

statement was 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 economy 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 producing 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.

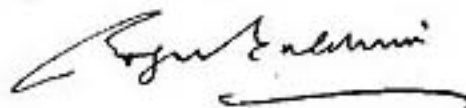
From my contact with that one experiment I am not prepared to make any sweeping declarations regarding the compromise with capitalism. On two points only I am quite clear about the internal policies of Russia:

- 1- That the persecution of opponents is not only wholly unnecessary but destructive of revolutionary progress, not only because it kills those whose contributions are most needed, but because it imposes the temper 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



RNB/EN