

The World. In his "Education in a Divided World" (reviewed in this issue) President Conant of Harvard urges Americans to "study the Soviet philosophy, . . . examine and debate the creed of the Communist Party as it has been formulated both here and in foreign lands." Unfortunately, adequate books analyzing the Russian problem are scarce. Julian Towster's "Political Power in the USSR," reviewed here, is therefore timely, and can be supplemented by Bertrand Wolfe's "Three Who Made a Revolution," a study of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin (also reviewed in this issue). The recent "As We See Russia," by members of the Overseas Press Club, is a series of eye-witness accounts of the USSR. . . . Garcia-Granados's "The Birth of Israel," reviewed below, comes when the Palestine problem is growing in intensity, as does "This Is Israel," by I. F. Stone, about to make its appearance.

Democratic Centralism in Russia

POLITICAL POWER IN THE USSR 1917-1947. By Julian Towster. New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. 443 pp. \$6.

Reviewed by D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

THIS book belongs to the small group of scholarly works on the Soviet Union which combined a high degree of erudition with uncompromising objectivity. Professor Towster has examined a vast array of documentary evidence. But, what is more important, he has succeeded in thoroughly digesting this mass of material and in avoiding the pitfall—into which a good many earnest students of the USSR have fallen—of accepting at its face value the verbiage of Soviet state documents. After summing up in a succinct manner the evidence of the Soviet constitutions, decrees, and pronouncements of the leaders and scholars of the Union, Dr. Towster confronts the results with the actual practice, thus adding immensely to the efficacy of his analysis. He says:

The USSR is a strict dictatorship with a number of democratically earmarked features, operating on a principle designated as "democratic centralism." The main dictatorial features of the Soviet polity are the paucity of circulation of the highest élite—the virtual absence of change in the personnel of the top echelon of the Party, which holds the monopoly of leadership; the degree of restriction and suppression of free exchange of ideas on socio-political fundamentals; and the extent of violence permitted in the system of rule. Its chief ameliorative features are the practices of equality for the nationalities, the multiplicity of conciliar organs, and the encouragement of popular participation in the implementation of policy.

Professor Towster is of the opinion that the conception of the range and

probable life-span of government in the Soviet Union "was milder in the earlier years, and much talk was tolerated about the 'softening of the dictatorship' and the 'withering away of the state'." The Soviet leaders' views in this respect grew "as . . . the enormity of the transformation sought revealed itself in the process of prosecution." The Soviet government has actually operated "as a crisis government over the greater part of its existence." The author is convinced that the main conditioning element in this

development "has been the conviction of the Soviet leaders that massive power must remain in the state until a Socialist society, as well as a unified outlook of its citizenship, is established in the USSR beyond the possibility of internal or external challenge."

The author believes that the tight control exercised by the top leaders of the Russian Communist Party has its disadvantages, as some of the highest Soviet diplomats are "unable to move without frequent instructions from the center."

As to the future, Dr. Towster firmly believes that progress in peace depends first of all on the ability of the Soviet and the non-Soviet worlds to adjust in time their conceptions of political power and economic stability, so that this could ultimately lead to international stability and world order, but "no one can predict with any degree of certainty that such a development will prove possible."

In reviewing such an excellent book one does not like to mention its minor blemishes. These are concerned with the author's handling of references to pre-November 1917 Russian history. He does not seem to have as firm a grasp of its events and trends as of those connected with the main topics of his study. Fortunately, these digressions into pre-Revolutionary history are few and do not affect the general course of his argument.

Your Literary I. Q.

By Howard Collins

PAIRS OF NAMES

Carl S. Criswell, of Allentown, Pa., gives you twenty pairs of names of literary characters who might easily be brother and sister or brother and brother. Each name is from a different work by a different author, no author or work being repeated. Can you name the work in which each name appears and its author? Allowing two and one-half points for each correct answer, a score of sixty is par, seventy is very good, and eighty or better is excellent. Answers are on page 38.

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|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Aaron Adams | Alice Adams |
| 2. Oliver Alden | Roberta Alden |
| 3. Joseph Andrews | Pamela Andrews |
| 4. Benjamin Blake | Franklin Blake |
| 5. Josiah Crawley | Rowdan Crawley |
| 6. Jacob Flanders | Moll Flanders |
| 7. Henry Fleming | Rhoda Fleming |
| 8. Lem Forrester | Marian Forrester |
| 9. Silas Foster | Tony Foster |
| 10. Agnes Grey | Vivian Grey |
| 11. He | She |
| 12. Annabel Lee | Simon Lee |
| 13. Amyas Leigh | Aurora Leigh |
| 14. Francie Nolan | Philip Nolan |
| 15. Kimball O'Hara | Suellen O'Hara |
| 16. Mildred Rogers | Robert Rogers |
| 17. Long John Silver | Mattie Silvers |
| 18. Hetty Sorrel | Kit Sorrel |
| 19. Harold Wilson | Robert Wilson |
| 20. Frederick Winterbourne | George Winterbourne |

A Guatemalan on Palestine

THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL: The Drama as I Saw It. By Jorge García-Granados. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. 291 pp. \$3.

Reviewed by J. C. HUREWITZ

SINCE the war's close, two international commissions have examined the Palestine problem. One represented the United Kingdom and the United States, the other the United Nations. After the first inquiry, Richard Crossman, a British member, and Bartley C. Crum, an American member, wrote narratives of their respective experiences. Now Jorge García Granados has followed suit with an account of his personal observations as representative for Guatemala on the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, or UNSCOP, as it came to be known, and later as spokesman for his country at two sessions of the General Assembly.

All three started out with little knowledge of the Palestine dispute. They ended up with pro-Zionist sympathies and the conviction that only partition held out the prospect of a permanent solution. The parallel, however, goes no further. Crossman wrote as if he were lecturing on logic at Oxford, Crum as if he were exposing international intrigue. The volume by García-Granados presents a balanced

analysis of the problem which UNSCOP found, interspersed with lively thumbnail sketches of his fellow investigators and vivid descriptions of what he saw. Attention is focused primarily on elements of human interest.

The author's background predisposed him to a sympathetic understanding of Zionism. As a leader in the struggle against autocratic rule in his native land, García-Granados was disturbed in Palestine by the police state which the mandatory had created. The mandatory's practice of arrest without charge or trial, its rigid censorship of the press, and its elaborate military establishment were features of government which he knew the British would never tolerate at home.

García-Granados, as he implies in his book, was drawn to the Zionist terrorists because in his own youth he had been a political rebel and had suffered persecution, imprisonment, and even the threat of execution. On the other hand, he dismisses the claims of the terrorists to all of Palestine and Transjordan as unrealistic and unjust.

In the same class is placed the obstinate refusal of the Arab Higher Committee—the political directorate of the Palestine Arabs—and the Arab League to accord any recognition to Zionism and the Jewish national home. García-Granados, the crusader for

democracy in Guatemala, was not attracted to the Higher Committee, it seems, because of its unrepresentative character, its intimidation of the Palestine Arabs, and the wartime association of its members with the Axis nations.

Of the social and economic achievements of the Palestine Jews, the collective villages left the deepest impression on the author. In this voluntary Socialist way of life he saw the possibility of a solution for the problem of the Indians in his own country. And the almost unanimous choice of Palestine on the part of the displaced European Jews completed García-Granados's conversion to the cause for the founding of a Jewish state in a divided Palestine.

The description of what happened to UNSCOP's report at Lake Success is the weakest section of the book. The author is aware of Big Power maneuvers but he does not probe beneath the surface for motivations. He is conscious of British obstructionism. Yet nowhere does he point his finger at the principal causes: the state of near-bankruptcy in which the United Kingdom was left by the war, the consequent contraction of its imperial responsibilities, and its desire with respect to Palestine to establish for itself a neutral legal position which it no longer enjoyed as a mandatory.

United States gyrations of policy are enumerated. But certainly Washington's strange behavior is more complicated than an official "tug-of-war going on behind the scenes" between the pro-Zionists and "influential members of the Army, spokesmen of the oil interests, and several key State Department officials." Nor is any attempt made to account for the inherent contradiction between the Kremlin's continued ban on Zionist activity within the USSR and its unequivocal support of Zionism at Lake Success. Indeed, Soviet tactics remain entirely unexplained.

By and large, the contents of "The Birth of Israel" are well known to those who have followed the press reports on United Nations handling of the Palestine issue. But certain details regarding UNSCOP's private hearings, as well as the lobbying by interested parties at the United Nations, are released for the first time. The volume will be greeted with enthusiasm by Zionists and their well-wishers. By the same token it is bound to incur the displeasure of the Arabs and their champions. In any case, the author's refreshing style and honest simplicity make it a welcome addition to the swelling literature on Palestine.

J. C. Hurewitz, recently of the State Department, was an OSS expert on Palestine during World War II.



"Est is Est and Ouest is Ouest, but where is the Palais de Chaillot?"