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TOTALITARIAN EDUCATION

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A GENERATION ago the late Mr. H. G. Wells described our civilization as "a race between education and disaster". Were he alive today he might add that education itself, in some of its contemporary forms, is hastening on the disaster that he hoped to avoid.

Before I proceed further, let me define more clearly the nature of my subject. My declared theme is "totalitarian education". By "totalitarian" I mean typical of the total state, that modern political system that subordinates the individual citizen completely to the power and purposes of the state; and by "education" I mean the systematic training and development of the capacities of the individual. To illustrate the characteristics of totalitarian education I shall consider the pedagogical programs of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Here we shall see the total state in action on the educational front.

Over against the totalitarian system, moreover, we shall take as our more familiar standard the education of the liberal democracies of the West. Here, at the university level, we shall assume certain basic values, such as a desire for truth and a willingness to pursue it tirelessly to its lair; a judicial temper in facing matters of argument; a readiness to learn from every quarter; and an insistence on freedom of utterance for ourselves and others. Fundamental also are the recognition of moral imperatives, the loyal citizen's respect for law and order, and a deep sense of the worth of human beings in themselves.

The assumption of all these values in our day cannot be lightly made. Over a large part of the world in 1952 the foundations of custom, belief and sentiment have been broken up. Western man's common framework of *mores* and evaluations has been shattered. Out of the depths of the past three decades of cold and hot warfare there have crawled petrifying Gorgons of bestiality. Our generation has seen six million Jews destroyed in Nazi furnaces; it has seen an equal number of innocent Aryan victims battered and torn to death in the torture cellars of the Communist police; it has seen the lusts of millions of Soviet troops pastured for months on the helpless womanhood of East Central Europe; it has seen twenty million martyrs driven to skeleton deaths in the hell-camps of Siberia and the Arctic North; it has seen the populations of whole cities obliterated in an instant of atomic terror. The young people of such an age must feel that they live in a world of insecurity. The political currents of the time run strongly in the direction of revolutionary change. Technical invention seems to forecast unlimited supplies of creature comforts without work if only enough group pressure is applied. It would be surprising if our young men and young women were not deeply disquieted by such an epoch.

It is true, moreover, that our universities have not measured up fully to the challenges and opportunities of the time. The cause has been partly a failure to keep pace with its intellectual and social currents. An even greater cause has been the fragmentation of modern knowledge, with a minimum of interchange between discipline and discipline to give perspective to life. There has also been the increasing tendency to regard the college simply as a trade school in which to be trained for a profitable job. The attaining of powers of judgment and a hierarchy of moral, intellectual and esthetic values has all too often been missing entirely.

Nevertheless the tradition of liberal education has not been entirely lost among us. The mass society has not yet been able in the Western democracies to overwhelm entirely the academic ideals of free men in a free state. To see the light to which intellectual liberty can be reduced by socialized interference one needs rather to turn to the pedagogy of Hitler and Stalin.

The totalitarian leader seizes on the education of youth as the chief instrument for perpetuating his power. Hitler sought to set the stamp of his Nazi creed on Young Germany. As

he himself put it: "As long as Youth follows me, I don't mind if the old people limp to the confessional. But the young ones—they will be different. I guarantee that."

Significant in this connection is the textbook issued in 1937 for the seven million young Germans of the Hitler Jugend. It is called *Vom deutschen Volk and seinem Lebensraum* ("Regarding the German Nation and its Living Space") and systematically incites the younger generation towards a warlike expansion of Germany's frontiers, representing all of Germany's historic aggressions as a justifiable gift of civilization to lesser breeds of mankind. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is still more explicit in its indoctrination: "Thus the road that the Aryan has had to tread has been clearly indicated. As a conqueror he has overwhelmed inferior races and then ruled their practical activities by his command, according to his will and for his own aims. In directing them into useful though also laborious activities, he not only protected the lives of the conquered but also gave them a lot that was better than their former so-called 'liberty'."

The grim sequel to this indoctrination is only too vivid in our recollections of the War, in which it presently found expression. What is not so clearly realized is that the totalitarian education organized by Hitler and his lieutenants was amateurish and transient compared with the totalitarian program developed and sustained by the Bolshevik regime in the USSR over the past thirty-five years.

Lenin himself gave unequivocal expression to the purpose of the Communist educational system: "In the field of public education the Communist Party sets itself the aim of concluding the task begun by the October Revolution of 1917 of converting the school from a weapon of the class domination of the bourgeoisie into a weapon for the destruction of this domination . . . The school must become a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Stalin later reasserted this idea in a conversation with H. G. Wells: "Education is a weapon whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed."

Only those who understand this declared primary function of Soviet education as a weapon to destroy the old order in Russian society and ultimately in the entire world can hope to grasp the principles of Soviet pedagogy.

Basic to all other studies is "diamat" or dialectical materialism, described by Stalin as "the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party." It is called *materialism* because it regards

matter as the only reality and considers all the spiritual concepts of religion (the soul, God, etc.) as poisonous nonsense. It is called *dialectical* not merely because it proceeds by argument but also because it regards the process of evolution in nature itself as resulting from a sort of "debate" between opposing forces in a continual struggle, in which something is always arising and developing and something else is always disintegrating and dying away. As extended to social life in "historical materialism", this implies that just as bourgeois democracy inevitably replaced absolute monarchy, so the superior system of Marx-Leninism *must* shatter and supplant the decadent bourgeois states of the 20th century.

The apparatus of education designed for that purpose is of formidable range and completeness. First, there are the state schools, consisting of ten grades, and followed by universities and technical colleges. Second, there is an elaborate system of mass media, including the press, the radio, television, the theatre, the cinema, libraries, museums, parks of culture and the controlled dissemination of literature and art. In this connection, one must remember that the USSR permits no press but the Communist press with its rigidly slanted Party version of all news and all knowledge; the radio gives nothing but Party-line programs; the theatre and the cinema can present only drama that is in keeping with Communist dogma; libraries and museums must serve up a Communist bill of fare; and literature and art are rigorously purged and disciplined so as to permit no deviation from the Party line. Third, there are programs of Communist indoctrination undertaken by the trade unions, by the cooperatives, and by the armed forces. Fourth, the Party has its machinery for moulding the youth of the country through the semi-military cadres of the Society of Young Pioneers (with twelve million members, aged ten to sixteen) and the league of Young Communists (with seven million members, aged fourteen to twenty-three). Finally, there are the Party schools for "propagandists", who now number over 250,000 and undertake the systematic indoctrination of Party members and other workers in a ceaseless round of study courses. It seems clear that for the citizen of a Communist state there is no escape, from early childhood to old age, from a ceaseless barrage of Party propaganda. No fact or argument hostile to the regime is ever permitted. On the contrary, every aspect of every subject under heaven is presented in a light that glorifies and upholds the rule of Stalin and the Bolshevik party.

For the present, however, I am concerned more particularly with the schools and universities of Soviet Russia.

At the outset it is necessary to consider a widely circulated falsehood concerning these schools. To hear Left-Wing orators, one would think that the Bolsheviks in 1917 had found a country without schools and had raised it in a generation to a model of educational perfection. The mendacity of this claim is clear. Between 1880 and 1917 the development of schools under the Tsar was phenomenal, through the efforts of the provincial governments or *Zemstvos*. In 1915, the number of elementary and parochial schools in European Russia was 122,123, with an attendance of 8,146,632 pupils. In 1914, as reported later at the Tenth Congress of Soviets, the number of literate per thousand of school age was: Urban boys 918, urban girls 899, rural boys 710, rural girls 516. Universal elementary education for all parts of the Empire by 1925 was in sight. The Bolsheviks simply took over a rapidly expanding process and then vitiated it by exterminating most of the trained teachers as politically unreliable. Thus nearly twenty years after the Revolution an official report (*Kulturnoe stroitelstvo*, 1935, p. 16) noted that almost half the teachers in Stalin's elementary schools and nearly a third of those in the secondary schools had never gone beyond Grade III themselves. Apparently the main reason for this has been the continual purging of the teaching staff, decade after decade, on political grounds. It is not surprising that as late as 1948 comparable defects of teaching staff should be found in colleges and universities. In September 1948, Comrade Bukhalo, director of the Board of Higher Education for the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, reported that of the 13,000 teachers in the institutions of higher education in the republic only 4,483 had degrees. Some had had no scientific training whatever. At the very same time, however, it was announced that the faculties were being thoroughly re-staffed, not in order to introduce men with higher training but in order to liquidate numerous teachers who had been guilty of ideological lapses. (*Newsletter from behind the Iron Curtain*, Nov. 19, 1948, pp. 252-3.)

Another specious claim makes much of the declaration in Article 121 of the Stalin Constitution that "education, including higher (university) education, is free of charge" in the Soviet Union and dwells much on the vast number of well equipped schools. Here again the propaganda is false. By a decree of October 2, 1940, heavy fees were imposed for all students be-

on the inculcation of a military consciousness even in children of pre-school age. All their toys should be military in character. In rebuking the backwardness of Soviet Latvia in this matter, the Communist writer testifies that on a visit to Moscow he had found pupils of seven and eight surprisingly competent in military affairs.

In an official Soviet handbook for teachers issued in 1946 for use in all teacher-training schools, continual emphasis is laid on linking up the subjects of the school curriculum with a conscious preparation for war. Geography must be treated as a military study. The uses of mathematics in war must be stressed. Even the organized games of the play-ground are to be given a warlike character. The teacher is instructed, moreover, to inculcate in each pupil the "most burning hatred" for enemies of his country. He is to realize that he must not only hate his enemies but in due course struggle with them and destroy them. ("*I want to be like Stalin*", from the Russian text on Pedagogy by B. P. Yesipov and N. K. Goncharov, translated by George S. Counts and Nusia P. Lodge).

The identity of these enemies is not left in doubt. In a history textbook for elementary schools (*Istoria SSSR*, Vol. III Uchpedgiz, Moscow, 1946), we find on page 268 a lurid picture of a capitalist band of robbers—America, Britain and France—urging their dogs in tsarist uniforms to seize Communist Russia by the throat. The same textbook for little children declares that in 1939 "Finnish troops . . . incited by anti-Soviet circles in certain imperialist countries attacked the Soviet Union" (p. 345). *Pravda* of August 5, 1950, goes on to insist that plays for Soviet children should be "about the struggle of the democratic forces against the dark forces of reaction, the exposing of the bestial and misanthropic nature of the bourgeois democracies". This same warlike spirit permeates all Soviet school manuals, all fiction for the young, and all periodicals for young people. The young Russian must hate belligerently all nations and countries not yet under Soviet control.

Over against the perfidy and rottenness of the Western democracies, Soviet education exalts the wisdom and perfection of the Communist Party and especially of that shining paragon of all the talents and all the virtues, Joseph Stalin. In a book called *Zelmya Russkaya* ("The Russian Land", 1946), published by the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, we find the following tribute: "Stalin. Always we bear in our souls his dear name. And here in the Kremlin, his pre-

sence touches us at every step. We walk on stones on which he may have trod only recently. Let us fall on our knees and kiss these holy footprints." (p. 6).

A recent edition of a family magazine called *Ogoniok* ("Light") gives an enthusiastic place of honour to the Soviet military schools. Its cover portrays a number of youngsters around a cannon, while numerous pictures in the text represent uniformed small boys, eight years of age and up, undergoing training in one of the numerous Suvorov Military Schools. It would be hard to cite any other contemporary nation that enrolls boys of eight for a fulltime military career. For a militaristic parallel, one has to think back to the worst days of Prussia or to the training of adolescent janissaries by the Turkish sultans.

Valuable for understanding the basic principle of all this is an article in *Pravda* of November 28, 1949, by A. A. Voznesenski, the USSR Minister for Education. "The task of the Soviet school," he writes, "is to foster in the pupils a love for our social and political system which is infinitely more perfect than all previous systems." An application of Marxism-Leninism must be made to every subject on the school curriculum: "The first commandment of a Soviet teacher demands that his leading maxim in education be the doctrine of Lenin and Stalin concerning the party spirit of science and ideology. This task cannot be carried out otherwise than in connection with the teaching of all subjects. Ideological and political education in the schools cannot be separated from the teaching of the elements of science. It is just in the process of studying these elements that the pupils learn to think in conformity with the views of materialism and dialectics, that they acquire the outlook of Marx and Lenin and are educated in the spirit of Communism." Or one may add the comment of Soviet Estonia's Minister of Education A. Raud, in an address to a congress of teachers on August 19, 1948: "The sacred duty of the Soviet teacher is to be the engineer of the growing mind, to combat the efforts of the dregs of capitalism, political neutrality, ideological slackness, bourgeois objectivism, bourgeois Estonian nationalism, and religious relics to poison the minds of our youth." In every aspect of his work, the teacher must be not only a champion of Communism but also a fighter against Western culture. He cannot fight for Communism without fighting against the West.

One should comment, in passing, on the familiar claim that the Bolsheviks, instead of being guilty of the nationalistic spirit

of Western nations have sought rather the tolerant cultivation of all the languages and cultures of Stalin's polyglot realm. That picture may have had some validity thirty years ago, but it is obsolete today. The more recent phase of policy can only be classed as "Russian Imperialism", with relentless pressure exerted to assimilate all minority peoples and cultures into a monolithic Russian (Communist) culture. The Ukrainian language, for example, is being systematically swamped with Russian vocabulary. *Cina*, the official journal of the Latvian Communist Party, announced on August 9, 1950, that in nine out of fifteen evening colleges, seven-year schools and middle schools in Riga tuition will be wholly in Russian and that only four out of the fifteen will be purely Latvian. Similarly Comrade A. Raud, Soviet Estonia's minister of education, writing in *Rahva Haal* (No. 201, 1949) insists that in Estonia students must be given more homework in Russian and made to read Russian books in their spare time so that Russian may supplant the native Estonian as the language of instruction.

It is at the university level that education in free countries has achieved its most notable victories in science and the arts. Totalitarian Communism, however, has established a vast network of ideological policemen throughout all Soviet colleges. An illuminating article in this regard is one by S. Kaftanov, "To perfect the teaching of the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism at the universities", printed in *Bolshevik* (June 30, 1949), the journal of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. In it we are informed that there are over 800 chairs for Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet colleges and universities, with a large number of instructors associated with each chair. Marxism-Leninism it appears, is a compulsory subject in all faculties. Stalin himself has decreed this in the following terms:

"There is one branch of science, familiarity with which must be obligatory for the Bolsheviks practising all other branches of science, namely, the Marx-Lenin science of society, of the laws of the development of society, of the laws of the development of the proletarian revolution, of the laws of the development of Socialist construction, of the victory of Communism. For a person cannot be considered a true Leninist, even if he calls himself a Leninist, if he has buried himself in his specialty, buried himself say in mathematics, botany or chemistry and sees nothing except his specialty." (p. 22).

Comrade Kaftanov goes on to outline the subject-matter

on which the ubiquitous professors of Marxism-Leninism will instruct their colleagues and their students: "The struggle between Capitalism and Communism is gaining in acuteness in the whole world. This struggle is taking place in all sections of the ideological front without any exception. The reactionary character of the bourgeoisie in the fields of politics, culture and science is especially apparent in our days when two camps have come into being: the imperialist antidemocratic camp, the leading power in which is the U. S. A., and the camp of democracy and Socialism, headed by our great country . . . The American imperialists, who have adopted the Fascist gibberish on world domination, are the sworn enemies of the democratic aspirations of the peoples of the world and carry on a policy of military expansion of enslavement of weak countries." (p. 23).

In a world thus polarized between the virtuous Soviets and the wicked Americans, the science of the Western world stinks of the same bourgeois corruption: "A deep ideological disintegration is experienced by bourgeois science. Philosophers, economists, and historians in the pay of the bourgeois make efforts to prove the perpetuity and stability of the capitalist regime. There is no field of bourgeois science that is untouched by the withering influence of capitalist reaction. Idealism, mysticism and clericalism are widely diffused in contemporary bourgeois science . . . The bourgeois scientists who work in the field of theoretical physics and with them the bourgeois philosophers—these squires of imperialism—strive to interpret the newest discoveries in the spirit of idealism and clericalism. The pages of the 'works' of bourgeois ideologists are mottled with mendacious statements on the 'disappearance of matter' on the 'unreality of the world, on the unfathomableness of its laws'." (p. 23).

The university champions of Marxism-Leninism are therefore summoned to the following glorious task: "Daily to unmask the loathsome role of American imperialism, the strangler of the culture and freedom of nations, the monger of a new war, the bastion of world reaction, and at the same time deeply, vividly, convincingly to show the superiority of the Soviet state and social organization to the capitalist regime, to reveal the triumphant force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the universally-historic success of the Soviet people." (p. 24).

The Bolshevik article then emphasizes the ruthless dynamic that must animate the apostles of academic orthodoxy: "The activity of the chairs of Marxism-Leninism transcends,

of course, the framework of tuition as prescribed by the syllabus and the curricula. These chairs are chosen to be fighting Party collectives influencing the organization of all tuitional and educational work at the institutes of higher education, and being impregnated with Bolshevik intolerance of all manifestations of an alien, bourgeois ideology . . . The Bolshevik party spirit of our science means a direct, overt, consistent defence of the interests of Socialism in the struggle against pseudo-science and those reactionary forces which are backing it." (p. 24).

It is fairly clear from this last definition that the purpose of Soviet science is not to arrive at ultimate truths regarding man and his place in the universe but rather "the defense of the interests of Socialism." As Lenin once put it, "a school outside of life and politics is a lie and a hypocrisy". Marxism-Leninism, with its "Bolshevik intolerance", is given a clear mandate, moreover, to interfere with and control all other departments of university instruction and to expurgate and alter the impending publications of all university scholars and scientists:

"The discussion on biological problems has accelerated the advancement of theoretical scientific work in our country. It has compelled the chairs of Marxism-Leninism and philosophy to establish closer contact with the chairs of special disciplines, to take an active part in the reorganization of the teaching of the biological sciences . . . Many chairs of Marxism-Leninism have carried on an active struggle with certain manifestations of bourgeois cosmopolitanism which obtained in scientific work and the teaching of some disciplines. By their criticism and advice the chairs of Marxism-Leninism help to correct mistakes that have been admitted in the works prepared for print by the chairs of special disciplines." (p. 25) . . . The chairs of Marxism-Leninism . . . must feel a moral responsibility for the ideological proclivity of tuition in its entirety". (p. 26).

And what of the educational qualifications of these men who sit in judgement on all works of research in all disciplines and on all instruction in all departments at all levels? Comrade Kaftanov admits quite candidly that "a considerable number of the directors of chairs (of Marxism-Leninism) and the teachers have no scientific or academic degrees." (p. 30). As a matter of fact, the personnel of the Marxist-Leninist invigilators seems to be drawn from among the Party henchmen of the locality, for *Pravda* of February 2, 1950, rebukes the Communist Party Committee of the city of Saratov for having "failed to study

deeply the activities of the institutions of higher education, the state of training of the students in Marxism-Leninism, and the composition of the teaching staff." Even one's academic appointment, it appears, is held at the whim of uneducated Party zealots.

A vivid demonstration of this iron compulsion at the highest levels may be found in the subjugation of the biologists in 1948.

Soviet Russia has from the outset been lavish in its patronage of scientific research. In agriculture alone there are 965 scientific research institutes, stations and experimental farms; and crowning the whole structure of research in all branches of science is the Academy of Science of the USSR.

Until the nineteen-thirties, the field of Soviet genetics was developing fruitfully in association with kindred research in Western countries. Basic theory was in harmony with the traditions of Mendel, Weismann and Morgan and their successors, repudiating the inheritance of acquired characteristics and finding the secret of inheritance in the chromosome-bodies of the germ-cell nucleus. The acknowledged leader of Soviet geneticists was N. I. Vavilov, a man with an international reputation, who in 1929 became the first president of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Science.

In 1932, however, under pressure from the Communist Party, an All-Union Conference on genetics affirmed that this branch of science must henceforth be made to conform to the laws of dialectical materialism. This proposal was promptly followed up by a young plant-breeder named Lysenko, who resurrected as Bolshevistically orthodox the long exploded doctrine of the transmission of characters acquired by a plant or an animal in the course of its life experience. This theory was associated by him with the name of I. V. Michurin, a sort of Russian Luther Burbank of an earlier epoch. The new thesis was warmly welcomed by the Party, for it promised the speedy development (with proper compulsion under proper conditions) not only of new Soviet varieties of plants and animals but also of a new Soviet race of mankind, nurtured into obedient perfection by one or two rigorous generations of social engineering. Lysenko became the darling of the Party, while his chief opponent, the distinguished Vavilov, was imprisoned and died in disgrace and captivity.

In August 1948 a universal campaign to exalt the Soviet state by vilifying all non-Russians arts, music and science as

corrupt was implemented in the case of genetics as well. At the August 4th session of the Academy of Agricultural Science, its president, T. D. Lysenko, led off with a twelve-thousand-word address "On the Situation in Biological Science". In this vituperative utterance he declared that there were only two positions possible for a Soviet biologist—that of a patriotic Marxist-Leninist, espousing the Party-line inheritance of acquired characteristics, and that of a traitorous reactionary grovelling before the Western theories of genetics. The crowning argument of his address is an appeal to the authority not of other biologists but of Lenin and Stalin:

"V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin discovered I. V. Michurin and made his ideas the property of the Soviet people. Through their great fatherly attention to his work they saved his remarkable teaching for biology. The Party and the Government, and I. V. Stalin personally, are concerned increasingly for the further development of these teachings . . . Our Academy must feel concern for the development of the teaching of Michurin, just as we are taught by the personal example of concern for the work of I. V. Michurin on the part of our great teachers—V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin."

This invocation of the Party and of Stalin against those who might dare to speak against the Party-line in genetics was a warning to all scientists present to declare themselves as loyal and orthodox dialectical materialists. A decade before, all of them had been scientists of integrity; but the fate of Vavilov was only too vivid in their memories. According to the reports in *Pravda* (August 5-11, 1948) the four-day session of the Academy was thenceforth given over to a long series of cringing addresses, lauding the required dogma as approved by the Party. Of fifty-two speeches reported in *Pravda*, forty-nine were loudly applauded affirmations of faith in the Party's own theory of heredity. Here are a few excerpts:

"Before Soviet scientists stands a noble task: to be indefatigable warriors in the construction of the grandiose building of Communism . . . Existing text-books on genetics are not suitable; they are full of formalistic, anti-scientific rubbish . . . Under the leadership of the greatest genius of the contemporary epoch, our beloved and dear teacher, Comrade Stalin, Soviet science and our scientist-innovators will achieve still greater successes."

Lysenko's final address to the session appeared in full in *Pravda* for August 10, 1948. He closes thus: "Long live the

Party of Lenin and Stalin for revealing Michurin to the world and for the creation in our country of all the conditions necessary for the flowering of advanced materialistic biology. Glory to our great friend and coryphaeus of science—our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin!" All present then stood and applauded the holy name for a long time.

The battleground shifted promptly to the All-Union Academy of Science, which undertook on August 26, 1948, to dismiss heretical biologists, to abolish a number of research laboratories (including those of Cytogenetics and Plant Cytology) and to purge the staffs of all biological institutes and all biological journals. As noted already, the heresy hunt then spread into all universities and schools throughout the USSR.

Nor is biology the only science singled out for inquisition. The most ruthless struggle against heresy has been in physics. Here for the dialectical materialist is "the science of sciences", alone capable of synthesizing all the rest. Since absolute determinism is their ultimate necessity, the Party analysts find an abomination and a scandal in the alleged "principle of indeterminacy" ascribed by Heisenberg, Jordan, Figner and other Western physicists to atomic physics. To the Marxist the ultimate reality is matter in the most literal sense. To resolve it into energy or to admit to an element of indeterminacy in nature is to destroy the very foundations of Marx-Leninist theology. Hence comes the strident challenge to Soviet physicists published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* for November 20, 1948: "The subterfuges of contemporary bourgeois atomic physicists lead them to conclusions about the 'freedom of the will' of electrons. Who then, if not we—the land of victorious Marxism and her philosophers—are to stand at the head of the struggle against depraved and infamous bourgeois ideology! Who then, if not we, are to deliver the shattering blows!"

Further detail is perhaps superfluous. We have traced the existence in Bolshevik Russia of a total system of Party-controlled education extending from the humblest kindergartner to the most eminent research scientist. It embraces not merely the classroom and the textbook but all the mass media of communication and propaganda in press, radio, cinema, stage and television. Its passion is a universal inquisition into the intellectual and artistic orthodoxy of every man, woman and child in the country. The current dogmas of that orthodoxy are decided by the political theologians of the Communist Party. The chief obvious purposes of the educational system

are the glorification of the Soviet state and the Communist Party, the literal worship of the man-god in the Kremlin, and the perpetuation of the Bolshevik system through the forced indoctrination of a total population.

Instead of relaxing its ruthlessness, the system has become even more intolerant during the past four years. It has instituted new compulsions and new purges in every nook and cranny of the educational system. Against this tyranny there is no shadow of protection. In the total state, every person, whether humble or eminent, is continually checked, spied on and documented by an all-powerful political police-force. Those who are not malleable are simply destroyed. The liquidation of independent thought has been going on for thirty-four years and continues to fill its millions of graves in Siberia.

Not the least sinister of the system's characteristics is the fomentation of warlike hatred against the free world. Eight hundred million persons in Communist countries are being taught that it is to be their glorious destiny to destroy the bestial governments and armies of the Western world. Another twelve million Communists, scattered through all free countries including Canada, have their indoctrination schools and study groups, preaching the same duty to achieve power through revolution and war in the interest of Moscow.

Any Canadian who is still unaware that Moscow has declared this sort of war on Canada ought to listen in occasionally to the official voice of Radio Moscow. On January 17, 1952, Andrei Vyshinsky, speaking at the United Nations, had referred to the Hon. Stuart Garson, Canadian Minister of Justice, in the following terms: "He is a blithering idiot from an utterly ignorant country. . . Like the black delegate from Haiti, Garson understands just about as much as a stupid pig." That same evening Radio Moscow began a new series of attacks on the "capitalist beasts of Canada." In this connection Moscow began to announce what penalties its "People's Courts" intended to impose on Canadians after the scheduled revolution. The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Drew, and the C.C.F. leader, Mr. Coldwell, were all to be shipped from Canada to prison-camps in Siberia. Certain other Canadians were slated by name for "emergency liquidation" in order to protect the new "People's Democracy" in Canada. More liquidation lists were promised (*The Outlook*, February 1952, pp. 1-2). In this respect, Stalin's candour is even greater than Hitler's.

I have outlined the Communist use of education to consolidate Bolshevik power and to mobilize lethal hatred against the free world. How is the educational system of the free world to meet that threat? Certainly not by duplicating the Communist apparatus of compulsion and indoctrination for use in counter-propaganda. It is true that we need to stress old-fashioned virtues of loyalty, honesty and temperance; it is true that training for the armed defence of human liberty has a rightful place on our campuses; it is true that our people of every age should be made aware of the real character of the enemy abroad and of the traitor within our gates. But the unfettered quest of truth in every field of research should go forward if we are to be faithful to the civilization for which we stand.

The armor-clad feudal Christendom of the Middle Ages was formed in imitative response to the armed attacks of Islam. The Crusades were Jehads in reverse. We in our day shall already be half defeated in essence if the strident intolerance and hatred expressed by Soviet education evokes in us a system of like rigidity and evil temper. We shall need to distinguish between World Communism and its victims everywhere, even in Russia, and shall need to cleave to those ideals of freedom, integrity and religious faith that have made our schools and colleges great in the past. There is nothing less than a world at stake.
