from these criminal operations each year.

Seeking the cause of the rising rate of abortion, the four doctors advance not any mysterious "phyletic implications" but the following concrete social factors: "The dishonourable stigma accompanying illegitimacy, the attempt to escape the responsibilities of parenthood, the poverty and squalor attendant upon the depression of the last ten years, the desire to raise the economic level of living by restricting the size of families . . . in general, the desertion of idealism in favour of a more secularised philosophy, especially manifest since World War I."

They label the problem one of "momentous significance." Who can deny that? Six hundred and eighty thousand babies murdered unborn every year in the United States of America. Every minute you spend reading this book, somewhere on this continent an unborn life is being destroyed.

The statistics for other democratic countries are practi-

cally the same, some higher, a few slightly lower. While the people know nothing, while the organised working class remains unaroused, while the medical and legal professions suppress the truth, while the clergy are silent in their pulpits, millions upon millions of human lives are being wiped out by this moral war raging in our immoral society.

And we have doctors like A. A. Brill who say that "abortion cannot possibly be solved because we do not know enough of the changes that have taken place during evolution"!

These gentlemen should book passage for the Soviet Union. There, it seems, science has made enormous strides in the direction of "phyletic implications" and "cultural maladjustments." Let us see what these advances actually are.

Shortly after the Revolution, Soviet scientists, keenly aware of the momentous significance of the abortion problem, convinced the authorities of the USSR that abortion could never be banished either by prohibitory laws or by giving all doctors the right to take human life indiscriminately. They insisted that abortion was a social problem of economic and moral origin, and that it could be fought out only in the open, while the whole nation struggled to eliminate its causes and systematically build moral forces on a mass scale.

They decided to make abortion temporarily legal, subject to rigid social control, *in order to eliminate it.*

This appears to be a contradiction. It is really common sense. Here is what took place.

Special hospitals were set up, consisting not only of medical facilities but also of consultation boards, to which all pregnant women and girls who did not want to give birth to a child were invited for strictly confidential help. Contrary to what the anti-Soviet propagandists declared, and what many religious people still firmly believe, the prime function of these centres was not to commit "strictly confidential murder." It was to discourage women from undergoing the operation. And in the earliest days, despite extreme poverty and suffering in Russia, the consultants were successful in convincing more than fifty out of every hundred women that they should become mothers. This means plainly and simply that the single step of establishing this advisory system reduced the abortion.

rate in Russia by one-half. Which is easy enough to understand. The majority of girls seeking such an operation are in a state of panic. Rarely have they any responsible, friendly adviser to whom they can turn. What they know of abortion they have learned by hearsay. Their one thought is to hurry it through before their condition is discovered. In our country, how many would change their minds if they could talk it over with experienced friendly people, if they could be certain there was no danger of arrest, and if they could count on a job and hospitalization expenses should they decide to have the baby?

In Russia, to be exact, 51 per cent of the women made such a decision. The remaining women were given the operation they demanded. Why? Because if this had not been done, they would have gone to criminal abortionists. As it was, the operation was carried out by the most skilled gynecologists operating with the best equipment. Under these conditions it was proved that abortion is not dangerous to the mother. The death rate in Russia from this cause was, overnight, reduced to the vanishing point. Compared with the toll of illegal operations performed by criminals and by physicians working without proper facilities, Soviet doctors conservatively estimated that in twelve years they saved the lives of three hundred thousand women. . . During the same period few Russian women died from criminal abortions, for the reason that the high cost and frightful hazard of such operations became unnecessary by virtue of the free, safe attention provided by the State. Along with the Soviet decree making the operations legal when performed in proper hospitals, another decree provided severe penalties for criminal abortions.

Meanwhile the campaign went forward in quite another direction. Why do women seek this operation? Because they are incorrigibly bad? That is ridiculous. They ask for it primarily—we are speaking now of the great majority—because they cannot afford to have a child. After questioning innumerable women and girls the Soviet scientists arrived at this inescapable conclusion: in modern society motherhood is praised and glorified in theory but in practice, for the masses of women, it is severely penalised. A pregnant woman loses

her job. For an unmarried girl pregnancy is the ultimate disgrace. For the majority of married women motherhood is an economic strain upon themselves, their husbands, and their other children. If a mother cannot afford the best prenatal care and hospital attention, pregnancy is also a serious physical risk.

Revolutionary measures were passed to bring this situation to an end in the Soviet Union. There the glorification of motherhood was carried from theory over into practice.

The actual methods employed in the USSR have been discussed in much detail in several books by medical and social experts. Briefly they consisted of laws and regulations guaranteeing every woman, married or single, completely free medical attention all through pregnancy; and six to twelve weeks leave from work with full wages; and the privilege of returning to her job after recovery; and free nursery care for children from two months to five years of age at the mother's place of work, with several hours off daily to attend breast-fed infants; and assistance in cash and clothing for the child.

These measures were put into action along with an intensive educational campaign impressing upon all citizens the fact that social-economic penalties against motherhood were being abolished, that now it would be possible for every woman to fulfil the highest moral function of motherhood and at the same time maintain her honourable position as a working citizen of the new society.

This was an experiment in morality, in mending human nature. It began in a country suffering a terrible rate of infant mortality, comparable with that in India and Quebec today. Now the Soviet Union enjoys what is probably the world's lowest death rate among mothers and children. In the USSR over six million births take place each year, with only an insignificant percentage of children born outside of marriage. Abortion has not only been prohibited by law, what really matters is that it has practically ceased.

We have now to consider the final phase of this historic experiment in building a new concept of sexual morality. This concerns marriage and the family.

The removal of all economic barriers to motherhood had an immediate and perfectly understandable effect upon morality in the Soviet Union. Coming at a time when prostitution was being uprooted throughout the whole nation, the new laws concerning motherhood carried to completion the struggle to liberate women from all forms of exploitation, they made the equality of women an accomplished fact. The result was a sudden rise in the marriage rate. All economic penalties against marriage disappeared. For the first time it became a reality that "two can live as cheaply as one." The youngest lovers found it feasible to marry and have children, for even students were paid salaries and provided with social security available to working people. Among the younger generation this had a profoundly moralizing effect. It ended the menace of the delayed marriage. It gave to youth, in the critical formative period of their lives, the richly satisfying experiences of married love and parenthood. The response proved conclusively that the Soviet scientists were right: immorality and sexual promiscuity are not deeply rooted in "man's evil nature," they are actually unnatural substitutes for a moral, healthy code of life, and they are forced upon men and women by the pressure of an immoral social-economic system which makes marriage and parenthood a burden. This is equally true for both sexes. In the Soviet Union within two decades the double standard of morals passed out of existence, men realised that with the breaking down of barriers to marriage and motherhood, with the full economic and social liberation of women, they too were being freed from degrading immoral influences.

The well-known radical divorce laws of the USSR were an organic part of this liberating process. So violently opposed in our countries, those laws had objectives precisely the opposite of what the accusers insisted was their purpose.

Soviet divorce policy was intended to strengthen, ultimately, both marriage and the family. It was based upon the historic analysis of love and marriage which we examined earlier. As everyone knows, the original Soviet divorce regulations were extremely liberal: they required only that one party in a marriage inform the other, through a registration

office, that the marriage was ended. There was no court procedure other than arrangements for the care and support of any children, and the fee paid to the office was less than the price of a theatre ticket. Recognising the right of divorce as a moral right to end a marriage no longer founded on love, the Soviet legislators carried their logic to the limit and insisted on continued love being the sole criterion of marriage. Therefore they abolished all difficulties, legal and economic, standing in the way of divorce. Beneath this argument lay a deeper truth, the realisation that sexual relations indulged in by married people outside of marriage—those forms of immorality of which adultery and prostitution are most common—can usually be traced to unhappy loveless unions.

That is to say, divorce in the USSR was recognised as a means of bringing to an end all loveless marriages, marriages which were regarded as immoral. There were millions of these relationships carried over from czarist days. Unrestricted divorce served to break them and to encourage marriages for love.

Obviously such an argument has serious limitations, and most people will strongly condemn it because of what we can imagine would happen in our democracies if easy divorce laws were suddenly and universally brought into force. Wholesale destruction of marriage would temporarily result, for the ugly truth is that an enormous number of unions in our countries are held together solely because of the legal and financial difficulties of divorce. This is what actually took place in the USSR for a period of years following the Revolution. But for a decade now there has been a steady falling off in the Soviet divorce rate. Contrast this to the situation in other countries: an alarming increase in divorce that is heightened by rising pressure in favour of eased divorce regulations, despite unremitting opposition by religious authority. Today the attitude toward divorce in the Soviet Union is constantly stiffening. Marriage has been strengthened by the force of a new social morality featured by strong condemnation of persons who frequently remarry. Great emphasis is placed on the morality of human love, upon the enduring nature of real love, upon the biological-psychological

fact that in its highest form human sex relations are "exclusive to two people" and can be fully gratified only in a life-long marriage preserved by mutual love and ennobled by children.

Intense interest has lately been aroused in the democratic world by a series of new decrees governing marriage and motherhood, announced in Moscow in the summer of 1944. Many commentaries have been written about these new laws. Some "friends" of Soviet Russia were embarrassed to learn that over there one could no longer buy a divorce as if it were a postage stamp. But the general tenor of comment has been one of peculiar satisfaction, with the writers wagging a moralistic finger at Stalin and informing us that "Russia is coming around to our way of living."

What shameless Philistinism!

Prostitution and juvenile immorality are soaring in our countries, venereal disease resists every effort at control, chronic alcoholism is on the rise, abortions are multiplying, divorce mounts higher and higher... yet there are commentators who express satisfaction that Russia is coming nearer to us, trying to imitate us in matters of immorality!

The plain truth is that the latest Soviet decrees on marriage, motherhood, divorce, and abortion are no more or less than a continuance of their uninterrupted scientific planning of morality, further advances in the direction, which we have been following in this book.

Marriage in the Soviet Union has become firmly established on the moral foundation of love. Just as laws against abortion were reintroduced years ago in the USSR, *but only after abortion had been virtually eliminated*, so at the present time has it become possible and desirable to stiffen the divorce regulations, because the need for free and easy divorce which formerly existed has now disappeared. First, because the economic, moral, and social causes of marriage failure have largely been done away with: and second, because this situation demands recognition, openly, in the nation's statutes. Such are the simple, perfectly logical reasons why the USSR has modified its divorce regulations. They did not establish

lenient divorce laws in the beginning because socialism advocates such things, as we were told. The laws were temporary measures intended to pave the way for eliminating or drastically reducing the divorce rate.

It was on December 18, 1917, that the Soviet authorities passed those two sweeping laws which aroused such antagonism throughout the world: the Decree on Civil Marriages, Children and Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths and the Decree on Marriage and Divorce. Countless articles and sermons attacked these revolutionary measures. Now, with the two historic laws outdated both by events and by later legislation, it is surprising to discover how little is actually known about them.

We can spare a few moments to gain some factual information. This I have obtained in part from a well-known woman lawyer in the Soviet Union, Xenia Belousova. As for the reliability of these facts the critical reader will have to depend on his own common sense.

"The main import of the first Soviet marriage laws," states Belousova, "lies in the fact that they emancipated woman legally, giving her equal rights with man, and extended these equal rights to the last stronghold of inequality—the family—where the oppression of women, legalised by age-old custom and tradition, was considered normal and accepted as a matter of course, where the enslavement of woman was often hidden from her by the veil of patriarchal relations".

"The new decrees on marriage passed in 1917 could not automatically affix the authority of the new Soviet state to marriages formulated under the laws of czarist Russia, if only for the simple reason that such marriages were, in the vast majority of cases, concluded with women who did not possess the liberty, independence and means indispensable for deciding freely such an important question as marriage. Soviet ethics could not sanction the foundations of the family as they were understood in czarist Russia, if only for the reason that many marriage contracts concluded prior to the Revolution were not based on sentiments of genuine love and mutual respect. Instead of this, they were founded on a complicated

system of considerations of material advantage, of the acquisition of influential relatives, etc."

"The October Revolution, aiming to remove all inequality and oppression of man by man, naturally could not leave untouched such an important sphere of human relations as the family. The Soviet marriage laws of December, 1917, established a new principle of the family—that of absolutely free choice—and in so doing they declared that the Soviet family henceforth was to be founded on love, mutual respect, and the equality of both parties."

"At the same time, the first Soviet law had, once and for all, to destroy all limitations on divorce, which in czarist Russia was granted only by church interference and was accompanied by the above-mentioned humiliating restrictions."

Those restrictions, which this modern Soviet woman considers humiliating, are precisely the restrictions now imposed by the majority of states outside the USSR. In a word, the czarist divorce regulations, like so many of our own, required that a divorce could be granted only when witnesses could prove that one or the other party had committed adultery. Belousova cites the tragedies depicted in Tolstoi's novels *Anna Karenina* and *The Living Corpse* as illustrating "how human feelings and relations withered and died under the burden of the dead letter of the law."

According to the 1917 law on divorce: "A marriage may be annulled at the request of one or both parties to the marriage" (Paragraph 1). The second clause was equally radical. It specified that the annulment of marriage (that is, divorce) could be achieved without any court action, simply by applying to the registrar's office.

"This aspect of the law," Xenia Belousova admits, "was unquestionably exploited by certain morally unstable elements of society for the consummation of temporary liaisons, and though the broad democratic principles of Soviet marriage laws were interpreted by certain exponents of so-called 'free love' as a proof of the superfluosity of the family—which was supposed to chain personal freedom—nevertheless the new law of 1917 was absolutely necessary. Its positive influence was enormous."

"It eliminated once and for all any possibility of making the marriage tie a means of enslaving woman and establishing inequality within the family."

We have already considered those practical steps by which the Soviet woman was liberated economically and socially. Belousova cites the high percentage of women students and professionals in the USSR and she stresses the extraordinary value of the early divorce laws in the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus.

"Women are to be found among the people's commissars, women are chairmen of collective farms—and this in countries where only yesterday husbands would have killed their wives for the simple reason that they refused to wear the veil."

In the early years of the Soviet regime life was extremely difficult. "Under these conditions," Belousova states, "only two paths lay before the Soviet woman: she could either retreat to her old world with its narrow interests of family and kitchen, or she could forge ahead along the wide road of acquiring knowledge and mastering a profession in order to become a useful citizen of her country and continue the struggle for progressive ideas, a struggle common to all mankind . . . only in this way could woman become a worthy comrade and friend of man . . . Woman's conquest of her new position in the family went hand in hand with her conquest of her new position in society."

Obviously no decrees, however revolutionary, can of themselves alter social relationships. Soviet women long found their new rights restricted at every turn by life itself. Age-old habits and customs had so influenced the great majority that they considered the old marriage relationships normal and desirable. A violent struggle had to be waged by women who strived for that social and moral development made possible by the new laws. They met vicious opposition by older women and by men who were determined to sabotage women's emancipation.

And what happened to Soviet women? This woman lawyer's comments are fascinating. Referring to the early years she says: "Woman had to fill herself with the belief in her own powers, with a resolution to conquer all difficulties

and surmount all obstacles regardless of their nature. This was a complicated psychological process, made all the more so by the fact that the Soviet woman had no historical example to fall back upon."

"There was no prototype of the new woman who would combine in herself all those manifestations of personal and civil liberty placing her on level with the male, and yet retain those natural qualities of womanliness, grace, and maternal tenderness which formed an integral part of her nature. Humanity's past could give examples of the development of only one side of the female character. It did not and could not provide the type of universally and harmoniously developed woman. This must be provided by the future rather than the past."

This legal authority gives a frank picture of the earliest period of readjustment to the new laws permitting what so many in our countries called "divorce with a rubber stamp."

"Soviet society was left to its own resources in the search for a correct formulation of the status of the new woman. The very fact that its searchings were made not in abstract theory, but in the course of life experience itself, that sometimes mistakes were accompanied by the bitter personal sufferings of men and women, by family conflicts and rifts in family relationships, served to increase the difficulty of the problem."

A great positive change took place during the triumphant course of the Five-Year Plans. Tens of millions of women sharply raised their whole economic and cultural level by entering industry, aviation, science, engineering, and art. But at the same time women made by far the greatest sacrifice in this period.

"One of the greatest sacrifices of all," says Belousova, was that she was then forced to devote less time to her family and to her children. These same circumstances likewise reduced to a minimum her care for her husband and for her home. It goes without saying that it was well nigh impossible for her to find time to devote to her clothes, hair, her general appearance."

How many critics of Soviet life, who took bargain tourist trips through the USSR during the thirties, ever attempted

to look beneath the surface unattractiveness of Soviet girls and young mothers? Who among them ever saw that Soviet women had temporarily sacrificed hair-do, nail polish, and styled shoes in order to win "a struggle common to all mankind"!

Says Xenia Belousova: "Renouncing many of the necessities of life, observing the strictest economy in the satisfaction of her natural feminine desire for beautiful clothes, and likewise observing the strictest economy in her time, Soviet women, at the price of selfless labour, *made up for thousands of lost years and climbed ever higher on the way to genuine equality.*"

After firsthand observations, critics from our countries frequently express the supercilious opinion that "Soviet girls don't know what they're missing!"

Belousova replies: "It should be emphasized that the temporary and expedient nature of these privations was plain to every Soviet woman. She never relinquished her desire for a stable family, for the joy of motherhood, for the human sentiments of love and comradeship in her relations with her husband, for comfort and femininity."

However, a substitute trend did develop for a time. Some women went to the other extreme. Confusing equality with identity, they went in for the fashion of imitating men in clothing and in manners. Such females were labelled by all, with a phrase borrowed from the most difficult early period of the revolutionary regime: they were humorously called "military-communism types." Such women were naturally very conspicuous in public, especially to foreigners, but were always an insignificant minority.

During the period of the successful completion of the Five-Year Plans the whole standard of living rose enormously. As a result the status of woman underwent a profound practical change. She was no longer compelled to choose between a family or a job, between satisfying private life or socially valuable work.

"Woman," says Belousova, "who had forced public opinion to accept her as engineer, pilot, physician and scientist, collective farm chairman and Stakhanovite worker, now had far greater opportunities for providing for herself and children.

In this respect *her position in the family became equal to that of the man*, and the Soviet family then entered the period of maturity."

Primary among the realities of this new period Belousova gives the following :

"Today, no material considerations, no legal or actual inequality, can influence a woman's marriage decision. She is a respected member of the Soviet community, independent and free in her choice of setting up her home and creating family happiness. A man's attitude towards woman has undergone a corresponding change. Both derision and condescension as well as the household egoism which lingered on as a legacy from old Russia have disappeared never to return. It is on new lines that the family happiness of Soviet men and women is being built."

It would have been impossible to reconstruct the family without first achieving the liberation of woman, her equality. "Today", Xenia Belousova states, "all legal and actual prerequisites have been created for founding the family on pure feeling between men and women, on mutual love, friendship and respect, on common views and interests."

As a result of this revolutionary advancement in the human family, the decrees of 1917 became obsolete. Having solved the basic problems of the family, having eliminated the fundamental causes of the disintegration of family life which began before the First World War not only in czarist Russia but in our countries as well—a breakdown of family relations which is now reaching immense proportions on this continent—the people of the Soviet Union turned their attention to still higher problems.

They looked to the future, to the children. The Soviet regime has repeatedly been accused of attempting to eliminate the human family and raise all children as wards of the state. The new Soviet marriage and family laws have as their central purpose the strengthening of the family on that new and higher plane which has been reached during the past twenty years, an advanced position which became possible only as a result of radically improved relationships between men and women, husband and wife.

A great deal of hasty generalising appeared in the press of our countries following the enactment of the Soviet social legislation of July 8, 1944. Strangely, no mention was made of previous legal changes. The new laws were regarded everywhere as an astonishing reversal of earlier policy which came as a bolt out of the blue.

The truth is that very significant legal changes took place in the largest Soviet Republic (that group known as the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics, RSFSR) in 1927. The new marriage codes of that year are worth considering.

In brief, they legalised that type of relationship which also has considerable legal recognition in our countries: the common-law marriage. Prior to 1927 the only marriages recognised in the USSR were those registered by official registrars. The 1927 decrees granted to common-law unions a certain degree of legality.

This is not to say that common-law marriages gained equal footing with registered unions. Registration of marriages was still regarded as incontrovertible proof of matrimonial relationship. However, in the period of industrial and social strain which we have already mentioned, the position of women and children demanded further safeguarding by law. Hence the new statutes specified that the responsibilities of registered marriage would have to be borne by men and women living in common-law relationship. The practical requirements of such proof were:

—That the two parties lived together.

—That they were known generally as man and wife.

—That they had a common household.

—That they did still or had at one time supported each other and brought up their children together.

Clearly that decree was designed to strengthen the position of women who might be deserted by men seeking to evade the responsibilities of registered marriage. For it is an established fact that in spite of divorce being legally attainable at low cost at any registry, as the years passed there developed very strong social prejudice against persons who obtained divorces without socially acceptable justification; and against those who were divorced several times severe disciplinary

measures were taken by associates and superiors. Hence, in the atmosphere then prevailing, there was a tendency toward illicit relationships on the part of irresponsible persons.

It is very interesting to note that the 1927 law specifically deals with the private property of husband and wife. Most people realise now that the Soviet regime does not, and never intended to, do away with private property, but only to eliminate private ownership of all enterprises making use of the labour of others for making profit; that is, capitalist property. The common-law marriage regulations stipulated that in all such unions the property was the joint possession of both parties; if the relationship were dissolved, the courts would be available for insuring equal division of the property and for arranging as to the support of children.

Further, the law specified that if either husband or wife was unable to work, the working partner was obliged to provide support even if the two were separated.

The Moscow attorney, J. Brandov, points out that only in these two respects did the 1927 law give common-law marriage equal standing with registered marriage. It excluded the right of inheritance of property (unless the Supreme Court ruled otherwise in specific cases), and all other marriage rights inherent in registered unions.

"It is to be remembered," says Brandov, "that in the USSR, which is inhabited by more than sixty nationalities, all Union legislation cannot regulate all questions pertaining to marriage and other customs, and hence the bulk of the legislation in this field is within the competence of the Republics. Each of the sixteen constituent Republics has its own laws, in addition to which there is a limited number of USSR-wide enactments binding upon all sections of the country."

This authority stresses the fact that the 1927 law pertaining to common-law unions never did apply to the Ukrainian Republic, which at no time gave recognition to any but registered marriages. Brandov establishes the fact also that not only since the 1944 decrees, but also for seventeen years prior to them, the Soviet Union specifically distinguished common-law marriage from unions properly registered.

In this connection one outstanding change introduced

throughout the whole USSR in 1944, and ignored by our commentators, is that the common-law marriage no longer has any legal status whatsoever. The basis for this change is startlingly simple. In the Soviet Union marriage and the family have advanced to the point where protection of women and children no longer requires the recognition of any form of union other than the one universal, socially accepted and legally supported marriage.

In March, 1945, I obtained further authoritative information on this subject from Professor G. Sverdlov, member of the Institute of Law of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and the author of several texts on civil law.

"Common-law marriage," he states, "has an instructive history in the Soviet Union. The first code of marriage laws published in 1918 did not extend the protection of law to irregular marital relations. The reason was simple: such a provision could only have shaken the foundation of the family... The Soviet state from its very inception has devoted exceptional attention to the family and measures to strengthen it, ...to pave the way to stronger, healthier family."

If this be true, why did the state legalise common-law marriages in 1926, after eight years of non-recognition of such unions?

Professor Sverdlov replies: "Because in the early stage of the development of the Soviet state and its economy, not to legalize common-law marriages would have jeopardized woman's interests. Materially and culturally the level of the masses of the people was not high. The economic difficulties attendant upon the restoration period made themselves felt at the time in the form of unemployment and poverty. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that women who were not provided for materially were compelled to enter into irregular conjugal relations with men enjoying greater material security."

"Not to have extended the right to alimony, inheritance, etc., to common-law marriages, would have first and foremost hit women. The Soviet state could not allow such a situation to become the rule."

This Soviet legal authority goes on to say: "Later things

changed radically. Unemployment was done away with. Every opportunity to work or study was opened to women. Millions of women entered industry and became a factor of great importance in all fields of economic, cultural, social, and political endeavour. Shortly before the German invasion, eleven million Soviet women were employed in industry and office work, while nineteen million worked on the collective farms. At the beginning of hostilities 45 per cent of all persons employed in industry were women."

Besides the hugely increased income of women the state aid to mothers was enormously expanded. Schools, nurseries, kindergartens, and creches were increased many times over, as well as other services intended to contribute to the material welfare of the family.

Professor Sverdlov supports Xenia Belousova's opinions. "Out of this material foundation grew entirely new factors determining the relations of men and women, husbands and wives. No longer was legal sanction and protection of irregular marriages essential to safeguard the rights of women. On the contrary, now there was every reason to believe that any woman entering into irregular relations with a man does so only because of an irresponsible, thoughtless attitude towards marriage and the family."

It seems strange to us that such intimate problems as the strengthening of marriage ties and the security of the human family could be solved by lawmakers. But on the other hand, in our countries there is widespread clamour today for drastic changes in laws pertaining to marriage, divorce, alimony, and so forth. We must admit that the majority of suggested changes are in the direction of simplifying our divorce legislation—frankly, the agitation is for easier divorce.

What is the outstanding distinction between Soviet legal measures pertaining to marriage and similar action in our countries? This is not difficult to determine. In the USSR legal changes have been made several times in the past with the objective of making legal marriage relationships conform to great social-economic changes in Soviet society. In our countries "modernization" of marriage law is demanded because of what more "advanced" lawyers, judges, legislators,

and even clergymen put forward as the, "changed attitude toward love and morals."

But there is a further distinction. Soviet marriage laws have been altered with the real purpose of strengthening the position of woman first of all, and with the determination to later strengthen marriage itself—women and men both, and their children, and the whole family relationship. Here we rarely speak of such objectives. On the contrary, opposition to changes in divorce laws comes from those who fear any further weakening of the family in our countries. And our "practical" people constantly point to the degeneration of marriage, the rise of divorce; they insist on changing the law to take account of the family's deterioration!

This will become clearer if we look at the main points of the 1944 Soviet marriage and family laws.

First of all, as already stated, common-law marriage is legally abolished. In this respect the USSR is in advance of many other countries. Not only because of the mere passage of the law, but far more significantly because the economic and social justification for common-law unions had disappeared.

Second, marriage in the Soviet Union is no longer the simple procedure it was formerly. The couple appears before the registrar and files an affidavit that there are no legal barriers to the marriage. Man and wife testify that they are aware of the state of each other's health. They then set forth the record of any previous marriages. Here the registrar exercises great care. If there were children, facts relating to their support must be verified or the marriage cannot be performed. Soviet citizens take "sworn testimony" seriously, and so there is little likelihood of false information being given. It is the duty of the registrar to read to the applicants the law pertaining to marriage and the severe penalties for submitting untrue statements. Only when all this has been complied with can the couple be married.

One interesting fact is that the new Soviet law now includes a provision not unlike the church bans in other countries. Although there is no public reading of a Soviet marriage application, any man or woman who hears of a proposed marriage and has reason to object to it can appear before a

registrar and prevent the marriage from being consummated, until the objection is investigated.

Of far greater interest to America, Britain, and Canada is the Soviet law pertaining to divorce, to learn that the "atheist" nation had abolished easy divorce and introduced entirely new difficulties in the way of dissolving marriage.

The Soviet Union is the only country which is making divorce not easier but more difficult to obtain.

Before July 8, 1944, it was possible, in theory at least, to get a Soviet divorce simply by writing to the registrar and paying a trivial fee. Either man or wife could do this, and the other party would be notified of the divorce. This practice was followed for a number of years. During the last decade, however, Soviet citizens have taken a more serious view toward divorce. Laws regarding the support of children and the payment of alimony led irresponsible elements to think twice before moving from one "postage stamp divorce" to another. More important, the cultural level of the population rose, the position of women markedly improved, and the divorce rate dropped steadily.

The new divorce laws abolish all previous regulations. To obtain a Soviet divorce now both man and wife must first file a petition in court. This costs the equivalent of about two hundred dollars. At the same time a notice of the petition is advertised in the press, with the intention of informing those persons who may be interested witnesses in the action.

Next step is for the couple to appear in the People's Court. The petition, setting forth reasons why the marriage should be dissolved, is there studied and argued. What surprised legal experts in our countries is the astonishing fact that the Soviet divorce law does not mention a single clause for divorce. This was taken to mean by some that the whole law was a sham, a bureaucratic dictatorial act, that "Stalin had decreed against granting any divorces from now on." Of course such an interpretation has been proved incorrect. Thousands of Soviet divorces have been granted or are pending under the new law, although the rate is sharply reduced from the pre-1944 level.

Common sense will show why the Soviet divorce law contains no "reasons for divorce". Why, indeed, should it be

left to lawmakers to set forth, once and for all, the reasons why any man and wife may find life intolerable together? The causes of marriages breaking down are innumerable. A disagreement fatal to one marriage may have no serious effect on another. To attempt to record all the causes of incompatibility, as if they were so many violations of traffic rules, is patently ridiculous.

Soviet law established the sane principle that only a man and wife can determine when their relationship cannot be continued. But this is not to say that the couple is capable of deciding whether or not their marriage should therefore be dissolved. The People's Court is required to consider the situation fully. A prime governing principle of the new divorce procedure is based on the fact that marriage is not solely a personal matter, but involves family and even broader social responsibilities. This principle is applied in practice by the court insisting that witnesses be heard.

No Soviet divorce can be granted now without full testimony offered by persons well acquainted with the couple. This has a twofold purpose. First, to discourage a divorce, to make it difficult, to impress on married couples their social responsibilities, to induce man and wife to make every possible effort to solve their problems. Second, the court procedure results in every case being considered on its own unique merits.

The objective is to prevent divorce whenever possible. Before a Soviet marriage can be dissolved the couple must satisfy the court that reconciliation is impossible. There are no precedents, no "requirements." Every application is considered strictly on its own merits.

Do the new stricter Soviet divorce laws imitate our own, as many writers claim? *Emphatically not.* What the critics have chosen to ignore is the nature of the new Soviet legislation. It is intended primarily to *reconcile married couples intending to divorce each other.*

In other words, the new divorce courts are, like the consultation boards established in the now obsolete abortion clinics, mainly for the purpose of preventing divorce. But is this not also the purpose of our own divorce legisla-

tion? In theory. In practice our laws are simply provisions which make divorce difficult and expensive, so that only a small percentage of the population can afford it. In the democratic countries there are no laws requiring that couples in marital difficulties must seek counsel and arbitration before applying for a divorce. Psychologists, medical men, and clergymen have established advisory "marriage clinics," but these are without legal standing.

Here is an excerpt from a report made by the author and his wife, after recently studying Soviet procedure in that country :

"Years ago, when there were many unhappy marriages 'left over' from the Czarist system, it was easy to get a divorce in the Soviet Union. Now it is difficult, in some ways more difficult than in Canada. Our observations are that difficulty is more a 'delaying action' than any actual law against divorce. Here are the facts as we saw them :

"Quarrels, 'incompatibility' and even adultery are not grounds, in themselves, for Soviet divorce. Husband and wife cannot get a divorce just by 'proving a case' that fits some established legal cause. Both parties, plus many witnesses who know them, must go to the People's Court. They have to prove that everything possible has been done to save children and parents from leading a normal life. Finally, the couple must prove conclusively that divorce will improve, not worsen, the life of their children.

"We were assured, in each centre where we raised the question, that divorce in the USSR has very sharply decreased since the war years."

This fact requires no comment. On the same date press reports from Atlantic City carried the statement of Dr. Clifford R. Adams, director of the Marriage Counseling Service at Pennsylvania State College :

"By 1955," this authority predicted, "four out of every ten marriages in the United States will end in divorce.... There will be a lost generation of women twenty to thirty years from now because there will be no men to marry them. These women will not be content to sit idly by. They will be in competition with wives for their husbands."

Dr. Adams further stated that America is "the most married and divorced nation in the world, with one thousand divorced every week-day. And the rate is going up." He prophesied that within ten years "juvenile delinquency will be rampant and morality will reach the lowest level in history."

A week later Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, stated that the wartime trend toward hasty marriages will become an ever greater menace in the next few years.

"Marriages will take place on short acquaintance, courtship, and engagements, since so many young people will wish to make up for what they have missed of marital bliss because of its enforced postponement during the war."

He explained: "Many young men will marry at a later age than usual because of wartime bachelorhood, and if the pattern of behaviour after the last war is followed they will be, on the average, inclined to court younger women. The older women, perceiving their disadvantage in the marriage market, will be less discriminating in their choices. The end will be a higher divorce rate."

Showing that the prewar American divorce rate was somewhat over 16 per cent, Dr. Burgess predicted that in the immediate future it would rise to 25 per cent; in this estimate he is more conservative than Dr. Adams, with his 40 per cent divorce rate prediction.

Actually, both predictions have been verified. In the latest detailed analysis of American divorce rates, published by the "Statistical Bulletin" of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (Vol. 30 No. 4) it is shown that in 1946 the divorce rate did soar to 39.97 per cent, but by 1948 it had fallen to slightly less than 25 per cent.

Small consideration is being given to the children resulting from such marriages. And in general, after a whole generation in which our authorities have attacked the Soviet Union as a nation of immoral materialists, our own countries are making no organised effort to meet the unprecedented rise of family disruption and the perspective of morality reaching "the lowest level in history." Stoutly maintaining that our Christian civilization has for its very foundation the sanctity

of the family, we are now standing by awaiting a deluge of immorality and divorce. Meanwhile the socialist state records startling success for its latest rational steps toward raising the family to a new and higher level.

How many critics have contrasted the new Soviet laws respecting motherhood with the feeble protective legislation in force elsewhere? Such critics have been few. Some have dismissed the new regulations as "restoring motherhood to its proper position." We have seen how the USSR established centres for the defence of maternity and infancy a whole generation ago, and how there has been unceasing effort to improve the position of women.

Before the new laws the state granted universal assistance to mothers. Grants for layettes and infants' food alone amounted to around \$150,000,000 yearly. This was not charity, but was accepted by mothers in the same spirit as we accept the services of our public schools. Large families were assisted with cash grants; about \$400 a year when the seventh child arrived and \$1,000 for each following birth. Tens of millions were paid each year under this plan, so that parents and children of larger than normal families would suffer no material disadvantages.

In the first five years following the passage of the new laws, Soviet mothers received more than 3½ million dollars in cash assistance. In the year the author visited the USSR expectant mothers alone received 500 million dollars in grants under this legislation. Thousands of mothers with large families have received up to and even more than 15,000 for the special needs of their children .

The new laws register a further notable advance, but there is in them no radical departure from established Soviet principles. Recognition of the supreme role of the mother has been expressed in the creation of three public honours, to be worn as medals: the Maternity Medal, the Order of Mother's Glory, and Heroine Mother.

More than 35,000 Soviet mothers have already received the highest award of Heroine. Close to three million mothers now have been decorated with the other two orders.

But all mothers will now benefit from considerably higher

cash grants. Apart from regular assistance and free medical care for all pregnant women, every mother will now receive \$80 on the birth of her third child. A fourth child brings \$250 cash and about \$16 monthly. The fifth child, \$340 and \$24 monthly. And so on up to the eleventh child, for which the mother receives \$1,000 at birth and \$60 monthly.

Not only because of the Soviet Union's rational attitude toward moral questions but also because of practical problems arising from the war, unmarried and widowed mothers are now receiving more generous help than ever before. They automatically get state assistance in the form of monthly cash grants ranging from \$20 to \$40 per child for twelve years. Nursery and school homes are provided where the working mother can leave her child for any length of time; the child remains hers, and cannot be taken from her.

This concern for the human family, unprecedented in any country, has not failed to impress large numbers of people in other lands. Today even in the most reactionary circles are to be found doctors, educators, jurists and scholars who admit, privately or publicly, that the Soviet Union has to its credit great achievements in strengthening family ties. An outstanding example of a public admission of this fact is found in a speech made by Dr. Herbert A. Ratner, Professor of Medicine at the Catholic Loyola University of Chicago. On Jan. 24, 1951, Dr. Ratner was guest-speaker at a meeting of the Catholic Guild of St. Paul in Toronto. He told his rather astonished Catholic audience: "The Russians are far ahead of the West in preserving the basic unit of society, the family. "He pointed out that Soviet men and women have high moral standards, little divorce, almost no abortion, and families founded securely on real love". This Catholic doctor also strongly approved Soviet schools which no longer have "sex courses", having found them harmful. "The only way to educate children on sex," he said, "is to have the right attitude about sex and marriage ourselves."

These are the historic achievements of the USSR in the struggle against immorality, in the plan to remake human nature:...

1. They first legalised abortion and eliminated it by rational scientific measures.

2. After economic, social, and moral advances made the practice of abortion wholly inexcusable, they branded it as a crime against the individual and society.

3. They first made divorce practically free for the asking, and drastically reduced the divorce rate within twenty years.

4. They now have established courts of reconciliation as a step toward removing the divorce evil.

5. They have stamped out venereal disease.

6. They have reduced prostitution to the level of a social oddity.

7. They have broken down all the barriers to motherhood.

8. They have created absolute practical equality of men and women.

9. They are proceeding toward the goal of welding human love and marriage into a unity based on a new and noble consciousness of morality that is independent of temporal or spiritual compulsion.

Many decades ago the socialist philosopher Friedrich Engels, lifelong partner of Karl Marx, set forth this prediction :

“A new generation will grow up: a generation of men who never in their lives have known what it is to buy a woman's surrender with money or any other social instrument of power; a generation of women who have never known what it is to give themselves to a man for any other consideration than real love.”

PROHIBITION WITH BAYONETS

IN all that we have considered up to this point our discussion has been restricted to problems directly related to sex. There are other aspects of immorality. At the beginning we

limited ourselves to "sinful behaviour that results in social harm." Even so most readers will have become aware of a serious omission, a factor which has so far only been mentioned without elaboration.

That factor is alcohol.

Liquor is a moral problem. Alcoholism is a phase of immorality, a form of drug addiction which, whether one regards it as sinful or not, results in an altogether frightful total of social harm. I have no intention of entering new or old arguments in the perennial liquor debate. In my opinion all the arguments on both sides have been answered scientifically and practically, proved or disproved, on a social scale in the Soviet Union. There the liquor problem as we know it no longer exists. It was settled along with prostitution and vice.

But one asks: is drinking really a problem?

In the Soviet Union twenty years ago, and in our countries now, drinking was and is one of the major factors contributing to vice and the spread of venereal disease. Every honest clergyman, police officer, doctor, public health official, army commander, and social worker is able to verify this.

All question of sin aside, this truth remains: the great majority of men, women, and youth are highly susceptible to those physiological effects of alcohol which drastically lower normal resistance to committing immoral acts.

To be more candid: few soldiers or sailors, for example, will visit a prostitute while they remain cold sober. Juvenile court records provide ample testimony that only a small percentage of young girls become sexual delinquents without first taking a drink. Doctors of the armed forces are bitterly aware that after several drinks most men suffer so complete a loss of judgment and responsibility that not only will they welcome a repulsively hard woman but they will also forget to make use of simple preventives for venereal disease.

Physiologists and psychiatrists agree that inhibitions dissolve very rapidly in alcohol.

There is, of course, a vast amount of very respectable drinking. This is no less a moral, social problem. Dr. Stanley Cobb, of Harvard Medical School, psychiatrist-in-chief of Massachusetts General Hospital, has very neatly expressed the

medical aspect of drinking that is not associated with sex or crime. Pointing out that six million people on this continent now have sufficient mental trouble to keep them existing in "the borderlands of psychiatry," Dr. Cobb adds that "one and a half million of these can neither get along with liquor nor get along without it." We now have approximately that many chronic alcoholics.

No doubt most of these victims are sexually virtuous and are free from venereal disease. Nevertheless they are slowly destroying themselves lowering their efficiency, ruining the happiness of their families and associates, influencing society in general for the worse. Socially we must view their alcohol addiction as immoral.

What is the situation in the USSR?

There has been much curiosity in this regard. All we know of the Soviet liquor problem is what we have read in brief mention of drinking in correspondents' dispatches. These seem to be contradictory. We read today that one famous commander of the Red Army is a teetotaler. Prohibitionists and temperance workers take careful note of this, only to be shocked next day by reading that two still more famous generals drank toasts to Allied success, and that vodka and wine are served at Soviet state banquets. Assuming therefore that drinking is an aspect of social behaviour which Soviet authorities leave to the individual's discretion, our experts studying the problem of alcoholism here have apparently made no effort to discover what has actually happened to liquor in the USSR.

Here is the situation: Soviet scientists, in their struggle against vice, prostitution, and V.D., realised that sex problems could not be solved without at the same time solving the liquor problem. This they proceeded to do. And with the same efficiency and logic that characterised their successful conquest of sexual immorality. The Soviet Union's struggle against alcohol is one of the most fascinating stories in the annals of social experiment.

It begins in the remote past. For a thousand years and more travellers to Russia had recorded the outrageous drinking practices common throughout the empire of czars.

Mass drinking and mass crime—sexual debauches, arson, murder, pogroms—these featured every level of Russian life from the imperial throne down to the filthy peasant village.

The Russian novelist Turgenev has expressed it thus: "Ordinarily the citizen contents himself with being merely tipsy but on the holiday of a saint will drink himself saturated."

The calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church marked saints' days with extraordinary profusion, so that alcoholic saturation was almost permanent. In fifteen years after the Revolution this situation had been so completely altered that the eminent American doctors Kingsbury and Newsholme were then able to report that on a holiday cruise through the Black Sea and far up the Volga River they saw very little drinking and no drunkenness whatever; yet on board the steamers and at each landing place vodka was for sale without restriction.

We are now going to examine the facts that explain this apparent contradiction. These facts have been suppressed in our countries. Why? Because they provide overwhelmingly convincing proof that liquor control methods based upon scientific principles can be used, on a vast scale, to abolish the menace of alcoholism without introducing prohibition. Those who agitate for prohibition in our countries never mention the USSR. Apparently they are unaware that Russia, for more than one hundred years, tried on a grandiose scale every conceivable system and suggestion for combating alcoholism. . . . until at last the only practical solution was discovered and applied. It is distinguished from all other schemes in that it worked.

Organised attempts to control drinking in Russia date back to 1819. Up to that time the sale of vodka had been carried on everywhere in the land by almost anyone. The czarist government, after studying proposals then being advanced in England and America, decided to create a form of state monopoly governing liquor sales. This system endured for eight years. It proved to be very profitable for the government, but without effect on alcohol consumption; furthermore it was hard to enforce and became corrupted by graft. In 1826 the Czar

turned over the distribution apparatus to private corporations, at the same time applying a tax on all liquor sales. In effect this established, in rudimentary form, the modern system of taxed but unrestricted production and sale, which still exists in most countries. The intention was to make drinking expensive for the average citizen and profitable to the state.

Primitive state control in czarist Russia proved immensely profitable to the Government. Huge revenue was derived from the pockets of those who sacrificed the necessities of life rather than cut down on vodka. But progressively heavier taxation failed to restrict liquor consumption.

For some thirty years drinking increased and the empire suffered. As the situation worsened the clergy began to take up temperance propaganda. At the height of the midcentury movement for political reform, in 1859, the church induced the Czar to close all the breweries. The Czar's subjects being no less humanly contrary than any other people, the small percentage of Russians who preferred beer changed to the much stronger vodka rather than become abstainers.

Three years later government control moved in a direction familiar to us all. Retail liquor-selling establishments were sharply reduced in number by means of a licensing system. This action was taken by the Czar as a concession to temperance agitation.

During some thirty following years the state and the alcohol producers succeeded in reducing licensed outlets from 250,000 to less than 115,000. But in the same period the sale of vodka actually increased.

The year 1886 marked the visit of Dr. Peter Semyonovitch Alexieff to America. This humanitarian was a close friend of the famous author and philosopher, Count Tolstoi. In the United States he was introduced to mass temperance activities, and he returned to his homeland enthused with the idea of educating the Russian people to voluntary abstinence. He wrote several books in the familiar Anti-Saloon League vein. His efforts had a single result: the Czar enacted a law making it criminal offence for employers to continue the long-established custom of paying their workers partly in cash and partly in vodka.

Russian factory towns thereby became "Westernised" in the manner of early American mining centres: on payday the workers took *all* their cash to the nearest saloon. But the negative social effects of unlimited drinking were beginning to cut into the profits of industry as a whole. About this time Russian and foreign capitalists began systematically exploiting the Czar's rich empire and the multimillioned Russian working class. They introduced modern production principles. As the mechanisation of industry progressed, ever greater demands were made on the skill and energy of the workers. A peasant stupefied by alcohol might continue to operate his farm to the satisfaction of an unprogressive landlord, but habitual drunkenness and all its associated evils quickly became a menace to the new factory system. Therefore toward the end of the last century there arose in Russia a powerful and determined temperance movement. This was sponsored not by the government or the church. Its backers were found in the ranks of the new industrialists.

They found a capable leader in Dr. Nikolai Grigorieff. In 1894 he began publishing the magazine *Messenger of Temperance*. His campaign was well organised. He opposed as immoral the increasing government participation in alcohol trade, that is, the Czar's constantly raised liquor taxes. Dr. Grigorieff attempted to expose the camouflage of "government control" and his propaganda was well financed.

But the campaign was a miserable failure. It broke on the stone wall of government liquor tax profits. In his day the Czar's revenue from alcohol taxation was soaring, just as it is in America, just as it has risen meteorically in Canada where stringent control and ever higher taxes have boosted liquor consumption.

Still, the tide of antialcohol agitation could not be stemmed. In 1898 a split occurred within the Czar's private circles. A powerful cousin, Prince Alexander, deserted the government on this issue. He set about the task of arousing the nobility. As for his motives, they were practical enough. He was a wealthy land-owner who had discovered that sober peasants, like sober factory workers, were profitable efficient producers. After studying the temperance programmes in other countries

he threw the weight of his prestige behind temperance education.

First, he unified all antiliquor groups into the great Temperance Association. With his own and friends' money he filled the association's treasury not with thousands but with millions of rubles, when the ruble was equivalent to half a dollar. Then he poured this cash in every direction.

The fountainhead of his campaign was the Alexis Public Temperance House in Moscow. Here at headquarters a large staff of trained workers planned and carried out the world's first scientific centre dedicated to education for temperance. In another building they collected a library of thousands of volumes. They set up chemical and physiological laboratories staffed by experts. They hired investigators, writers, lecturers, teachers. Here was the forerunner of our modern so-called research institutes dealing with the liquor problem; for example the newly established School of Alcohol Studies in Yale University, with its staff of physicians, physiologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, jurists, and clergymen, all ponderously studying how alcohol affects the human body and mind and social relations—as if any youngster with an alcoholic father couldn't give the professors all essential facts! Prince Alexander's Temperance Association collected a mass of both facts and fancies. And it did what the Yale School has not yet planned: it made these things available to millions in the most attractive way possible.

The Prince's educational activities were conducted on an enormous scale. He took over parks, gardens, recreation centres for young and old, huge restaurants, amusement places, and theatres. Many were operated free of charge. And while they stayed open they were highly popular, even though not a drop of liquor could be found there. At regular times the interested and attentive crowds were addressed by skilled lecturers who presented the scientific facts about alcoholism. Nineteen hundred and three, the peak year of this activity, saw two and a half million dollars spent in Moscow alone. Throughout the empire the association operated a total of 370 temperance theatres.

Results were absolutely zero.

Opposition to temperance activities reached a climax in 1905. That year, when political oppression was becoming unbearable, one of the most important and most brutal aristocrats in Russia, Grand Duke Sergius, Governor General of Moscow and uncle of the Czar, joined the Temperance Association. He brought in other members of the royal family. Among these converts was the Grand Duke Constantin, another uncle of the Emperor, who formed and took the presidency of the fake All-Russia Workers' Union of Christians. Constantin advocated total abolition of alcohol: prohibition. A more influential and better financed programme could not be imagined.

Popular reaction to all this—and to the ruthless industrial exploitation associated with it—was climaxed by the tossing of a well-made bomb into Grand Duke Sergius' lap. With this act of violence the Duke and his temperance campaign joined history's Humpty Dumpty's. All the lecturers and all the scientific facts about drinking couldn't put either together again.

It is interesting to see how government control contributed to this total failure of temperance education. When the state had taken over liquor sales in 1894 the clergy had blessed the new shops, and leading noblemen and industrialists had acted as bartenders for the opening day. Fifteen years after setting up this government retail monopoly—similar in many respects to the system operating in Canada now—consumption of legal vodka had risen from 44,000,000 to 250,000,000 gallons per year. In the period 1904-1913 the government's profits from retail liquor sales totalled 5,000,000,000 rubles! This figure means little unless we note that during the same period the total Russian state budget was only 20,000,000,000. When the First World War began, the Czar's government was actually deriving one-quarter of all its revenue from liquor sales. A comparable trend can already be seen in most Canadian provinces, where for years the budgets have been balanced largely by means of enormous liquor profits.

From the time intensive temperance education and government control of liquor was introduced in Russia, up to 1914, the consumption of vodka rose somewhat more than 500 per

cent. The economic burden of drinking had risen still further, with an ever greater fraction of the drinker's dollar going into alcohol taxes.

But the struggle against liquor continued. In this period a new organisation appeared: The Society for Fighting Alcohol in Public Schools. No other civilized country was burdened with so terrible an alcohol curse as Russia just prior to the First World War. The society conducted surveys all over the empire. In 1913 it published such facts as the czarist censorship permitted. For example, more than 80 per cent of school age Russian boys were habitual vodka drinkers; more than 60 per cent of the girls. In one school district of 5,700 pupils the society's investigators actually spoke to more than 2,500 youngsters who were partially or completely drunk! Under pressure of the factory owners the Moscow city council supported another survey; this disclosed that over 90 per cent of adult Muscovites were addicted to hard liquor.

This situation had developed gradually. Already in 1906 the Imperial Counsellor, Nicholas de Cramer, had seen the fallacies in the temperance campaign. In his official report to the Czar he stated: "It is a grave error to think that amusement and recreation will win people away from drinking, and that drunkenness can be checked by theatrical performances or park concerts." De Cramer's recommendations were superficial. But he did see that the association's unlimited temperance propaganda was being read and accepted only by those people who read and accepted such literature in our countries today—the confirmed teetotalers. The drinkers threw it away, enjoyed all the free food and amusements Prince Alexander provided, and bought more vodka with the money they saved. By 1910 there were seven government liquor shops for every temperance committee in the land.

That year, despite repression, the antiliquor organisations succeeded in calling an All-Russian Congress to combat the Drinking Evil. This convention was supported by trade-unions, which raised the social and economic issues involved. They pressured the Parliament (Duma) for legislation to limit the hours of sale in government shops and to enforce more strictly the regulations. But all that transpired from this was

a bill to reduce the strength of vodka from 50 to 37 per cent alcohol. And it was not passed.

Four years later the problem became an issue of highest import to the czarist state. The imperial court had determined on a policy of military alliance with England and France. Faced with the task of arming with modern equipment a force of many millions, the Czar had no alternative but to do business with the industrialists.

In regard to liquor they were adamant. The state must lessen its dependency upon liquor taxes, and the sale of vodka must be slashed.

Therefore in January, 1914, the Czar declared against any increase in revenue from alcohol. That year war flamed across the eastern front. Drinking was no grave menace in the trenches, but in the factories and villages it sabotaged production. The industrialists delivered a fresh ultimatum to the court.

The toper's zero hour had struck. With autocratic and highly dramatic suddenness the Czar proclaimed throughout all Russia a state of total compulsory prohibition. His Imperial Highness declared that from the morning of July 1, 1916, it would be a serious crime against his sacred person to manufacture or sell vodka and beer; the sale of wine was left optional with the administrators of each region.

This edict came into effect so unexpectedly, and was enforced with such violence and completeness, that the nation was stunned.

There was no ceremony and a minimum of publicity. The dumbfounded populace watched while troops directed by the dreaded secret police rushed from one liquor establishment to the next, boarding them up and destroying all stock of alcohol. As for the distillers and brewers, they were paralysed. The noblest aristocrat dared not oppose an imperial decree. Squads of demotion troops marched on every distillery and brewery in the nation, poured all vodka and beer into the rivers, and then proceeded to destroy irreparably the manufacturing equipment. Within a matter of weeks the huge alcohol production capacity of czarist Russia was literally in ruins.

In such fashion was prohibition introduced absolutely, for the only time in history.

Popular reaction found almost no public expression. Prohibitionists and drinkers alike were silenced by the drastic efficiency of the Czar's action. A hundred and sixty million people remained silent and sober.

Agitation for the Eighteenth Amendment in America was inspired by an undeniable fact: at one stroke the Czar had cured practically every last case of D.T.'s in his vast domain. The thought of millions upon millions of gallons of Demon Rum gushing down the Russian sewers moved some commentators to a pitch of hysterical delight. Ammunition for their propaganda was not hard to find. The Czar had not legislated for temperance. He had simply obliterated liquor. All his subjects were sober by compulsion. For the last half of 1916 and the early months of 1917 the people of Russia did not drink. Millions of adults and children who had been downing pints or quarts of 40 per cent alcohol almost every day were, quite understandably, much improved in health when vodka disappeared down the drain.

Prohibition, as such, worked.

In fact it worked for about nine months.

And then came the awakening. Tens of millions of Russians suddenly developed a terrible thirst. Their armies were being cut to ribbons in the field. Starvation and disease shadowed the land, despair infested the whole empire. Everyone longed for escape, and their thoughts unanimously turned to the bottle.

They found it. With suddenness matched only by the Czar's prohibition edict Russia was engulfed by vodka. Bootleg liquor. The peasants planted potatoes instead of grain, mashed them, got them fermented by any filthy means they could, and set up their tickling stills. In the path of the German invaders the farmers converted their grain stocks into alcohol, a concentrated and easily transported form of cash. This bootleg vodka sold in the cities and among the troops as fast as it could be produced. Nothing that happened in America during the bootleg era even approached the mass

moonshining activities of the Russians. Within a few months the Czar's realm was literally soaking in illicit alcohol.

Most of this stuff was to some degree poisonous, often dangerously so. Millions of Russians learned the hard way that while the purest liquor may be extremely harmful to some people, bootleg alcohol, produced without chemical supervision, sooner or later will ruin the toughest constitution. The poisonous effect of such liquor is not due to its alcohol content at all, but is the result of foreign chemicals produced by filthy mash, uncontrolled fermentation, improper distillation, and so on.

Total prohibition had another notable effect. Since no vodka could be sold openly, the tea shops and disorderly houses were turned into speakeasies. All forms of vice thrived on this undercover sales system. Frightful penalties were prescribed for the sale, purchase or consumption of liquor, and these the most hardened police officer could rarely bring himself to invoke.

Thus the fantastic scheme of total prohibition, enforced with bayonets, came to its inglorious end.

A Russian Protestant clergyman, the Reverend Prokhonoff, president of the All-Russia Union of Evangelical Christians, described the situation on his arrival in the United States: "Under prohibition, instead of having one drunkard in the average home, as was the case under the previous system, every house became a distillery and a saloon. Men and women everywhere made vodka in open violation of the law. People went to bed drunk, drank at breakfast, went to work and came to church in a tipsy state. Mothers served vodka at mealtimes to their children."

THE CHEAPEST LIQUOR IN THE WORLD

ESPECIALLY in the countryside the consumption of illicit vodka rose alarmingly after the Revolution of 1917. To the ordinary effect of drinking on a mass scale was added the more

serious menace of poisonous homebrew. And when millions of peasant households turned to vodka making the resulting diversion of grain from the food market further intensified Russia's famine.

The Soviet authorities could take only one action: legalize the manufacture of vodka from potatoes. They formally abolished prohibition and permitted the reconstruction of the large distilleries. This was in reality an emergency health measure: to drive poisonous liquor from the market and to avert starvation.

Lenin, Stalin, and other leaders of the new regime personally reviewed all other legislative measures which might have been undertaken.

Their government had at its disposal the vast accumulation of facts, surveys, and these were turned over to committees of scientists and politicians working with the Commissariat of Public Health, with an urgent appeal for constructive suggestions.

Five major theories of liquor control were extracted from the mountain of conflicting ideas. Each one of these programmes has ardent supporters in our countries today, so it is worth briefly noting them.

1. Prohibition. This had been tried by the Czar with a thoroughness the Soviet government would not and could not emulate. It had failed more completely than the American experiment then in progress. Apart from its futility, prohibition was foreign to Soviet morality, which sought to convince rather than to compel.

2. Education of the people. Here the Soviets studied Prince Alexander's campaign, which had been without apparent effect. They saw that such education was obsessed with the individual, it made a purely selfish appeal. People drink for personal satisfaction. Is it not hopeless to attempt education for temperance by appealing to this motive in reverse, to the selfish satisfaction derived from improved health? Whatever the cause, history had proved that education of itself could not achieve national sobriety.

3. Religion. In the organisation Alcoholics Anonymous we have today an attempt to solve the liquor problem by means

of religious experience. This is undoubtedly effective for certain psychological types. But the Soviet regime could not support such a plan if only for the reason that the all-powerful Orthodox Church at that time was itself corrupted by innumerable liquor-addicted village priests.

4. Psychiatry. The use of psychological therapy could not be considered because there were not enough psychiatrists in the whole world to treat the chronic drunkards of Moscow alone. From a practical point of view, psychiatry as a cure for alcoholism must be classed along with religion. It works for a few, and its advocates claim that it would work for all if only we would apply it. But no one has ever suggested how psychiatry can be applied to millions. Furthermore the Soviet experts did not, for commonsense reasons, believe that Russia was cursed with several tens of millions of psychopathic people. They felt that alcoholism must have some cause other than disturbance of mind and personality.

5. Government control. Here again the Soviets had every sort of mass-applied experiment to study. All the sales control methods attempted by the Czars had in the end boosted alcohol consumption, until it had reached a record peak of one and two-fifth gallons for each inhabitant each year. The Soviet experts concluded that government control is powerless to achieve anything but a constant increase in drinking.

It is interesting to see how this deduction has proved true in Canada. After many years of an efficient and uncorrupt system of provincial government control, the consumption of alcohol in the Dominion has soared. In 1941, before the wartime rationing became severe, Canada was hardly regarded as a nation of especially heavy drinkers. Yet the fact remains that in 1941 Canadians drank almost 12,000,000 gallons of alcohol—hard liquor, beer, and wine—an average of well over one gallon per inhabitant: wartime rationing had no permanent effect, for after it was abolished the consumption of alcohol rose more than 100 per cent over the 1941 level, and the number of court convictions for drunkenness (that is, intoxication in public, with the drunken person giving some cause for arrest other than mere tipsiness) rose 40 per cent for men and nearly 60 per cent for women. And yet drinking in Canada

nowhere reaches the level of drinking in the United States. As a whole, the North American continent is approaching, and perhaps already has reached, a liquor consumption rate equal to that of Czarist Russia at its wettest.

Following their survey, the Soviet authorities re-examined the broad problem of drinking. One cannot find a more concise expression of the basic conclusion than in the once famous but long disregarded words of Frances Willard, the foundress and lifetime president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union: "More people drink because they are miserable than are made miserable because they drink."

Here is the ultimate truth about alcohol. Tragically, for all their good intentions, the members of the WCTU have for decades obscured this mightily potent fact. Frances Willard swept aside all the confusion and complexities of psychiatry, the religious approach, education and control, and penetrated to the heart of the liquor problem. That problem is social, economic. People drink because they are frustrated, their lives are wretched and unsatisfying. It is useless to preach or teach or force abstinence without first creating, for the vast majority, conditions of life in which addiction to liquor is unnecessary, just as sexual morality can never be achieved while economic forces drive both men and women to prostitution.

The masses of czarist Russia had turned to liquor because of their altogether unendurable misery. In a programme of universal betterment the Soviet students of alcoholism saw the only possible hope of release.

Their second basic conclusion was that if the individual drinks because of social conditions, the nation is encouraged to drink because of enormous government revenue from liquor taxation.

What practical results followed?

As in the case of divorce and abortion, the first temperance efforts of the Soviet government appeared contradictory. In 1926 the Soviet authorities made a sensational announcement.

They had determined to drive every bootlegger permanently out of business, and at the same time to abolish liquor taxation. This was accomplished overnight. Not as the Czar had done, with the aid of troops, but by the ridiculously simple

step of wiping out alcohol taxes and reducing retail vodka prices to the level of approximately sixty-five cents a quart!

The drinking public was bewildered. When announcing this decision the press published details of czarist participation in the liquor trade, showing that fantastic sums had been paid to the former government. The impact of this revelation had been shrewdly foreseen. Drinkers and non-drinkers were profoundly impressed. They saw that henceforth their government intended to make no profit whatever from taxation of vodka; a small profit derived from retail liquor sales would be turned over to the public health and education authorities for the coming national campaign against alcoholism.

Public curiosity was intense. On the day of the startling price reduction there was, naturally, an unofficial national holiday.

Vast quantities of the new cheap high-quality government vodka were sold. But from that day forward the bootleggers and illicit distillers went bankrupt.

As soon as the first wave of enthusiastic celebration had passed, the authorities announced more regulations. Liquor would no longer be on sale near factories, nor on holidays and paydays. The militia would enforce severe penalties for the sale of alcohol to juveniles or drunken persons.

Quite another variety of advertising was then launched across the USSR. This was a scientifically prepared campaign against drinking. It differed in principle from the efforts of the Temperance Association in that it made only occasional reference to the purely personal effect of drinking.

As for the "scientific facts" about alcohol, these were presented without evasion or exaggeration.

Alcohol, the Soviet physiologists stated, is no more or less than a mild narcotic drug. It relaxes and is occasionally beneficial because it acts as an anesthetic, depressing the brain and central nervous system. When used moderately it simply impairs the efficiency of the drinker. Habitual drinking reduces the oxygen-carrying capacity of the blood and may seriously derange metabolism. There is a definite relationship between alcohol addiction and a number of disabling mental disorders. Finally, excessive drinking renders most people

susceptible to fatigue, accidents, and frequent illness. In summary the verdict presented to the Russian people stated that drinking is unnecessary, has no beneficial effect upon the body or mind, and while it obviously affects different individuals in very different ways it improves no one in any way.

The manner in which these facts were brought home to the public was entirely novel. Theatres and movies were widely used. With plays and screen shows the Russians were given the facts about alcohol in terms of everyday life activities, directly related to the great new Soviet plans for building a powerful industrial and agricultural nation. In vividly dramatic form the children, youth, and grownups were shown how drinking affects those who are building the future—the locomotive drivers, the men and women handling trucks, machines, the engineers designing new power plants, the students in the universities, and the miners hewing coal.

In these stories the drinker was never criticised for making himself miserable. He or she was portrayed as a rather stupid person who had to be shown how wonderful life can be when one is participating in the creation of a new society. No one was commanded not to drink. The drinker appeared not as a sinner but as a quite ridiculous social offender.

This official attitude did not apply to the habitual drunkard. For him the Soviet antiliquor plan had something more effective in store. While he could not be regarded as a criminal he was a serious impediment to national welfare. And with vodka selling at sixty-five cents a quart he was not likely to be often in a mood receptive to ideas about the nation's well-being.

The methods taken to impress temperance on such people were similar to those adopted in combating prostitution. The authorities established antialcoholic stations in all centres where drunkenness was a problem. Anyone found drunk was taken to such a station by the police or by antivodka organisers. There the offender was given a bath, examined by a doctor, put to bed, and allowed to sober up for a day or two.

After this considerate treatment the drunk's name, address, and place of employment were taken. He was then discharged. A full report was sent to his trade-union. With-

in a short time a special committee set up to handle such cases welcomed the toper back to his job, greeting him with a large poster that displayed his photograph (or a witty cartoon), his name, plus a lurid description of his bout with the bottle. Second and further offences increased the severity of this public condemnation. The unions and other public bodies undertook to enforce strong disciplinary action against those repeatedly hauled to the antialcoholic stations.

This scheme proved far more effective than all the temperance leaflets that had ever been distributed among drinkers. It gave the drunk far more to worry about than the prospect of a hangover or a quarrel at home. To be shamed before his friends, to be exposed as a person retarding the nation's advance toward a better life, proved in practice to be a means of reformation that worked cures on a mass scale.

Within a few years this campaign had gone far toward eliminating drunkenness, and had weeded out the truly psychopathic drinkers. These were found to be less than 1 per cent of the vodka addicts. They were referred to properly equipped alcoholism prophylactoriums where they were quarantined and given the necessary physical and mental help. But for the great majority of boozers there was nothing more than a quick trip to the nearest antialcoholic station, with benefit of full publicity on the morning after.

Certain other aspects of the Soviet temperance programme appeared at first sight to defeat their aims. For example, the government energetically campaigned to increase the consumption of liquor in restaurants and other eating places. This decision was reached by psychologists seeking to eliminate the causes of addiction to alcohol. The apparent backward step of encouraging drinking with meals was taken for the primary reason that such drinking is less harmful than drinking in taverns, bars, and other establishments where liquor only is served. Furthermore, long experience with government control and prohibition had shown that drinking without food is associated with poverty. It concentrates attention upon alcohol, leads to increased consumption and addiction. It forces people to choose between liquor and food, with food most often losing out.

Even more important is the effect of the surroundings. Under Soviet regulations the serving of liquor in pleasant, well-managed family restaurants markedly improved the behaviour and habits of drinkers. They drank less because they were eating. They learned to remain sober in the company of women, children, and young people. By formally encouraging liquor in such places the Soviet authorities quickly achieved their opposite intention: drinking decreased, very sharply.

What are the actual conditions in the Soviet Union today, some 20 years after this policy became fully effective? The author paid close attention to this aspect of Soviet life when he visited that country. Herewith part of a report on this question, made by the author with his wife:

Stories spread in Canada during the war pictured Soviet people as heavy drinkers. As guests in the Soviet Union, we had an opportunity to check on this every day and night we were there.

We observed the people with us, around us, on the streets, in private homes, everywhere we went.

Soviet people are very hospitable. Many dinners, luncheons, cocktail parties and two banquets were held for us, all the way from a little farm village to the National Hotel in Moscow. At every one of these functions liquor was served . . . usually beer, wines and vodka.

We had been told that it was considered insulting for guests not to drink vodka when a toast was made at a Soviet table. We gave our hosts no indication whatever of our own attitude towards drinking. And what did we find?

In *most cases* the very people who made the toasts did so *with glasses of water or a fruit drink*. In other cases, as the waiter or waitress came with an assortment of drinks, many people would indicate very definitely that they drank only beer or wine.

In *every case* it was considered *perfectly natural*, if we and Soviet guests asked for the glasses to be filled only with water or a non-alcoholic drink.

We ate in many hotels, restaurants, cafeterias and similar places. In about half of these liquor was served. We must

have seen thousands of Soviet people, of every type, eating and drinking. *Never once*, at meals or in the streets, did we see a person drunk. We were told that drunkenness does occur. Obviously it must be on a very much smaller scale than in Canada.

What about beverage rooms, and taverns and bars? We asked our companions, early in our stay, to show us places where liquor alone is served and where liquor is the main "commodity". Nobody seemed to know where they were.

"There are such places," we were told. "If we should pass one, we'll show you."

Down in Kiev we asked a taxi-driver. He scratched his head. "There is one, I think," he said. "There used to be lots. People don't go to them any more."

Next morning he suddenly pulled to the curb on a side street, and there was a Soviet drinking place. It was very unattractive. Like a run-down "Fish and chip" store in Canada.

It had four tables. At 9-35 in the evening *one man* was sitting in the place, drinking vodka. He looked as if he was going to get tight, but he was getting no encouragement from the frowning clerk.

We saw no evidence of any big campaign against alcohol. But there is educational propaganda against drinking vodka. Especially among the youth. A high percentage of people in their 20's and 30's take a drink only on very special occasions, and many never touch alcohol.

Their attitude is not that of "Crusaders" in Canada. They simply say "No thanks!" when offered a drink, just as a person here will say, "I don't smoke, thank you."

We've already pointed out the Soviet divorce rates are very low today, and crime is decreasing. One month was too little time for us to investigate morality in general. We did keep our eyes open, and had some talks about this subject.

Our conclusion is emphatic: we believe the morality of people in the Socialist world is incomparably better than in Canada and the United States, and we are convinced that any impartial doctor, clergyman, social worker or jurist would arrive at the same conclusion.

As far as we could see, the reasons for this situation are

somewhat similar to the reasons for lack of drunkenness and universal smoking. But we would like to be more specific.

Socialism has done away with the profit motive. Making private profit from the labour of others is immoral and criminal over there.

This fact has swept away, at one stroke, all possibilities of making money out of the immoral impulses of human beings.

Is this statement surprising, or unacceptable, to you? We can only say that personal observation of life in the Socialist world give irrefutable evidence that this statement is correct.

For example: no Soviet advertisements, illustrations, books, magazines, plays or movies have "sexy" content, because there is *no profit motive* leading anyone to use such content. There is no advertising racket, as in North America, reaping hundreds of millions in profits by selling inferior goods through appeal to immoral impulses. There is no industry, no merchandising business, making profit for individuals or corporations, hence there is no need whatsoever to make or sell goods which the public must be induced to buy.

And when immorality, indecency and all "sexy" matters are *no longer given any publicity*, the whole population is relieved of the tremendous "immoral pressure" which is constantly exerted on children, youth and adults in capitalist countries.

One effect of this, immediately noticeable to alert visitors, is that youth and grown-ups over there are remarkably *free from worry* about sex and similar problems.

COURTS FOR THE DEFENCE OF CHILDREN

"THOU shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal."

The struggle against crime is older than the Ten Commandments. For ages the record of this struggle was one of unremitting failure. With the rise of science in modern times.

and its systematic probing of all important mysteries, crime has been subjected to close scrutiny. As early as 1936 the Belgian investigator A. Quetelet wrote the first scientific study of criminal statistics: "Man and the Development of His Faculties" (in *Essai de Physique Social*, Brussels). Said he :

"Society bears in its womb the embryo of every crime that will be committed, because it creates the conditions which stimulate crime; it prepares for crime, so to speak, while the criminal is merely the tool. Consequently, every state of society presupposes a certain number and character of criminals as a necessary consequence of its organisation."

This statement Quetelet recognised as revolutionary. He hastened to add: "This observation, which at first sight might seem to be fraught with gloom, is, however, on closer examination, full of bright promise. For it points out the possibility of improving mankind by changing its institutions, habits, education, and everything else that influences its way of life."

Quetelet and the criminalologists who followed him were lamentably incapable of suggesting any of the changes that might improve mankind. And like Frances Willard's memorable summary of the liquor problem, Quetelet's indictment of society as the breeder of criminals has ever since been accepted only to be ignored. Almost the whole attention of experts in law and crime has been centred not upon the cause but upon the punishment of evil-doing.

For more than a hundred years science has affirmed that society, not the individual, is primarily responsible for crime. But during all this time our laws have faced the other way, holding the individual to blame and believing that punishment is the magic formula that will teach the criminal not to repeat his lawbreaking.

Of course punishment is futile. Our lawmakers tacitly recognised this by decreasing the severity of punishments meted out for most crimes; we have advanced greatly since the days when men and women were hanged for stealing a rabbit or lashed to death for going insane. Nevertheless we persist in taking the contradictory attitude that while crime has social causes it can be eliminated or reduced by punishing the

criminal, in spite of the fact that most crime is increasing and new crimes are always appearing.

This approach was carried to ultimate lengths by the Nazis. Freisler, of the German Ministry of Justice, expressed the purpose of Hitlerite criminology: "To make the punishment so drastic that no one will ever want to taste prison life again." This is a return to the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It is abhorrent to civilised persons. But a few days spent in a police court will prove that our laws are, in the main, still based on punishment and vengeance. Christ's warning to "Judge not, that ye be not judged" is wholly ignored.

Our so-called "scientific" schools of criminology are more humane but hardly less futile. In the last fifty years we have seen many studies on the psychiatry of the criminal. Some pay lip service to the social origins of illegal behaviour, but the approach is usually individualistic, pointing to psycho-analysis or treatment of the endocrine glands, or modernised penitentiaries as the way out. The medical criminologist strives to restore a criminal to health while ignoring the cause of his illness, a procedure no less unscientific than sending a prostitute cured of V. D. back to the streets.

All that we have noted regarding the approach of Czarism to vice and liquor was duplicated in Russia's pre-revolutionary handling of crime. The favourite punishments meted out by Russian courts were banishment to Siberian labour camps and solitary confinement in medieval dungeons, with lashing and other forms of torture widely used. The theory that punishment is a deterrent for crime was disproved by every policeman, judge, lawyer, and prison guard in the empire, but they responded by intensifying the punishments.

Particularly ruthless were czarist attacks upon juvenile delinquents in the twenty years preceding the Revolution. In that time the number of criminals between the ages of ten and seventeen almost doubled. There were armies of vagabond, thieving, drinking, diseased, and vice-ridden children. The rise of violent robbery, murder was alarming.

After the Revolution, because of the general emergency a systematic attack on crime was not organised until 1922. In

that year the first Soviet criminal code was published. This legal system was based on the scientific conception of crime and society. A. Vishinsky, Procurator (Attorney General) of the USSR, has expressed this attitude as follows :

“Mass poverty, the huge army of unemployed, the corruption of privileged circles of society, and the speculative frenzy of petty merchants and fly-by-night stock-brokers, with the thousands upon thousands of criminal manipulations, forgeries, and frauds to which they lead—these are the hotbeds that breed crime, responsibility for which must be laid at the door of the very system of social relations under which private property reigns supreme and innumerable vices and abuses are practised with impunity.”

The Soviet criminal code was unlike any other published since the days of the Roman lawgivers, in that it was formulated for a new system of social relations. This system regarded private property—with the exception of one's personal belongings—with no particular respect. The accumulation of much property, of wealth, was in fact regarded as practically immoral. Consequently the criminal code was concerned not with punishing the thief, the forger and the criminal manipulator, but with explaining to them that there were no longer privileged circles in which “legal” crime would be practised with impunity. In the USSR the change was actually taking place, the very purpose of life was being transformed from a battle for selfish, personal, monetary gain into a striving for national prosperity. The hotbeds of crime were ploughed under.

Taking the index of Soviet criminal court cases in 1923 at 100, in 1926 this had fallen to 63. In 1929 it was 60. Four out of ten crimes eliminated in six years.

Even so, Soviet criminologists date the start of their effective struggle against crime from 1930. Then the rapid socialisation of industry and collectivisation of farms brought about marked changes in Soviet criminal law. For several years there had been an increase in thefts of socialist (public) property, amounting to over half of all prosecutions. An intensive campaign reduced such offences by 60 per cent within five

years. At the same time crime of all kinds, over the entire USSR decreased by almost one-third.

How was this accomplished? By methods so closely paralleling those employed in the struggle against vice and alcohol that we shall not detail them here. The actual treatment given to criminals in the Soviet Union has been described by many foreign writers. It is tersely summarised by Procurator Vishinsky :

"Those criminals who, in capitalist countries, would be treated as outcasts, as the scum of society, are in the Soviet Union encouraged to take part in the economic development of the country and thus become in time active builders of socialism. The building of the White Sea-Baltic Canal and the Moscow-Volga Canal was of vast educational value for hundreds of criminals employed on these projects. It changed their whole outlook on life and brought them to earn their livelihood by honest toil."

The recent remarkable decrease in crime in the USSR was highlighted by an event that took place shortly before the Second World War. Near Moscow there had been in operation for many years a famous institution for the rebuilding of criminals, known as the Bolshevo Colony. This resembled in many ways the prophylactorium-factories established for immoral women. It had been visited by thousands of tourists. Its activity gradually expanded, and the economic and cultural life of the colony became so attractive that by 1939 the number of "graduates" who insisted on marrying and establishing permanent homes there far exceeded the number of new inmates being sentenced by the courts. As a result the authorities were required to liquidate the correctional features of Bolshevo. It ceased to be an institution and was re-established as an open community of respectable citizens. All who have read Warden Lawes' book on the American penitentiary system, *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing*, will appreciate the vast difference between our unavailing struggle against crime and the practical success of the Soviets, signalled by the transition of Bolshevo from a prison to a free community.

There are still many prisons in the Soviet Union. The significant fact is that they are fewer in number than ever

before, and the criminal courts have fewer cases each year. Possibly, for us, the most compelling fact about Soviet crime is the startling reduction in misbehaviour among youngsters. After some fifteen years of experiment the handling of youthful Russian offenders was radically changed in 1935, and there followed a 22 per cent drop in delinquency within eighteen months after the system came into force. Today, some 15 years later (including a four year period of war in which millions of children suffered physically and mentally, huge numbers of them also being orphaned) the author can personally vouch for the virtual elimination, in the Soviet Union, of juvenile delinquency as we know it. The author and his wife repeatedly, in many cities and rural areas, questioned Soviet citizens regarding juvenile crime and court cases. The responses were almost identical everywhere. "We have very few child delinquents nowadays. Cases of mischief, of course, and sometimes a 'problem child' who has to be given special care or training. But young criminals have become rare with us." Why this is so must be obvious to any close observer of Soviet life today.

We haven't travelled all over the world. But we can say that children in the Socialist land have a happier, healthier life than anywhere else we've been. Soviet kids aren't "little angels." They are normal youngsters who, without exception, have two great advantages in life. First, they never go without proper food and medical care. Second, they get marvellous opportunities to satisfy childhood's need for play and constructive training:

They don't play in the streets because they have truly wonderful playgrounds. Just one example: Soviet children not only ride on little trains, but they run their own railways that have real steam locomotives. We could hardly tear ourselves away from the children's railway at Stalingrad, with its beautiful engine and string of real cars.

Soviet kids don't imitate gangsters, stool-pigeons and Yankee cops, because they find it's much more fun to imitate decent human beings. Besides their own railways they have their own theatres, newspapers, magazines, river boats, laboratories, gardens, amusement parks and almost anything you could name that interests growing children.

Education is a very important part of Soviet life. We'll deal with it more fully in a chapter on Youth. Here are some observations we made of grade-schools there:

Soviet schools have more teachers than ours have.

Good discipline in schools, children respect teachers, but also have surprising affection for them.

Physical punishment is absolutely forbidden.

Teachers are not over-worked, all belong to powerful union, get overtime pay for work after school.

More science is taught, and even lower grades have fine equipment.

Children are encouraged to "prove it themselves," and many schools have beautiful orchards, flower gardens, live animals, fish. Children do more class work and home study in groups, have strong "team spirit".

Health of children remarkably well protected. Big schools have own full-time doctor, dentist, nurse. Children examined at least four times a year.

Every sickness or defect must be treated, at home or in clinic, hospital or children's sanatorium. All medical care free.

Children needing special foods get them in school dining room, free.

Most parents pay for school meals, which are very low priced.

Menus amazed us: at several schools children had choice of different salads, soups, desserts, etc.

If for any reason parents' income is low, children get free school meals. Not regarded as charity, but as child's right.

Our papers often carry statements by leading church people and social workers, warning about the terrible effects of Hollywood movies, shameless sex advertisements, sex crime reports in newspapers and the filthy books flooding our country from the United States. They say "something should be done." In the Soviet Union there is no such problem. People over there, from top authorities down to the masses of people, regard such use of sex as a crime. They would not tolerate it.

One thing that strikes you very forcibly in the land of socialism is the complete absence of all indecent pictures, signs, movies and books. This is not because the people are "prudes".

It is because sex can't be used there as a means to sell cheap, poor-quality goods, as it is over here. Also, because the population has a healthy attitude towards sex. With them, sex is the private affair of two human beings in love, not something to be exploited in selling second-rate clothing, semi-poisonous soft drinks or movies acted and written by the morons of Hollywood.

Soviet children grow up in a world free from demoralising influences. They read "comics" that are funny (as ours used to be) not filled with undressed women and vicious mobsters. They see movies and read books that excite in them all the emotions of healthy, happy childhood. They live in a society that discourages divorce and puts very strong emphasis on the moral values and happiness of lasting marriage based upon love.

The contrast with America today is only too obvious. In 1938 the United States had the highest crime rate in the Western world. By 1943 there were 1,300,000 serious crimes on record in the U.S.A. each year, including a murder every 53 minutes. Six million Americans have criminal records on file with the F.B.I. and since the war crime among young girls has increased more than 130 per cent!

One important factor in this horrifying degeneration of the youth is America's so-called "culture". In May, 1951, the *American Television Magazine* surveyed the T-V shows given to the public in just one city, Los Angeles, in just one week. Here is what the citizens of the Land of Hollywood Culture saw on their screens: 127 murders, 101 "justifiable murders", 357 attempted murders, 93 kidnappings and 3 torture scenes, all in seven days! And over 80 per cent of this gruesome "entertainment" was presented especially for children.

The contrast in the U.S.S.R. today is overwhelming. The Soviet Union is a land of happy children, but in the Children's Theatre you see real happiness at its best. The youngsters respond with really shattering applause! They boo the villains and cheer the hero. Several times they "stopped the play" with applause for an actor or actress who did a particular scene excellently.

Their enthusiasm was similar to that of our own children, seeing a movie. Still, there was a marked difference in their response, and in what they were seeing. In the Children's Theatre they see great dramas, works of art. Their favourite plays show characters and events taken from real life, not the fantastic and usually vicious things portrayed in American movies. Soviet youngsters, we found, are very critical. They demand honest, true-to-life acting. They are quick to spot corny acting or faked emotions. If they were shown the kind of Western or crime-thriller Hollywood serves up to our children, we can well imagine they'd boo it off the screen.

From the time they are very young, in kindergarten, Soviet youngsters see stage plays. In school most of them have a keen interest in literature because they can see the best dramas of all countries in real life, in theatres. By the time they reach their 'teens, Soviet children have surprisingly mature, cultured tastes, and a well-developed judgment of what is right and what is wrong.

"IF THERE BE ANY VIRTUE"

WHY do people sin?

Let us be specific, and ask: Why do people conduct themselves in such fashion as to cause grievous physical or mental suffering to themselves, their immediate families, society as a whole? To be even more pointed: Why are men and women promiscuous? And we are not speaking of isolated, rare promiscuity, but of promiscuous sexual relations on a mass scale, symbolised today by that figure of fifty million prophylactics a month.

In this sense, then, why do people "sin"?

The answer swells like a chorus in which all the singers are discordantly chanting different tunes. There is promiscuity, one authority says, because men and women refuse to

listen to the warnings of conscience. Must we wait until science develops an amplifier for that still small voice? But this is an insult to the Almighty, others protest, for God alone can tell us what is right or wrong. Alas, millions of people in feudal times were convinced by their spiritual leaders that it was all right for great numbers of women to be prostitutes, and all wrong for good women to love. Do God's moral laws change as men alter their social systems?

Believing this to be blasphemous, other philosophers warn us against blaming the Almighty for the false teachings of those who profess to be his prophets. We could waste page after page with such arguments. In the Middle Ages learned men used to discuss quite seriously the problem of "How many angels can stand on the point of a needle?" Now our philosophers and even some of our scientists are growing fond of asking, "Why do people sin?" The medieval debates may have been more interesting and useful. Perhaps they started some men thinking about the fundamentals of flying, the problems encountered by angels in making difficult landings and take-offs on a needle, the value of retractable halos and similar practical matters!

But there is nothing amusing about promiscuity and venereal disease today.

If you are a clergyman, a doctor, a lawyer, especially if you are a parent, it is your duty to understand the trend of events in our countries.

At the present moment, alcohol addiction here is a cause of psychopathic sickness on a mass scale. Absolutely nothing is being done about it, because alcoholism is the one serious widespread disease from which our governments make enormous profits.

Even before this continent felt the full impact of war, abortions were killing two babies for every five that were born. Most doctors will admit that the rate is now higher. It is hard to grasp the enormity of this slaughter. While you read this paragraph, someone is performing such an operation. The Nazis never succeeded in murdering as many European children as are now being secretly put to death in our countries each year by illegal operations.

In addition to this, it has been revealed by Dr. Halbert L. Dunn, chief of the Vital Statistics Division, United States Bureau of the Census, that one out of every twelve children born in America is illegitimate. This means that about 170,000 youngsters are entering the first grade at school each year, without being able to give their fathers' names. Legally they have no fathers. They have no family. At every turn throughout their whole lives they face exposure and shame. The tragedy of this ever-multiplying army of innocent children is so painful that Dr. Dunn calls for legal steps to aid in hiding the unfortunate birth records from society. But he offers no hope that the nation can reduce the number of fatherless boys and girls.

Our divorce rate is increasing at such speed that already millions are married to someone else's former wife or husband. Hundreds of thousands of children suffer the heartbreak of divided love. While the Church remains unalterably opposed to divorce it is powerless to halt the increase; and the legal profession generally is striving for more liberal divorce laws in the practical interests of preserving some respect for the legal formality of marriage.

Meanwhile, medical research is fast moving toward the objective of making sexual promiscuity free of all physical dangers by perfecting drugs which will make possible unlimited contacts without contracting disease or bearing children.

Venereal disease, alcoholism, illegitimacy, abortion, divorce, crime, and juvenile delinquency are increasing at an unprecedented rate. A gigantic moral crisis is taking monstrous shape before us, a spectre of mass immorality.

Since these lines were written, developments in the United States have fully borne out this sombre prediction. In 1951 and 1952 Washington was shaken by a growing number of revolting scandals. The situation became so serious that in November 1951 the Roman Catholic bishops of the U.S.A. issued a public warning that America faces a moral crisis as bad as that which featured the downfall of ancient Rome.

Said the magazine *U.S. News* the same week: "From one end of the country to the other. . . the evidence points to a widespread weakening of the American moral fiber." And

the columnist Dorothy Thompson said: "Corruption is nothing new in government. . . . what is unique is the dispersal of the rot through the entire system."

The contrast between this attitude and what prevails in the Soviet Union is distressing. There for the first time in history enormous numbers of people have been educated to regard sin not as the work of a supernatural devil but as a social evil which can only be done away with by definite, clearly understandable scientific procedures. With this approach the people of the USSR have won an unprecedented triumph over the gravest forms of immorality. Theirs is the only nation on earth where prostitution has vanished. Thus they have done what most of our philosophers, churchmen, and doctors still believe to be impossible.

Nowhere else in the world are jails and penitentiaries closing down. The USSR is the only land where murder by abortion is being wiped out, where divorce is rapidly decreasing, where the family is so respected that high honours are awarded for outstanding motherhood, where mental and moral health are so improved that alcoholism has become a medical rarity although liquor is sold without restriction.

Of course, the thought of learning from the Soviet Union how to restore national morality seems fantastic to many. Obsessed with the idea incessantly propagated by America—the idea that the "American way of life" is superior to all other forms of civilisation—millions in the capitalist world have been made blind to the elementary truth. One aspect of that truth was presented recently by a leading Catholic thinker, Count Michael de la Bedoyere, editor of the English journal *Catholic Record*.

He asks: "Just what is the worth of Christianity today in relation to the supreme crisis of the day?" Uneasily he says: "Somehow or other we must see new visions and kindle new aspirations." And later: "If Christianity cannot provide the required inspiration, communism will carry the masses off their feet. . . . the magnetic pole of Moscow is proving itself to be infinitely more potent than that of the Vatican or of Canterbury."

This is an astounding admission from a Roman Catholic

scholar. But is no more than a forthright statement of fact. What has happened in the world since 1946, when the U.S.A. Great Britain, France, Canada and other "advanced" countries began carrying through the programme of all-out preparations for war? In that time the prestige of the U.S.S.R., far from falling, has risen immeasurably in the eyes of hundreds of millions of people.

The author is tempted, as this book is being edited again in 1952, to make some observations on the momentous developments in Asia. But the situation there is so rapidly changing that any extensive comment might be out-dated quickly. It is enough, in this book, to draw attention to two important countries, literally "a world apart" in their customs, history and level of development.

First, Czechoslovakia, a typical "western" country with a tradition of democracy. Since Czechoslovakia took the road to Socialism, and followed a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, remarkable improvements have taken place in the nation's morality. Typical Socialist laws have been passed to govern the family, divorce, the welfare of mothers and children. Women in Czechoslovakia have advanced far towards true equality with men, and as in the Soviet Union. this historic change has notably strengthened the family. Divorce in that country is falling rapidly. Marriages are increasing even more rapidly, especially among young people, whose future is now secure. Enormous sums are being spent by the whole nation to ensure the well-being of mothers and children, and at the same time strengthen family ties. Visitors to Czechoslovakia today speak of an entirely new type of family becoming almost universal. Marriage is no longer a kind of "financial insurance" for Czech girls. The State guarantees work and a living wage to everyone, there is no impediment to marriage, and children are no longer looked upon as a financial burden.

Second: the People's Republic of China. Here, in less than three years, a veritable revolution has transformed the life of women by the tens of millions. For the first time in history the masses of Chinese women are going to school. The doors of higher education establishments are wide open to

them. They are entering all levels of government. They are taking jobs in industry by the hundreds of thousands, not as unskilled semi-slaves but as trained workers free to rise to the highest positions of administration. And as wives and mothers their position has been enormously improved: by the permanent abolition of hunger and famine, by vast networks of hospitals and nurseries, by new laws based on the principle of Socialist morality. All impartial observers of New China agree that never in history have the women of any nation so rapidly achieved emancipation.

And similar facts apply to other lands of People's Democracy: Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Albania. The historic development of Socialist morality, over a large part of the world, is taking place in close co-operation with the Soviet Union and is based on Soviet experience. Is it any wonder that the peoples of the Orient, the Middle East, Africa and South America—to say nothing of vast numbers in Europe—are turning to the Soviet Union for moral as well as political and economic inspirations? The essential lesson of this historic change in world prestige is worth grasping.

Let us read a quotation from a Soviet writer, the late Maxim Gorky. It expresses very clearly the Soviet attitude toward "wastrels".

"Wastrels is not a term of abuse. It is an exact definition of a man who is wasted to life. Under our Socialist conditions a wastrel is a creature who is profoundly and incurably infected with the diseases of the old system: envy and greed. The fundamental principle of the wastrel, his faith and spiritual life, can be summed up in the simple words: 'I want to fill my belly.' To him, the world is a place where people fill their bellies and where he wants to fill his belly with more food and more tasty food than others. His whole will power, his mind, everything he calls his spiritual urge, is directed toward this purely animal aim."

Such is the stinging criticism made by one of the greatest writers of all time. Shortly before he was murdered by fascist agents, Gorky wrote an even clearer passage:

"The fundamental difference between the capitalist world and our socialist world is that our guiding idea and our whole

economic practice resolutely denounce the exploitation of man by man, and ceaselessly and successfully train men to be rational exploiters of the powers of nature. Capitalism lives by the exploitation of man. In general it regards man as a being condemned to satisfy the idiocy of its lust for profits and to justify the power of gold."

The fact is that our social system, capitalist democracy, was founded on the power of gold. What we call Free Enterprise, our Profit System, extolls the virtue of man competing against his fellow man in order to derive personal gain at the expense of others. Our system has in the past paid off handsomely to those who, by nature or determination, were best equipped to compete most ruthlessly. The men and women who laboured hardest, the overwhelming majority of the people who produced all the material and cultural products of our society, usually received very slight rewards, while a small number of persons enjoyed fantastic luxury even in time of war or fearful depression.

Count Michael need have gone no further than this contradiction to discover why people in our countries are studying the Soviet Union with increasing sympathy. From childhood on we have been taught, as our fathers and grandfathers were taught, that success in life is to be measured by the accumulation of money, by consecrating one's life to Mammon. Virtues such as kindness, working for the good of others, self-sacrifice, honesty, and love for one's fellow man, these are rarities in our society. In fact they are possessed almost without exception by those very people whom we are taught to regard as failures.

In Sunday school we read the stern verdict of Jesus: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." That text has become old-fashioned perhaps. All week we hear envious respect paid to wealth. and the kingdom of God does not appear to worry the rich even on Sundays. Our industrial leaders, most of our politicians, and many of our churchmen, contradicting Christ Himself, strongly defend the struggle for wealth and condemn all who question the morality of such striving.

Today these people have abandoned all semblances of piety. Under the banner of the American atom-bomb they proclaim to the world that the morality of wealth is not only a blessing for America, but a model way of life which they intend to impose upon the rest of the unwilling world, by force if necessary, by the disaster of a third world war. In every corner of the earth where they can still rally forces for this "crusade", a blind worship of America and a brazen scorn of all decency features their relations with the people they seek to snare into their planned war.

In their unprincipled, limitless propaganda campaign against the Socialist world, the pro-Americans reveal one highly significant omission. Their outpourings of hate make use of all slanders except one. Past masters of deception though they are, they seem today unable even to accuse the Soviet nation of immorality, and this is no sign of honesty on their part. What then?

It is no longer possible for America to raise a charge of immorality against the Socialist nations. Not just because Socialist morality is a challenge to the whole capitalist world, but precisely because America today flaunts corruption, debauchery and indecency as America's way of life.

Never in history has the lust for wealth been so nakedly displayed, with graft reaching from the White House down to the lowliest tax-collector. Never before has prostitution and abortion reached such mass proportions. Never in any land has drunkenness, adultery, sex-perversion and murder been moulded into the daily entertainment, the very culture of the people as it is in the United States today. This is the America of the "Cold War." And, inevitably, as America's feverish war plans become more clearly revealed, so America's moral degeneration is rendered more revoltingly complete.

Einstein and many other scientists have told the world that in this age of atomic and biological weapons, war is the ultimate crime, the absolute immorality. It is no accident that the pro-Americans damn the Soviet people most fiercely because the USSR upholds the cause of universal peace. Peace is, indeed, the most dangerous word in America today.

From the small country newspapers up to the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*, peace is fearfully called America's worst enemy.

Of course peace is not the enemy of the American people, but only of the American war corporations, the pro-war politicians and the militarists. The present policy of American leaders is failing, because the great majority of mankind is coming to grasp that peace is the *only* way of life left open for the human race. (No system—Capitalism, Socialism, People's Democracy or any other—can live without peace. This is a scientific fact as real and inescapable as the facts of atomic explosions.

Peace, not war, is destined to win. And in the world-wide struggle for peace vast masses of people are becoming ever more repelled by American immorality, and ever more curious about all phases of Soviet life. The honest Americans themselves speak of their "moral crisis". But they remain oblivious of the fact that a frightening moral crisis faced the Russian people less than two generations ago. Then, Soviet youth challenged immorality with a banner the like of which no man had ever before dared to write and carry in the streets. It announced to the world: "We are mending the human race on scientific principles!"

Their scientists maintained :

— That when society is involved as with vice, delinquency, and alcoholism, sin is not a matter of personal conscience at all, but is the responsibility of the nation, exactly as are diseases like typhus and diphtheria.

— That history proves it is impossible to compel people, by laws or religion, to be good.

— That the fundamental reason why people sin is to be found in the circumstances under which they live, with poverty and joblessness, the major causes of socially harmful behaviour.

— That sexual immorality can be solved only by social measures that release the power of enduring human love, fulfilled in marriage and parenthood.

— That morals have repeatedly changed, that mankind is not at all sinful by nature, and that evil can be eradicated

when all people, including the nation's leaders, win the uplifting faith of a decent purpose in life, working to make life richer for all, rather than trampling on each other for selfish gain.

On this scientific foundation has arisen the edifice of Soviet morality. And the cornerstone of that moral structure today is the determination, the unshakeable resolve of 200 millions of Soviet people, to defend peace for all peoples of the whole world, regardless of nationality, color, religion, economic or political systems.

The time is past for hushing the truth, for idly preaching or bewailing human sinfulness. The wind of sin menacing our social system today is no more eternal than typhus. It is no more mysterious than malnutrition. It is no more the responsibility of individuals than is unemployment and poor health.

To many, this is a strange notion: that morality and peace are one. I remind you of the words spoken so long.

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

1593

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