statement as a complete but dispassionate indictment of the system
of political terrorism.

Outside this particular field of persecution, I view the
Russian situation as much more complicated and much more significant
from a revolutionary standpoint than you. I haven't time now to go
into details except to say that in the rebuilding of a national econ-
omy—there are practical problems of immense difficulty which cannot be
solved by revolutionary theories. I have been through three years of
an effort to apply the principles of autonomous local control in pro-
ducing coal, coke and chemicals in Kuzbas, Siberia. I was, as perhaps
you know, indicted last year for my participation in that work. I have
been through every phase, argument and practical problem that surrounds
making the wheels of industry go with the utmost possible participation
of the workers themselves.

From my contact with that one experiment I am not prepared to
make any sweeping declarations regarding the compromise with capital-
ism. On two points only I am quite clear about the internal policies
of Russia:

1- That the persecution of opponents is not only wholly unnecessary
   and destructive of revolutionary progress, not only because it kills
   those whose contributions are most needed, but because it imposes
   the elements of tyranny on the ruling class;

2- That the centralization of power in the hands of a bureaucratic
   government is having the same effect of killing off those spontaneous
   experimental growths toward communal production and distribution which
   alone seem to me an enduring basis of economic stability, in which the
   individual can find his widest freedom.

I know that any discussion which covers as wide a range as
this cannot be carried on by letter, but I am confident that the points
of substantial agreement can be found between us on the particular
matter we have in hand.

With warmest greetings,

Ever affectionately

[Signature]

RNB/EN