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Pig and Proletariat: *Animal Farm* as History

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we seek to defend Orwell's Animal Farm from two kinds of misreadings. The first is the claim that Animal Farm has only incidentally to do with Soviet history but is, rather, a general satirical attack on human folly and human tryanny. The second is the claim that Animal Farm is about Soviet history 1917-1943 and, as such, is a piece of hack propaganda which presents a grossly distorted and caricatured historical view and/or lacks literary merit.

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In writing this paper I discovered that Orwell scholarship is a flourishing industry. I have read or skimmed some dozen books and over two dozen articles on Orwell and have discovered a considerably larger number of works which I haven't had time or opportunity to consult. It is very difficult to say something new about Orwell's work which is at the same time also something sensible. To the extent that this article proves a contribution to Orwell scholarship it will be because I, as a political scientist, have simply performed somewhat tedious labor--inventorying events and individuals in Animal Farm and mapping them onto their historical counterparts--which other scholars, of a more literary bent, did only in an incomplete fashion. I am not an expert on Soviet history. Thus, I particularly welcome emendations to my classifications from historians and Sovietologists more knowledgeable than I.

I. Animal Farm's Literary Roots

The work to which Animal Farm is most often compared is Gulliver's Travels (see e.g., reviews by Edward Weeks (1946) in the Atlantic or Edmund Wilson (1946) in the New Yorker), although comparisons with Candide are also common. In Animal Farm Orwell draws inspiration from many satirists, including, of course, Voltaire (whom Orwell greatly admired), and Swift (on whom he wrote a lengthy and penetrating essay in 1946; "Politics Versus Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels," in CEJL, Vol. 4), but it is to the moralizing beast fable that Animal Farm owes its form.

The beast fable is a very ancient and apparently culturally universal satiric technique (e.g., Aristophanes' plays the Birds and the Wasps; The Panchatantra, a collection of fables from India; Aesop's Fables; Reynard the Fox, 1481 in the English version; Uncle Remus, 1880, Harris' reworking of traditional African folk tales into an American idiom and setting; etc).

Orwell was quite familiar with such tales of humanized animals, having read authors such as Beatrix Potter and Rudyard Kipling. As one literary critic rather snidely describes Animal Farm:

> This particular form of the nursery story has been borrowed from that cosy world prior to the first world war upon which. . .Orwell was so ready to dwell. Animal Farm specifically reminds us of Kipling's stories for children. The laws of the revolution that are painted on the wall of the cowshed and chanted by the animals clearly owe something to "The Law of the Jungle" in Kipling's Second Jungle Book. Indeed, the central device of Animal Farm,

> the convention of humanized animals, may also derive immediately from Kipling's Jungle Book. And Orwell's narrative tone is obviously modelled on that of the Just So Stories (Alldritt, 1969; 149).[1]

That Orwell read the Jungle Book and the Just So Stories as a child seems undoubted. If, however, one is going to seek inspiration for Animal Farm in Orwell's childhood reading, one could with at least as much justice turn to Beatrix Potter's Tales of Pigling Bland. According to Orwell's childhood friend, Jacintha Buddicom (1974:3a),

> the genealogical tree of Animal Farm has its roots in Pigling Bland. . . . Eric and I were far too old for it, but we adored it all the same. I remember his reading it to me twice over from beginning to end, to cheer me up one time when I had a cold. And we used to call each other Pigling Bland and Pigling in moments of frivolity.

One other work which to me seems to provide a direct model for Animal Farm, has quite strangely, been neglected by the critics, perhaps because its author is currently out of literary favor.[2] That work is Penguin Island, by Anatole France. Although my survey is far from complete, I have found no critic who mentions Penguin Island as possible inspiration for Animal Farm. Yet Orwell was certainly familiar with this work. (In an article ("As I Please," June 23, 1944, in CEJL, Vol. 3, pp. 172-175) praising Anatole France for his "passion for liberty and intellectual honesty" and calling "'Crainquebille' one of the best short stories I have ever read," he refers to the author's "comic history of France.") Moreover, France's thinly disguised historical pastiche of the Frenchman as penguin, "a scathing satire of the entire course of French history" (Caute, 1968:v), offers striking parallels to Animal Farm in style and tone. In the unsympathetic view of Gilbert Highet:

> Penguin Island, published by Anatole France in 1908 is an occasionally witty but usually sour and labored attempt to satirize the history of France from an extreme left-wing point of view. . . . Passing over the Renaissance and the age of Louis XIV in a few rapid pages but devoting an entire book to a satirical version of the Dreyfus case. . . . The French are caricatured as a special race of penguins. . . . The implications of the latter half of Penguin Island is that the history of France--indeed, of all the West--began in superstition and barbarism and will culminate in greed and butchery (Highet, 1962:184-185, with some sentence reordering).

Animal Farm and Penguin Island share a pessimistic tone, an acerbic wit and a wide ranging historical scope. There are, of course, important differences between the two works: e.g., the beast fable element of Penguin Island is quickly dropped; its pessimism is less leavened by humor than that of Animal Farm, and its satire often more in the nature of diatribe. Nonetheless, it seems obvious to me that Animal Farm owes at least as much to Anatole France as to Rudyard Kipling; and as novelists and essayists France and Orwell have much in common. Consider Orwell's comparison of Mark Twain and Anatole France in his essay on Twain. We could simply substitute Orwell's name for that of France with little loss of accuracy.

> Both men were the spiritual children of Voltaire, both had an ironic, skeptical view of life, and a native pessimism overlaid by gaiety; both knew that the existing social order is a swindle and its cherished beliefs mostly delusions. Both were bigoted atheists and convinced. . .of the unbearable cruelty of the universe. But there the resemblance ends. Not only is the Frenchman enormously more learned, more civilized, more alive aesthetically, but he is also more courageous. He does attack the things he disbelieves in; he does not, like Mark Twain, always take refuge behind the amiable mask of the 'public figure' and the licensed jester. He is ready to risk the anger of the

> Church and to take the unpopular side in a controversy. . . ("Mark Twain: The Licensed Jester." (In CEJL, Vol. 2:327).

II. Animal Farm as Literature and Didactic

Animal Farm is the first work by Orwell which is other than grittily naturalistic. (See esp. DOPL, CD, RWP and HC.) Even Burmese Days, despite its frequent lapses into purple prose, has descriptions of British colonial life which are carefully detailed and brutally precise. Animal Farm is subtitled "A Fairy-Story," a caption which has misled some critics, for "we are accustomed to think of the fairy-story as the escapist form of literature par excellence[3] (Woodcock, 1956:7). Indeed, Animal Farm is written so simply and entertainingly that in many libraries it will be found in the juvenile section as well as (if not instead of) the adult section (cf. Blount, 1974:66-68).

There are two common mistakes in reading Animal Farm. The first is to confuse simplicity of form with simplicity of idea; the second is to fail to understand the importance of the events in Animal Farm as a form of political history.

One persistent oversimplication of Animal Farm is Laurence Brander's claim (1954:171; cited in Greenblatt, 1974:106) that Animal Farm was written by Orwell in a state where "the gaiety in his nature had completely taken charge. . .writing about animals whom he loved." There are two errors here. The first is to overestimate the importance of the animal nature of the protagonists in Animal Farm. The second is to view the fable as in any way a happy one.

That Orwell was an animal lover there is no doubt. "Most of the good things in my childhood and up to the age of about twenty are in some way connected with animals" (SSWJ; cf. "Shooting an Elephant" in SE). However, although Animal Farm rests on an analogy between animals and the exploited underclass,[4] (echoed elsewhere by Orwell in his comparisons of the proles in 1984 to beasts, and of the plongeurs in Down and Out in Paris and London to imprisoned animals), it is quite absurd to attach undue importance to Orwell's love of animals as a key to Animal Farm. "What is essential to the success of the satirical beast fable, as Ellen Douglas Leyburn observes, is the author's power to keep his reader conscious simultaneously of the human traits satired and of the animals as animals" (Leyburn, 1962:215, cited in Greenblatt, 1974:106). We concur fully with Greenblatt (1974:107) that

> The storyteller must never allow the animals to be simply beasts, in which case the piece becomes a nonsatirical children's story, or to be merely transparent symbols, in which case the piece becomes a dull sermon. Orwell proved in Animal Farm, his remarkable ability to maintain this delicate satiric balance.

Christopher Hollis (1962:226) claims that Animal Farm possesses two essential qualities of a successful animal fable:

> On the one hand, the author of such a fable must have the Swift-like capacity of ascribing with solemn face to the animal's idiotic but easily recognized human qualities, doling them out in aptly changed phraseology to suit the animal life. . . . But what is also essential and this is often overlooked--is that the writer should have himself a genuine love of animals--should be able to create here and there, in the midst of all his absurdity, scenes of animal life, in themselves realistic and lovable.

We are quite skeptical as to the latter portion of this claim, and we are in flat disagreement with Hollis when he asserts that

> The animal fable, if it is to succeed at all ought clearly to carry with it a gay and light-hearted message. It must be full of comedy and laughter. The form is too far removed from reality to tolerate sustained bitterness (Hollis, 1962:226).

Rather, we concur with Greenblatt (1974:106-107), that Orwell uses the apparently frivolous form of the animal tale to convey a profoundly bitter message.

> Animal Farm does indeed contain much gaiety and humor, but even in the most comic moments there is a disturbing current of cruelty or fear. . . . While Snowbell. . .is organizing the 'Egg Production Committee for the hens, the Clean Tails Committee for the Cows, the Wild Comrade's Re-education Committee. . ., the Whiter Wool Movement for the Sheep, Napoleon. . .is carefully indoctrinating the dogs for his own evil purposes. Similarly, the 'confessions' forced from the animals in Napoleon's great pages are very funny, but when the dogs tear the throats out of the 'guilty' parties and leave a pile of corpses at the tyrant's feet, the scene ceases to amuse.

Animal Farm contradicts Hollis' literary dictum that the animal fable cannot successfully encompass tragedy, but must remain gay and frivolous in tone if it is to succeed.

Keith Alldritt is one of several critics to commit the error of viewing Animal Farm as an unsophisticated work. According to Alldritt, "the allegorical form in which Animal Farm is couched is a means for turning away from the disturbing complexities of experience rather than for confronting them" (Alldritt, 1969:149). Likening Orwell to Kipling,

and a Kipling suitable only for the nursery at that, (Alldritt, 1969:149), Alldritt belittles both the seriousness of purpose and the literary achievement of Animal Farm. Indeed, Alldritt dismisses Animal Farm as written in a fashion which "allows only simple ideal, easy responses, and obvious conclusions" (Alldritt, 1969:149).

Alldritt (1969:149) gives as an example of Orwell's juvenile oversimplifying, "the emotional climax of the book, which comes when Boxer, the loyal and hard-working but unintelligent workhorse, emblematic of the 'common people,' is sold to knackers by the pig-commisars when he becomes too ill to work any more." Alldritt then asserts that

> The feelings of simple compassion and absolutely righteous indignation which this incident is calculated to evoke may be tolerable in a nursery tale that has no pretensions to being anything other than a nursery tale. But in one which lays claim to offer the adult intelligence some feeling for the realities of modern social and political life, they cannot, because of their crudity and sentimentality, merit serious attention (Alldritt, 1969:149).

Alldritt charges that Orwell's "account of revolution is greatly oversimplified: it is too obvious, too facile, too easy. Whatever we may think of the Russian revolution or, for that matter of any revolution, we cannot but be aware that the crises of a society are much more complex than Orwell is here able to suggest" (Alldritt, 1969:148-149).

I regard Alldritt's charges as misleading. As a story, Animal Farm is straightforward, engrossing, witty and memorable. As a political fable, it is insightful and frighteningly accurate in its broad historical overview. Any description of events, whether it be literary or

historical, excerpts from the minutiae of existence key elements upon which a narrative is hung. Selectivity is inescapable. We judge a work at least in part by its success in capturing the "essentials." Furthermore, the fate of one individual animal (e.g., a Boxer or a Rubashov) may be more sympathetically portrayed than the most realistic picture of the deaths of thousands of "old Bolsheviks" or millions of Kulaks in the mass.[5]

In "Why I Write" (1947, in CJEL) Orwell asserts that "what I have most wanted to do throughout the past ten years is to make political writing into an art. When I sit down to write a book I do not say to myself 'I am going to produce a work of art.' I write it because there is some lie I want to expose, some fact to which I want to draw attention. . ." Orwell, a harsh critic, particularly of his own work, goes on to write "Animal Farm was the first book in which I tried, with full consciousness of what I was doing, to fuse political purpose and artistic purpose into one whole." In this, I believe, Orwell achieved remarkable success.

Of course, as Hollis (1962:225), a former schoolmate of Orwell, writes,

> Even a total acceptance of Orwell's political opinions would not in itself make Animal Farm a great work of art. The world is full of animal fables in which this country or that country is symbolized by this or that animal, and very tedious affairs the greater number of them are--and that, irrespective of whether we agree or disagree with their opinions. To be a great book, a book of animal fables requires literary greatness as well as a good cause. Such greatness Animal Farm surely possesses.

Animal Farm succeeds in generating that "willing suspension of disbelief" which allows us to enter fully into the world Orwell has created without cavilling at the animals' ability to communicate with each other or their ability to successfully rebel against humanity (cf. Hollis, 1962:226). None of the animals ever acts in a way which seems, within the context of our suspicion of disbelief, to be at variance with its animal nature. The characterizations: Boxer, the loyal Stakhanovite; Molly, the bourgeois luxury lover; the chickens, as Kulaks, unhappy with collectivization; the silly geese who confess to Trotskyite inspired crimes of a preposterous nature, etc. all ring delightfully true.

Orwell's choice of pigs as the "brain-worker" elite is biologically well-founded. Pigs are among the most intelligent of domestic animals. That pigs are also the "villains" of Animal Farm is consonant with common folk beliefs about the pig as a dirty, selfish, sluggish, brutish, refuse-eating animal. The terms "pig" and "swine" symbolize degradation in Christian parables (cf. "The Moral Pigsty" in Small, 1975: Chapter 4) and derivatives from these terms (e.g., "roadhog," "male chauvinist pig," pig-headed," etc.) are invariably terms of abuse in western culture.[6,7]

One of the great virtues of Animal Farm is the "unforced" nature of both its prose and its narratives. Though we can recognize the actual sequence of historical events, the story in Animal Farm has a life of its own which does not seem dictated by purposes external to it and incomprehensible without stepping out of the context of the fable and ascending to a higher order of understanding. (Cf. the metaphorical chess game in Lewis Carroll's Through the Looking Glass or in John Brunner's Squares of

the City, in both of which the analogies to moves on a chess board to me often seem strained.) In my view, Animal Farm will be read for both enjoyment and enlightenment when most of what has been written by 20th century authors will be of interest only to Ph.D. candidates in need of thesis topics.

Alldritt, while erring in his judgment of Animal Farm's literary merit, is, at least, accurate in identifying the historical realities underlying the allegory.

> We may identify old Major, the aged porker who has the dream and who provides the ideological impulse to the revolution, as Karl Marx, and we may recognize the quarrel between Napoleon and Snowball as representing the rift between Stalin and Trotsky. And we may like to find the allegorical counterparts of the treason trials, the emergence of the Soviet secret police, the drive for technological achievement, the perversion of the ideals of the revolution and the misuse of propaganda" (Alldritt, 1969:148).

Other critics, some perhaps because pro-Soviet attitudes blinded them to Orwell's thrust, others due to a literary penchant for the "work-in-itself," and most simply due to unfamiliarity with Soviet history, read Animal Farm as a general satire on "plus ca change plus ca meme chose" or on "the rule of the many by the few," (cf. Beresford, 1945:3; Blount, 1968:66-681). This is to miss the point.

Leonard Woodcock, a writer of anarchist persuasion who became a soul friend of Orwell in the 1940's, wrote:

> There was no doubt in Orwell's mind about his intentions in writing Animal Farm. He felt that the English in 1943 were allowing their admiration for the military heroism of the

> Russians to blind them to the faults of the Communist regime, and he also believed that the Communists were using their position as unofficial representatives of Russia in England to prevent the truth from being known, as they had done in Spain. Animal Farm was meant to set his compatriots thinking again" (Woodcock, 1966:193).

More generally, we may quote Orwell's statement in "Why I Write" (1947, in CJEL) that

> The Spanish War and other events in 1936-37 turned the scale and thereafter I knew where I stood. Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism, as I understand it. . .(T)he more one is conscious of one's political bias, the more chance one has of acting politically without sacrificing one's esthetic and intellectual integrity."

The clearest statement of Orwell's purpose in writing Animal Farm and his inspirations for it is his preface to the 1947 Ukrainian Edition of Animal Farm. The original English text of this was lost and it was not till it was retranslated from the Ukrainian in 1968 that it became readily available. (In CEJL, Vol. 3, pp. 402-406.) No one who reads this preface can doubt that Animal Farm was intended as an exposé of Soviet Communism or that it is based quite explicitly on incidents in Soviet history. "On my return from Spain, I thought of exposing the Soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages" (Ibid, p. 405). "Although the various episodes are taken from the actual history of the Russian Revolution, they are dealt with schematically and their chronological order is changed; this was necessary for the symmetry of

the story" (Ibid, p. 406). ". . .I included some events, for example the Teheran Conference, which were taking place when I was writing" (Ibid).

Having strongly warned against the folly of reading Animal Farm as if Stalin, the banishment of Trotsky, the Moscow Purge trials, etc. were irrelevant to its understanding, let me now sound a more cautious note by endorsing, at least in part, the views of B. T. Oxley on reading Animal Farm as allegory.

> This book is not an allegory in which everything has to stand for something else. To read it this way reduces it to the level of a sophisticated crossword puzzle. Thus, there is no figure corresponding to Lenin (Major dies before the rising takes place); and the farm does take on a life of its own. The friendship between Clover and Boxer, or the cynicism of Benjamin do not need to be explained in terms of actual history" (Oxley, 1967:81).

So far so good, but then Oxley continues:

> It may be that, for those who know their history, the rebellion of the hens seems parallel to the rebellion of the Russian sailors at Kronstadt in 1921, or that the two farmers Frederick and Pilkington represent Germany and England. But it is not really necessary to an understanding of the book (and may lead to incorrect history) to work at this level of detail" (Oxley, 1967:81).

Here Oxley and I part company. It is crucial to an understanding of Animal Farm to realize that Orwell was concerned not only with the internal dynamics of Soviet Communism but with the hypocrisy underlying relations between states of purportedly antipathetic ideologies. To fail to draw the connections between the timber sale to Frederick, Frederick's

payment in counterfeit notes, and subsequent attack on Animal Farm leading to the destruction of the windmill, and the zigs and zags in German-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet relations from the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939 to Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 is to miss the full irony of this section of Animal Farm. When another critic (Kubal, 1972:127) asserts, "The historical relevance, the fact that the author was satirizing the Soviet revolution is. . .of comparatively minor importance," he is, in my view, quite wrong. Of course, Oxley is right when he claims that "Napoleon is presumably not given that name by accident, and the Russian Revolution is not the only one to have ended in dictatorship" (Oxley, 1967:81); but Animal Farm is not about the French Revolution and its aftermath; or the rise to power of Hitler; or, for that matter, the rise to power of Genghis Khan. As Orwell, himself, has made explicit; however many lessons of universal applicability it may contain, Animal Farm is about the Soviet Union 1917-1943.

Few genres are as fleeting as satire, because satire so heavily rests on its topicality and immediate relevance. (Try listening today to political humor of even as recent a vintage as the early 60's--say the British satirical group Beyond the Fringe or sketches by Mort Sahl--and you'll know exactly what I mean.) Most satire written before 1920, and most satire not originally meant for an English-speaking audience, is in fact incomprehensible to us without such detailed annotation as to make reading it an exercise in pedantry not pleasure. (Here, I call your attention to the content of, say, Johnson (1945)--which was inflicted on unsuspecting undergraduates for a number of decades.) Those works of

satire which last must be capable of being read on several different levels, and must be capable of being enjoyed even by those oblivious to historical or literary allusions. Even when the allusions are lost, a large part of the bite must remain. Animal Farm meets this test with flying colors.[8]

That Animal Farm recapitulates in condensed and symbolic form the history of the Soviet revolution does not prevent it from being seized on as a general weapon in any antidictatorial or antitotalitarian cause; and Orwell's ghost would no doubt chortle with glee at such uses.[9] Orwell was never an "anti-Communist" (as we currently use that phrase, often to describe a rabid zealot of the right); he was that much rarer and quite different creature, an "anti-totalitarian." The sole reason that Orwell concentrated the bulk of his fire on totalitarianism of a left-wing variety was that he felt England (and English intellectuals in particular) had more to fear from the seductiveness of the communist illusion than from its fascist counterpart--a view born out by the political history of intellectuals in the 30's and 40's in Great Britain (and the U.S.).

> Orwell's whole record from Spanish days onwards shows his impartial hatred of all tyrannies and of all totalitarian claims, and as a matter of history it was against what he thought of as a fascist tyranny that he first enlisted to fight (Hollis, 1962:227).

I would also largely concur with Hollis' view that

> Conservatives who hailed Animal Farm as an attack simply on communism interpreted it too narrowly and too much to suit their own convenience. . .there is no hint of a suggestion that Jones, a druken brute, who was letting the farm down,

> did not deserve all that he got. . .The two neighboring farmers--Pilkington (England), an easy-going gentleman farmer who spent most of his time in fishing or hunting according to the season--and Frederick (German), 'a tough, shrewd man perpetually involved in lawsuits and with a name for driving hard bargains are equally worthless. Their sole motive is greed (Hollis, 1962:227, emphasis and bracketed material ours.)

However history-laden the details of Animal Farm may be, the anti-totalitarian lessons it conveys are universal. In a review of 1984 written with mixed sentiments ("Although George Orwell's 1984 is a brilliant and fascinating novel, the nature of its fantasy is so absolutely final and relentless that I can recommend it only with a certain reservation") Diana Trilling (1949:716-717) perceptively evaluates Orwell's broader themes in Animal Farm.

> Even where, as in his last novel, Animal Farm, Mr. Orwell seemed to be concerned only with unmasking the Soviet Union for its dreamy admirers, he was urged on by something larger than sectarianism. What he was telling us is that all along the path the Soviet revolution has followed to the destruction of all the decent human values, there have stood the best ideals of modern social enlightenment. . . . In the name of a higher loyalty, treacheries beyond imagination have been committed; in the name of Socialist equality, privilege has ruled unbridled; in the name of democracy and freedom, the individual has lived without public voice or private peace. . .(W)e are being warned against the extremes to which the contemporary totalitarian spirit can carry us, not only so that we will be warned against Russia, but so that we will understand the ultimate dangers involved whenever power moves under the guise of order and rationality.

One last point: It would be a very grave error to see Snowball as the hero in Animal Farm. This simplification of the porcine world into good pigs and bad pigs has been made both by the naive critic (e.g.,

Jacintha Buddicom, 1974) and the presumably sophisticated (e.g., Laurence Brander, 1954). Miss Buddicom, Orwell's childhood friend claims that

> The heroic Pigling Bland was a white pig, and in Animal Farm the white pigs are the good pigs. But it is a sorry metamorphasis for the delicious Black Berkshire Pigwig to be replaced by the dreadful Black Berkshire Napoleon: Mr. Pilkington in Animal Farm is a relative of Beatrix Potter's Mr. Peter Thomas Piperson, I think (Buddicom, 1974:40, emphasis in original).

While Mr. Pilkington has many a gentleman-farmer as his relative, the claim that the white pigs are the good pigs in Animal Farm is quite wrong-headed. Orwell was no more an apologist for Trotsky than he was an apologist for Stalin.

> (F)rom the very first day of insurrection it is evident that a new elite is replacing the vanished human rulers--the elite of the pigs who are the equivalent of the party. Immediately they arrogate privileges to themselves--first a monopoly of milk, then of apples. They become supervisors, while the other animals, with the sole exception of that arch anti-collectivist, the cat, do the work. The pigs, it should be noted, are united when it is a question of defending their rights as an elite against the other animals. Orwell had no intention of making Animal Farm an apology for Trotskyism, as he made quite clear in a conversation which Julian Symons recorded: 'And just in case I had any illusions about his attitude, he pointed out that Trotsky-Snowball was potentially as big a villain as Stalin-Napoleon, though he was Napoleon's victim. The first note of corruption was struck, he said, when the pigs secretly had the cows' milk added to their own mash, and Snowball consented to this first act of inequality.'
>
> The struggle between Snowball and Napoleon is in fact a struggle within the party elite whose final result, whichever had won, would have been the increased consolidation and centralization of power in the hands of the pigs (Woodcock, 1966:196).

Laurence Brander, author of a full length study of Orwell (Brander, 1954), sees Snowball as "a symbol of altruism, the essential social virtue" and his expulsion as the defeat of "his altruistic laws for giving warmth, food and comfort to all the animals" (Brander, 1954:175 cited in Greenblatt, 1974:109). As Greenblatt points out, "This is very touching, but unfortunately there is no indication that Snowball is any less corrupt or power-mad than Napoleon" (Greenblatt, 1974:109). As Orwell himself wrote, "Trotsky, in exile, denounces the Russian dictatorship, but he is probably as much responsible for it as any man now living" (CEJL, Vol. 1:38; cited in Williams, 1971:63).

III. Animal Farm's Critical Debut

For a time it appeared as if the fate of Animal Farm would parallel that of Homage to Catalonia, a book rejected by Orwell's regular publisher and upon publication, vilified by the Left. The latter sold only 900 copies and was eventually remaindered. Orwell attributed this fact largely to Russophile views on the part of left intellectuals which blinded them to the truth about the Communist party role in the Spanish Civil War, and led them to seek to suppress evidence unfavorable to the communists.

> I had discovered that it was almost impossible to get any publicity in the English press for a truthful account of what had been going on in Catalonia in May-June 1937 (mass imprisonments without trial, assassinations by the secret police, etc.). A number of people had said to me with varying degrees of frankness, that one must not tell the truth about what was happening in Spain, and the part

> played by the Communist Party, because to do so would be to prejudice public opinion against the Spanish government and so aid (the dictator) Franco. I do not agree with this view, because I hold the outmoded opinion that it does not pay to tell lies ("Letter to Editor of Time and Tide," February 5, 1938, in CEJL, Vol. 1:297-298).

One influential figure, Kingsley Martin, editor of the New Statesman, epitomized for Orwell the "truth must bow to expediency and the Soviet Union can do no wrong" point of view.

> As soon as I got out of Spain I wired from France asking if they (the New Statesman) would like an article and of course they said yes, but when they saw that my article was on the suppression of the POUM they said they couldn't print it. To sugar the pill they sent me to review a very good book which appeared recently, The Spanish Cockpit, which blows the gaff pretty well on what has been happening. But once again when they saw my review they couldn't print it, as it was against editorial policy (cited in Pryce-Jones, 1971:144).

Victor Vollancz, publisher for the Left Book Club, and Orwell's regular publisher, had refused Orwell a book advance before he went to Spain, in anticipation of a probable rejection of Orwell's manuscript. Orwell's previous book for the Left Book Club, The Road to Wigan Pier, which had been commissioned by them, stirred a great deal of controversy upon its receipt. Orwell's outspoken views on the futility of intellectuals seeking to recruit workers to socialism by haranguing them with unintelligible and prolix Marxist rhetoric were not well received.

> According to Philip Toynbee (Encounter, August 1959), The Road to Wigan Pier had been received 'with considerable obloquy by Communists and fellow-travelers, but with enthusiasm by many'. . . . In the Daily Worker (which twice had reviewed earlier Orwell books quite favorably) Harry

> Pollitt discovered in Orwell 'a disillusioned little middle-class boy' who had only to hear what Left Book circles would say about his before resolving never to write again on any subject that he did not understand. From then on, it became standard practice on the far left to make some play about the Blair/Orwell change of name, and a mention of Eton and the Indian Imperial Police was almost obligatory (Pryce-Jones, 1971:145).

The Daily Worker was, not surprisingly, even less pleased with Homage to Catalonia. It referred rather nastily to

> books produced by individuals who have splashed their eyes for a few months with Spanish blood. . . . The value of the book is that it gives an honest picture of the sort of mentality that toys with revolutionary romanticism but shies violently at revolutionary discipline. It should be read as a warning (cited in Pryce-Jones, 1971:146).

While Gollancz published Orwell's novel Coming Up for Air in 1939, he rejected the manuscript of Animal Farm. For him "the war-time alliance put the Russians beyond criticism" (Pryce-Jones, 1971:146).

> Three English and some twenty American publishers followed Gollancz's lead and turned the book down for fear of upsetting a military ally, although some thought it was too short at 30,000 words to make a book at all. T. S. Eliot, editorial director of Faber and Faber, was among those who rejected it, and for some months Orwell was gloomy about the book's prospects (Pryce-Jones, 1971:148).

Only one publisher, Secket and Warburg, was willing to accept Animal Farm, and even that publisher "dared not bring it out till the war was over" ("Letter to Frank Barker, September 3, 1945, in CELJ, Vol. 3:402). This delayed the publication of Animal Farm for one year, to a point when in fact the cold war had already begun and Russophile sentiments were

muted or reversed. Until the publication of Animal Farm, Orwell had never been able to live on what he earned from writing alone; and indeed his literary earnings were scant. After Animal Farm, Orwell was comfortably prosperous with its publication. Eric Blair achieved his childhood ambition of being a FAMOUS AUTHOR (see Buddicom, 1974:138), though it was as George Orwell, the nom de plume adopted in 1933 which became his second identity, that this success was achieved. The publishers with the wisdom to accept Animal Farm sold half a million copies within three years. (Pryce-Jones, 1971:148). Certainly, part of the reason for this success was that Animal Farm became a weapon in the Cold War, but that is only part of the reason.

Reviews in the U.S. were mixed, though very largely favorable--in most cases enthusiastically so (at least as judged by the abstract of reviews in the 1949 volume of the Book Review Digest, which included virtually all American political and literary journals of any circulation). The reviewers who liked it said things like "Animal Farm is a wise, compassionate and illuminating fable for our times (A. M. Schlesinger, New York Times, August 25, 1946:1); "Animal Farm is a neat little book. The writing is neat, too, as lucid as glass and quite as sharp." (Edward Weeks, Atlantic, Vol. 178, September 1946); and "It is absolutely first-rate" (Edmund Wilson, The New Yorker, Vol. 22, September 7, 1946). The critics of a strong anti-communist bent said things like "(T)he book saddened and puzzled me. It seemed on the whole dull. The allegory turned out to be a creaking machine for saying in a clumsy way things that have been said better directly." (George Soule, New Republic, Vol. 115, September 2,

1946); and "Animal Farm should have been written years ago; coming as it does in the wake of the event, it can only be called a backward work." (Isaac Rosenfeld, The Nation, Vol. 163, September 7, 1946). Reviewers of a communist bent on both sides of the Atlantic wrote with pens dipped in venom: "To write Animal Farm, attacking the Soviet Union at the moment that the defenders of Stalingrad struck one of the decisive blows which won the war for the United Nations was for Blair/Orwell an act of integrity. Only incidentally did it bring him a fortune from reactionaries in this country and the U.S.A." (Arthur Calder Marshall, Reynolds News, 1949; cited in Pryce-Jones, 1971:149). "For Orwell, life is a dunghill" (Samuel Sillen, "Maggot-of-the-Month," Masses and Mainstream, Vol. 2, August 1949; reprinted in Howe, 1963:210). Of 1984 this same author writes (Ibid:211), "Orwell's novel coincides perfectly with the propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers," and about Orwell, "The author of this cynical rot is quite a hero himself. He served for five years in the Indian Imperial Police, an excellent training center for dealing with the 'proles.' He was later associated with the Trotskyites in Spain, serving in the P.D.U.M. and he freely concedes that when this organization of treason to the Spanish Republic was accused of profascist activities 'I defended them to the best of my ability.' During World War II he busied himself with defamation of the Soviet Union" (Ibid).

Kingsley Martin,[10] whom we've previously mentioned in connection with Orwell's writings on the Spanish Civil War, was also able to come up with reasons for discounting Animal Farm.

> He admitted that the story had its truth and that the 'shafts strike home.' But the logic of Orwell's satire, he believed, is ultimate cynicism, and that could not be permitted. Orwell, he thought 'has not quite the courage to see that he has lost faith, not in Russia, but in mankind (Pryce-Jones, 1971:150).

To this Pryce-Jones rebuts:

> It was beside the point that Orwell had never had faith in Russia or in mankind, whatever faith in mankind may mean. The argument enabled the Socialist left to go in for a bit of doublethink: to accept that Orwell was a truthful, admirable, and perhaps great writer, but simultaneously to discount him because he was a pessimist. . .offering neither hope nor solutions (Pryce-Jones, 1971:150).

To close out this overview of the critical reception received by Animal Farm when it first came out, let me cite the views of K. T. Willis in the Library Journal (Vol. 71, August 1946).

> Stimulating reading but not imperative for all libraries.

The whole story of Animal Farm and its delayed publication is filled with ironies of a sort that look humorous only in retrospect. For example, in 1947, Orwell gave permission for Ukrainian refugees in the American Zone in Germany and Belgium to translate Animal Farm into Ukrainian, charging them no fee. Of the 3500 copies of this edition, 1500 were confiscated by the American authorities in Munich and handed over to Soviet officials. ("Letter to Arthur Koestler," September 20, 1947, in CEJL, Vol. 4:379) and the English language version of Orwell's preface to this translation, which provides a Rosetta stone to the events in Animal Farm, was lost until some two decades later. Had that preface been better known it is inconceivable that any critic would have dared to claim that Animal Farm was not an allegoric account of events in Soviet

history.[11] However, the central irony surrounding Animal Farm is that "a book written against the grain of prevailing public opinion should have appeared, eighteen months later, at a time when the political situation had changed and it could be used, eagerly, in what was becoming the cold war" (Williams, 1971:69). As Williams (1971:69) continues:

> For a long time the book was inseparable from that ironic political context. Orwell was described on the left as having run 'shrieking into the arms of the capitalist publishers' (Marxist Quarterly, January 1956) which was certainly not how it felt to him at the time ('I am having hell and all to find a publisher for it here though normally I have no difficulty in publishing my stuff.') At the same time, the book was undoubtedly used by people with whom Orwell had no sympathy and when followed by 1984 which was even more extensively used, it fixed a vision of Orwell which he, at least, would have considered misleading.

IV. Animal Farm as History

The story of Animal Farm is so well known that I shall assume my readers are familiar with it in basic outline. The annotations I provide in Table 1 and in the footnotes thereto are based on statements in Orwell's own writings (particularly those in CEJL); comments made by various Orwell scholars (especially Atkins, 1954; and Oxley, 1967); the discussion in several books on Soviet history and international relations, e.g., Wren, 1968, Skennan, 1960, Laquer, 1965, but rest primarily on two books, Dallin (1944) and Fischer (1952) which are critical of the Soviet Union. According to Atkins (1954:223) "Orwell had read both these books and he received one." If so, he must have read the Fischer book in a preliminary manuscript form, since this book was not published till 1952 and refers to events in 1951 which took place after Orwell's death.

In any case, both review Soviet history in terms which, I believe Orwell would find familiar and not too far distant from his own views, (although, especially in the case of Fischer, probably too simplistically anti-communist for his taste).

To attempt to treat events in Animal Farm as literal history is, of course, quite absurd. Animal Farm is a fable and the correspondence between fable and reality involves metaphoric transformations, not one-to-one and onto mappings. Furthermore, as Orwell himself notes (see "Preface to Ukrainian Edition of Animal Farm, in CEJL, Vol. 4) in Animal Farm, he has taken liberties with chronology and certain important details (e.g., the slave labor camps) are missing completely. Moreover, it is impossible to match in a simple-minded way all the characters in Animal Farm with their historical equivalents since many (e.g., Molly, Boxer, the sheep, etc.) stand not for particular individuals but for types, (e.g., squealer is the spineless propagandist who parrots the party line in Pravda no matter how much it may zig or zag); and characters may also combine traits (e.g., Boxer is a Stakhanovite worker, but he is also a simple peasant who becomes a loyal-to-the-death convert to Animalism's revolutionary and utopian vision).

Nonetheless, to belabor a point already made in our discussion above, Animal Farm is based on Soviet history 1917-1943; and tracing the exact correspondences provides important insights into the irony, the wit, and the tremendous ability to select apt metaphor which underpins what, in my view, is Orwell's greatest work. Furthermore, it is foolish to assume that the post-revolution history of the Soviet Union is known even in broad compass, (much less in detail) to most Americans, even those with a

college education. Atkins remarks in 1954 that the average British "public library borrower does know whom Snowball, Squealer, and Boxer represent" (Atkins, 1954:223). My own experience in teaching Animal Farm to college students in both New York and California is that the majority of students who read the book in high school were not taught that it is about Soviet history, and only a handful were clever enough or knowledgeable enough to make that connection on their own.

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BD: Burmese Days; New York, 1934

CD: A Clergyman's Daughter; London, 1935

KAF: Keep the Aspidistra Flying; London, 1936

RWP: The Road To Wigan Pier; London, 1937

HC: Homage to Catalonia; London, 1938

CUA: Coming Up For Air; London, 1939

IW: Inside the Whale; London, 1940

LU: The Lion and the Unicorn; London, 1941

AF: Animal Farm; London, 1945

NEF: Nineteen Eighty-Four; London, 1949

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Footnotes

1. Kipling fell in what Orwell called the "good-bad" category, author of works which "reek of sentimentality..., yet...are capable of giving true pleasure to people who can see clearly what is wrong with them" ("Rudyard Kipling" in CEJL, Vol. 2). "At his worst, and also his most vital, in poems like 'Gunga Din' or 'Danny Deever', Kipling is almost a shameful pleasure, like the taste for cheap sweets that some people secretly carry into middle life" ("Rudyyard Kipling" in CEJL, Vol. 2). Orwell had a fondness for "good-bad" literature and a critical appreciation of its virtues and its vices (see e.g., "Boys' Weeklies" in CEJL) (As a fan of John Wayne movies and "Uncle Scrooge" comics, this appreciation for the "good-bad" art form is something I share.) For Orwell, likening his work to that of Kipling would not have been the ultimate insult it apparently is for Alldritt (see Alldritt, 1969. pp. 149-150).

   Furthermore, the Biblical "Ten Commandments" and the observed only in the breach clauses of the much heralded Soviet Constitution of 1936, are much more direct sources for the "Laws of Animalism" than is Kipling's "Law of the Jungle."

2. Once an extremely celebrated author, France's work is today denigrated and has been since before his death in 1924. In his essay on France, Orwell attributed the author's fall from grace partly to political motives and asserts:

   > He may or may not have been a great writer, but he was one of the symbolic figures in the politico-literary dogfight which has been for a hundred years or more. . .Anatole France had championed Dreyfus, which needed considerable courage; he had debunked Joan of Arc; he had written a comic history of France; above all, he had lost no opportunity of poking fun at the Church" ("As I Please," in CEJL, Vol. 3:173).

   As Orwell catalogue's France's traits, it is clear that, for him, this is a litany of virtues. A similar litany would be easy to generate for Orwell. It would be easy enough, too, to imagine events which would lead to the same virtually universal downgrading of Orwell's literary reputation as happened to France. Orwell's description of France as a writer "overpraised in his own lifetime" would fit Orwell as well. France's writings proved too cynical and pessimistic for the socialists and not doctrinaire enough for the communists, too radical and anticlerical for the conservatives, and not patriotic enough for the liberals. Had Orwell lived somewhat longer, he might have lived long enough to make himself almost as

unpopular with the Right who mistook him (on the basis of a misreading of Animal Farm and 1984) for an anti-communist of the same breed as they, and the Labor Party hacks (who still don't know what to make of someone who equated socialism with "honesty" and "decency"), and the liberals (who dislike being reminded that, if they really acted on their own professed beliefs, they wouldn't be having strawberries with cream while other human beings starve); as he still is with the dogmatic Left.

3. Although DOPL, BD, and CD were simultaneously issued in American editions when they were first published, they were soon out of print in the U.S. and were not reprinted till the mid '50s. HC did not appear in a U.S. edition till 1952. A collection of some of his essays became available in the U.S. in 1946. Orwell's other major works, i.e., KAF, RWP and CUA, did not appear in U.S. editions until the mid and late '50s when Animal Farm and 1984 had made Orwell a name to conjure with.

4. Critics have variously interpreted Orwell's intent in using the phrase "fairy story" as a subtitle for Animal Farm.

   Woodhouse (1956:13-14) asserts that "the point about fairy-stories is that they are written not merely without a moral but without a morality. They take place in a world beyond good and evil, where people (or animals) suffer or prosper for reasons unconnected with ethical men. . . . Even when Grimm's stepmothers are called 'wicked,' it is well to remember that in German their Bosheit is viciousness and bad temper, not moral guilt." Woodhouse (1956:13) claims that "it is impossible to attach a moral in any familiar sense to Animal Farm, where wickedness ends in triumph and virtue is utterly crushed."

   Alldritt (1969:148) sarcastically asserts that "since the book does not tell of fairies nor yet of the magical, this description ("A Fairy Story") seems hardly appropriate."

   Voorhees (1961:58) claims that "because the British and the Russians were still fighting the Germans, presumably with a common aim in 1944, Orwell cast Animal Farm not in the form of realistic fiction, but in the form of the fable."

   Voorhees' view attributes to Orwell a political expediency that is unlikely in the extreme. Orwell's choice of the beast fable is an aesthetic, not a political choice. In "Inside the Whale" (in IW and CEJL, Vol. 2), Orwell writes of his dissatisfaction with his own novels and his unhappiness with the novel as a vehicle for expressing ideas. "It seems, therefore, that in selecting the allegorical form Orwell sought a means of clearly expressing his political ideas without having to deal with the requisites of the novel" (Kubal, 1972:128).

Woodhouse's observation seems false as a picture of fairy tales (cf. the various stories of the three brothers, only the youngest of whom is truly virtuous, in which virtue is clearly rewarded) and in any case does not apply to Animal Farm--a book clearly intended to point a moral. Alldritt is simply not very helpful; since Orwell, quite knowledgeable about children's literature, would certainly not have chosen this subtitle without a reason.

The hypothesis that to me seems most plausible is offered by Oxley (1967). According to Oxley (1967:80; emphasis ours) Orwell subtitled his book "A Fairy Story" to call attention to the Soviet Revolution as something which "had proved to be a disappointing illusion. This to many people in the West was what one of the potentially greatest experiments in political engineering ever undertaken had turned into, as the Russia of the 1917 Revolution became the Stalinist Russia of the thirties and forties." Such usage for the term "Fairy Story" is exemplified in a well-known joke, (paraphrased by Wilde (1976:74) to score a point off Democrats and reworded slightly by me to make the point explicit).

> A young Democrat mayor took $100,000 from the city's safe and lost it on the stock market. Then his beautiful wife left him. In despair he went down to the river and was just about to jump off the bridge when he was stopped by a woman in a black cloak, with a wrinkled face and stringy gray hair.
>
> "Don't jump," she rasped. "I'm a witch, and I'll grant you three wishes if you do something for me!"
>
> "I'm beyond help," he replied.
>
> "Don't be silly," she said. "Alakazam! The money is back in the City Hall vault. Alakazam! Your wife is home waiting for you with love in her heart. Alakazam! You now have $200,000 in the Bank."
>
> "That's w-w-wonderful!" stuttered the mayor. "What do I have to do for you?"
>
> "Spend the night making love to me."
>
> The thought of sleeping with the toothless old hag was repellent, but certainly worth it, so they retired to a nearby motel.
>
> In the morning, the distasteful ordeal over, the mayor was dressing to go home, when the bat in the bed said, "Say sonny, how old are you?"
>
> I'm forty-two!" he replied. "Why?"
>
> Ain't you a little old to believe in fairy tales?"

This interpretation of the intended meaning of "Fairy-Story" is buttressed by Orwell's own statement in his preface to the Ukranian edition of Animal Farm (CEJL Vol 3: 405)

> Nothing has contributed so much to the corruption of the original idea of Socialism as the belief that Russia is a Socialist country and that every act of its rulers must be excused, if not imitated. And so for the past ten years I have been convinced that the destruction of the Soviet myth was essential if we wanted a revival of the Socialist movement. On my return from Spain I thought of exposing the Soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages.

We might also note that, in discussing Animal Farm with friends, while he was still at work on it, Orwell commonly referred to his manuscript as a "political fable."

5. While the notion of writing an anti-totalitarian novel came to Orwell during his experiences in Spain, the actual writings did not begin until several years after Orwell's return from Spain. The analogy which is at the heart of Animal Farm arises from an incident witnessed by Orwell of "a little boy, perhaps ten years old, driving a huge cart-horse along a narrow path, whipping it whenever it tried to turn. It struck me that if only such animals became aware of their strength we should have no power over them, and that men exploit animals in much the same way as the rich exploit the proletariat" (CEJL: 406).

6. A number of scholars have claimed that surpassing evil is not an appropriate target of satire, e.g., Highet (1962:23) writes:

> If Leibniz's theory of optimism had not been merely a superficial and silly hypothesis which could lead to nothing more than folly and eventual disillusionment, Voltaire could not have written a satire (Candide) about it. . .No one could write a successful satire on Attila or Genghis Khan or Hulagu with his pyramids of skulls. No one could satirize leprosy or cancer. . .Some villains are too awful for us to despise. We can only shudder at them and in horror turn away--or try to write a tragedy. Against such crimes, satire is almost impotent. Against lesser crimes and against all follies it is a powerful weapon.

I believe that Animal Farm in large part belies this proscription. By focussing on the fates of individuals who are themselves clearly representative "types," Orwell reduces the magnitude of evil to a scale which permits the relief of laughter, while at the same time continuing to engender horror and disgust.

7. We might parenthetically note that the pig is much maligned. "Contrary to general opinion, the pig is a clean animal if given

sanitary surroundings. Many pigs are forced to live in an unsanitary environment" (Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol. 17, 1968, "Pig": p. 1070). The apparent fondness of pigs for wallowing in the mud has nothing to do with a preference for dirt. Pigs are subject to heat prostration if they are exposed to excessive sun. Indeed, despite the expression "to sweat like a pig," it has recently been proved that pigs cannot sweat at all (Harris, 1974:42). In periods of hot humid weather, pigs need shelter from direct sunlight during the hottest part of the day and may require a wallow to keep their body temperature normal" (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 20, 1976, "Pig": 78a).

The author of the Encyclopedia Brittanica article on pigs claims that the reason for the labelling of pigs as unclean is that the pig has been sacred in many cultures and "ritual cleansing was necessary for those in contact with pigs. . .From this stemmed the idea that the pig was unclean in the ordinary sense" (Encyclopedia Brittanica, op. cit.:1070).

This view is rejected as ludicrous by the anthropologist Marvin Harris who asserts that "the cow, whose golden calf was worshiped at the foot of Mt. Sinai, would seem by. . .(this) logic to make a more logical unclean animal for the Hebrews than the pig" (Harris, 1974:39). Harris also points out that the pigs apparent willingness to wallow in its own urine and excrement is not unique to the pig among domestic animals.

"Cows that are kept in a confined space also splash about in their own urine and feces. And hungry cows will eat human excrement with gusto. Dogs and chickens do the same thing without getting anyone very upset, and the ancients must have known that pigs raised in clean pens make fastidious house pets" (Harris, 1974:36-37). Harris also dismisses the idea that the prohibitions on pig-eating is fear of trichinosis-inspired (Harris, 1974:37-39) and points out the existence of fanatic pig-loving cultures.

> The pig-loving center of the world is located in New Guinea and the South Pacific Melanesian islands. To the village-dwelling horticultural tribes of this region, swine are holy animals that must be sacrificed to the ancestors and eaten on all important occasions. . . . The tribesmen believe that their departed ancestors crave pork so overwhelmingly is the hunger for pig flesh among both the living and the dead that from time to time huge feasts are organized and almost all of a tribe's pigs are eaten at once. For several days in a row, the villagers and their guests gorge on great quantities of pork, vomiting what they cannot digest in order to make room for more. When it is all over, the pig herd is so reduced in size that years of painstaking husbandry are needed to rebuild it (Harris, 1974:36).

Harris attributes the cultural variations in pig-loving and pig-hating to ecological strategy. "The nomadic Israelites could not raise pigs in their arid habitats, while for the semi-sedentary and village farming populations, pigs were more of a threat than an asset" (Harris, 1974:41). According to Harris (1974:40), "The Bible and the Koran condemned the pig because pig farming was a threat to the integrity of the basic cultural and natural ecosystems of the Middle East" (Harris, 1974:40). While I do not find Harris' functionalist explanation particularly convincing, I have nothing better to offer in its place and the interested reader is invited to consult Harris' delightful article at further length.

The pig in many cultures has been a symbol of fertility. This is certainly not surprising since both boars and gilts (a young female that has not had a litter) may be bred at the age of nine months or less; sows produce multiple litters and have multiple breasts to suckle them; and sows may regularly farrow two litters a year.

The reputation of the male pig for promiscuity has been enhanced by human breeding techniques in which a newly-matured boar may be "mated to 20 or 30 sows. . .while an aged boar may be mated to 40 to 60 sows during a season" (Encyclopedia Brittanica, op. cit.:1070).

The reputation of pigs for pushiness probably stems from observation of the sucklings' competition for a place at their dam's teats--a pattern of behavior which the pig carries over into other activities.

There are, of course, a few well-known literary pigs of a non-villainous sort, e.g., Pigling Bland in Beatrix Potter's tale of the same name; Porky and Petunia Pig; of course, the heroic third little pig made famous in America via a Walt Disney cartoon. (The theme song of The Three Little Pigs, "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" was, because of the timing of the film's release--1939-1940-- seen by some in the U.S. as both anti-Hitler and a plea for military preparedness. About the accuracy of this characterization I have no direct knowledge, but as a Scot might say, "Ah doot it."); and even one pig who might be a direct source of inspiration for Animal Farm, the Dutchess' child in Alice in Wonderland, who described as a pig, soon turns into one.

Devotees of psychoanalytic "hidden meanings" might wish to argue that making the pigs the villain in Animal Farm displayed Orwell's distaste for homosexuality and/or his concealed homosexual longings. At the age of 12, Orwell found himself part of a tremendous row about homosexuality in his prep school which led to "summonses, interrogations, confessions, floggings, repentences, stern lectures of which one understood nothing except that some irredeemable sin known as 'swinishness' or 'beastliness' had been committed. One of the ringleaders, a boy named Horne, was flogged, according to eyewitnesses,

for a quarter of an hour continuously before being expelled. His yells ran through the house." (SSWJ:35). Orwell himself was unjustly accused of being a participant. Not being clear on what it was he was being accused of he felt himself guilty. "So I was guilty, too. I had done the dreadful thing, whatever it was, that wrecked you for life, body and soul, and ended in suicide or the lunatic asylum" (SSWJ:35-36).

Throughout his adult life, Orwell would refer to homosexuals with scorn, using derogatory terms like "nancy," and "pansy" and associating homosexuality with authoritarianism and susceptibility to extremist movements.

8. For example, John Gay's Beggars's Opera is an attack on the eighteenth century prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, depicted as the highwayman MacHeath: but we don't need to know this to enjoy Gay's wit (or its twentieth century incarnation as Bertolt Brecht's Threepenny Opera). Gilbert Highet (1962:125) points out that

> "(W)hat seems to us a perfectly innocuous piece, H.M.S. Pinafore was in its time a biting satire on that sensitive organism, the Royal Navy. One of its climaxes--the rebuke of Captain Corcoran for saying 'Damme'--satirizes the enlightened modern democratic principles of discipline which the innovators in the Navy were trying to introduce; and one of its chief characters, Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B., satirizes William Henry Smith, who after a successful career as a book seller moved into politics and became First Lord of the Admiralty in Disraeli's 1877 Cabinet, having never or hardly ever, gone to sea. . . . But the satiric part of the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas has long evaporated" (Highet, 1962:125).

What is left is, however, humorous and charming. Swift's Gulliver begins with a belief that men and women are reasonably honest and wise, but "finds stage by stage, that they are ridiculous midgets, disgusting giants, eccentric lunatics, and apelike anthropods." Of course, "Gulliver is not really voyaging to different countries, but looking at his society through distorting lenses" (Highet, 1962:159). Gulliver's Travels involves what were at the time thinly disguised, though to latter-day readers universed in 18th century history, quite opaque allusions to personages in the royal courts of several European countries of Swift's day. For example, Flimnap, the Royal Treasurer, (in Book I) is almost certainly the much satirized English Prime Minister Walpole; but Swift's description of Flimnap's skill as a tightrope walker (a prerequisite for office in the Land of the Lilliputs) is barbed wit whoever its target may be--and its sting will be felt as long as there are politicians to be mocked (which is to say, forever). (Cf. Oxley, 1967:82.)

I don't wish to argue that the only satire that is worthwhile is that whose message is all on the surface. While Gulliver's Travels can be enjoyed without annotation, subtleties and even not so subtle points are lost through an inability to comprehend the author's intent. However enjoyable a satire may be when we read its surface meaning, it is difficult to appreciate irony when we aren't in on the joke; knowing the context helps us to appreciate the satirist's skills. An adult should not expect to read a Gulliver's Travels or an Animal Farm at the same level of understanding or, indeed, with the same innocent pleasure, as when he first read them as a young adult or child. For the adult rereading a classic work of satire, what was once merely comic may now be perceived as pathos or even tragedy.

9. Oxley (1967:82) points out that "Animal Farm was apparently serialized some years ago in an opposition newspaper in Ghana under the Nkrumah regime, and for its readers then, Napoleon presumably took on another, more local meaning."

10. Edward Hyams, the author of the New Statesman's official history, writes that Orwell came back to Britain with a blistering series of articles attacking the Spanish Government, and that Kingsley Martin did not disbelieve them. But 'the New Statesman had become a "committed" paper while recognizing that, Fascism defeated, we might then have to fight for our principles against the worst elements in Communism'. Deciding that the New Statesman had 'the mentality of a whore', Orwell as an alternative published his views on Spain in the New English Weekly where his Homage to Catalonia would also receive one of its most perceptive reviews, from Philip Mairet: 'It shows us the heart of innocence that lies in revolution; also the miasma of lying that, far more than the cruelty, takes the heart out of it.'

'Much has been made of my refusal to publish a series of articles from George Orwell', comes Kingsley Martin's riposte in Editor, a second volume of his autobiography published in 1968. 'I am not surprised that I did not publish the articles. . .nearly all the papers were full of attacks on Negrin, the humane and liberal Prime Minister, and I objected to adding my venom for much the same reasons as I should have hesitated about doing propaganda for Goebbels in the war against Germany. . . . I knew that whatever else was true the war would certainly be lost if its direction fell into the hands of the Anarchists, many of whom were admirable people and abominably treated.' The passage concludes, 'Maybe if I had known more, I should have been revolted by Communist behaviour, but were not Western liberals ready to endorse bombing of civilians in the Second World War?' Hindsight does nothing to help this rhetorical question, nor explain how Goebbels comes into it (Pryce-Jones, 1971:144-145).

11. One of the ironies concerning Animal Farm, which as far as I'm aware has never been pointed out, is that concerning a too facile equation of Orwell and Swift. Consider Orwell's judgment on Swift, "Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels" (CEJL, Vol. 4:207; with some sentence reordering).

> Politically, Swift was one of those people who are driven into a sort of perverse Toryism by the follies of the progressive party of the moment. Part I of Gulliver's Travels, ostensibly a satire on human greatness, can be seen if one looks a little deeper, to be simply an attack on England, on the dominant Whig Part, and on the war with France, which--however bad the motives of the Allies may have been--did save Europe from being tyrannised over by a single reactionary power. . .(N)o one would deny that Gulliver's Travels is a rancorous as well as a pessimistic book, and that. . .it often descends into political partisanship of a narrow kind.

Substitute Russia for England, Communist for Whig, and Germany for France, Orwell for Swift, and Animal Farm for Gulliver's Travels, and this would be a Left polemic against Orwell and Animal Farm!

TABLE 1: CHARACTERS AND EVENTS IN ANIMAL FARM AND THEIR HISTORICAL COUNTERPARTS
(THE END NOTES TO THIS TABLE ARE NOT REPRODUCED. THEY ARE AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST FROM THE AUTHOR)

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
15, 28	Mr. Jones, owner of Manor Farm: "Too drunk to remember to shut the popholes." "A capable farmer, although a hard master, but of late he had fallen on evil days...disheartened after losing money in a lawsuit, he had taken to drinking more than was good for him."	The Tzar (A)
15	Manor Farm	Russia
16	Major, the boar: "so highly regarded on the farm that everyone was quite ready to lose an hours sleep in order to hear what he had to say."	Marx (B)
16,37	Boxer, the horse: "not of first rate intelligence, but...universally respected for his steadiness of character and tremendous powers of work." "His personal motto, 'I will work harder!'"	Stakhanovite worker (C)
16, 21	Bluebell, Jessie and Pincher; dogs: voted against the resolution to declare the rats comrades.	
16	Clover, the mare: "a stout motherly mare approaching middle life."	
16	The sheep	The pliant masses of the party (D)
16	The cows	Workers
16	Muriel, the white goat	
16, 44	The pigeons: "sent to mingle with the animals on neighboring farms, tell them the story of the rebellion, and teach them the tune of 'Beasts of England.'"	The Comintern (E)
17	"comrades": a term introduced by Major to refer to the brotherhood of all animals.	"Comrade" (F)
16-17	Benjamin, the donkey: "the oldest animal on the farm and the worst tempered...cynical...alone among the animals he never laughed. Nevertheless, without openly admitting it, he was devoted to Boxer"	The realist, the pragmatic survivor who adapts himself to new conditions without giving up his integrity (G)
16, 38	the pigs: "who settled down in the straw immediately in front of the platform." "the pigs did not actually work, but directed and supervised the others."	The Communist Party, the 'new elite' (H)

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
17, 26, 52	Mollie, the mare: "The foolish, pretty white mare who drew Mr. Jone's trap." "After the rebellion, the first question she asked Snowball was: 'will there be sugar?'"	The comfort loving bourgeoisie who flee the Revolution (I)
17	ducklings: "which had lost their mother"	(J)
17, 21	the cat: "purred contentedly throughout Major's speech without listening to a word of what he was saying." Voted on both sides of the motion to declare the rats comrades.	the shirker, the individualist (K)
17, 27	Moses, the tame raven: "a spy and a tale bearer, but. . .also a clever talker." "Jones especial pet. . .hated. . .because he told tales and did no work."	religion (the Russian orthodox church) (L)
19	Man: "the only real enemy (the animals) have. . .the only creature that consumes without producing. . .lord of all the animals	the capitalist exploiting class (M)
21	the rats: "it was agreed by an overwhelming majority that rats were comrades."	(N)
22-23, 46	Beasts of England: "a stirring tune, something between 'Clementine' and 'La Cucaracha,' whose "words were sung by the animals of long ago and have been lost to memory for generations."	the Internationale (O)
24	Jones shoots into the darkness: "the pellets buried themselves in the wall of the barn and the meeting broke up burnedly."	pre-revolutionary suppression of Marxist propaganda by Tsarist officials; suppression which was not well directed but still was often effective.
25	Snowball: "more vivacious pig than Napoleon, quicker in speech and more inventive, but not considered to have the same depth of character."	Trotsky (P)
25	Napoleon: "rather fierce looking pig. . .not much of a talker, but with a reputation for getting his own way."	Stalin (Q)
26	Squealer the pig: "a brilliant talker. . .the others said of Squealer that he could turn black into white."	Pravda (R)
26, 33	Animalism: old Major's teachings later elaborated into a complete system of thought by Snowball, Napoleon, and Squealer, the Seven Commandments of Animalism.	Marxism-Leninism
27	Sugarcandy Mountain: "to which all animals went when they died. . .up in the sky. . .In Sugarcandy Mountain it was Sunday seven days a week, clover was in season all year, and lump sugar and linseed cake grew on the hedges.	the lure of the hereafter to still revolutionary sentiments in the here and now (T)

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
28	animals underfed	wartime starvation in the cities: 1914-1917 (U)
28	The Rebellion: this sudden uprising of creatures whom they were used to thrashing and maltreating just as they chose, frightened them (Jones and his men) almost out of their wits. After only a moment or two they gave up trying to defend themselves and took to their heels. . .Almost before they (the animals) knew what was happening, the Rebellion had been successfully carried through.	Revolution: October 1917 (V)
32	Animal Farm	the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (W)
38	The green hoof and horn flag: "The flag was green, Snowball explained, to represent the green fields of England, while the hoof and horn signified the future Republic of the Animals which would arise when the human rule had been finally overthrown."	The Soviet flag: red, with a hammer and sickle emblazoned on it. (X)
38, 53	the feud between Napoleon and Snowball	the Stalin-Trotsky struggle to succeed Lenin and the manuevers that precedes Lenin's death (Y)
39	Animal Committees: organized by Snowball. "He was indefatigable at this. He formed the Egg Production Committee for the hens, the Clean Tails League for the cows. . .the Whiter Wool Movement for the sheep, and various others.	Trotsky's mobilization of labor battalions organized on military principles (Z)
40	Four legs good, two legs bad: "the essential principle of Animalism	Workers of the world, unite. (AA).
41-42 (see also 33-34)	The pigs arrogate for themselves alone the milk and apples: "Comrades!" he (Squealer) cried. "You do not imagine, I hope, that we pigs are doing this in a spirit of selfishness and privilege? Many of us actually dislike milk and apples. . .Our sole object in taking these things is to preserve our health. Milk and apples (this has been proved by science, comrades) contain substances absolutely necessary to the well-being of a pig. We pigs are brain-workers. . .Day and night we are watching over your welfare. It is for <u>your</u> sake that we drink that milk and eat these apples. Do you know what would happen if we pigs failed in our duty? Jones would come back! Yes, Jones would come back!"	party members become the "New Class" (I)
44-45	Mr. Pilkington of Foxwood	England (BB)
46	Mr. Frederick of Pinchfield	Germany (CC)
45	Pilkington and Frederick refuse to use the name Animal Farm	European powers refuse to recognize legitimacy of new Soviet Government (DP)

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
45-49	Battle of the Cowshed: a date to be commemorated along with the anniversary of the Rebellion.	Bolsheviks hold back White Army, 1921 (EE)
49-50	Order of Animal Hero, First and Second Class	Order of the Red Banner. (FF)
54	the windmill	industrialization (GG)
57	Snowball's eloquence carries the day: "By the time he had finished speaking, there may be no doubt as to which way the vote would go."	Trotsky is named Lenin's heir in the will written shortly before Lenin's death December 22, 1924. (HH)
41, 57	the dogs raised by Snowball	the GPU (Secret Police) (II)
57	Snowball is driven from Animal Farm	Trotsky is exiled (January 1928) to Turkestan after first being defeated (784-0) in his bid to succeed Lenin at the May 1924 Party Congress. (JJ)
59	Four pigs protest-but are quickly cowed into silence by the dogs and the bleating of the sheep.	November 7, 1927. Trotsky's sympathizers are arrested by the GPU, and Trotsky's attempt to address the crowd is booed down (KK)
58-59	Napoleon assumes changed Animal Farm as head of a special committee of pigs	Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev troika takes power, with Stalin as primus inter pares on seven-member Politburo (LL)
60, 66-67, 69-70, 79	Snowball's role in "Battle of Cowshed" discounted by Squealer is shown then ultimately reversed as Snowball by Jones' secret agent. Animalist prohibitions against trade and money prove, according to Squealer, to be nonexistent; Animalist 4th Commandment rewritten to read "No animal shall sleep in a bed with sheets," etc.	Stalinist rewriting of history (MM)
60	Boxer adopts maxim "Napoleon is always right."	Stalin's supremacy unchallenged. (NN)
60	Major's skull: "now clean of flesh...set up on a stump at the foot of the flagstaff."	Lenin's mummification, contrary to wishes expressed in his will. (OO)
61	Minimus: "had a remarkable gift for composing songs and poems, sat on the front of the raised platform" with Napoleon and Squealer.	Maxim Gorki (PP)
61-62	Napoleon now endorses windmill and claims Snowball had stolen idea from him.	First Five Year Plan (1928) (QQ)
66	resumption of trade with other farms	Soviet Union's re-emergence into international economy (RR)
67-68	Mr. Whymper: "a sly-talking man with side whiskers, a solicitor in a very small way."	capitalist go-between, possibly a member of the Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. (SS)

pages references to New American Library. paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
68	Humans begin to call Animal Farm by its proper name: "They had also dropped their championship of Jones, who had given up hope of getting his farm back and gone to live in another part of the country."	diplomatic recognition of Soviet Union by European powers; while Royalist pretensions to regain power seen as futile (TT)
68-69	Constant rumors that Napoleon was about to enter into a definite business agreement with either Mr. Pilkington of Foxword or with Mr. Frederick of Pinchfield "but never was it noticed, with both simultaneously."	Soviet flirtation with capitalist countries. (UU)
69	Napoléon takes title of "leader"	Stalin begins "cult of the personality." (VV)
69-70	pigs move into farmhouse, sleep in beds, get up an hour later than than the other animals	growth of "New Class" mentality: end to spartanism of early period.
71	windmill in ruins	first Five-Year Plan a failure (WW)
72, 78	Snowball blamed for collapse of the windmill, labeled a traitor suspected of collaboration with Mr. Pilkington; death sentence pronounced on him	Trotsky sympathizers blamed for subverting the Revolution; accused of collaborating with enemy agents. (XX)
74	To prevent second collapse of the windmill, "it had been decided to build the walls three feet thick this time, instead of eighteen inches as before, which meant collecting much larger quantities of stone."	Launching of second and even more ambitious Five-Year Plan (1933) (YY)
75-76	Whymper fooled into thinking that there was no food shortage at Animal Farm	"show tours" of the Soviet Union for prominent European intellectuals (ZZ)
76-77	Revolt of the hens	forced collectivization of the Kulaks (AAA)
79	Snowball rumored to be hiding on one of the neighboring farms, either Foxwood or Pinchfield: "It was noticed that whenever he seemed to be on the point of coming to an agreement with Frederick, Snowball was declared to be in hiding at Foxwood, while, when he inclined toward Pilkington. Snowball was said to be at Pinchfield."	Trotsky's place of exile shifts; zigs and zags in Stalin's attempts to woo England and Germany (BBB)
80	Squealer asserts that it was Napoleon (not Snowball), who sank his teeth in Jones leg at the "Battle of the Cowshed" and rallied the animals around him; Napoleon awards himself Animal Hero, First Class and Animal Hero, Second Class.	further rewriting of Soviet history
82-83	Threats of self-confessed "traitors" turn out by dogs (four pigs, three hens, a goose and three sheep)	the Blood Purges of the Old Bolsheviks (1936-38) (CCC)

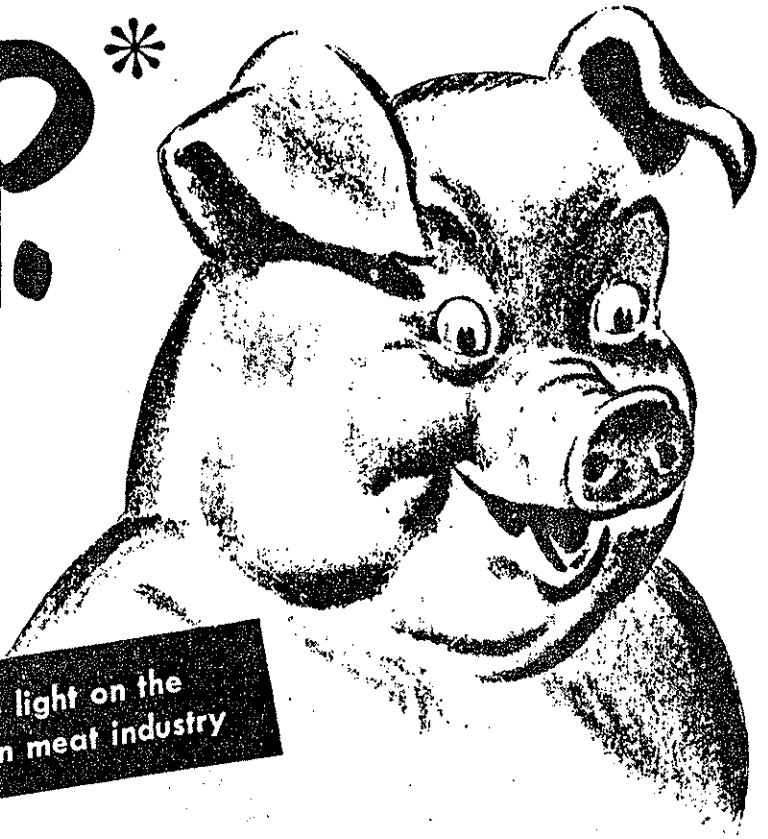
pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
84-85	Clover's disillusionment	disillusion of Communist cadres following the purge trials (DDD)
86-87	singing of "Beasts of England" banned and replaced with new song dedicated to Animal Farm ("Animal Farm, Animal Farm, Never through me shalt thou come to harm!)	"Internationale" abolished as official hymn, reserved for use by party members and replaced with a new patriotic hymn to Russia ("Great Russia has cemented forever the inviolate union of free republics. . .we will lead the Fatherland to glory.") (EEE)
89-105	On Sunday mornings, Squealer would read out to loud them long lists of figures proving that the production of every class of foodstuff had increased by two hundred per cent, three hundred per cent, or five hundred per cent, as the case might be: "The animals saw no reason to disbelieve him, especially as they could no longer remember very clearly what life had been like before the Rebellion."	statistics given as a percentage of a base figure which was unknown were a standard part of Soviet reporting of economic progress during the '30's and '40's. (FFF)
90-91	Napoleon's birthday becomes one of three days on which the gun would be fired annually (the other two being the dates of the "Rebellion" and of the "Battle of the Cowshed"); Napoleon is given titles by other pigs such as Father of All Animals, Terror of Mankind, Protector of the Sheep-Fold, Ducklings' Friend, and the like. . .It had become usual to give Napoleon the credit for every successful achievement and every stroke of good fortune." "Minimus composed a poem in his honor entitled 'Comrade Napoleon'."	Stalin's birthday becomes occasion for mass demonstrations and parades. The cult of Stalin worship grows. A verse from one song dedicated to Stalin conveys the feeling quite well. "Stronger than steel is thy name, Brighter than sun is thy glory, Sweeter than honey is thy word, Live forever, beloved Leader." (GGG)
91	Three hens confess to a Snowball-inspired plot to murder Napoleon	?
91-93	"Napoleon was engaged in complicated negotiations with Frederick and Pilkington. . .The animals distrusted Pilkington, as a human being, but greatly preferred him to Frederick whom they both feared and hated. Terrible stories were leaking out from Pinchfield about the cruelties that Frederick practices upon his animals: "The rumors of an impending attack by Frederick grew stronger and stronger. . .But Squealer counseled them to avoid rash actions and trust in Comrade Napoleon's strategy."	Soviet Union and other European countries engage in pre-WW II jockeying for alliances. (HHH)
93	Napoleon disclaims any intention of ever selling the pile of timber to Frederick or having ever contemplated such a course of action: "'Death to Frederick' becomes the new rallying cry of the pigeons." "The pigeons who were still sent out to spread tidings of the Rebellion were forbidden to set out anywhere to Foxwood."	In anticipation of German invasion, pre-WWII Soviet anti-Nazi propaganda at its peak; communist propaganda in Great Britain and Allied countries muted as part of Soviet anti-Fascist "popular front" strategy. (III)
93	Wheat crop full of weeds: plot attributed to Snowball: "A gardener who had been privy to the plot had confessed his guilt to Squealer and immediately committed suicide."	failure of harvest (JJJ)

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
93	Snowball's Animal Hero, First Class award is shown by Squealer to be a lie, "a legend. . .spread some time after the battle of the Cowshed by Snowball himself. . .So far from being decorated, he had been censured for showing cowardice in the battle."	further re-writing of Soviet Revolutionary history (KKK)
94-95	Napoleon reverses himself and announces sale of timber to Frederick: "All relations with Foxwood had been broken off;. . . the pigeons had been told to avoid Pinchfield Farm and to alter their slogan from 'Death to Frederick' to 'Death to Pilkington'. . . Napoleon assured the animals that the stories of an impending attack on Animal Farm were completely untrue, and that the tales about Frederick's cruelty to his own animals had been greatly exaggerated."	Hitler-Stalin Pact (August, 1939) (LLL)
96-97	Frederick found to have paid for the timber with forged notes; Frederick and his followers attack Animal Farm	Hitler invades Russia (June 1941)
97	Animals are driven back, taking refuge in the farm buildings and peeping curiously out from chinks and knotholes: "The whole of the big pasture, including the windmill, was in the hands of the enemy."	German attack initially successful (1941-42); a large amount of foreign territory captured, but battle of Moscow (October, December 1941) ended with a German retreat. (MMM)
97	Wistful glances were sent in the direction of Foxwood. If Pilkington and his men were to help them the day might yet be won. Pilkington replies, "serves you right."	Stalin clamors for "second front"; Allies refuse (NNN)
97-98	The windmill destroyed by dynamite. . .there was a deafening roar The pigeons swirled in the air and all the animals except Napoleon flung themselves flat on their bellies and hid their faces."	Stalin remains in Moscow; most other party officials evacuate the city. (000)
98	Battle of the Windmill	Battle of Stalingrad (August 1942-January 1943); Germany surrenders; "Stalingrad," Stalin declared, "was the sunset of the German army." (cited in Fischer, 1952:192)
99	"It was as though the windmill had never been."	War severe setback to Soviet industrialization, forcing return virtually to pre-Revolutionary level. (PPP)
101	Order of the Green Banner, Conferred by Napoleon upon himself.	Orders of Kutuzov and Suvorov created by Stalin shortly before the war begins. (RRR)
101-103	An Animalism tenet is found to have been incorrectly remembered. Instead of "No animal shall drink alcohol," it is "No animal shall drink alcohol to excess."	

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
106	Young pigs, piebald like Napoleon, were given their instruction by him.	indoctrination of the young
106-107	"About this time it was laid down as a rule that when a pig and any other animal met on the path, the other animal must stand aside: and also, that all pigs, of whatever degree, were to have the privilege of wearing green ribbons on their tails on Sundays." Rations were reduced for the animals and then reduced again, "But the pigs seemed comfortable enough." "All barley was reserved for the pigs."	costume and medals distinguish party Commisar from other workers. Status inequality grows as does access to food and consumer goods.(TTT)
108	Animal Farm declared a Republic and Napoleon elected President unanimously. He is the only candidate.	Stalin becomes head of Soviet Government in May 1941 (UUU)
109	"It now appeared that Snowball had not, as the animals previously imagined, merely attempted to lose the Battle of the Cowshed by means of a strategem, but had been openly fighting on Jones's side. In fact, it was he who had actually been the leader of the human forces. . .The wounds on Snowball's back, which a few of the animals still remembered. . .had been inflicted by Napoleon's teeth."	still further rewriting of history
109	Moses the raven reappears on the farm after an absence of several years.	To rally the peasants and to use the authority of the Church to support the war activities, "the government (1941-1944) made one concession after another to the church." (Dallin, 1944:62; see also pp. 62-70). (VVV)
111-116, 117	Boxer taken to the Knackers; "no animal had ever actually retired. The talk of setting aside a corner of the pasture for superannuated animals had long since passed."	the Revolution spirit is betrayed. What was predicted for Boxer under capitalism becomes his fate under communism.
118-119	"The farm had grown richer without making the animals themselves any richer--except, of course, for the pigs and the dogs."	The "New Class" comes close to being the functional equivalent of the old capitalists: producing nothing by their own labor yet enjoying high status and consuming disproportionate to their numbers.
121-122	"Four legs good, two legs better, " becomes the new slogan bleated by the sheep, as the pigs take to walking on their hind legs.	
123	The sole commandment of Animalism is now "Animals are Equal, But Some Animals Are More Equal than Others." The pigs take to carrying whips in their trotters.	"These people think that socialism requires equality, equality in the needs and personal life of the members of society. . .These are petty bourgeois views of our left-wing scatterbrains." (Stalin, January 1934; in Dallin, 1944;92).

pages references to New American Library paperback edition	Character or event	Historical counterpart
123-126	A deputation of neighboring farmers is invited to make a tour of Animal Farm. Gathered around the table are pigs and humans. Mr. Pilkington proposes a toast but first proclaims that "the lower animals on Animal Farm did more work and received less food than any animals in the country. Indeed, he and his fellow visitors today had observed many features which they intended to introduce."	Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference (October 1943) (WWW)
126	According to Napoleon, the term "comrade", would no longer be used, the hoof and horn was to be removed from the flag, and Animal Farm would henceforth once again be called Manor Farm.	
128	"A violent quarrel was in progress on: Napoleon and Mr. Pilkington had each played the Ace of Spades."	Teheran (Big Three) Conference (November 1943); the foreshadowings of the Cold War. (XXX)
128	"Twelve voices were shouting in anger and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which."	

V.I.P.*



A side light on the American meat industry

*The initials stand for the *Very Important Porker*, and, from wherever you sit, the pig is a very important critter indeed.

Economists would observe that the pig (1) provides the principal medium through which millions of American farmers market their annual multi-billion-bushel corn crop; (2) gives steady work to an army of people in packing plants and retail stores.

Nutritionists praise the pig for converting the food values of forage and crude feed grains (much of which is not edible by man) into enough high-quality protein to provide one-half of the nation's meat meals.. Moreover, pork is man's richest natural source of essential vitamin B_1 (thiamine).

Physicians depend upon the number of pigs that pass through the nation's packing plants for many vital medicinal products. Among these are glandular products such as

insulin, epinephrine, thyroid and pituitary extract. (ACTH, from the pituitaries of pigs; though still about as rare as radium, has been called the medicinal discovery of the century.)

To the meat packer, the pig is "everything but the squeal," but to most people it supplies the pork chops, ham, bacon and sausage they like to see on the platter in front of them—the more often the better.

American Meat Institute

Headquarters, Chicago • Members throughout the U. S.

TABLE 2: MAJOR EVENTS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY (1904-THE DEATH OF STALIN)

1904-05	Russo-Japanese War--Japan wins and gains land from Russia.
1905	Peasantry Revolts--Mir (rural community of one or more villages that owned community land) legitimized to appease peasant demands. Narodniks believed Mir to be a basis for rural communism.
1906	Stolypin, Tzarist minister, saw Mir as a dangerous force. Instituted land reform to break up Mir.
1912	Mensheviks (minority) and Bolsheviks (majority), two factions in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Split.
1914-17	WWI--Tzarist Russia handled the war poorly; Germans advanced deep into Russia. Starvation exists among Russians and, as a result, Bread Riots occur.
1917 Feb.	Tzar abdicates. Duma (legislature) is set up--the Provisional Government, headed by Kerensky rules Russia. Kerensky, with urging from Allies, continues the war effort.
1917 Summer	Russian Counteroffensive fails.
1917 Oct.	Bolshevik revolution--not much force necessary. A weak Provisional Government has no allies--Lenin rules Russia.
1917 Dec.	Russia makes peace with Germany.
1918 Mar.	Treaty of Brest-Litvosk, Russia gives Germany territory.
1918-21 June	Civil War in Russia.
1918-21	War Communism--take food from peasants and give to city.
1919	Politburo formed.
1921 March	New Economic Policy instituted: 1. Food from the peasants would no longer be confiscated. 2. State Capitalism--mixed economy (market economy supervised by state).

1921	Factionalism within Bolshevik party is banned.
1922	Stalin appointed to the General Secretariat of the Communist Party.
1924	Lenin dies--battle for power ensues.
1925	Stalin ousts Trotsky.
1926	Stalin ousts Kamenev and Zinoviev.
1928-40	Five year plans instituted. Forced industrialization. Collectivization of agriculture.
1931	Entire countryside collectivized, suppression of the Kulaks (independent farmers).
1934-38	Blood Purges--use of Secret Police.
1939 Aug.	Hitler-Stalin Pact.
1940	Trotsky is assassinated.
1941 May	Stalin becomes head of government.
1941 June	Germany attacks Russia.
1943	Teheran Conference.
1944	Yalta Conference.
1945	Potsdam Conference.
1945	End of WWII.
1948 June	Berlin Blockade and "formalization" of the Cold War.
1953	Stalin Dies.

End Notes to Table 1

Pig and Proletariat

A. Just as there is no direct analogue in Animal Farm to Lenin, there also is no analogue to Kerensky and the Provisional Government. This stage of Russian history is simply omitted from Orwell's telescoped account. The "lawsuit" which Jones lost (p. 16) is presumably the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War, which Russia lost and which forced her to cede land to Japan. Tsar Nicholas' conduct of WWI was also inept, and the German advance into Russia led to scarcities in urban areas.

B. Major may be thought of as a combination of Marx and Lenin, though Marx predominates since Major dies before the Revolution begins. Old Major was "exhibited under the name of Willingdon Beauty" (p. 15). This may simply be Orwell's form of realism exerting itself--prize boars are, indeed, likely to have exotic show names; but it may also be a play on Marx's long sojourn in the British Museum or on Lenin's use of pen names. Major's speech (pp. 17-22) is at various points a paraphrase of The Communist Manifesto with animals as the workers and men as the capitalists. "Nearly the whole of the produce of our labor is stolen from us by human beings. . .Man is the only real enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished forever. Man is the only creature that consumes without producing" (pp. 18-19); and "Never listen when

they tell you that Man and the animals have a common interest, that the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the others. It is all lies. Man serves no creature except himself. All men are enemies. All animals are comrades," though there is first a brief recapitulation of a Hobbesian ("our lives are miserable, laborious and short") note. Major urges the animals to "work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race" (p. 20), but warns that the date of the Rebellion is uncertain and may not come in their lifetime ("it might be in a week or in a hundred years") (p. 20), but time is on the animals' side and with historical inevitability the animal cause will triumph. The animals present at the speech are exhorted to "pass on this message of mine to those who come after you, so that future generations shall carry on the struggle till it is victorious." (p. 20) The paraphrasing of the Marxist doctrine of the historic inevitability of a successful revoultion is apparent.

C. "He had been a hard worker even in Jones' time, but now he seemed more like three horses than one. . .His answer to every problem, every setback, was 'I will work harder!--which he had adopted as his personal motto." (p. 37)

Boxer challenges Squealer's claim that Snowball was a traitor at the "Battle of the Cowshed," but is convinced by Squealer who appeals to Boxer's trust in Napoleon. "Ah, that is different!" said Boxer. "If Comrade Napoleon says it, it must be right." (p. 81).

D. The sheep developed a great liking for the maxim "Four legs good, two legs bad," and often bleated it over and over again (p. 41). Napoleon was especially successful in winning the sheep to his side.

They were especially liable to break into "Four legs good, two legs bad" at crucial moments in Snowball's speeches." (p. 53)

E. The pigeons represent agents of the Comintern, the Third (Communist) International Convention. "The Comintern would lead the attack upon bourgeois governments by disseminating propaganda, supporting Communist parties all over the world, fomenting or at least taking advantage of strikes wherever they might occur, and subsidizing revolutionary activity wherever the need and the opportunity arose." (Wren, 1968:626).

F.

> One day in 1919 the head of a Red Guard detachment in the city of Voronezh confiscated Professor Dukelsky's second bed. "He demands," wrote Professor Dukelsky to Lenin, "that I sleep with my wife in one bed." To this Lenin replied to Dukelsky that the Red Guard chief was quite right. "Of course," wrote Lenin, "the desire of intellectuals to have two beds, one for the husband and another for the wife, is quite legitimate," but "the average Russian citizen has never had as much as one bed."
>
> That was the period of the religion of equality, of equality of human beings practiced to its uttermost limits. . . .
>
> The people were to govern themselves and to establish justice upon earth: the Great Darkness was at an end, the Millennium had begun. In like manner did the Levelers and Diggers of the English revolution believe that the Kingdom of God was at hand. In like manner, also, did the mighty voices of equalitarianism resound in the French revolution, with their program of 'the agrarian law' and of equality 'worthy of the natural condition of man.'
>
> Everything that stood in the way of equality was to be abolished, at once, completely: that was the spiritual crux of the November revolution and of the ideology of the early period of the Soviet regime. Equality in consumption and strict rationing were to eliminate inequality in the distribution of food supplies. The floor space of houses and apartments was carefully measured and the available space equally distributed among the population. The peasants divided landlords' estates, the

> workers seized the factories and drove the old owners into the street. Expeditions from the cities requisitioned grain supplies from the villages for the hungry cities. Soldiers tore shoulder straps from officers' uniforms. All ranks were abolished to make sure that not a vestige of the old inequality would be left. Instead of the aristocracy the workers and peasants were to rule the country, and 'every housemaid must learn how to govern the state,' for all were now to be equal. Political democracy, in its accepted sense, was found to be inadequate because it did not guarantee social equality. Lenin hailed the Paris Commune because it had equalized the pay of state employees and workers, and he promised for Russia 'the reduction of the pay of all, without excepting government leaders, to the regular wage scales of the worker.'
>
> (Dallin, 1944: 88-89)

G. In the debates over the windmill, Benjamin was the only animal who did not side with either faction. He refused to believe either that food would become more plentiful or that the windmill would work. Windmill or no windmill, he said, life would go on as it had always gone on--that is, badly. (pp. 55-56)

H. In the early phase of the Revolution the idea of puritan frugality and equality (see Note F) applied to the party member as well, but only within certain limits. Party officials did enjoy greater material opportunities than common citizens. The party leaders enjoyed privileges and were not subject to the uravnilovka ("the doctrine of general equality"). They "believed that the interests of the Communist cause gave them the right to a certain measure of comfort, 'essential to work.' However, this was done quietly, shamefacedly, for it involved a breach with popular sentiments." (Dallin, 1944:90).

Stalin eventually succeeded in repudiating the early Bolshevik enthusiasm for egalitarianism. By the mid 1930's, in the army, officer ranks were restored, fraternizing between higher and lower ranks was forbidden, and the authority of officers over privates was extended. Stalin also adopted the idea of distinctions in material benefits based on merit--which in turn became largely synonymous with loyalty to Stalin. (See Dallin, 1944:90-99)

I. "Mollie. . .was not good at getting up in the mornings and had a way of leaving work early on the ground that there was a stone in her foot."

J. The exact significance of the ducklings eludes me. What group in the Soviet Union had (metaphorically) "lost their mother?"

K. "(W)henever there was work to be done the cat could never be found. . .But she always made such excellent excuses and purred so affectionately, that it was impossible not to believe in her good intentions." (p. 37)

L. The Raven is a counterrevolutionary force. Orwell's portrait of religion in Animal Farm is not very flattering. The Raven is "a spy and a tale bearer." (p. 27) The clearest indication of Orwell's views on religion come in his early novel A Clergyman's Daughter. The heroine's cleric father is a comic and rather pitiable figure and she herself suffers first amnesia, then social degradation, then upon recovery of her memory, the loss of her religious faith.

M. See Note B.

N. "The attempt to tame the wild creatures. . .broke down almost immediately. They continued to behave very much as before, and when treated with generosity, simply took advantage of it." (p. 39)

I am unable to identify the historical referents of the "rats and other wild creatures."

O. > It. . .spread with astonishing speed. The human beings could not contain their rage when they heard this song, though they pretended to think it merely ridiculous. . .Any animal caught singing it was given a flogging on the spot. . .And when the human being listened to it, they secretly trembled, hearing in it a prophecy of their future doom. (p. 46)

P. Snowball was "in charge of the defensive operations" at what came to be called the Battle of the Cowshed (p. 47), displaying great courage in charging Jones (pp. 47-48) and receiving the decoration (along with Boxer) of Animal Hero, First Class (p. 49).

> Within a few months of its birth, the Soviet regime was attacked by domestic reactionaries and foreign powers. Leon Trotsky became Commissar of War and organizer of the Red Army. (Fischer, 1952:11)

Trotsky was awarded the Order of the Red Banner by Lenin for his role in the defense of Petrograd.

> Snowball. . .was full of plans for innovations and improvements. He talked learnedly about field drains, silage, and basic slag, and had worked out a complicated scheme for all the animals to drop their dung directly in the fields, at a different spot every day, to save the labour of cartage. Napoleon produced no schemes of his own, but said quietely that Snowball's would come to nothing, and seemed to be biding his time." (p. 53)

In this passage Orwell is poking fun at Trotsky's penchant for social reforms, some of a rather outlandish sort; his interest in

electricity and electrical engineering, and his lack of involvement with day-to-day activities within the Communist party prior to his death of Lenin in 1923.

> Trotsky. . .stressed the need of personal ethics in a crisis. He advocated novel social forms. He hoped to "disencumber the family of kitchen and laundry" by "the communalization of the family household." His purpose was to "cleanse the relationship between husband and wife of all that is external, foreign, forced, accidental. Each would cease to spoil the life of the other." Trotsky also waged war on corrupt living among officials and the growing inequality in wealth. He campaigned against swearing. "One would have to consult philologists, linguists, and folklore experts," he wrote, "to ascertain whether any other people has such unrestrained, filthy, disgusting oaths as we have. As far as I know, there is no other." Stalin habitually indulges in these famous many-ply "mother oaths"; Trotsky puritanically avoided them.
>
> While Trotsky occupied himself with these broad problems, Stalin was oiling the party machine. Trotsky wrote a notable book on literature. Stalin fastened his hold on the party propaganda press. (Fischer, 1952:18)

Q. Stalin, born Joseph Djugashvili, took the name of Stalin, "Man of Steel."

R. It is Squealer who justifies the pigs' confiscation of the milk and apples. (pp. 41-42) Squealer is almost certainly no particular individual, but a composite representing the party propaganda machinery of which, by 1923, Stalin was in firm control. If Squealer were to be identified with any individual it would, of course, be Nicolai Bukharin, editor of Pravda, in the 1920's and a loyal Stalin ally during the early period of his rule, until he lost his life in the purge trials. However, Squealer outlasts the purge trials--thus suggesting someone like Molotov.

When Snowball claims that Snowball was a traitor and censured for his cowardice at the Battle of the Cowshed, "some of the animals heard this with a certain bewilderment, but Squealer was soon able to convince them that their memories had been at fault."

S. The early Bolsheviks had, of course, to overcome apathy and resistance on the part of the masses. This is charmingly put on page 26 ("Some of the animals talked of the duty of loyalty to Mr. Jones or made elementary remarks such as 'Mr. Jones feeds us. If he were gone we would starve to death.' Others asked such questions as 'Why should we care what happens after we are dead?' or 'If this rebellion is to happen anyway, what difference does it make whether we work or not?'"). The pigs' rebuttal to this last question foreshadows Leninist doctrine of the party as a disciplined revolutionary force, hastening the Revolution.

Stated by Major the Boar there are "Ten Commandments" of Animalism (pp. 21-22).

1) No animal must ever live in a house.
2) No animal must ever sleep in a bed.
3) No animal must ever wear clothes.
4) No animal must ever drink alcohol.
5) No animal must ever smoke tobacco.
6) No animal must ever touch money.
7) No animal must ever engage in trade.
8) No animal must ever tyrannize over his own kind. Weak or strong, clever or simple, we are all brothers.
9) No animal must ever kill any other animals.
10) All animals are equal.

In addition, Major states what is later (p. 40) compressed by Snowball into the essential principle of animalism: "Whatever goes

upon two legs is an enemy, whatever goes upon four legs or has wings is a friend." (p. 21).

The analogy between the ten commandments of animalism and the Old Testament Ten Commandments is obvious. Similarly, the essential principle of animalism may be taken as the analogue to the New Testament "Golden Rule."

When Snowball restates the principles of animalism, his seven point simplification omits items 1), 5), 6) and 7). This omission has not, as far as I'm aware, ever been called attention to by any Orwell scholar. It seems clear to me that it refers to Lenin's proclamation of the New Economic Policy in March 1921. In my view, this is one of those cases where Orwell's chronology is askew, since the retreat from Marxist principles which the NEP marks should come somewhat later in the story, after the Battle of the Cowshed (the defeat of the White Army in June 1918), where it in fact appears in a different form as the resumption of trade with other farms (pp. 66-67)

As characterized by Fischer (1952:18) in what I suspect are hyperbolic terms:

> The country was economically exhausted. To promote its restoration, outside capitalists were offered industrial concessions, and city capitalists or Nepmen and the. . .peasants were granted new free-enterprise freedom to produce and trade. 'Is this why we fought?' many Communists asked mournfully. Some committed suicide; they felt that the revolution was dead.

One last point: for an anecdote detailing the historical antecedents of command, see Note Y.

T. Sugarcandy Mountain is probably more familiar to Americans as the Big Rock Candy Mountain. "Hobo's heaven"--where "there's no rain nor snow and you don't need no dough" because all the food is free (e.g., "the lemonade springs where the bluebird sings") and there's no need to fear authorities because "all the cops have wooden legs." In Marx's words, "Religion is the opiate of the masses;" or as the I.W.W. organizer and song-writer Joe Hill put it, "You get pie in the sky when you die. That's a lie. Ha, ha, ha.." According to Orwell, "Some of [the animals] believed in Sugarcandy Mountain, and the pigs had to argue very hard to persuade them that there was no such place." (p. 27)

In explanation of the Soviet Government's policy on questions of religion, Stalin declared in his interview with an American labor delegation in 1927:

> The party cannot be neutral in respect to religion, it wages an antireligious propaganda against all religious prejudices because it stands for science. . .There are cases of party members interfering with the full development of antireligious propaganda. It is good that such members are expelled.
>
> (Dallin, 1944:56)

U. See Note A.

V. In the first days of the Revolution, "Nobody stole, nobody grumbled over his rations, the quarreling and biting and jealousy which had been normal features of life in the old days had almost disappeared. Nobody shirked--or almost nobody." (p. 37)

W. Both Pilkington and Frederick "insisted on calling it Manor Farm; they would not tolerate the name Animal Farm." (p. 45). Even today,

newspaper reporters, politicians, etc., in the U.S. will refer to Russia, rather than to the U.S.S.R. or the Soviet Union.

X. The first article of the Soviet Constitution declares the Soviet Union to be "a state of workers and peasants." The hammer and sickle are synecdochic devices for these two classes, just as the hoof and horn reflect animal unity. Red is the traditional color for revolutionary communism; the color of the flag raised by the Paris Commune. Red is, of course, also the color of blood--c.f., the I.W.W. song, "The Worker's Flag" whose refrain includes the words "The worker's flag is deepest red, it shrouded oft our martyred dead."

Y. . It had come to be accepted that the pigs. . .should decide all questions of farm policy, although their decisions had to be ratified by a majority vote. This arrangement would have worked well enough if it had not been for the disputes between Snowball and Napoleon. The two disagreed at every point where disagreement was possible. . .Each had his own following and there were some violent debates. At the meetings, Snowball often won over the majority by his brilliant speeches, but Napoleon was better at canvassing support for himself in between times. (p. 53)

Of the pigs, only Napoleon and Snowball were boars, the others were geldings (the term Orwell uses (p. 26) is porkers, which does not, at least in the U.S., mean gelding--but elsewhere in the book (p. 106) it is clear that this is what he means).

We shall quote from Fischer (1952) at some length on the topic of the Trotsky-Stalin rivalry. During the Russian Civil War, when Trotsky was head of the Army, Stalin was one of his political commissars. "Rivalry flared between them immediately." (Fischer, 1952:11)

The Trotsky-Stalin joust of giants, one of the greatest feuds of all time, played a major role in Soviet history and in world history. Through the polemical smoke screen of the 1920's and 1930's it seemed that the two men and their followers clashed on such issues as village collectives, kulaks, world revolution, China, and industrialization. But long before these problems had arisen or been thought of, Stalin's competitiveness and jealousy brought him into conflict with the temperamental Trotsky.

Stalin 'always repelled me,' Trotsky wrote in his autobiography, published after he had left the Soviet Union. Trotsky held Stalin in contempt for his vulgarity, lack of culture, and narrow outlook. Stalin disliked Trotsky and called him "an actor." He envied Trotsky. . . .

The haughty Trotsky and the envious Stalin were bound to come to blows.

'I insist categorically on the removal of Stalin,' Trotsky wired Lenin from the fighting front on October 8, 1918. Stalin was at Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad) acting as political supervisor of Voroshilov. Trotsky charged that Stalin and Voroshilov were refusing to obey orders from headquarters.

Lenin transferred Stalin to the Ukranian front. Stalin took Voroshilov with him. Again Stalin and Trotsky collided. 'The Tsaritsyn methods,' Trotsky telegraphed Lenin on January 10, 1919, 'which led to the complete disintegration of the Tsaritsyn army cannot be permitted in the Ukraine.' Lenin advised Trotsky to reach a compromise with Stalin. It could not be done. In June, 1919, Stalin asked the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party to dismiss Trotsky from the command of the Red Army. Trotsky offered to resign. The Central Committee gave him a vote of confidence.

Trotsky underestimated Stalin and regarded him as a 'provincial.' But the provincial, with a sharp eye to the future, took the job of General Secretary to the Communist party. It was a minor job, usually held by lesser men. Lenin dominated the party, and the secretary was a subordinate. But Stalin understood that in a highly centralized state controlled by the party the General Secretary would be a key man after Lenin's death. Meanwhile the position enabled Stalin to work assiduously and in the dark gathering a band of henchmen who would be loyal to him because he appointed them

and could dismiss them. On the other hand, Trotsky, always a prima donna, held his head so high in the clouds that he never stood on the solid ground of party organization. He was a Gibraltar without a hinterland, a lone lion, a battleship sailing political seas without an escort and therefore vulnerable to subsurface attack. Meanwhile Stalin was laying plans and mines.

Lenin knew the deep antagonism between Stalin and Trotsky. He had witnessed many manifestations of it. In 1919, for instance, Trotsky complained to Lenin that Stalin had been drinking wine from the well-stocked cellars of the Czar in the Kremlin.

Lenin summoned Stalin. Trotsky argued the matter with Stalin in Lenin's presence. 'If the rumor reaches the front that there is drinking in the Kremlin,' he said, 'it will make a bad impression.' The sale of alcohol was illegal at that time in Russia.

'How can we Caucasians get along without wine?' Stalin protested.

'You see,' Lenin interjected laughingly, 'the Georgians cannot do without wine.' Lenin did not intend to discipline Stalin.

That ended the discussion. 'I capitulated without a struggle,' Trotsky wrote in a Life article in 1939.

(Fischer, 1952:11-13)

The dispute between Stalin and Trotsky was both a personal struggle for power and one involving ideological issues, e.g., the pace and extent of industrialization and proselytization. In Animal Farm, the industrialization issue is metaphorically represented by policy toward the windmill, the proselytization question by the debate over the defense of the farm. "According to Napoleon, what the animals must do was to procure firearms and train themselves in the use of them. According to Snowball, they must send out more and more pigeons and stir up rebellion among the animals on the other farm." (p. 56).

This passage is a direct statement of the clash between Stalin's espousal of "socialism in one country" vs. Trotsky's more internationalist views.

Z. Trotsky was the author of the first mass mobilization of peasant labor on military lines. According to Trotsky, "Our industrial life will acquire elements of militarism." And indeed, after completing its maneuvers in 1920, the Third Army was sent to work in the Urals' forests and on railway construction. The Fourth Army was assigned to harvest work in the Ukraine. It was decided also to create a new labor army in the Ukraine. "When we start labor mobilization on a large scale," Trotsky wrote, "to draft hundreds of thousands and millions of peasants into production, we shall not be able to mobilize them with the help of the trade unions; we can accomplish it only by military measures. They will be organized in companies, battalions, with strict discipline."

(Cited in Dallin, 1944:46)

The Kronstadt uprising in March, 1921 put an end to these projects (Dallin, 1944:46)

Orwell remarks of the Animal Committees, "On the whole these projects were a failure." (p. 39). Orwell also remarks that "the reading and writing classes introduced by Snowball, however, were a great success. By the autumn, almost every animal on the farm was literate in some degree." (p. 39). I assume this corresponds to a literacy campaign which Trotsky was in charge of, but I found no reference to this in the sources I consulted.

AA. See Note S.

BB. Foxwood was a large, neglected, old fashioned farm, much overgrown by woodland, with all its pastures worn out and its hedges in a disgraceful condition. Its owner, Mr. Pilkington, was an easy going gentleman-farmer who spent most of his time in fishing or hunting according to the season." (pp. 44-45). Frederick of Pinchfield was his long-time enemy. (p. 45).

Orwell's portrait of WWI England is not a very sympathetic one.

CC. Mr. Frederick of Pinchfield, a farm smaller and better kept than Foxwood, was "a tough, shrewd man, perpetually involved in lawsuits and with a name for driving hard bargains."
(p. 45).

Frederick does double duty as both the Kaiser and Hitler.

DD. Both Pilkington and Frederick were

> thoroughly frightened by the rebellion on Animal Farm and very anxious to prevent their own animals from learning too much about it. At first they pretended to laugh to scorn the idea of animals managing a farm for themselves. The whole thing would be over in a fortnight, they said. They put it about that animals. . . were perpetually fighting among themselves and were also rapidly starving.
>
> When time passed and the animals had evidently not starved to death, Frederick and Pilkington changed their tune and began to talk of the terrible wickedness that now flourished on Animal Farm. It was given out that the animals there practiced cannibalism, tortured one another with red-hot horseshoes, and had their females in common. (p. 45)

See also Note W.

EE. There is no mention whatsoever of Napoleon's role in the Battle of the Cowshed (pp. 46-49) in Animal Farm until Napoleon himself "invents" such a rule.

> The Bolshevik revolution is vividly described in John Reed's Ten Days That Shook the World. Lenin read it twice and wrote an introduction recommending it. The book does not mention Stalin. Stalin's part in the Bolshevik uprising was important, but not nearly as important as Trotsky's. Lenin directed. Trotsky, his chief, assistant, strode the stage and stirred the multitudes with fiery, purposeful oratory. Stalin worked in the rear. . .Leon Trotsky became Commissar of War and organizer of the Red Army. Joseph Stalin was one of his political commissars. (Fischer, 1952:11)

FF.

> The supreme Politbureau voted to grant Trotsky the Order of the Red Banner for defending Petrograd during the civil war. Trotsky describes what followed [in his autobiography]. Leo Kamenev, assistant Prime Minister under Lenin, proposed that the same decoration be conferred on Stalin.
>
> 'What for?' Michael Kalinin, subsequently President of the Soviet Union, exclaimed.
>
> 'Don't you understand,' Nikolai Bukharin explained. 'Lenin thought this up. Stalin cannot live if he hasn't got what the other fellow has. He cannot forgive it.' This applied especially when the other fellow was Trotsky.
>
> (Fischer, 1952:11)

Also see Notes Y and EE.

GG. The plans for the windmill were Snowball's (p. 54). Napoleon had declared himself against the windmill from the start.

> One day, however, he arrived unexpectedly to examine the plans. He walked heavily around the shed, looked closely at every detail of the plans and sniffed at them once or twice, then stood for a while contemplating them out of the corner of his eye; then suddenly he lifted his leg, urinated over the plans, and walked out without uttering a word.

The whole farm was deeply divided on the subject of the windmill.

(p. 50)

Snowball had declared that the windmill, which would generate electricity, though a difficult project, could be built in a year.

> . . .and thereafter. . .so much labor would be saved that the animals would only need to work three days a week. Napoleon, on the other hand, argued that the great need of the moment was to increase food production and that if they wasted time on the windmill they would all starve to death. The animals formed themselves into two factions. . .
>
> (p. 55)

HH. Lenin sensed the coming strife between the two colossi. In December, 1922, when he had recuperated from his first stroke, he wrote his last testament and addressed it to the party congress. "Comrade Stalin," Lenin warned, "having become General Secretary of the Party, has concentrated tremendous power in his hands, and I am not sure he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution."

Lenin, trusting no outsiders, gave the testament to his wife for safekeeping. But the matter did not let him rest; he feared that the Stalin-Trotsky antagonism would split the party. So a few days later he asked for the document and appended a decisive postscript. 'Stalin,' he declared, 'is too rude. . . .I therefore propose to the comrades to find a way of removing Stalin from that position [of General Secretary] and appointing another who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority--namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious. . . .'

(Fischer, 1952:13)

II. In 1922 Lenin abolished the Cheka, created during the early weeks of the revolution to fight sabotage and counterrevolution, and reassigned its personnel and functions to a new agency, the State Political Administration or G.P.U., a branch of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs. . .Its job was to suppress

counterrevolution, prevent espionage, and police the frontier. It had unlimited power to search dwellings and arrest suspects but was supposed to bring charges quickly or dismiss its prisoners. with the birth of the U.S.S.R. in 1924 the G.P.U. became the O.G.P.U. with jurisdiction over the entire Soviet Union.

Through its early years the O.G.P.U. concentrated its attention upon former tsarist officials, merchants, clergymen, and members of non-Bolshevik political parties. But with the appearance of the Trotskyite opposition in the mid-twenties the O.G.P.U. extended its activities over a wider range. Now it interested itself in subversion and heresy within the Communist Party, watched foreign diplomats whom Trotsky's followers might contact, carried on espionage abroad and especially among émigré settlements, kept army personnel under surveillance, and guarded against sabotage in industry and transportation. Its prisoners when convicted went to concentration camps run by the O.G.P.U. With the adoption of the First Five-Year Plan the political police took on the task of rounding up kulaks and small businessmen, who previously had escaped persecution. It also arrested noncommunist intellectuals suspected of opposing the socialization program. Between 1928 and 1933 many engineers and factory managers went to jail for failure to meet production goals, and perhaps a million kulak families who resisted collectivization were rounded up. Many were shot but the vast majority ended up in O.G.P.U. labor camps in northern Russia and Siberia to work in the forests and mines or on roads and public works. At the same time all criminals whose sentences exceeded three years, regardless of the crime they had committed, went to the forced-labor camps operated by the O.G.P.U.

In 1934 the O.G.P.U. became the Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs or N.K.V.D., under Henry Yagoda. Now it encompassed not only the political police but the regular police, fire departments, border guards, traffic officers, prison officials, and its own military force of infantry, cavalry, and tanks. Because the earlier agency had tended to grow independent and to operate as it pleased, the new one came under some restraint. The N.K.V.D. on its own authority could sentence prisoners to administrative exile or imprisonment for no more than five years, but it had to turn over to the regular courts all accused persons who, if found guilty, could receive a sentence of more than five years. The prisons released thousands taken during the First Five Year

Plan, and there seemed some likelihood that the power of the police system would decline.

All restraints fell away, however, after the assassination of Kirov. The N.K.V.D., assisted by a network of informers, arrested literally millions of suspects during the next four years. No one was safe from the knock on the door at night, the days of endless questioning, the threats to family and friends, the brutality of prison life, the deportation to Siberia. In a succession of public trials important officials of the Communist Party confessed guilt to fantastic charges of treason and sabotage, but Krushchev admitted in 1956 that the trials were staged, that the accused suffered cruel tortures, and that the confessions that shocked the world were made to obtain relief from further torture. Thousands without trial went before firing squads at Stalin's order. With the arrest of the N.K.V.D. head, Yagoda, and the appointment in 1937 of Nicholas Yezhov, the fury reached its height. Long after every possible threat to Stalin and the regime had disappeared, the seizures and sentences continued.

Then suddenly the leaders seemed to realize that, although the purge at first may have saved the nation from treason and sabotage, its continuation was depriving industry, the army, government, and the party of scarce talent and leadership. The terror now turned against those who were making a career of it, and overzealous party workers and members of the N.K.V.D. were arrested and packed off by thousands to the labor camps to the cheers of those whom they had put there earlier. Stalin now donned the mask of savior of the people from mass terror and publicly condemned those who 'suffer from a lack of concern for people' or who showed a 'heartless attitude toward people.' The purge was over, but the fear it engendered never disappeared.

After the war the commissariats became ministries, and the N.K.V.D. was now the M.V.D. or Ministry of Internal Affairs. Its duties included the maintenance of internal security, reporting the attitude of the people toward the government, stationing observers in every organization, safeguarding the lives of important officials, carrying on espionage abroad, and providing counterespionage at home.

(Wren, 1968:557-558)

JJ. To become Soviet dictator, Stalin had to surmount the tremendous handicap of Lenin's last injunction against him. He had to crush the towering Trotsky. He had to remold Russia. He did all of these. That is the measure of his genius.

The battle for the succession to Lenin commenced while he was still alive. Stalin combined with the shrewd, demagogic Gregory Zinoviev and the hard-working, intelligent Leo Kamenev to oust Trotsky, then ailing with a mysterious infection which kept his temperature high. Lenin died on January 21, 1924. The triumvirate intensified its work.

Trotsky was on his way for a cure in the Caucasus when he received the news of Lenin's death. He immediately wired the Kremlin asking when the funeral would take place and saying he wanted to return. In reply he received a reply signed 'Stalin' stating, 'The funeral takes place on Saturday. You will not be able to return in time. The Politbureau thinks that because of the state of your health you must proceed to Sukhum.' The funeral actually took place on Sunday, January 27.

but. . .

Trotsky nevertheless retained much of his popularity. The Red Army's party organization had adopted a resolution in January, 1924, backing Trotsky, its chief. The university students were overwhelmingly for him. The central departments of the Soviet government were honeycombed with Trotskyist oppositionists. Large groups of workingmen expressed sympathy for his program of democracy within the party.

The Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev trio met this challenge in their own way. In the absence of Trotsky, they gave him a first assistant, Michael Frunze, who had fiercely attacked him in the press. General Muralov, commander of the Moscow garrison, a partisan of Trotsky, was transferred to a remote provincial post. Army Commander-in-Chief Serge S. Kamenev, an intimate co-worker of Trotsky, suffered a demotion. Petrovsky, a staunch friend, was dismissed from the war office. Other leading Trotskyists were ordered to distant posts: Ossinsky to Stockholm as Soviet commercial representative, Preobrazhensky to the London Anglo-Soviet negotiations, Sapronov to Vladivostok, and Antonov-Avseyenko to China.

Thus relieved of large embarassments, the triumvirate proceeded to crush the Trotskyist rank and file. Stalin's position in the party facilitated this task. Wherever possible, he replaced loyal Bolsheviks with loyal Stalinists as the secretaries of party units. The party membership was diluted by the rapid, wholesale enrollment of unassimilated new members who, out of inexperience or fear, would obey orders.

Having prepared the ground, the triumvirate called a national congress of the party for May, 1924. So skillfully had Stalin, Kamenev, and Zinoviev operated in the four months since Lenin's death that not a single delegate voted for Trotsky.

After listening to the reading of Lenin's last testament, the congress voted unanimously against publishing it. It has never been published in Russia. But it was smuggled out of the country.

By virtue of his position as the party's General Secretary, Stalin was now the strongest leg of the ruling triangle.

(Fischer, 1952:13-15)

Trotsky was defeated 748 to 0 at the May, 1924, party Congress. But he remained a popular giant. Boris Souvarine, of the French Communist party, told the delegates that "to the world proletariat Trotsky's name is synonymous with the revolution." He might have added: and to the Russian people as well. . . .

Stalin therefore continued to dig the ground from under Trotsky's political feet. Trotsky moved away; he did not fight back. He was biding his time. Lenin, in his last testament, had called Trotsky "the ablest man" in the party but noted, too, his "excessive self-confidence." Trotsky rested on his laurels and sickbed.

Presently, feeling weaker, Trotsky launched a flank attack on Zinoviev and Kamenev; he published a two-volume book entitled 1917. It appeared at the end of 1924 and raised a dust storm which did not subside for years. In its introduction, Trotsky attacked Zinoviev and Kamenev for their resistance to the Bolshevik uprising of November, 1917. Rather than participate in it they had resigned from the Bolshevik Central Committee. Lenin fell upon them like a tiger. He denounced them as "deserters and strike-breakers." Trotsky now recalled those facts.

Trotsky's book made him vulnerable. Theretofore the ruling Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev trio had criticized him for trying to convert the party to "Trotskyism." But their definitions of this sin were vague. Now he had given his enemies a new weapon; he was splitting the party by maligning its leaders. Bolsheviks worship unity.

Responding to pulls from Stalin's headquarters, thousands of like-worded resolutions poured into his office from local and regional party groups, and from foreign Communist parties, condemning Trotsky's "aggression" against the party.

Encouraged, the triumvirate dismissed Trotsky as Commissar of War and appointed Michael Frunze in his stead. But they did not yet dare to remove Trotsky from the supreme Politbureau of the Bolshevik party. The colossus had to be crushed piecemeal. Stalin was not deluded by the success of his manipulations; he is always sober. He still feared Trotsky. . . .

Slowly, silently, Stalin cleansed the party, the central source of political authority; whoever was critical or independent had no place in his system. Frantically, secretly, the Trotskyists mobilized the strength. Foreign correspondents in Moscow found anti-Stalin literature in their mailboxes. Opposition gatherings took place underground, in factory cellars, in a wood near Moscow, in workingmen's apartments. Trotsky sometimes addressed four such meetings a day. The great orator who had thrilled whole divisions at the front before sending them into battle and stirred multitudes in assembly halls now appeared in a crowded living room where the baby's crib and the table and chairs had been piled on the bed to make place for fewer than a hundred listeners. Sometimes, however, the Trotskyists dared to convene large open meetings attended by thousands.

This could not continue long. Bolshevism, and Stalin, are intolerant of organized opposition. . .

November 7, 1927, was the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Soviet Russia celebrated the event with bigger-than-ever festivities.

On the eve of the celebration, oppositionists circulated rumors that during the customary army review on the Red Square, while Stalin watched from the Lenin Mausoleum, a courageous officer or soldier would shout, "Down With Stalin." The massed battalions would join

the demonstration, and then the military would surround Lenin's tomb and arrest and depose Stalin. Nothing happened.

After the military parade had ended, a gigantic procession of workingmen, government officials, and youth passed before Stalin. The Trotskyites expected these civilians too to demonstrate against Stalin. On the march through the Red Square, a group of Chinese Communist students of the Moscow Sun Yat-Sen University lifted the long, sinuous papier-mache dragon off their heads, threw Trotskyist proclamations into the air, and shouted, 'Death to Stalin.' GPU men quickly arrested them. Nobody else demonstrated.

Near the Red Square, at the corner of Vozdvizhinka and Mokhovaya streets, is a government building with a second-story grillwork balcony. Many of the civilian marchers passed this spot on their way into and out of the square. At about 2 p.m., Trotsky appeared on the balcony with several associates. A picture of Trotsky was hung from the grillwork and he commenced to harangue the crowd. (Fischer, 1952:13-15)

One day in January, 1928, nine weeks after Trotsky's unsuccessful address at the Red Square, two automobiles filled with armed men stopped in front of the apartment house on Granovsky Street where Trotsky lived. They were GPU agents. Four of them went upstairs. They knocked at Trotsky's door, were admitted, and asked him to follow them. "You are under arrest," they said. The man who, with Lenin, had started the revolution was being arrested by four policemen. He refused to go. They seized him and lifted him up. He fought and kicked and bit. As they carried him downstairs one of his secretaries banged at all apartment doors and yelled, "They are arresting Comrade Trotsky." They arrested him too.

The same month, Leon Trotsky was banished to Alma-Ata, a town in Soviet Turkestan. That ended his career in Russia.

KK. See note JJ.

LL. These details are, of course, omitted in Orwell. Indeed, there are no counterparts to Kamenev and Zinoviev in Animal Farm.

> At the end of 1925, a startling development occurred. Zinoviev and Kamenev abandoned Stalin and joined Trotsky. They said Stalin would wreck the revolution. Trotsky boasted that his ideas had converted them. But he himself had once remarked sarcastically that they "lacked that little detail called character." They turned their coats easily. Intimate acquaintance with the method of their fellow triumvir, Stalin, had very likely led them to suspect he was plotting to get rid of them. They accordingly rushed into an alliance with Trotsky whom they had previously attacked and persecuted. He, who had previously attacked them, was not above grasping their proffered aid. Nadiezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, also joined Trotsky. Many were seeing what Lenin had foreseen: the perils of Stalin's leadership.
>
> Stalin was too insecure to stand alone. He now formed a tight block with Prime Minister Alexei Rykov, Michael Tomsky, the head of the Soviet trade unions, and Nikolai Bukharin, editor of the Moscow Pravda, a peppery philosopher much beloved by the Communist youth.
>
> The reigning Politbureau of seven was thus divided between the 'Left': Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, and the 'Right': Rykov, Tomsky, Bukharin. Stalin stood at the center, on the fulcrum of the political seesaw, enjoying maximum maneuverability and accepting minimum commitments. (Fischer, 1952:17)

MM. In January 1934 Stalin declared "The left-wingers do not understand that money and moneyed economy will remain with us for a long time." The New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced in 1921 permitted small scale capitalism. Orwell's treatment here seems to be an example of chronological distortion--since the NEP was introduced before Stalin took power.

Stalin's distortions of history were particularly pronounced in rewriting his own biography: to claim a role for him in the Revolution (and an intimacy with Lenin) which he never had; to suppress any mention of Lenin's will; and to downplay Trotsky's role

published anonymouly in 1938 and then under his name, Trotsky disappears altogether as an active organizer of the revolution; the little he did was in order 'to disrupt and destroy.' (Fischer, 1952:94)

NN. In the mid 30's

having overpowered the leftist opposition, Stalin now turned against the right whose backing had enabled him to defeat Trotsky. When Rykov, Tomsky, and Premier Bukharin opposed rapid industrialization and the persecution of kulaks, Stalin, now in full control of the party and with his apointees filling nearly every important post in the land, drove the three from the Politburo. Stalin's trusted friend Molotov replaced Rykov as chairman of the Council of Commissars. (Wren, 1968:552)

By the 1930's Stalin's least whim was a state command.

In January, 1935, Stalin and Molotov went to see Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk, a musical comedy by the gifted Soviet composer Shostakovich. It had been playing to full houses for two years in most Soviet cities. All newspaper reviews had been enthusiastic. The Soviet government had subsidized performances of it abroad. But when Stalin saw it he did not like it; there was not enough melody in it for him. He enjoys folk rhythms, and this was complicated music. So Stalin called David Zaslavsky to his office and in a few days Zaslavsky had an article in the Moscow Pravda lambasting Shostakovich's play. Immediately Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk and other works of Shostakovich were banned. Critics who had lauded the musical comedy now attacked it ferociously. (Fischer, 1952:27).

Also see note JJ.

OO. "After the hoisting of the flag, the animals were required to file past the skull in a reverent manner before entering the barn." (p. 60).

in the Revolution and to claim him to have been an agent of Fascist reaction.

> Nothing so destroys peace of mind as a gnawing desire to reopen the book of life and expunge something indelibly recorded there. Stalin knows that Lenin, the father of Bolshevism, subordinated him to Trotsky and rejected him in his testament. Therefore the Kremlin machine feverishly taps out the myth of Stalin's intimacy with Lenin and of Trotsky's 'Fascist treachery.' And it is never enough, for no amount of repetition will make it true.
>
> Hundreds of 'Old Bolsheviks,' who knew better, signed an open letter to Stalin, published in the Pravda of November 7, 1947, regurgitating the official version of the Bolshevik uprising: 'Thirty years ago you, together with Lenin, at the head of the Bolshevik party, led the working class of our country in the assault on capitalism.' (Fischer, 1952:27-28)
>
> By toil and talent Stalin had, before the revolution, worked himself up into the highest councils of the Bolshevik party. But he felt out of place in that company. Lenin was the thinker, Trotsky the master of style and speech, Bukharin the fine dialectician with pervasive charm. All were men of culture, broad European experience, and skill in ideological hairsplitting. Compared to them Stalin was a backwoodsman. He sensed it. It hurt. He remained behind the scenes, planning revenge on those who were close to the master, especially on Trotsky who was closest. He would rewrite the history which credited the Lenin-Trotsky partnership with making the revolution. He would substitute himself for Trotsky and liquidate those who might testify to the contrary.
>
> Toward the same end, Stalin expurgated Lenin's collected works, for they were Stalinistically impure. Lenin was not scrupulous, yet he had some respect for history and truth. (Fischer, 1952:28)
>
> 'All the practical work of organizing the insurrection,' Stalin wrote in the Pravda on November 7, 1918, the first anniversary of the Bolshevik insurrection, 'was conducted under the immediate disrection of Comrade Trotsky.' But in Stalin's book, History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), first

> When Lenin died, his widow was in favor of cremation and simple burial. But against her opposition and that of other Bolshevik leaders, Stalin ordered the body submitted to a complicated chemical process, lasting many months, which enables it to defy decay if not shrinkage. The small shriveling corpse now lies permanently embalmed in a hermetically sealed showcase within the beautiful marble mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square where hundreds of thousands view it each year. (Fischer, 1952:25)

According to Fischer (1952:24), "the preservation of Lenin's corpse was the beginning of the glorification of Stalin." The dictator could not be expected to be treated as superhuman if he treated the founder as an ordinary human being.

PP. Minimus represents Stalin's ingathering of poets and playwrights to sing his praises. The clearest historical parallel would seem to be Maxim Gorki.

QQ.

> Stalin's program of rapid industrialization and collectivization, for instance, was taken from the 'platform' of the Trotskyist opposition, but only after the suppression of the opposition at the end of the 'twenties. The authors of this policy were Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Preobrazhensky, who as early as 1923-24 maintained that the continued coexistence of private (peasant) economy and state economy was an impossibility and demanded that the Socialist economy of the state 'devour' the private sector.
>
> After he had exiled Trotsky and removed Zinoviev from his responsible post, Stalin explained before a party congress why Trotsky's program had been impossible of realization earlier. (Dallin, 1944:44)

RR. By 1929, the Soviet Union had offers of grain on credit from France, the U.S., Czechoslavakia and Argentina. German and British industrialists also offered long term credits and industrial equipment in exchange for promises of trade agreements. (Fischer, 1952:92-93.

SS. "Except through Whymper, there was as yet no contact between Animal Farm and the outside world."

I am not sure whether Whymper is meant to represent any particular historical figure(s).

TT. Germany was the first country to recognize the new Soviet government (in 1922); the other European parties followed in the next several years. The U.S., however, did not recognize the Soviet government till 1933.

UU. In the 1920's Soviet Foreign Minister Chicherin cultivated ties with Germany, and sought to block "a German reconciliation with London and Paris lest it cool Germany's interest in Soviet Russia." (Fischer, 1952:114)

> Many Bolsheviks had known Germany as revolutionary exiles from Tzarism and as students of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Bebel, and other German socialist theoreticians. A far larger proportion of them spoke German than English or French. The Bolsheviks, and Russians in general, were impressed, indeed often awed, by Prussian military prowess and German efficiency. When the Soviet leaders thought of Europe they thought first of Germany, and they congratulated themselves on having established close ties with Germany as early as 1922 when England and France were hostile and America indifferent. (Fischer, 1952:114)

By 1930, Stalin's views had shifted and Chicherin was replaced with Litvinov, whose wife was British and who believed it essential for the Soviet Union to have friendly relations with England. But Stalin remained "flexible." The chief aim of Soviet foreign policy remained always the protection of the Soviet Union. In the mid 30's Stalin once again sought to woo Germany, but Hitler in 1934 rejected

Stalin's bid for better relations. (Fischer, 1952:163; see also Laqueur, 1965) From 1934-1939 (when Litvinov was dismissed) Stalin followed a generally pro-Western policy, including the formation of anti-fascist "popular front" organizations abroad.

VV. Before Lenin's death Stalin was anonymous, silent, retiring. Later he fitted his portrait into a larger medallion of Lenin; evidence of humility, above all of identity. Still later the two portraits were printed side by side and of equal size. . .

Then Stalin's portrait became the larger and the more prevalent. (Paraphrased from Fischer, 1952:24)

A Hymn to J. V. Stalin proclaims:

> The world has no person
> Dearer, closer.
> With him, happiness is happier,
> And the sun brighter.

Hundreds of such songs, poems, cantatas, and hymns are widely distributed by the Soviet propaganda machine.

Stalin's picture adorns offices, schools, factories, and homes, and is carried in processions as were those of saints and Czars in the days of unenlightenment. (Fischer, 1952:24)

Seven Soviet cities and towns have been named after Stalin: Stalingrad, Stalinabad, Stalinogorsk, Stalin, Stalino, Stalinir, Stalinaoul. In Bulgaria, Varna has been renamed Stalin. Rumania too has a Stalin town. Thousands of countries, mountain peaks, lakes, rivers, ships, factories, farms, and schools are called "Stalin."

Stalin is showered with fawning adultaion and saccharinal flattery. Except perhaps some Oriental potentate in the remote past, no human being has ever lapped up so much intellectual toadying. The July, 1945, issue of Bolshevik, ideological organ of the party, called him 'the greatest scientist of our age.' The Cultural Front magazine declared that 'certain pronouncements of Aristotle have only been fully deciphered and expressed by Stalin.' 'Who best understands the Russian language?' Soviet President Kalinin

asked; 'Stalin,' he replied. The Moscow daily Izvestia went to the length of announcing that 'without Stalin no one can understand anything or write anything of interest.' Similar effusions pour from Soviet mouths and presses in nauseating abundance.

On November 7, 1922, the fifth anniversary of the revolution, when Lenin was still alive, the Moscow Pravda mentioned Lenin twelve times, Trotsky four times, Stalin not once. The Moscow Pravda of November 7, 1937, mentioned Stalin eighty-eight times, Lenin fifty-four times, and 'Stalinist' fifteen times. The Pravda anniversary number of November 7, 1947, reduced by paper shortages from eight to four pages, cites Stalin sixty-six times.

Stalin's birthday falls on December 21. The Moscow Pravda of December 18, 1929, prior to his fiftieth anniversary, published two columns of preliminary matter about the coming celebration. The next day, nine columns were devoted to it, the next, five columns. In the Pravda of December 21, 1929, every square inch of space except four columns of the eighth and last page was given over to Stalin's birthday. (The Pravda is printed in the format of large American and British dailies.)

In 1939, the preliminary matter commenced to appear on December 19, when two of Pravda's six pages were consecrated to the approaching birthday. The next day, all six pages except one column on the last page were devoted to his birthday. On the birthday itself, a special twelve-page edition contained not a word on any other subject. The next day Pravda went back to its regular six-page issue and gave five of them to Stalin's birthday, the next day two pages, the next one and a half, the next one, the next two, the next three, the next one, the next one, and on the last day of 1939 half a page. (Fischer, 1952:25-56)

In 1945, a typical petition of reverence was presented to stalin with the personal signatures of 2,547,000 residents of the White-Russian (Byelorussian) Republic. The same year a similar letter was signed by two and a half million citizens of the Kazak Republic. The Asiatic state counts six inhabitants to the square mile. (Fischer, 1952:26)

WW. See note GG.

XX. In 1940 Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico, almost certainly at Stalin's order. (See L.A.S. Salazar, Murder in Mexico: The Assassination of Leon Trotsky. Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1948.)

YY. See note GG.

AAA. Well-to-do peasants had grown still more prosperous during the years of the N.E.P., leasing more land and hiring labor as the government allowed and enough money to lend to their neighbors at high interest rates. Their large farms produced much more than they could eat, and they sold the surplus not to the state but in the free market or fed it to livestock to reap a greater profit. There were under a million of these kulak families, but their relative affluence and their power as moneylenders and as renters of equipment and horses to their poor neighbors made them the object of bitter jealousy in every community.

There were several reasons why the party leaders decided to collectivize agriculture. Industry was largely under government operation, and the Five-Year Plan proposed to nationalize the rest of it. To permit individualism in agriculture while pushing toward socialism in the rest of the economy would have been incongruous. The government proposed to abolish class in the cities; it could hardly allow the continued existence of poor, middle, and rich peasants in the villages. Furthermore, individual enterprise as the Russian peasant worked it was wasteful and inefficient. Large farm units using improved methods and modern equipment would produce much more, the planners reasoned, than the small individual plots. Russian farmers in 1928 were marketing only a third as much as before the war. But as the flow of grain to the government was dropping, the urban population, much of which received its food through state-owned outlets, was rising. Collectivization, the planners argued, would permit more effective use of labor and free thousands to fill the expanding needs of industry.

So ran the reasoning by which Stalin and his supporters justified the collectivization of agriculture. The real reason, however, was political rather than economic. Stalin was searching for a way

to destroy the individualism of the peasant--poor, "middle," or prosperous--by forcing him into a straightjacket of control. Peasants on a collective farm would be watched by a member of the Communist Party put there to do so and to report unrest and potential subversion.

The government first tried persuasion to entice peasants into collective farms, favoring them with seed, credit, and the use of state-owned machinery. Some poor peasants, each with his ten acres or so, did join, but these timid ventures could hardly relieve the grain shortage. The kulaks and many middle peasants went on as before, thus setting themselves in opposition to the government and to the rest of the farm community. Furthermore, they refused to sell their surplus grain to the state at a time when the cities were feeling the pinch of shortages and high prices. Communist squads from the cities went into the villages to seize the surpluses of the kulaks, and the government encouraged poor peasants to report their rich neighbors' hidden stores. Many kulaks burned their granaries and fled to the woods to carry on resistance, lynching the poor peasants who reported them and battling the communist squads who went after them. When they were taken, Stalin had them shot or thrown into forced labor camps and confiscated their goods and lands. Through the fall of 1929 and the following spring the vengeful hunt continued. Many gave in to save their families and joined collective farms. But before they did so they killed their livestock and feasted, walking empty-handed like poor peasants into the kolkhoz. Between 1929 and 1933 the number of pigs and cattle in Russia fell off by nearly half and sheep and goats by two-thirds. Bitter kulaks even killed their horses, thus depriving the collective farm they joined of much-needed power. Some poor peasants, on the other hand, joined the kolkhozes willingly. Without equipment and with only an animal or two they had everything to gain by doing so.

Enraged at kulak resistance, Stalin stepped up the rate of collectivization against the wishes of many party leaders. By the spring of 1930 well over half of all peasant families were living in kolkhozes. (Wren, 1968:57-572)

Stalin himself later admitted that "collectivization had cost the Soviet Union ten million lives." (Wren, 1968:572)

BBB. From 1929-1933, Trotsky was in Turkey: from 1933-1935 in France; from 1935-1937 in Norway; and from 1937 until his assassination in Mexico. (See also note UU.)

CCC. "(T)wo other sheep confessed to having murdered an old ram, an especially devoted follower of Napoleon, by chasing him round and round a bonfire when he was suffering from a cough." (p. 83)

One of the accusations at the Moscow Purge Trials was that "the death of Gorki had been accelerated when certain anti-revolutionary elements lighted a fire under his bedroom window." (Oxley, 1967:81)

"To the amazement of everybody, three of the dogs flung themselves upon Boxer. Boxer saw them coming and put out his great hoof, caught a dog in mid-air and pinned him to the ground. The dog shrieked for mercy and the other two fled with their tails between their legs. Boxer looked at Napoleon to know whether he should crush the dog to death or let it go. Napoleon appeared to change countenance, and sharply ordered Boxer to let the dog go, where at Boxer lifted his hoof and the dog slunk away, bruised and howling." (p. 83)

This passage suggests that Boxer may be identified with some historical "Old Bolshevik" figure who, though threatened, did not deal in the Purge Trials but did die shortly thereafter. One candidate is Michael Tomsky, leader of the Soviet trade unions, replaced in 1934 when he objected to greater inequalities in wages between skilled and less skilled workers. During the subsequent purges, Tomsky cheated the executioner by committing suicide.

The official Soviet stenographic records of the famous Moscow trials of 1936, 1937, and 1938, show that there was a previous agreement between the prosecution and the defendants, a quid pro quo. The accused would co-operate with the state, and the state would reward the accused (or at least not punish their families). In pursuance of this arrangement, the men arraigned at the trials confessed to responsibility for the deficiencies, blunders, and crimes of the Soviet government. There had been hundreds of train wrecks in Siberia. An accused official confessed that he had staged them deliberately. The peasants in collective farms had complained they were underpaid. Former Commissioner of France, Grinka, confessed that he, on instructions from Prime Minister Rykov, another defendant, purposely underpaid the peasants in order to sow discontent. In White Russia, the number of livestock had been disastrously reduced. Defendants at one Moscow trial confessed that it was done on order from the Polish Intelligence Service. Thirty thousand horses had died of anemia in White Russia in 1936. "My work, accused Shavangovich testified." (Fischer, 1952:29-30)

> Late in 1934 Stalin's reliable henchman and friend Sergei Kurov, party secretary in Leningrad after Zinoviev's disgrace, was assassinated by the husband of his secretary. Insanely furious, Stanlin lashed out to right and left, claiming that the deed was the work of a conspiracy led by Zinoviev and financed by foreign capitalists. The police shot a hundred former tsarist officials who were nowhere near the scene and could not possibly have been party to the plot. Through a succesion of carefully staged trials during the next four years top party leaders of both left and right who had opposed Stalin at one time or another paraded to the

witness stand to confess plotting treason, assassination, sabotage, and conspiring with Poles, Germans, Japanese, and Trotsky to overthrow the regime. a grim nationwide search directed by Hezhov, the new head of the secret police, swept up hundreds of thousands of suspects in every walk of life--officials, army officers, industrial and labor leaders, teachers, artists, and ordinary citizens. The opportunity to hurl charges or whisper suspicions allowed many to settle their personal grievances, and Stalin later admitted that many of the victims were innocent. Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Yagoda, and many Old Bolsheviks who had joined the party long before the revolution were executed. Tomsky cheated the executioners by committing suicide. Over three fourths of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were killed or imprisoned. Marshal Tukhachevsky and six other top-ranking army leaders received the death penalty for allegedly betraying military secrets to Germany and conspiring to restore capitalism, charges that were manifestly absurd. Officers of all ranks throughout the army suffered dismissal or worse. The purge destroyed many senior diplomats. Stalin finally called a halt to the bloody business, but not before he had 'purged the purgers.' Yezhov himself was liquidated and replaced by Lavrenty Beria. The 'Great Purge,' or Yezhovshchina, as the Russians call it, sent thousands before firing squads, imprisoned other thousands, and put untold numbers in forced labor camps or in exile in Siberian wastelands. Many thousands got off with expulsion from the party.

By the time the eighteenth party congress met in March, 1939, the purge had come to an end. The Old Bolsheviks and the intellectuals in the Communist Party, among them Lenin's followers who had opposed Stalin's 'socialism in one country,' had disappeared in one way or another from the ranks. What remained was not the Communist Party as Russia had known it but Stalin's party. (Wren, 1968:552-553)

DDD. "Every Soviet citizen learned the bitter lesson that Stalin was the State and that to question his leadership or policies would be to invite the charge of treason." (Wren, 1968:553)

EEE. As we have previously pointed out, beginning in 1934 the Soviet Union, anticipating conflict with Germany as highly likely, began

to solidify support for that war by reintroducing traditional patriotic "Greater Russian" themes and symbols. In the late 30's or early 40's (I'm not sure exactly when),

> the 'Internationale' ('Arise, ye prisoners of starvation') was abolished as the official anthem in favor of the new neutral national hymn ('Great Russia has cemented forever the inviolate union of free republics. . .We will lead the fatherland to glory'). But the old anthem was reserved expressis verbis for use by the party. Both anthems are used. One contained the seeds of nationalism, the other the traditions of Communism. (Dallin, 1944:40)

FFF. Credit for one of the greatest statistical fallacies of all time goes to Joseph Stalin and concerns statements he made about the success of his first Five Year Plan. The story is related most colorfully in Eugene Lyon's Workers' Paradise Lost. (New York: Funk & Wagnall, 1967) Quotations presented here are from the Reader's Digest condensed version of the book (November 1967, pp. 233ff.). The wording but not the essence of the message differs slightly from the original. The version we give comes from Stephenk, Campbell, Flaws and Fallacies in Statistical Thinking, Prentice-Hall, 1974, pp. 8-9.

> No other economic enterprise in history has been so vastly publicized, so glamorized and misjudged, as Stalin's first Five Year Plan. As originally charted, the Plan covered every department of the nation's life, promising great advances in consumer industries, food production, housing. Meticulously the planning agency, Gosplan, detailed higher living standards. The purchasing power of the Soviet currency would rise by 20 percent, real wages by 66 percent, the cost of living would be lowered by 14 percent.

Lyons continues by describing a speech Stalin himself made only eighteen months prior to the end of the five-year period, a speech in which he came very close to admitting that the Plan had proved a dismal failure. Nevertheless, eighteen months later, in January of 1933, Stalin announced the quantitative fulfillment of 93.7 percent of the entire Plan! What kind of statistical trickery is reflected in this figure? Lyons explains as follows:

> . . .The Kremlin simply compared total result with the total planned instead of weighing the actual increase against the planned increase. For example, steel output in 1928 was 4.2 million tons. The Plan foresaw an increase to 10.3 million tons. Actual production in the final year was 5.9 million tons--up 1.7 million instead of 6.1 million, or 28 percent of the planned expansion.
>
> The Kremlin, however, said in effect: 'We aimed at 10.3 and got 5.9, therefore, out Plan was fulfilled by 57 percent.' On this basis, if production had not increased by a single ton, the Plan would have been carried out by over 40 percent--progress while standing still!
>
> When such sleight of hand is revealed, the official claims collapse. New housing, credited with 84 percent fulfillment, in fact increased only 44 percent. . . . The actual increase in cement was 37 percent, in brick 28 percent, in automobiles 13 percent. Meanwhile, living costs zoomed, wages declined, hunger spread, consumer goods were magically short.

Lyons' summary of the situation just described is a ringing testimonial to the potential treachery of a statistical lie when it is told by a strategic political figure at a strategic point in world history. Lyons concludes:

> But amazingly, the Plan has gone down in history as a fabulous success. Indeed, the belief that Communism is a virtual guarantee of rapid economic progress for underdeveloped nations stems primarily from this stubborn delusion which began when Stalin's boasts were accepted across a large part of the world.

GGG. See pp. 90-91 in Animal Farm, especially the poem by Minimus.

Also see Note VV.

HHH. See Note. UU.

III. The Comintern had been created to serve as the arm of Soviet revolutionary propaganda and agitation abroad. (See Note E). In the mid 30's, the Comintern "ordered its members to support democratic governments rather than embarass them and so promote friendship for the USSR." (Wren, 1968:668) In 1935, at the 7th (and as it turned out, last) Congress of the Comintern, "on orders from the Kremlin, the Congress voted to halt communist revolutionary agitation against bourgeois governments and to support a "popular front" of liberal parties in every country against the mounting tide of fascism. Communists must join with socialists, laborites, democrats, liberals, or any others willing to control fascist aggresion." (Wren, 1968:636)

JJJ. In 1932, Stalin attacked wreckers and saboteurs including those "professors who go in their wrecking to the length of infecting cattle in collectives and on Soviet farms with plague germs and the Siberian anthrax, spreading meningitis among horses, and so on." (Dallin, 1944:117)

KKK. See note MM.

LLL Just prior to and after the Hitler-Stalin pact, Stalin increased his shipments of strategic materials to Germany. In 1938, for instance, Russia sold Germany 33,154 tons of oil: in 1940, 700,000 tons.

Stalin also stoked the fires of Communist propaganda against the West. 'It was not Germany who attacked France and England,' he wrote in the Pravda of November 30, 1940, 'but France and England who attacked Germany, thus assuming responsibility for the present war.' (Later, during the period of collaboration between the West and Russia, he naturally said just the opposite.) Taking their cue from Stalin, the British and American Communists, suddenly assuming the false face of pacifism, interfered with the defense effort, while the Communists of France stabbed her as she fell.

In these and all other ways Stalin tried, during the twenty-two months between the pact with Hitler and Hitler's invasion of Russia, to give Germany evidence of his good faith. Anti-Fascist and anti-German propaganda and education were discontinued inside Russia. Anti-Nazi films like Friedrich Wolf's Professor Mamlock, and Serge Einstein's anti-German Alexander Nevsky were no longer shown. (Fischer, 1952:166)

Communist parties outside Russia were caught completely off guard by the announcement of the Soviet-German accord. For years they had faithfully carried out the Kremlin's order to support bourgeois governments who resisted fascism. Only yesterday they had insisted that Poland must not go the way of Czechoslovakia. The contest of the thirties was one which lined up the peace-loving democracies, which by communist definition included the Soviet Union, against the anti-Comintern dictators, who showed no regard for human dignity and international law. To make themselves completely ridiculous by veering around to opposing the war against Germany took a full week. On the very day that German troops crossed the Polish border the French communists resolved that the 'peace-loving democracies' must support the Poles. The painful reappraisal finally was worked out and the lackeys followed Moscow in condemning the Western powers for carrying on an 'imperialist war.' Not until the Nazi invasion of Russia nearly twenty-two months later did the communist parties the world over slip back to their position that Nazis were aggressors against the peace-loving democracies. (Wren, 1968:645)

MMM. When Germany broke the nonaggression pact and invaded Russia on June 22, 1941, in Soviet eyes the nature of WW II changed dramatically. Previously the war has been portrayed as a struggle for markets and hegemony between rival imperialist powers. In the Soviet view, the war now assumed a dual character:

> The imperialist struggle for world hegemony (between axis and Allied powers) continued; the entry of Japan and the United States only made it global. But the belligerency of the Soviet Union added to this imperialist rivalry the struggle for the preservation of the Socialist fatherland agaist fascism and imperialism. This dual character of the war led to the coalition of the Big Three; the USSR entered into this alliance to protect Socialism; Britain and the United States entered it because they were unable to crush German imperialism alone. The capitalist countries seek to utilize Russian military forces for their own national self-interest, but they hoped that German and Soviet armies would mutually exterminate each other so that neither would again become decisive factors in European affairs. The Kremlin remains as suspicious of Anglo-American motives as it ever was. (Dallin, 1944:76)

NNN. In May, 1942, Molotov visited London to conclude a long-term alliance, the discussion of which had been going on for five months. What had held up the negotiations was Britain's refusal, at American prompting, to sanction Russia's absorption of Eastern Poland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic states, whose former governments the United States still recognized. Taking no cognizance of Stalin's impatience to begin redrawing the map of Europe, the British and Russian governments agreed to a twenty-year alliance aimed against Germany, promised mutual economic assistance after the war, and pledged not to become a party to any alliance or coalition directed against the other.

Molotov flew on to Washington to plead for more lend-lease materiel and to argue for the opening of a second front in Western Europe during the summer to relieve pressure on the Red Army. In the first he was

> successful, Washington raising her lend-lease commitments to the Soviet government to three billion dollars. As for the second, he received something less than full satisfaction. The State Department announced that 'a full understanding was reached with respect to the urgent task of creating a second front in Europe in 1942.' Stalin took this as a commitment to land on the continent before the year was out, whereas Roosevelt and Churchill meant it only as an expression of hope that a second front might prove feasible. Their later decision to postpone it aroused Stalin's suspicion that there would be no second front, that the United States and Britain would like to see Russia bled white by the Nazis. Indeed, the British and American press, which Soviet officials carefully followed, had contained many expressions by leading figures in both countries of hope that the troublesome Nazis and Bolsheviks might destroy each other if left alone.
>
> British and American shipments of war materiel to Russia did much for the time being to remove the coolness between Moscow and the Western capitals. (Wren, 1968:666-667)

000. The German drive toward the Soviet capital, begun in summer, was slow, halted by fierce Soviet resistance and, as the months passed, by increasingly colder weather. "That the Germans would penetrate the city seemed so likely that the Soviet government moved six hundred miles east to Kuibyshev on the Volga. On December 5, the attack stalled just thirty-five miles west and only thirteen miles north of Moscow." (Wren, 1968:654) However, Stalin himself, in order to inspire the Russian defense, never left Moscow. The pigs cowering at the explosion of the windmill is Orwell's metaphor for the flight from Moscow of party officials in fear of the city's imminent capture. In the first draft of Animal Farm, all the pigs are portrayed as on their bellies hiding their faces. Apprised by a friend of the fact that Stalin remained in Moscow during the

Battle of Moscow, Orwell rewrote the passage to exempt Napoleon from the charge of cowardice. This provides an excellent example of the level of historical details presented in Animal Farm in symbolic form.

PPP. Much of the war damage in the U.S.S.R. was the result of military action and therefore unavoidable. Much of it, however, was the consequence of deliberate and systematic destruction by the Germans as they withdrew. They destroyed plants that turned out half of the nation's steel, freight cars, locomotives, cement, and electrical power, as well as eleven hundred coal mines producing a hundred million metric tons, nearly two thirds of the prewar output. They wiped out three forths of Russia's capacity to produce pig iron. Nearly a hundred thousand collective farms were ruined and ransacked, as were eighteen hundred state farms and almost three thousand machine tractor stations. The invaders demolished or carried away almost a third of the half million tractors that had worked the nation's farms in the spring of 1941, along with fifty thousand combines, a million seeding and threshing machines, and four million pieces of other agricultural machinery. For several seasons to come much of the heavy farm work would have to be done by hand. The Germans slaughtered seven million horses, seventeen million head of cattle, and twenty-seven million sheep and goats, a third of the 1941 herds, and twenty million pigs, 70 per cent of the prewar total. They wiped out seventeen hundred towns and 70,000 villages; they demolished 31,000 factories, 40,000 libraries, and 84,000 schools; they tore up 40,000 miles of railroad, and destroyed 90,000 miles of telegraph lines. Twenty-five million Soviet citizens found themselves homeless, and the crowded housing conditions reached the point in 1945 where, on the average, thirty persons had to share a four- or five-room dwelling. The devastation wrought by the Germans was particularly extensive and deliberate in the Ukraine and the Don basin, which produced half the nation's meat, grain, and vegetables, and where the concentration of prewar industries had been heaviest. Property damage amounted to a hundred and twenty-eight billion dollars, a fourth of the prewar value of the nation's property. All this the enemy had destroyed. In addition, war expenditures and reduction of national income cost another four hundred billion dollars.

Human losses were equally staggering. Malenkov reported in 1947 that seven million Soviet citizens had died in action or as a consequence of the occupation. Well over three million soldiers had fallen prisoner, and many would not return. When the decline in birth rate during the war and the increase in death rate caused by malnutrition and disease are taken into account, the population of the U.S.S.R. was smaller in 1945 by twenty to twenty-five million than it would have been had there been no war. How many millions were permanently crippled is not known.

Within two months of the fall of Berlin five out of six ruined farms were operating again. It would be years, however, before the shell holes were filled in, the fence lines mended, the abandoned military equipment cleared away, the buildings repaired, and the fertility restored to the soil. To build the herds and flocks back up to prewar levels would take still longer. (Wren, 1968:664-665)

QQQ. By late November of 1943 the German army was encircled.

Try as he did, the German commander, Paulus could not push the Russians back and a relieving army sent to rescue him was driven off. Paulus begged Hitler to let him try to break through and escape, which he promised he could do without losing more than half his men. But Hitler refused to allow it. The slaughter went on until the beginning of February, 1943, when Paulus surrendered with the twenty-two thousand men still with him. In the ten weeks preceding the surrender the Russians destroyed sixty thousand trucks, seven thousand tanks and five thousand planes; and they captured mountains of assorted equipment and weapons when the fighting was over.

The obliteration of the Sixth Army exposed the flank and hastened the withdrawal from the Kuban and Caucasus of the German armies which were under heavy frontal attack. Two weeks after Paulus surrendered the Russians re-entered Rostov. Zhukov's armies rolled on west from Stalingrad past the Don to the Donets and recaptured Kharkov. The Germans were back to where they had started the summer before. But the Russian armies moved forward so swiftly that their supplies could not keep up with them, and the advance was uneven, leaving salients here and there that invited counterattack. Von Manstein, who temporarily succeeded

Hitler as commander on the eastern front after the Stalingrad disaster, struck back vigorously, retook Kharkov, and drove the Russians back beyond the Donets. Meanwhile, in the north Soviet troops recaptured Schlusselburg and opened up a supply line to the starving defenders of Leningrad. (Wren, 1968, 658).

RRR

Everything was still fresh and novel in the 'twenties. Every speech and every article began with a description of how miserable life had been under tsarism, and how different it would be now. The newspapers painted contrasts between the old and the new that was now beginning. Repudiation of the past was the lifeblood of political literature in the first decade of the Soviet regime. Old Russia was pictured as the springboard from which the swimmer leaps into fresh water.

Eventually all this began to sound repetitious, monotonous, banal, annoying, and unconvincing. Old Russia began to recede into the dim distance of the past; some began to forget, others had not known it at all. The new regime achieved stability, the danger of a restoration of the old had passed. A new complex of ideas gradually supplanted the old antihistoricity. The new people now sought not mere repudiation of the past but affirmation of their own place in the long chain of successive historical epochs. It was no longer necessary now to denounce Peter I as a robber and Catherine II as an immoral woman. Now it could be declared that Peter I was great for his time, that Ivan the Terrible performed mighty deeds for his country, but that Stalin was no less a legitimate and no less a great leader for his epoch. It was no longer necessary to repeat that Kutuzov and Suvorov were tsarist sycophants. No, they were great military leaders of their time, just as Voroshilov and Tukhachevsky were for theirs. . . .

In just such a manner do new directors, coming into possession of a going concern, claim at first that "things will be different from now on," but very soon display their own portraits in the gallery of directors (Dallin, 1944:22)

It would have been possible for the Communists to follow revolutionary or Napoleonic examples and to introduce novel decorations and marks of distinction for generals; but, no, Soviet generals were given red trouser stripes, just like those of old days. History knows a wide variety of military rewards--from the

laurel wreath to marriage to a distinguished bride--but in Russia the old decorations worn on the breast and named after famous tsarist generals are restored. Napoleon invented all sorts of new ranks, but Russia now again has her major-generals and lieutenant-generals, awkward-sounding foreign ranks but taken from the arsenal of old tsarist Russia. Regiments and divisions fighting with distinction could have been given new names, but they are now known again as Guard Regiments. Shoulder straps and bars would not seem necessary to win military victories. But they have been restored in their old forms. 'Privileged' military schools, traditional in Russia, have been re-established by a decree having to do with the rebuilding of reoccupied regions, and so on. (Dallin, 1944:23)

SSS. On the morrow of the November Revolution the Bolsheviks organized the League of Communist Youth, the Komsomol, which exemplary young men and women from fourteen to twenty-three years of age might join. The aim was to enlist the nation's youth in support of the goals of the new society, to have the members report counter-revolutionary sympathies in the school or even in the home, help others their own age to understand the principles of socialism, and set before all an example of communist discipline and youthful enthusiasm for the new society. They were very active and extremely effective in helping put over the collectivization of agriculture, the industrialization program of the First Five-Year Plan, the drive to stamp out illiteracy, and the crusade against religion. On the lower Amur River they built an industrial city, Komsomolsk, whose population rose rapidly to seventy thousand in 1939 and to over three hundred thousand by 1966. They were twenty million members of the Komsomol in 1966 and millions more in the Young Pioneers, a similar organization for youths aged ten to sixteen. Children eight years of age may join the Little Octobrists. No other youth organization may exist. Progression from one group to another and so into the parent organization, the Communist Party, is now normal. The great majority of party members are graduates of the youth organizations. (Wren, 1968: 550-551).

TTT. The young Molotov was among those who (in the 1920's) insisted upon the need of limiting the urges and salaries of Communists. Molotov would have been

incredulous if he had been shown a picture of himself as he was destined to appear in 1944--in a gold-trimmed diplomatic uniform as was prescribed by a recent decree." (Dallin, 1944:91)

By the 1940's a rigid hierarchy of titles and uniforms has been applied to the army, the diplomatic service, railway employees, the courts, and elsewhere. "The decrees regulating the hierarchy of ranks divide the mass of government employees into classes, differentiating between the various grades, prescribing the order of advancement in the service, the time to be served at each stage, and the use of a high sounding title for each grade...At the same time, uniforms have been introduced for all grades, similar to those in the armed services; there are shoulder straps, service bars, stars, etc. " (Dallin, 1944: 145-146; see also Ibid: 142-145).

UUU. In the elections of December 12, 1937, the first under the new Constitution, there was one list and no struggle. Ninety-four million electors were entitled to vote. Of these, 96.8 per cent actually voted. The single list won 98.6 per cent of the votes. Stalin called it a remarkable victory. (Fischer, 1952: 138)

The 1936 Constitution legalized inheritance and enfranchised priests for the first time since 1917, inaugurating a series of changes which eventually led to the establishment of the Orthodox church as an arm of the state. The Constitution provided a gloss of democratic form to mask the reality of totalitarian dictatorship. (See Fischer, 1952: 138).

VVV. Soviet attitudes toward religion and the Russian orthodox church during the period 1918-43 follows a torturous pattern. In the 1920's the Union of Militant Godless was founded, supported by

the Komsomol, which remained active in the distribution of anti-religious literature and in organizing anti-religious demonstrations. But "periods of severe repression alternated with spans of relative tolerance." (Dallin, 1944: 61; see also Ibid, 56-70). During WWII, just after a period of severe repression, "the government made one concession after another to the church. But for every concession received the church was obliged to pay immediately with political moves favorable to the government."Dallin, 1944: 62)

> Immediately after the beginning of the Soviet-German war the highest church authority in Russia, the Metropolitan Sergus, declared his support of the war in the name of the church. At a solemn service in Moscow on, June 29, 1941, he prayed for the success of Russian arms. In September of the same year the Godless and the Antireligionist ceased to be published. . .on the anniversary day of the November revolution the Metropolitan Sergus hailed Stalin as 'the divinely appointed leader of our armed and cultural forces leading us to victory. (Dallin, 1944: 64)

WWW.

> The pigs have become 'the new class' (the phrase is that of Milovan Djilas, a leading Yugoslav Communist, imprisoned by Tito because of his political unorthodoxy). Their children are isolated from the rest of the community, brought up and educated as an hereditary elite. In fact the pigs have become far more efficient exploiters of the other animals than ever Jones was, and other human farmers come to learn from them the new techniques. Having denied the bringer of the original revolutionary message, having changed the name of the farm back to its 'correct' pre-revolutionary one, having suppressed the 'foolish custom' the animals had of calling one another 'comrade', the pigs in their duplicity become physically identical with the human beings they are entertaining. (Oxley: 1967: 80)
>
> The new upper class is endlessly stratified into numerous castes. Instead of equal comrades in a party or equal citizens in a country, Stalin has established strict hierarchical gradations with barriers, titles, and differentiated pay and privileges. Factories have

two, sometimes three or four restaurants; the worst is for workers, the best in food, spaciousness, service, and privacy is for the director and his immediate subordinates. In the remote Soviet past, officers and soldiers in the Red Army wore uniforms of the same material and were equal except in their duties. Today, the officers are decked in epaulets, braids, fine clothing, and all the accoutrements of a caste army, occupy the best apartments, and impose strictest discipline on shabby privates who no longer may mingle with officers. Officers have clubs, messes, and entertainment barracks to which soldiers have no access. . . .

Everyone knows his or her rung on the long Soviet social ladder. Promotions and demotions are numerous, but caste molds are beginning to harden. This is especially true since the introduction of paid tuition in colleges, in violation of the Stalin Constitution of 1936. Higher education is now available to the children of the upper class and to some scholarship winners, but the offspring of workers and peasants are usually routed into technical schools which train them to be foremen, locomotive drivers, and skilled mechanics. (Fischer, 1952: 131)

XXX. The British, American, and Soviet foreign secretaries met together for the first time in the Moscow Conference during the last two weeks of October, 1943. The three powers swore to accept only the unconditional surrender of the Axis, promised to restore the independence of Austria, declared that democratic government must return to Italy, and warned that Germans charged with committing atrocities would be tried and punished in the country where they had perpetrated such crimes. The Chinese ambassador in Moscow joined Molotov, Eden, and Hull in recognizing the need to limit peacetime armaments and to 'create at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership of all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.' (Wren 1968: 667-668)

YYY. In 1943, Stalin dissolved the Comintern, "an act that did not liquidate the Communist parties across the world, of course, but one which Western hopefuls interpreted to mean that Moscow was renouncing world revolution." (Wren, 1968: 668)

ZZZ. In the closing days of November, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin in the Russian Embassy in Teheran. There Stalin and his military advisers learned details of the proposed Allied landing in France the following June and promised to synchronize a Russian offensive with it. The three heads of state came to an understanding on respective spheres of influence in Europe as they liberated territory from the conqueror. Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovokia, Poland, and Finland were to be part of the Russian sphere. The rest of occupied Europe would fall within the Anglo-American sphere. The heads of the big three powers repeated their determination to work together for an enduring peace in which 'all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.' Such high resolve, reiterated at every conference during the war, led Westerners to expect an entirely different sort of peace than Stalin apparently had in mind. . .

The exiled Czech government in London concluded a twenty-year alliance with the U.S.S.R. In December, 1943. This seemed to indicate to Churchill that Prague would cling to Moscow after the war, something he feared and had tried to prevent by insisting all along that the British-American invasion of the continent should take place in the Balkans to prevent all Eastern Europe from falling under Russian domination. Although Eisenhower held out for Normandy as the target of the main Allied thrust, Churchill sent a British force into Greece to keep that country, so close to the Straits, out of Russian hands. Then the prime minister hurried off to Moscow to strike a bargain with Stalin over the spheres of influence that the Teheran Conference tentatively had settled. There in October, 1944, Churchill agreed that Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary should come within the Soviet sphere of influence. He could do little else. The Red Army already had overrun Bulgaria and Romania and was fighting in Hungary. (Wren, 1968:668-669)