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Co-Op • An Approach to Foreign Aid**

New World

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FEBRUARY 1956

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The Village in China Takes to the Cooperative

by ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

"HO TSO SHIH" is the Chinese for cooperative. It is a word that's in the very air today. Cooperation is sweeping the rural countryside. During four months last fall, in what promises to be the biggest organizing movement in history, more than 800,000 new agricultural cooperatives were set up—sweeping away the landmarks between the small individual plots, bringing peasants together to work in common. By the end of November the total number came close to 1.4 million and included nearly half of all peasant households in the country. In north and northeast China, where liberation and land reform came earlier, as many as 70 or 80 per cent of the peasant households have joined cooperatives.

Links between the cities and countryside are close and deepening. Factories are sending out hundreds of

thousands of new agricultural implements for use on the farms. The first tractor plant will go into production next year and test manufacture of combines has already been completed. There are close personal ties too between town and village. At New Year, harvest, and on national holidays, workers travel many miles to visit farms; and peasants, who have never previously seen a city, come to stay in workers' homes. Everywhere in China, you see posters extolling the worker-peasant alliance and the need for all to increase production.

Scan the new books in the bookstore and you will find plenty of life stories about peasants who have become national heroes, or of co-ops, which having overcome initial difficulties, are preparing the way for mechanized production. Stories about cooperatives fill the newspapers. They describe their organization; how some peasants, especially the more prosperous ones, at first feared they might lose out, then came in; how production increases resulted from collective work; how pooled savings made it possible to buy new and better implements, and so on.

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY during the Sino-Japanese war was a correspondent in China for the London "Daily Telegraph." She has spent some time in the United States and now lives and works in Peking.

In one paper recently I read how a whole village with 337 families was organized into a single cooperative. At first 17 families held back. Their reasons were understandable. One peasant owned several hundred trees—elm-plum and junipers. He felt he would be sacrificing too much if he was to share the profit from these with the other members. When told that he could keep the trees as his private property, he immediately signed up. Another old man was afraid that because of his age he would not be able to do enough work to earn his keep. When it was explained to him that he would be put to tending animals which was light work but remunerative, he became even more reluctant. Finally the reason came out. He had been afraid of animals all his life. When he was told he could cut fodder and help with the thinning of crops, he was happy to join. The misgivings and fears of the other 15 families were finally allayed by the same kind of patient explanation. The example of successful co-ops with better crops and income, of course, counts most of all. But the way the understanding comes is as varied as human beings themselves.

One crisp winter morning recently I myself set out with some friends to visit a cooperative about fourteen miles south of Peking.

The Hsinfati (New Prosperous Land) cooperative covers three villages, has 1,923 members, but farms little land: 800 acres, about half of which is irrigated. The land is divided into two almost equal areas, one being used for growing grain and the other for the intensive cultivation of vegetables, so the amount of labor used per land unit is very high. This is the reason that, unlike most co-ops, it was possible to or-

ganize on fully socialist lines from the start—with the land pooled as common property and all earnings coming from labor alone.

In the three villages, at the time of our visit, only one eligible family had not yet joined the co-op, but it too was on the verge of applying. The hold-outs were a half-time carpenter who owned nearly an acre of land—a comparatively large amount—and his ailing wife. The man had wanted to join for some time but the woman held him back, afraid that unless she could work full time they would not earn enough to eat. After the 1955 harvest, this couple found that their income for the year was less than anyone else's in the vicinity. Finally on the wife's suggestion, the co-op management agreed that the man should join taking the land with him, while she would keep the garden as private property and raise vegetables for their own consumption.

There are only 27 other families in the vicinity and they are not eligible at present. These are non-agricultural workers, ex-landlords and rich peasants. They too, however, may be eventually absorbed. Four landlord and 11 rich peasant families were allowed to join after 80 per cent of the households in the area had already done so. The principle here is to keep all such elements out at the start. In the past landlords and rich peasants were absolutely excluded from membership because where co-ops were not very strong, they could worm their way into the leadership, take over, and could exploit the other members. Now, however, the policy in strong co-ops is to admit such applicants if the cooperative movement has become area-wide and the applicants give evidence of honesty.

In the New Prosperous Land Co-

Harvest Celebration,
a Chinese paper-cui
designed by Chang
Lang, cut by Liu
Tun-Chin, Hupeh
Province



operative, some local land'ords were given probationary membership, and a chance to show their good intentions. Their treatment regarding shares, however, was different from others. Because their property had come from past exploitation, they had to make an extra contribution into the reserve fund.

These and many other facts about the New Prosperous Land Cooperative were told me by its thoughtful, capable chairman, Liu Ch'ing-tsang, who met us on arrival. Liu himself had worked as a hired hand from the time he was 11 until liberation. He got something over an acre in the land distribution and began, for the first time in his life, to work for himself. He was elected head of the Peasant Association, and later, in 1950, Village Head. He had been chairman of the cooperative ever since it was first organized in 1952. Liu suggested that we walk around the fields and see what was going on. It was a most fascinating experience.

Many years ago when I was farming in England I had been impressed by the words of a Northumbrian with whom I worked. "You'll never find a good farmer," he said, "where the yard is thick with straw and muck." In my experience this was

true. But I have never in my life been around a farm where I couldn't even see a twig out of place, where every man and woman in the fields seemed to have a real spring in their gait, where the houses stood in yards that looked as if the spring-cleaning had just been completed in an amazingly thorough fashion, where the work was being done with a perfection that made it look like a scientific laboratory. This is what I saw at New Prosperous Land.

In the winter-bare fields there were men turning huge rows of fresh green cabbages in great well-ventilated underground clamps. They will keep eight months that way, they said. Those to be sold earlier are stored above ground, covered over with a thick layer of protective earth.

Now came the explanation of the "mystery" of how so many people could live off so little land. Men and women were busy in the hothouses which provided work and a good income for the majority of members through the winter months. Put up in October, they will be taken down in spring, when the land is ploughed for crops. But despite their temporary nature, they are scientific, simple and sturdy. We found a hive of activity there. Women were preparing

chive roots for planting, after cutting off the shoots for marketing. Men were replanting the roots, washing and packing the shoots. The chive roots were packed tight in square beds and grown with water but without soil. Every cut stem was stripped clean and laid out by hand so that the base of each two-pound bundle was an absolutely symmetrical, even-surfaced disc. Each bundle was washed and shaken clean in successive tubs of water, the final one of which was crystal clear.

There were great tanks of water where garlic bulbs were being soaked for quicker sprouting. Out in the yard a young lad, holding a garlic bulb in one hand and a grown shoot in the other, explained the whole growing process, giving the yields, market prices, wages paid, and other details. Everything was sold on contract through the Market and Supply Cooperative in Peking. The farm guaranteed steady deliveries and planned accordingly. In the old days when each man carried his own crops to market, he had to go whether he had a full load or not and much time was wasted. What is more he never knew when planting what price he would get for his product. It was all left to chance. Now everything is planned and certain.

Coming back to the village we dropped in at the Credit Cooperative which is the community bank. The Credit Co-op helps to solve financial problems both for the community and for individuals. In 1954, for instance, when much of the land was waterlogged and there was not enough fodder for the animals brought in by new members, 40,000 yen had to be raised. At that time the resources of the Credit Co-op were not sufficient to make such an outlay. But it negotiated a loan from the People's



A Chinese paper-cut, Fruit Picker, that was designed by Tung Po and cut out by Wang Hung, of Hopei Province

Bank and asked co-op members to lend what they could, promising repayment within a definite period. That the co-op members scraped up 10,000 yen between them was proof of the confidence they had in the new co-op.

We walked into the small courtyard of one of the homes where we were greeted by Hsu Man-ch'ing, a 63-year old former poor peasant, and his wife. They showed us the small one-room shack where they had lived most of their life. It was now the outhouse. They lived in a brand new five-room house. Hsu had taken a loan from the Credit Cooperative to get the materials to build and the other co-op members had lent a hand with the work, taking no pay. His debt to the Credit Cooperative was not yet quite cleared. He had bought five small pigs to make some extra

money, but they had fallen sick and died which had set him back a little. But he wasn't worried, life was getting much better anyway. He had bought a small iron cook stove, the first he had ever owned; and next year the whole family expected to get new clothes.

"In the old days," he said, "even if I managed to find my breakfast I did not know where I'd eat dinner. I used to go to the city and try to sell some firewood but it brought very little money even if I was lucky enough to make a sale."

I asked Hsu's wife if the women were also better off. "Of course," she said. "What reason have they for not being happy now?" And she poured out the story of her unhappy youth and the daily cursings she got from her mother-in-law and three sisters-in-law. "Just look at my poor health now," she added, "and you will know what a hard time I had."

Graphic proof of the developing prosperity was given us by Chairman Liu. In 1954 three-quarters of the daily sales in the local consumers' cooperative were for grain and only a quarter for daily necessities. Last year the ratio was reversed. Personal deposits in the Credit Cooperative in 1955 were eleven times the amount in 1954. At the beginning of last winter 60 per cent of the young people already had woolen clothes and short top-coats and everybody had good shoes. Thirty-three families had moved into new houses, almost everyone had a thermos, 20 families had bought small radios and 15 had new bicycles.

Back of this increasing prosperity, of course, is increasing production. Because all the land is worked as a unit, it can be used to the best advantage, crops can be grown where the soil suits them best, and work

can be concentrated where needed.

New Prosperous Land Cooperative has had to overcome a special disadvantage. The land is subject to water-logging. In the old days when it was divided into small plots, it was impossible to dig drainage ditches because no peasant was willing to have another man's ditch cross his land. Now there is a good drainage network. In the past, crop losses from insect pests and disease were also heavy. If one man tried to eliminate them on his tiny plot, his crop would become infected from his neighbor's. Now there is a united effort to wipe them out. The results tell the story. In 1955 the per acre yield of potatoes, corn, wheat, cabbage and peanuts averaged 66 per cent higher than those of neighboring individual peasants.

This explains why cooperation is such a magnet. The present revolutionary changes in Chinese agriculture are not being accomplished by coercion, by some miracle, or by any extraordinary means. They just make sense. The story of New Prosperous Land Co-op is being repeated in thousands of villages all over China. It throws light on such questions as "How is China going to feed its population? How can the general living standard be substantially bettered? How can the yield of such industrial crops as cotton be raised?"

The answer is quite simple. Exploitation has been stopped; the people are free to work by united effort for themselves. And behind the farms, drawing strength from them and beginning to give them strength in the form of machines, fertilizers and consumers' goods, is China's socialist industry.

*Peking,
December, 1955*

Is Soviet Central Asia a Colony?

**A reply to Supreme Court Justice Douglas'
recent article published in Look magazine**

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

TO ONE who has often rejoiced in the fine decisions made by Justice William O. Douglas as Supreme Court jurist, who has come to rely on him for decisions uncolored by prejudice and who once prompted the idea that he should be President of the United States, his articles on the USSR in *Look* came as a shock.

It has long been known that he combines the personalities of jurist, world traveller and colorful writer, but one wishfully assumed this brought his judicial talent to his reporting, a combination the world much needs. And when the reporting covers one of the greatest problems of our age, that of the mutual relations of nations, great and small, backward and advanced, the question of how to combine national "sovereignty" with that international limitation of sovereignty through which alone mankind can now survive . . . one hoped greatly for a jurist's analysis, unprejudiced, balanced, on what answer the Soviet States in Central Asia might offer to this question, and wherein consisted any defects. For while the solution of the Soviet Union to this complex problem may have lacks, as all men's solutions have, it brought Soviet

Central Asia a material development which Justice Douglas himself states is "by Asian standards far ahead."

Instead of such an analysis, it seems that the color reporter has conquered the jurist, for Justice Douglas makes generalizations which his own facts, given later in the article, contradict. Of course *Look Magazine*, not Justice Douglas, is accountable for the actual headline "Soviet Colonialism—Product of Terror." And one must realize that Justice Douglas had as companion Robert F. Kennedy, Chief Counsel of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, whose biased viewpoint, seen in his own statements, is also reflected in the *Look* article.

Nonetheless, the Justice himself must be held accountable for the conclusion with which he opens his article: "The USSR has a brand of colonialism similar to the kind the French practice in Morocco and more evil than anything England ever promoted." He adds: "There are segregated schools, special courts for the trial of Russians, discrimination against native peoples, ruthless suppression of nationalist sentiments." The name of Justice Douglas is on those words; his is a powerful name.

But he has used it, not as a jurist but as a color reporter, handling phrases tinged with prejudice and hate.

"Slave labor," he writes, "is still notorious in Russia." Is that a phrase for a jurist to use? He must know that there is no "slave labor" in Russia. There is convict labor, used to develop backward areas, a project once hailed as idealist, but that later developed abuses. If Justice Douglas had discussed the system of convict labor in the USSR, its aims, abuses and the way in which a widespread correction of abuses now goes on, this might have been a jurist's contribution.

Justice Douglas writes: "Doctors are assigned military fashion" . . . using an inexact adjective which ill describes the widespread public health system — reaching even the most backward villages. Yet the methods whereby medical graduates give certain years of service in backward areas, in return for their free medical education, has little in common with military methods.

"Segregated schools" is another opprobrious phrase, as the Justice well knows, derived from compulsory segregation by color on a basis of inferiority, a system still used in our Southern states. A Justice should not thus label schools in which separation is based on a difference in language, and on a constitutional provision that every child has the right to be taught in his own language. Under the tsarist regime this right was denied the peoples of the Asian Republics except for a very limited number that were in religious schools.

Nor is it true, as Justice Douglas states in attempting to prove the "Russification" of native peoples, that all teaching in secondary schools

is in Russian, and that native children are "compelled" to learn Russian while Russian children are not compelled to learn native languages. Teaching even in some universities goes on in both languages: in the Kazakh State University, the Central Asian State University and the Tadzhik University. The question is that of the teacher's capacity; in secondary schools where there are not yet enough trained native teachers for technical and scientific subjects, Russian instructors teach these subjects in Russian. . . . And *all* pupils even in the grades, whether Russian or Asian, are "compelled" to learn a secondary language, which may be a "native language" or a foreign one. To some extent, but not absolutely, the pupils may choose their secondary language; my husband's nieces in Moscow complained bitterly that there were not enough English teachers so they "had to" take French. For any native in Central Asia, Russian as the "second language" would be an inevitable choice.

The Justice makes the point that the peoples of Soviet Central Asia are non-Russian, related rather to Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia; and that Moscow has imposed upon them the Cyrillic alphabet which prevents them from free access to their own classics. This is loose to the point of inaccuracy. Some of these peoples are branches of the same tree to which Turkey belongs, but Turkey was not the main branch, and the relation between their languages is much the same as that between French, Italian and Spanish, all derivative from Latin. Many of these peoples had no alphabet of their own of any kind. Some had had an Arabic script super-imposed on the native language under Moslem

influence; but only the scholars could read it.

In the early campaign for liquidation of illiteracy in the USSR, these people were given alphabets based on the Latin; this continued till just before World War II. It proved impractical, since it made it necessary to learn two alphabets, the Latin and the Cyrillic for the study of Russian. The Cyrillic was therefore introduced. This was not for the purpose of keeping the people from knowing their own traditions. Hardly anyone knew them formerly except scholars, but today all great classics and epics are available in large editions and with almost universal literacy are known to everyone. At the same time, the great monuments of the past have been restored, such as the tomb of Tamerlane, and are part of the national environment, while national museums and the newly developed drama, record achievements of the native past.

Let us take up Justice Douglas' main thesis, that Soviet Central Asia is a system of colonialism comparable with French Morocco and "more evil than anything England ever promoted." One must ask: What is colonialism? Wherein does it differ from mutually advantageous relations between states? We face here the basic problem of relations among nations, basic to the United Nations, and to all dreams of future world government. It is part of man's great quest for unity in diversity. It is no mere question of "sovereignty;" some sovereignty is yielded in any alliance or union. It is no mere question of formal "equality;" no states are equal except juridically. Some are rich, some poor, some advanced, some backward. This does not determine "imperialism."

Without being doctrinaire we may

note three obvious signs of colonialism. 1) The powerful nation does not permit the colony to develop basic industry but keeps it backward, a source of cheap raw materials and a market for cheap goods. 2) The powerful nation does not educate the colony to any extravagant degree. 3) The powerful nation usually treats colonial natives as racially inferior. These things characterized British rule in India, French rule in Morocco, and American penetration of backward nations, except that America gives more education. None of these characteristics are found in Soviet Central Asia.

Let us quote Justice Douglas' own article: "Before the Revolution, Central Asia was a vast feudal domain. Today it is a veritable arsenal of Soviet power . . . atomic energy, coal mines, copper smelters, steel mills, oil wells, textile mills." Here is the exact opposite of colonialism; here the Russians, a strong advanced nation, helped backward peoples to full industrial strength. Nor is the situation changed by saying the Russians "who go to Central Asia get 30 per cent more pay than native workers" and "occupy most of the command posts." These facts, if true, need not be "discrimination." Russians get higher pay for going to *any* distant jobs for which they must uproot families; also the higher pay may be a means of discouraging establishments from employing Russians for posts which natives can fill. "Command posts" in any giant enterprise, whether in the USA or the USSR, commonly go to men who have grown up in the enterprise for 30 or 40 years. No native central Asians were in any industry 30 years ago. Yet Justice Douglas himself notes that there are now "Kazakh engineers, Kirghiz supervisors, Tadzhik mana-

gers" that in "many factories natives in managerial posts outnumber Russians." Was this the practice of Britain, France or even the USA?

We quote Justice Douglas on education. He is talking with the mayor of Alma Ata, a native Kazakh who exults: "Under the tsar we were only 2 per cent literate, now we are 100 per cent literate." Education, the Justice learns, is compulsory for seven years and soon will be for ten years, which roughly equals finishing our American secondary school. Did Britain, more than 100 years in India, bring 100 per cent literacy to the Indian people? Indians still use symbols in elections for people who cannot read names. In French Morocco illiteracy is widespread. But in Soviet Central Asia, education was pushed so energetically that almost full literacy was reached in 30 years, ten of which were consumed by war. For while Russia's revolution is older than 30 years, changes in Central Asia hardly began before 1927.

Justice Douglas speaks of the "bloody terror" of those years, in which "Moslem religious courts" were replaced by "unified courts throughout the USSR," a process he calls "Russification." I fear he got his picture of "Moslem religious courts" from some of the homesick high-up mullahs he met. I saw the actions of those years 1927-29, I was in Soviet Central Asia then; I camped in Kirghiz yurts, slept on Uzbek peasant floors, rode by horse across the "Roof of the World" over which he flew by plane. There was bloody terror indeed, but not imposed by distant Moscow for nefarious ends. Let us see how it occurred.

Here is a young woman of sixteen, sold in marriage since the age of nine, who hears from a Russian woman that girls have the right to

enter school. She runs away from home to a school and is taken in. She is so elated with knowledge and freedom that she volunteers to give her vacation agitating among the women of her home village. A week later, her body comes back to school in a bloody cart, violated, dismembered, and on the cart the words in her blood: "This is your woman's freedom." The deed was done by the husband, egged on by mullahs; it is sustained by Moslem law.

But the Soviets have a new law; they announce it in a spectacular "show trial" of the husband. He is condemned to death for murder of his wife. It is raw propaganda to the biggest audience they can reach. The propaganda says that women are equal, women's lives are sacred, to kill a woman is murder and killers will be punished for that deed. Women have the right to schooling; they may not be sold in marriage. This was a hard, bloody propaganda for Central Asia to learn.

They learned it . . . I note that Justice Douglas interviewed Tashkent's mayor, who told him: "Under the tsar was unemployment and misery; there was no care for aged and invalids" and who bragged that all this was changed. But the biggest change the mayor apparently forgot to mention; Justice Douglas notes in a single word that the mayor of Tashkent, Central Asia's biggest industrial and railway metropolis, is not only a native Uzbek, but a woman! A woman thirty years ago would have been lynched if she had set foot on the streets without hiding behind a thick veil of black horsehair. Many were lynched for that cause alone.

Justice Douglas notes that the majority of judges in Soviet Asia today are natives. He finds oppressive "Russification" not only in the uni-

fication of the legal system—whereby “religious courts” were abolished in the general policy of separating church and state, but also in the fact that a Russian defendant gets a Russian judge. But this is part of a law much hailed by Soviet citizens, which grants every citizen in every part of the USSR the right to be heard in his own language. A Kazakh, on trial in Moscow, has by law the right to have the entire proceedings translated for him into Kazakh. Shall not Russians have the same right in Kazakhstan courts?

Wishing, as I must, that Justice Douglas had not missed the great opportunity to analyze for the world what the Soviet nationality policy contributes to man’s search and wherein its weaknesses lie, my mind goes back to a Tadzhik I met in 1927, an illiterate man, living so far in the hills that he never saw a wheeled cart till after he saw a plane. He exulted: “We Tadzhiks have our independence for the first time in eight hundred years.” He rejoiced in the growing Tadzhik capital, then still named Duschambe, and he

thought it the biggest city in the world. “For when a man rides into it, he does not yet see where he shall ride out of it; and the people live in three layers, there not being room on the earth.” He had heard that Moscow was bigger, and this he would concede. “That may be so, for Moscow is the center of the seven nations, of whom we Tadzhiks are one.”

This was his simple, poetic description of the unity in diversity, the independence combined with inter-dependence, that the Soviets sought, that the United Nations seeks, that all men must find if human society is to survive. His was no full answer. Justice Douglas might have given us the jurist’s answer. But the Tadzhik touched a basic truth that the jurist tossed away.

How can Tadzhiks have their “first independence” if Moscow is “the Center”? The full answer to this paradox is the key to man’s future organization on this planet; it must come in many tongues from many lands. But . . . did any Indian ever thus exult in days of British rule?

NEW YORK HEARS MODERN RUMANIAN MUSIC

A CONCERT of contemporary Rumanian music, some of it heard for the first time in this country, was performed recently at the New York Public Library before a small but enthusiastic audience.

The works included Sonata No. 2, for violin and piano, by Georges Enesco, performed by David Sackson and Joel Spiegelman; Suite of Dance and Song by Leon Klepper, who is a professor of composition at the Bucharest Conservatory, with Joel Spiegelman at the piano; a number of songs by Tiberiu Bradiceanu and Pascal Bentoiu, sung by Ramon Gilbert; and String Quartet in E Flat, by Martian Negrea, also a professor at the Bucharest Conservatory and Composer Laureate of Rumania, which was performed by the Phoenix String Quartet.

Henry Cowell, American composer, in a brief address explained something of the background of Rumanian music and the strong influence of the various regional folk melodies on contemporary Rumanian compositions.

Moscow Sees "Porgy and Bess" And "Hamlet" by Britishers

by RALPH PARKER

SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet* has been on the Russian stage for almost 200 years but until this present season no English company had ever played *Hamlet* in Russia. True, 44 years ago Gordon Craig came at Stanislavsky's invitation to produce *Hamlet* at the Moscow Art Theater—the sets for that production are on exhibition in the theater's museum—but then the actors were Russian.

When it became known in Moscow that, by an arrangement between the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the British Council, Tennent Productions was sending a company to play *Hamlet* in the Soviet capital, there was intense speculation about the interpretation the play would receive. This was all the keener because for about a year a public discussion has been going on about the correct interpretation of *Hamlet* on the Soviet stage.

RALPH PARKER's regular on-the-spot reports to our magazine are well-known to our readers. A veteran Moscow correspondent, he formerly represented the "New York Times" in the Soviet capital where he has been reporting for 15 years.

Until last year the play had been out of the repertory of Soviet theaters for over a decade, the sole exception being a production in 1946 at Vitebsk. In fact, the last great *Hamlet* seen on the Soviet stage before the Kozintsev and Okhlopkov productions of last season, at Leningrad and Moscow respectively, was that of Mikhail Chekhov, and he interpreted *Hamlet* in the traditional nineteenth century style, as a man of weak will. I think there is little doubt that the absence of the drama from the Soviet stage was due to the public's refusal to see a *Hamlet* so interpreted, as well as the failure of producers and critics to work out a new interpretation of the central character of the play more in keeping with the mood of our times.

Be that as it may, there was more than mere curiosity in the attention Moscow theatrical circles gave to the news that the English company's performance was to be produced by one of the most brilliant and original young producers of the London stage—Peter Brook.

When the company, headed by Paul Scofield—the *Hamlet* of the production—arrived at Moscow Airport

on a night so cold that the flowers with which they were pelted were frozen stiff, and were informed that "Sold Out" notices had already been posted at the theater, they looked surprised. But the news was no surprise to those of us who live in Moscow and who saw the long early-morning queues that formed at the doors of the Pushkin Museum when the Dresden Art Collection was on exhibition last summer, or the crowds of earnest spectators at the exhibition of Indian applied arts or in the rooms where the French impressionists have been exhibited more recently.

The Soviet critics have paid the visiting company the compliment of viewing the production not merely as a manifestation of Anglo-Soviet friendship — though that aspect of the visit has not been overlooked — but as a serious theatrical event.

Criticism has, inevitably, been concentrated on to the interpretation of the central role, the Brook-Scofield Hamlet. It is a remarkable tribute to the universality of Shakespeare that in writing of this interpretation Soviet critics have turned to the Russians who wrote some of the most acute and wise lines about the character of Hamlet that have ever been written. In an essay devoted to the Maly Theater actor Mochalov's interpretation of Hamlet in the year 1838, Belinsky formed a genuinely dialectical conception of the tragedy and its hero. The critic saw Hamlet as a man who fought against the evil and injustice of life, a young man of strong will forced by tragic circumstances temporarily to lose his will-power. Belinsky uses the term "disintegration" to describe the state of mind in which Hamlet, shocked out of his "youthful harmony" passes through most of the action of the

play up to that moment near the end when he regains the resolution he requires to accomplish his purpose.

The Belinsky interpretation was echoed by several of the Soviet critics discussing the Brook-Scofield version of the play. Boris Zakhava, writing in *Pravda* on November 24, summarized what he called the Russian traditional interpretation of Hamlet as follows: Hamlet is a man strong by nature. Despite a tendency to pensiveness and deep philosophical reflection, he nevertheless possesses the temperament of a rebel, the will, energy and a capacity for action. His misfortune is not that he is incapable of action but that he does not know *how* he ought to act to attain his aims. His bright dreams, his moral purity and demands on life, his humane outlook and lofty ideals come into sharp conflict with reality, with that ocean of vice and evil which he suddenly sees around him.

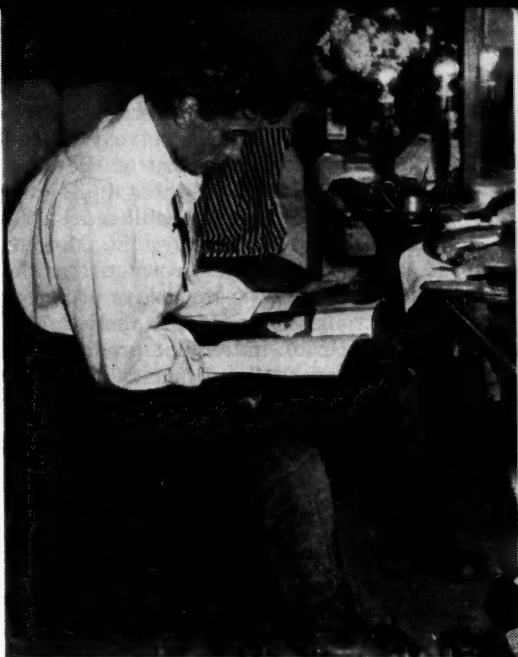
Compare this with Peter Brook's own explanation of Hamlet as he sees the character. For me, Brook says, Hamlet's tragedy is that impossible tasks are laid on him. His father's ghost orders him to revenge his murder, but not to taint his mind in so doing. At first Hamlet believes that this is possible. But he makes a tragic mistake in thinking he can kill without his character changing. For murder leaves its mark, even justified murder. We see how the young Hamlet is ready to "drink hot blood," and then, imagining himself in the role of murderer he recoils with horror. He looks round for self-justification, and, instead of contemplating murder, he gives vent to his anger in hurling bitter reproaches on his mother. His father's ghost returns and reproaches Hamlet for his "almost blunted purpose." But on the eve of his departure for England,

Hamlet realizes at last that he must become another person and resolutely overcomes his hesitation. He sends Guildenstern and Rosencrantz to their deaths without remorse and returns to Denmark full of self-confidence—a new Hamlet. Yet a Hamlet who knows he cannot live. His nobleness, his tragedy lies in the fact that he chooses his fate: Hamlet fulfills his impossible task and before death, raises his voice for Fortinbras so that this prince should become king of Denmark. Hamlet cleaned Denmark of its filth but could not rid himself of his "taint."

That, briefly, is Brook's interpretation of Hamlet; and, in general, it is remarkably close to Belinsky's view of Hamlet, particularly in regard to the dialectical development of the central character.

This is what Soviet critics had in mind when they welcomed this production in Moscow and described it as close to the traditional Russian interpretation of the play. They were far from suggesting that Peter Brook's production was academic; they found much that was strikingly novel, and welcomed it for that. The complete absence of stereotype, for example.

Paul Scofield's Hamlet, wrote the critic of *Vechernaya Moskva* "was not the traditional Renaissance youth with curling locks and a chased silver dagger in his belt. With his short hair, his controlled gestures and natural diction he was near to the type of modern young man. . . . Equally free from long-established theatrical tradition is the Ophelia in this production. The young actress Mary Ure fully looked the part of a pure, cultured girl who in her 'Thought, and Affliction, Passion, Hell itself' turned to prettiness (in the words of her inconsolable brother). There is nothing



Paul Scofield, who plays the role of Hamlet, examines the program in his dressing room before a performance

ing in the performance of that hackneyed figure of a passive, naive heroine, supremely in love and heading for her destruction without protest.

"The portrayal of Ophelia is distinguished by that laconism which one finds throughout the production. . . ."

The swift, laconic, untrammelled character of the production has been highly praised in Moscow. The producer expressed some anxiety before the first night lest the Soviet public, accustomed to lavish spectacle and rather slow-moving production, should think his "Hamlet" too spare in style.

But this production happily coincides with a new trend in the Soviet theater away from over-elaborate stage effects and from a false realism that is, in fact, naturalism, a trend towards establishing individual

styles of production. Moscow theatergoers have for the last year or two been pleading that most of the capital's theaters have their individual styles, and then one could go to the Vakhtangov, the Maly, the Moscow Art theaters and elsewhere in the anticipation of seeing plays produced in strongly marked manners, characteristic of individual producers.

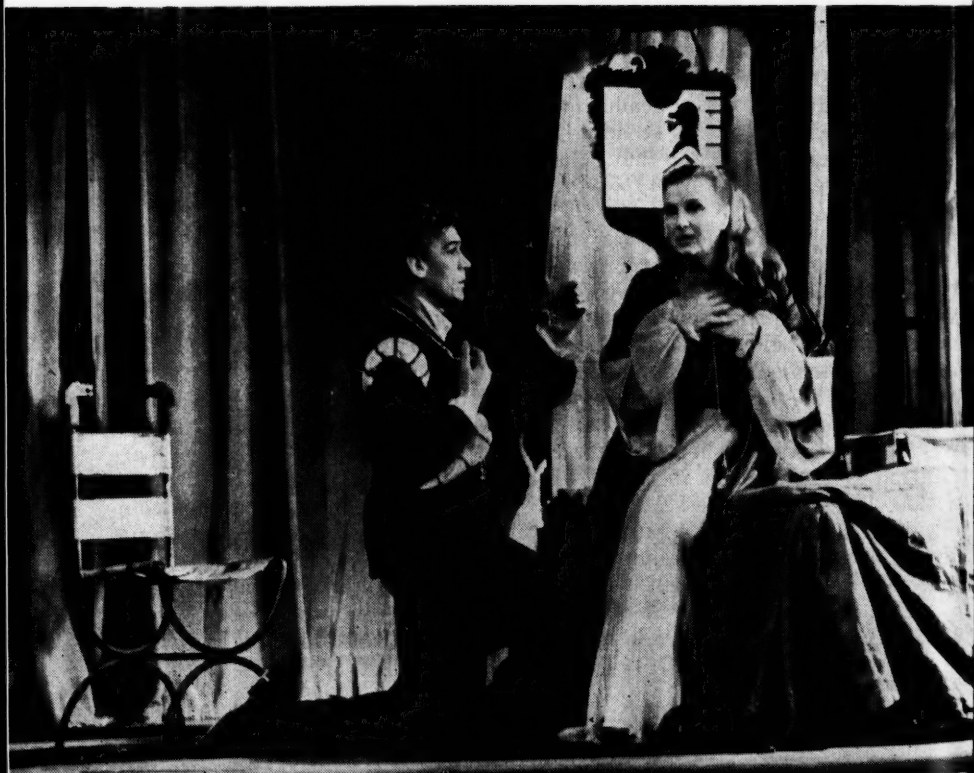
Yet, with all its merits, this production of *Hamlet* has revealed something which is not to the credit of the English stage. For all the intelligence of the production, the effectiveness of the setting by the French designer Georges Wakhevitch, the splendid speaking of verse—and, in general, the whole "vocal" side of the acting—one must, in all honesty, note that

the general level of acting, as seen in this production, is far below that of the permanent companies of Moscow, with their schools, their repertory system, their continuous tradition.

It is partly, of course, a matter of national temperament. The young English actors and actresses who sat spellbound — though none knew a word of Russian—through a three-and-a-half-hour production of Leo Tolstoy's *Fruits of Enlightenment* at the Moscow Art Theater were the first to admit that other factors enter into the question: permanence of employment, security, the benefits of belonging to a collective. . . .

Nevertheless, this in no way diminishes the triumph that the Eng-

A scene from Act I of the British production of "Hamlet" played in Moscow. Paul Scofield is seen as Hamlet, and Diana Wynyard, as Gertrude, the Queen. More photos of "Hamlet" and pictures of "Porgy and Bess," on pages 26-27



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lish *Hamlet* company have enjoyed in Moscow, nor the importance that visit is likely to have in the development of the Moscow stage.

THERE were many bursts of applause during the recent performances of George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* by the American Everyman Opera Company in Moscow but none so warm and prolonged as that which greeted the words of the producer Robert Breen on the first night: "It is said that when the cannons speak the muses are silent. You Russians say that when the muses speak the cannons should be silent."

It cannot be over-emphasized that the average Soviet citizen regards the fuller share of world culture that he is getting now from the theaters, book publishers, movie screens, art galleries, concert halls, etc. as one of the direct fruits of peace, something he was denied by the exigencies of the cold war.

A lot of talk—some of it silly—goes on in the world about consumer goods in the Soviet Union. Political analysts examine the Soviet budget and draw conclusions from their comparison of the amount of money invested in making the means of production and in producing articles of consumption. But how few of them take into the reckoning the fact that for the average Soviet citizen the rapidly increasing expenditure by the state on providing education, and opportunities for cultivated leisure, is a contribution to the wealth of life available for the people to spend, to be consumed? Life can be enriched by other things than hardware, the library is as important as the kitchen shelf, the food of the mind as the food of the stomach and it is to theaters and movies and

bookshops that people go as well as to the department stores.

It is as a further contribution to the rich variety of life that most Russians see the current visit of the Everyman Opera. And what a splendid contribution it is!

The form was a strange one to most of the audience at the Stanislavsky Musical Theater, for "musicals" of this type where the dramatic side is no less important than the musical side are not known here. The violence of some of the scenes, the frank sexuality, the touches of naturalism are, perhaps, a little foreign to Soviet taste.

Soviet musicians have long been warm admirers of that fine American composer, George Gershwin. His music has figured again on Soviet concert programs during the past year or two. As Aram Khachaturian has said, Gershwin's power as an artist lies in his passionate love of his native land, for the people of America.

At the first night of *Porgy and Bess* in Moscow I heard many tributes being paid both to Gershwin and to the performers.

Nikolai Okhlopkov, one of the Soviet Union's most celebrated producers, told me he was dazzled by the brilliance of the production. "It is excellent," he said. "What tempo! What rhythm!" His opinion was shared by that other master of the stage, Sergei Obraztsov. Both Khachaturian and Kabalevsky were enthusiastic. "I consider *Porgy and Bess* one of the most talented of modern operas. I am sure this performance will greatly contribute to the establishment of genuinely friendly relations between the Soviet and American people and serve to strengthen mutual confidence and respect," Okhlopkov said.

Jews in Poland

by BEATRICE KING

"DO SEE if you can find out the truth about the position of Jews in Poland today," said some of my Jewish friends when they learned of my proposed visit. "Can it be that there is really no anti-Semitism as some people claim?" Of the older Jewish immigrants from Poland most had left the country to escape the bitter persecution of a reactionary state. Some had actually fled from pogroms. Few of them could believe that there really was a radical change in Poland, that Jews were no longer discriminated against. Their skepticism was not merely the result of the hostile press that appears to fear the truth about the socialist countries more than anything. It was the centuries-long suffering of their people that had burned itself into their consciousness.

We were an education delegation, and, with the exception of one member whose family had fled from fascism, not on this occasion interested in the Jews in Poland to the extent of being prepared to miss educational

BEATRICE KING, distinguished British educator, is known to our readers for her articles on Soviet education. This article is based on observations on a recent trip to People's Poland.

objectives. We were joined by an Italian delegation of seven, of whom six were devout Catholics and concerned much with the position of Catholics in Poland. Our program was very full, with new desires arising each day that demanded satisfaction. Thus, even a casual investigation of the position of the Jews in Poland seemed unlikely.

But we spent some days in Cracow, formerly a great Jewish center. It was after visiting the Ghetto there, seeing the desolate shuttered shops, accusing witnesses to fascist horror, just as they had been left by its victims when they were driven off to slave camps or the gas chambers; it was the obscene desecration of the Jewish cemetery, the satanic despoiling of the synagogue, which moved three of us to a decision to meet some Jews in Cracow. We wanted Jews who felt themselves Jews before anything. We wanted to meet them on their own hearth as Jews and not as doctors or lawyers, musicians, or ministers of State who happened to be born Jews.

Our Polish hosts who came with us to Cracow could not at first understand the request and certainly not our insistence. It was obvious to everyone, and natural, that not only was anti-Semitism dead now but

that every trace of discrimination had disappeared. Why should anyone need proof for a thing that was self-evident? And where to find such Jews as we were seeking? Well, we found them ourselves. Almost opposite our hotel there was a Jewish club of which our hosts from Warsaw had no particular reason to be aware.

The morning of our discovery we were due to visit Nowa Huta, the new town that is a monument to Polish skill and ability and to the selfless devotion of Polish workers. Half an hour was all that we had for our project. However, for once we were prepared to besmirch our British reputation for punctuality. It would be a change to keep our Italian friends waiting. So, without any previous warning we presented ourselves in the club. Like many buildings in Cracow the place was undergoing decoration, and after wandering up and down stairs and knocking at various doors, we found the secretary who, learning of our purpose and recovering from the unexpectedness of our call, practically embraced us with the warmth of his welcome which was added to by his assistant. It was a heartwarming experience. We needed no interpreters since one of us spoke Yiddish and the other two German. Whatever task they may have been engaged in was dropped without mention, and they put themselves completely at our disposal.

The club had a beautiful hall for concerts, dances, lectures, and social gatherings of all kinds, in addition to offices. Owing to lack of space the library which had a stock of literature in poetry and prose, classic and modern translation and originals, was housed in another building five minutes or so away. The librarian

was a middle-aged, cultivated woman aged by suffering, with eyes not yet recovered from weeping over personal grief as well as over the sorrow of her people. Of five million Jews only a comparative handful was left. She was immensely proud of the library, not of what it was as yet, but of its future possibilities and of what it signified. The library and the club cooperated in the production of a Jewish newspaper, which has official support.

It was not the attractive facilities of the club and library, nor the gifts of Jewish books produced after the Hitler interregnum, that impressed me so much. It was the two men and the woman librarian, so unaffected, so simple, so natural, who moved me deeply. They had all known persecution, oppression and Nazi terror, and they knew what freedom was. They could judge it, savor it, discriminate its varying degrees. And they felt themselves completely free. But it was not a cold freedom in isolation from the rest of the people. There was warmth and friendship and encouragement in the attitude of the government, of the city council, and of the people. All the expenses of club and library are covered by the authorities. At the concerts and other cultural events at the club a quarter of the audience are non-Jewish Poles.

"They like coming to us," said the secretary, "and we like having them. We are developing our Jewish culture here, making use of our history and our traditions, preserving the old that is valuable and adding new. On festivals our women cook traditional Jewish dishes. "But," he repeated "we are not a people apart. We feel, and we are, part of the Polish nation."

"What about the orthodox Jews?"

I asked. "They have every consideration," was the reply. "Those who do not wish, do not have to work on Saturday and no loss of pay. Every provision is made to allow them to practice the traditional rites and ceremonies." Walking along the main street we talked Yiddish. "We would never have done that in a main Cracow street in the old days. It would have been too unpleasant for us."

"We still find it hard to get used to the opportunities available to us, who come from poor Jewish families. My brother is an editor at the national broadcasting station," continued the secretary. "In the old days we could not even get to the high school. We had barely enough to eat. You ask any former poor Jews about opportunities." I did, on my return to Warsaw, and found he was not exaggerating. Potential abilities and gifts in Jewish people were valued and treasured and given every encouragement in exactly the same way as was the case with non-Jews.

Our new friends emphasized to us the respect and care of the Polish government for Jewish culture and historical monuments. The Cracow synagogue was being carefully restored by the state. The desecrated cemetery, very old and of great historic interest, was to be put in order and kept as a historic monument. A dignified and worthy museum of Jewish culture was already planned.

"Anti-Semitism?" "Well of course, the roots have not all been torn out yet. How could centuries-deep superstition, hatred and prejudice that had been particularly cultivated under Nazi occupation, be uprooted in a short ten years? The re-education going on is a long and difficult process." But our friends had no doubts the roots would wither and die out

because they were no longer nourished. They gave us examples of the swift retribution on those guilty of acts of anti-Semitism. As they talked, these new Jewish friends, there was a light of confident happiness in their eyes, a moving appreciation of what socialist Poland was giving to them.

Back in Warsaw, I met other Jews in their own homes. Two couples perhaps typify the Jews in Poland today. They all bore the concentration camp numbers.

One couple, childless, had adopted a Jewish orphan girl, then about to enter the university. The husband, assistant editor of a Jewish paper, had been so ill at one time he was not expected to live. Months of the best medical service and attention entirely free, followed by a convalescent home, had practically restored him to health. He came home for the week-end especially to meet me. They lived in a one-room home but were expecting to move into a two-room flat. This has been done I have learned. She was working in an office and receiving the utmost consideration and kindness even to time off to visit her husband in the convalescent home.

"You know" she said, "it depends much on us Jews ourselves. We mustn't be isolationist or exclusive but enter the mainstream of the life of our country. When we had serious shortages and difficulties there were always some people who blamed the Jews. Sometimes this can still be heard. In proportion to their numbers, there are many Jews who hold high office in the state. When things go wrong the discontent may still vent itself on them. Those Jews who couldn't give up business habits forced on them by a rotten economic system made things difficult for the

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TOWARD ENDING THE COLD WAR AGAINST AMERICANS

CONTINUING pressure for amnesty for the Smith Act prisoners is one way in which the American people can do their part toward easing the repressions that reflect the cold war here at home.

The way was opened for this by the Christmas appeal of 46 prominent Americans, including Eleanor Roosevelt, urging President Eisenhower to grant amnesty to the Communist Party leaders now in jail and postponement of cases now awaiting trial or on appeal.

The signers made clear their disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party, but emphasized Justice Black's dissenting opinion to the effect that the imprisoned Communist leaders were not charged with any overt acts "designed to overthrow the government," but only with the purpose of future "teaching and advocacy," and noted the Supreme Court's decision to review pending convictions. They pointed out that the convictions had occurred in the cold war period, and urged the President that amnesty now "would give proof of our confidence in democratic institutions" and "contribute toward peace in the world about which you are so deeply concerned."

Other signers included Dean John C. Bennett, of Union Theological Seminary; Stephen G. Cary, secretary American Section, American Friends Service Committee; Prof. Henry Steele Commager, of Columbia University; Rev. Henry H. Crane, of Detroit; Chaplain John H. Krumm, of Columbia University; Lewis Mumford, author; Elmer Rice, playwright, and Norman Thomas. The appeal was initiated by Rev. A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Along with the move for amnesty, should go renewed pressure for repeal of the McCarran Act, actually an outlawry statute, now being tested in the appeal of the Communist Party before the Supreme Court against the decision of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

rest of us for a time. Fortunately most of them have left the country."

For the other couple anti-Semitism was something quite extraneous. He held a high position in a government ministry. She lectured in economics at the university. They had a spacious four-room flat furnished in excellent taste. Their young son could use his father's study for entertaining his friends. They even had a daily domestic worker.

The two couples were great friends. Why not? They had common experiences, common interests and common aspirations for their country and for themselves. Neither couple as Jews had ever to be apologetic, or asser-

tive, or aggressive or ever hide that they were Jews. For both couples, as for all Jews in Poland, the future held great promise.

It was a horrifying and never-to-be-forgotten visit to Auschwitz, where as you walk along the toe still kicks up bits of human bones, where the gas ovens, the stacks and stacks of human hair in glass cases, removed from victims before gassing, the shoes and boots all shapes and sizes, from a tiny baby to old men, all the innumerable evidence of Hitlerite anti-Semitism brought home to me the new position of the Jews in Poland. There will never be a return to the old so long as peace prevails.

Paris, Orchids and Peace

by ILYA EHRENBURG

A WAN SUN, like the oily reflection of a street lamp, pierces the mist. The platans are still losing their golden attire, the first frosts have not yet touched the dahlias of the Tuileries, incorrigible dreamers still linger on the cafe terraces in the open air, but winter is approaching inexorably.

There are the braziers and the hot sugary-smelling chestnuts which warm frozen fingers. Passers-by stop before the shop windows where all sorts of furnaces and heaters are displayed, and look thoughtfully and attentively at the furs. Winter brings cares to everyone: Some think about the price of coal, others about a warm coat, and still others about the coming elections.

The newspapers try—as always—to daze, worry and terrify their readers by means of enormous headlines, but the world has changed a great deal: Paris is giving more thought to the cold winter than to the cold war.

The Parisians who went to the Soviet Union this summer told their friends a good many things, and these friends, for their part, repeated and continue to repeat what they heard. Every Parisian now knows that it is hot in Moscow in summer-

time, that the people of Moscow eat a lot of ices, that the university is a very tall building, that there are a lot of theaters in Moscow, that the Russians wear trousers which are much too ample, have read Balzac and Stendhal, are hospitable and above all want peace.

The Geneva spirit has altered the spirit of Paris, as it has altered the spirit of many other cities. I have seen ladies of fashion in dresses which remotely resembled those worn by Chinese women: Since the Peking Opera's visit, Parisians dream of China.

I have heard midinettes singing the Moscow waltz in the streets; the melodies heard at the Moisseiev Ensemble's performance have winged their way throughout Paris, resounding under its ancient roofs. If all this should seem frivolous, I only need to add the testimony of a professor who told me: "After the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Utilization of Atomic Energy, many of my students began to learn Russian."

Some people who read the newspaper dispatches without looking any further ahead may not realize the immense changes which have taken place in the world in the last year, just as people sometimes fail to re-

alize that spring has succeeded to winter. It is no exaggeration to say that in 1955 the peoples began to meet for the first time since the long gloomy years of cold war began.

One could talk about the political results of this meeting, the good humor of ordinary people who have had holidays free from great anxiety for the first time, or the bad temper of certain manufacturers of deadly weapons.

One could recall, on this occasion, international trade, the exchanges of minerals and silks, of wood and oranges, of petroleum and perfume. But in Paris, where there are book-shops and art galleries on each street corner, I would like to talk about other exchanges, those which enrich ideas and wither prejudices.

When we visit art galleries or read historical works, we see how much the different people's patrimonies have in common. Most certainly, culture is always bound up with the people's traditions and the peculiarities of its national genius. But a people's spiritual efflorescence has invariably fertilized other countries. An exhibition of Etruscan art was held in Paris, and when one sees the admirable monuments of this ancient civilization, one involuntarily recalls the gold objects of the Scythians in the Leningrad Hermitage.

A few years ago I saw an exhibition of the ancient arts of Mexico and was struck by the resemblance between the sculptures created by the Indians of antiquity with numerous monuments of China dating from the T'ang period. When the historians of Italian art came to Moscow to admire the works of Andrei Roublev, they remembered the Giotto's and other great masters of the early Renaissance.

Joliot-Curie once said that ideas

travel without visas. Ideas travelled long before the invention of trains and motorcycles. In addition to ideas, melodies and objects also travel: vases or carpets, miniatures or embroidered quilts. The antique Greek amphora captivated the painters of Florence and of Novgorod. The Chinese had brought their art to America long before all the Columbuses.

Like men, peoples are skillful in one sphere rather than another, and all peoples have learned, are learning and will learn from each other. The school bench is a place of honor, and has borne geniuses: Raphael was a pupil, and Tolstoy too. But when one closes the door hermetically, cultivates self-conceit and tries to make a people believe that its way of life is the supreme, ideal and infallible kind of life, then men begin to become boors and savages.

I took part in the "Geneva meetings." These meetings take place each year, and the cultural representatives of the various countries they bring together exchange experiences and discuss the problems bound up with their activity. This year, during the Geneva meeting, we discussed the question of whether the films and radio and TV programs jeopardize the development of culture.

I admit that when I read the agenda, I was a little surprised, as any Soviet citizen would probably have been, on being told that the TV production of *Romeo and Juliet* or the opening of new picture palaces jeopardized culture. But I soon realized that my Western interlocutors' attitude was not groundless: I learned that in several countries, the cinema and theater and the radio broadcasts deform the listeners' taste, and men of letters write sketches for TV instead of novels or plays.

I had to answer a lot of questions, to speak of our printing, to tell about the organization of readers' conferences and about attendance at theaters when plays by Shakespeare, Molière and Ostrovsky are presented. Many of those taking part in the meeting were at first, if not unfriendly, at least incredulous with regard to our country. We parted friends. Each had been able to make inquiries and obtain information.

Friends always learn from contact with each other. And if we have a great deal to learn, we can also teach others a great deal. In America I saw excellent art galleries organized in a rational way, some of them containing masterpieces of European painting. It would perhaps be worthwhile for us to learn from America how to organize such art galleries. But American art galleries sometimes seem to us excessively spacious: not because they are of imposing size, but because there are not many visitors, and it would perhaps be worthwhile for the Americans to learn from us the art of interesting the public in art.

In Paris, admirably edited illustrated books are published. Seeing them, I envied French writers. But when I told my French friends how books are read in our country, to what extent they are a part of life in the cities and in the country districts, they told me: "We can only envy you."

A recent conference of the Association for European Culture brought together in Brussels scientists, writers and painters of different countries and different conceptions. A Pole was seated beside a Frenchman, a Communist beside a Catholic. Those taking part in the conference unanimously voted for a declaration stating that the relaxation of interna-

tional tension now beginning is a victory for the peoples and makes it possible to intensify exchanges, to put an end to division, to enrich culture.

The people of Moscow have seen Italian films and I am certain that, just as many Soviet films helped de Sica, de Santis and the other Italian directors to create profoundly true films, the new Italian cinematography will enrich Soviet film writers. It is good that translations of many books of our times by Western authors, Hemingway and Sartre, Carlo Levi and Caldwell, Roger Vailland and Moravia, are published in our country. It is good that in France and Italy translations of Russian works have been published, that Brecht's plays are presented there and Trnka's films shown.

I saw the Chinese theater's performance in Geneva. The Genevese, usually reserved, did not want to let the actors go. As I was writing the preceding lines, the telephone rang: Another unknown Frenchman who begged me to procure a seat for him for the Moscow Ensemble's performance. What Soviet citizen would speak without gratitude of the skillful artisans of India? But all this is only a beginning. I am convinced that the people of the Soviet Union will soon see the painting of France and Mexico, of Yugoslavia and China. They will hear the Italian Opera Company, will applaud British actors [see page 13—Ed.], will become acquainted with the architecture and industrial arts of Sweden.

I am convinced that Parisians will finally be able to appraise the painting of Sarian and Konchalovsky, that our various theatrical groups will go to the western countries and will leave a deep impression there, like that left by the Moscow Ballets and

the puppets of Obratsov, like Gilels and Oistrakh.

Madame Selezneva is a horticulturist at the central botanical garden of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow. She has consecrated her entire life to the culture of orchids. This capricious flower of the tropical jungles sometimes blooms in its sixth or seventh year and needs much care.

The botanist Paulino Rekk recently came to Moscow from his remote Brazil. He had applied himself to the culture of orchids for many years, has collected a multitude of varieties and is raising new ones. Brazil is the country of orchids, and it is easy to understand Selezneva's emotion as she waited for the Brazilian selector to arrive.

I had the opportunity of being present at their meeting. It took place in a hot-house, intolerably hot

and damp, adapted to orchids. One had difficulty in breathing. But I did not notice this, I breathed easily, I shared in the joy of two human beings with the same profession, the same passion, and the same language. Yes, although the Brazilian did not speak Russian and Selezneva did not know Portuguese, they understood each other perfectly. Russian words alternated with Latin names, with scraps of French and German phrases. The Brazilian sincerely admired. He was familiar with the botanical gardens of the world, but was struck by the rich collection of orchids he had just discovered.

Selezneva showed him the humble relations of the Brazilian orchids, those of our woods. And I would like to end my report of friendship between peoples with this unusual meeting, in the midst of mauve, white and yellow flowers. . . .

Some notes written in Paris in November—courtesy of the Canadian *Horizons*.

U.S. ARTIST AWARDS IN CONTEST HONORING POLISH POET

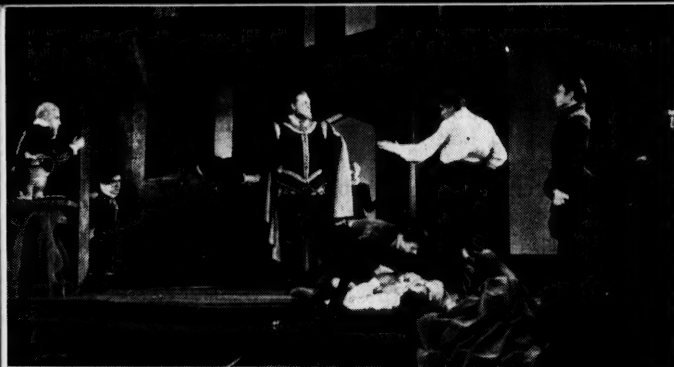
A NATIONWIDE art competition commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of the Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, which drew 530 entries from artists in 34 states and the District of Columbia, has been won by Anthony Toney, of New York City, it was announced by the Mickiewicz Centenary Committee.

The competition, open to American artists, was for the best illustration of any of 25 of the shorter poems of Mickiewicz. Mr. Toney's \$1,500 first-prize award was for an oil illustrating "The Ruins of the Castle at Balaklava."

Peter Gourfain, student at the Chicago Art Institute, won second prize of \$1,000 for a lithograph. Third prize of \$750 went to Mrs. Jean Halpert-Ryden, of San Francisco, for a water color. Fourth prize of \$500 was awarded to Philip Reisman, of New York, for his gouache; and fifth prize, \$250, was given to Kenneth Stern, another Chicago Art Institute student, for a lithograph.

Honorable mentions went to Lieutenant Maurice Brown, of the U.S. Navy, Brooklyn Army Base; Jerome Burstyn, of New York; Max Ginsburg, New York; Gregorio Prestopino, Roosevelt, N. J.; and D. R. Purdy, New Haven, Conn. Special mention went to Morton Dimondstein, Reseda, Calif.; Merritt Mauzey, Dallas, Texas, and to Doris Weidener, Christiana, Pa.

The judges of the competition were Robert Brackman, of Noank, Conn.; Philip Evergood, of Southbury, Conn.; Hugo Gellert, of New York, and Anton Refregier, of Woodstock, N. Y.



In the USSR Hamlet And "Porgy and Bess"

Scene from "Hamlet" as performed in Moscow in the Gorky Art Theater by a British company under the direction of Peter Brook.



British cast takes a curtain call and receives an ovation.



Extreme left: Peter Brook (right) meets Peoples Artists of the USSR Y. Zavatsky (center) and N. Mordvinov, who plays Othello at the Mossoviet Theater. Left: Paul Scofield (Hamlet) and Mary Ure, as Ophelia.



Moscow actors greet their British guests at a reception given by the All-Russian Theatrical Society.

"Hamlet" and Bess"

Members of the cast
of "Porgy and Bess"
on their arrival in the
city of Leningrad.



Charles Bohlen (4th
from right), American
Ambassador, meets the
members of the cast
of "Porgy and Bess."



First night audience
in Leningrad gives the
American actors a
standing ovation.



David Bey, son of one
of the members of the
cast, goes down the
stairs at the Palace
of Pioneers with a
little Soviet girl.



Foreign Aid: More, Less, —Or a New Approach?

by SUSAN WARREN

WHILE life seems to move along at its ordinary pace from day to day the most extraordinary things are happening. Those who like to think that the order of things which places them in positions of privilege, "on top of the world" so to speak, is the eternal order of things, try desperately to hold back these changes with about the same degree of effectiveness as the legendary Canute ordering the waves to recede. One of the newest and most extraordinary developments is that colonial countries which have recently achieved independence such as India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt and others are no longer at the mercy of a single world market and a single source of economic and technical aid. They now have a choice. To quote Walter Lippmann "another monopoly has been broken."

But not everyone takes these natural developments with the calm of Mr. Lippmann. The general press is filled with ominous forebodings. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are charged with the

most heinous crimes. Dana Andrews Schmidt of the *New York Times* (Nov. 28, 1955) sums up for the prosecution: "... the Soviet Union has introduced an economic and political offensive in the so-called uncommitted third of the world, particularly in the Middle East and South Asia ... the Russians appear to be relying not so much on military threats, political subversion and propaganda invective as on straightforward competition in aiding or promising to aid undeveloped nations." While to most ordinary Americans this would seem a natural challenge in the much-advertised spirit of "good old American competition" it is, for reasons best known to those who use them, interpreted as a "threat to Western interests" and "an acute phase of the cold war ... on the Communist side." The old Yankee traders must be spinning in their graves at the invectives hurled by a concerted press at the "two travelling salesmen," "Uncle Nikolai and Cousin Nikita." There was nothing they loved better than a good travelling salesman and were themselves masters of the art. The staid *New York Times* was reduced to drawing on an old Wobbly slogan as it thundered a warning to the peoples of the East that while "we have a bourgeois affection for the

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truth and will not promise what we cannot deliver . . . what the Russian salesmen are really selling . . . is pie in the sky."

But beyond the screaming headlines and the gloomy editorials the facts are otherwise.

It is generally acknowledged, as in recent analyses of such well known political figures and commentators as Chester Bowles, Lester Pearson, C. L. Sulzberger, James Reston, James P. Warburg and a host of others, that the summit meeting at Geneva marked a point of tacit agreement that world war as a method of settling international differences was precluded. The concept of negotiation preempted that of force. While nuclear war is not automatically excluded the weight of world opinion is such that any government which provoked or initiated such a war would be isolated actually and morally and become a leper among nations. In spite of the failure to settle any single issue or other at the October meeting of the four foreign ministers, the basic conditions which created Geneva and generated its famous "spirit" still prevail. In their most elementary terms these include the overwhelming demand of the world's people for peace, and the roughly equal nuclear and military strength of the two major world powers which would make war between them an unparalleled disaster. These factors create the possibility for mutual understanding and cooperation. This was and remains the living heart of Geneva, all pronouncements of its demise by overzealous gravediggers notwithstanding.

Politics no less than nature abhors a vacuum. The question arises as to what is the alternative to cold war. It can only be the peaceful competition among nations of different

political systems in which ideas, trade, economic development, technical aid and cultural exchange play an increasingly dominant role. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies enjoy such relations with a number of nations—notably those Asian and African nations which at Bandung subscribed to the ten principles guiding their international relations along channels "free from mistrust and fear" and pledged to "live together in peace . . . and friendly cooperation."

The visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India, Burma and Afghanistan was in this spirit. Reporting on their trip to the Supreme Soviet, Premier Bulganin noted:

During our trip statements appeared in the Western countries alleging that the purpose of our visits to India, Burma and Afghanistan was to damage relations between the peoples of those countries and the peoples of the Western powers. Assertions of that kind are absolutely groundless . . . this, perhaps is not quite clear to those people who have got into the habit of thinking in terms of military blocs and pacts. But we have a different approach to the question of improving relations between the Soviet Union and other states. Similar opinions are held by the leading statesmen of India, Burma and Afghanistan, who, like ourselves stand for the expansion of international cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The Soviet Union, which had already contracted to complete a million-ton steel works in India by 1960, in the new agreements promised to deliver one million tons of rolled ferrous metal within the next three years. Diverse equipment for oil, mining and other industries along

with other capital goods would also be forthcoming. In return the Soviet Union would increase its purchase in India of both raw materials and manufactured goods. Both nations agreed on the maximum possible increase of trade and on the necessity to organize regular shipping lines between the two countries as well as air lines. The joint Soviet-Indian statement notes that India's Second Five-Year Plan with its emphasis on heavy industry will undoubtedly reveal further opportunities for sharing experience in economic construction. Provisions were made for representatives of the two countries to consider further mutually advantageous forms of economic and technical cooperation.

During their sojourn in Rangoon the Soviet envoys negotiated increased Soviet-Burmese cooperation in economic, cultural, scientific and technical spheres with special emphasis on expansion of Soviet-Burmese trade. The Soviet Union will cooperate in an agricultural program, in major irrigation projects and in building several industrial enterprises in Burma. Burma will sell rice to the USSR. If the quantity of rice does not compensate for the value of Soviet deliveries, the latter will accept "deferred payment in kind spread over a number of years."

Addressing a rapt audience of students and faculty at Rangoon University, Mr. Khrushchev invited professors and students to visit the Soviet Union "so you can see with your own eyes." "What you like you can take," he said, "What you don't like you don't have to take. That's my idea of coexistence."

As a token of friendship the Soviet Government offered to build a fully equipped technological institute in Rangoon as a gift to the people

of the Union of Burma. Premier Nu accepted "with a feeling of deep appreciation."

In Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, Soviet assistance had already facilitated the building of new roads, paved streets, laying of pipelines and the construction of grain elevators and oil tanks. In the new December 18 agreement between the two countries, the USSR undertook to render technical and financial aid to the economy of Afghanistan in the form of a credit of \$100,000,000.

The Soviet Union and other socialist and people's democratic countries are able to offer favorable terms of trade and economic assistance to countries such as India, Burma, Indonesia, Syria and Egypt. They are providing longer term loans at lower rates of delayed interest (50 years at 2 per cent). Moreover, in payment for heavy capital equipment they are accepting rice, cotton, tin and rubber which the glutted Western markets are unable to absorb. On the other hand the dumping abroad of U.S. agricultural surpluses, which at the end of '55 reached the astronomical value of \$7,700,000,000, have prompted many protests by other countries in recent years. These American surpluses have actually become competitive with agricultural products in home and export markets of Asian countries, and have had a disruptive effect on their national economies.

Most important to the newly independent countries determined to industrialize is that Soviet aid is not hedged in with qualifications requiring adherence to military pacts, or that the projects built be "economically feasible" to the donor. Mr. Khrushchev in his report to the Supreme Soviet commented on this aspect of Soviet relations with other countries; "When we give economic

or technical assistance to a country, we do so as friends without attaching any strings. We have no surplus capital. Ours is a planned economy. We are not interested in the export of capital. . . ." The highly industrialized Western nations with a constant necessity to export and invest surplus capital are not interested in transforming undeveloped countries into industrial competitors in an already contracting world market. The projects they find "feasible" for aid are those that build the country's raw materials industry and the power and communications needed to extract and export these raw materials.

An illuminating lesson in how "strings" are attached to aid is provided in the current negotiations by the United States, Britain and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with Egypt on the former's offer to assist in the construction of the High Dam at Aswan on the Nile. This is a particularly instructive case in point because the Western negotiators are being exceptionally careful from a public relations point of view, knowing that the eyes of the world are on this project. It is common knowledge that although the International Bank was considering the dam project for years, it only became "economically feasible" after the Soviet offer of assistance. From that moment the United States, Britain and the World Bank moved with remarkable speed. However, their offer is still qualified by conditions which Egyptian Premier Nasser has described as flagrant infringements of Egyptian sovereignty. For example, as assurance that Egypt will not engage in rash projects that would plunge the country into inflation and make it impossible to repay the projected \$200,000,000 loan, the World Bank re-

quires that it exercise constant supervision of Egyptian national economic policies during the eighteen years it will take to build the dam! Negotiations still continue and perhaps there will be compromises. If there are it will be difficult not to conclude that in this instance, as in the offer to help build the dam itself, there is more than a grain of truth in Mr. Khrushchev's remark that

This aid which the capitalist states intend to render the countries which recently won their independence cannot but be regarded as a form of Soviet assistance to these countries. If there were no Soviet Union, would the monopolist circles and imperialist powers render assistance to the undeveloped countries? Of course not. This never happened before.

Washington, which through its Marshall Plan, Point Four and gigantic arms deliveries to every corner of the globe, has dispensed some 51 billion dollars since the end of World War II in pursuance of a policy which Walter Lippmann (Dec. 6, 1955) described as going "to great lengths in tying economic aid to the raising of local military forces in the countries we help," registered extreme shock when the Soviet Union offered aid with "no strings attached." Something like panic gripped the capital.

In the latest "agonizing reappraisal" of foreign aid there emerged two camps reflected in the Eisenhower Administration itself. One group was said to be enthusiastic about the foreign aid program and to see in it a *more effective and subtle instrument for achieving administration objectives than the discredited system of military alliances* currently the cornerstone of

American foreign policy. The other group, we are told, with a political eye glued to the vote-catching appeal of tax reductions and a balanced budget in an election year, regard foreign aid as a necessary evil to be limited to a bare minimum.

"On many points all these men are in agreement," and even the recalcitrant latter group, according to James Reston (*N. Y. Times* Dec. 1, 1955), concede that "in the administration if not in the financing of foreign aid it will be necessary to give the impression of a more imaginative and generous policy." (Emphasis added)

Thus while the battle is presented to the people as one of "more or less foreign aid" its truer essence was expressed by Walter Lippmann when he said (*N. Y. Herald Tribune* Dec. 6, 1955):

While our existing policy about the military pacts is dominant in Washington a big program of economic aid is unworkable . . . unless there is also a reappraisal of our political and military policies in Southern Asia, as these policies relate to armaments and alliances, and to the neutralism of these countries, the extra money we appropriate will not make much difference.

Under cover of the noise and din of the mock battle of "more or less aid" what has in actuality emerged is in the highest degree dangerous to the American people and their hopes for holding and expanding the very real advances made in 1955 toward a world of peaceful coexistence.

The Administration plans to ask Congress to appropriate \$4,900,000,000 for foreign aid. This is a marked increase from the \$2,703,000,000 appropriated last year. The "liberal look" of increased foreign aid hits

the public eye. At the same time, to those who oppose an increase the Administration has offered much gobbledygook to the effect that the intention was not to spend any more this year than last, but only to "fill the pipelines" drained by past expenditures. While the "increase" in foreign aid hit the headlines, what was buried in fine print was the plan for \$3,000,000,000 of the total sum to go for military aid, \$1,300,000,000 more than last year. Dana Andrews Schmidt, in the *New York Times* (Dec. 25, 1955) remarks that "some officials see the most significant aspect of the Administration foreign aid plans in the sharp increase in its military aid request."

This "most significant aspect" becomes more significant when coupled with the proposed \$1,000,000,000 increase in the defense budget and with Secretary of State Dulles' remarkable New Year's statement, citing as evidence of what 1955 had done for peace that "Germany entered into NATO, and the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts are now functioning in Asia. . . ."

It would be gross self-deception not to note that the anti-Geneva elements have achieved some successes. In their intransigent adherence to a suicidal system of military blocs and alliances, they are seeking to return to the full fury of the cold war with its increasing rather than diminishing arms race and threat of a new war. It is this system of military pacts and alliances, to which U.S. aid is invariably linked and which is regarded with extreme distaste by the peoples of Asia and the Middle East that makes them, according to Dana Andrews Schmidt, "tend to suspect that United States aid programs are part of a plot to perpetuate or renew colonialism."

The idea is startling but demonstrably true that there has already been a beneficial impact on American life of peaceful competition with the Socialist world. While the broad field of foreign relations may sometimes seem remote from the cares of everyday life, who will deny that guaranteeing the best education possible for our children is a constant and daily concern? Some, fatally afflicted with the cold war mentality, can only see in Soviet scientific excellence the opportunity for such an inciting headline as "Columbia Dean Says Soviet Advances in Science Now are Imperiling U.S." (*New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1955). But every day more Americans understand that this Columbia Dean's statement that "No high school anywhere in our country has even one-half the Russian requirements in mathematics, sciences, physics or chemistry" has, with reports by other American educators, been a major factor in spurring the U.S. government and educational authorities to come to grips with our own chronic crisis in education. That this problem has now moved to the center of the stage in

national politics is in no small part due to the challenge of Soviet achievement.

What is true in education is no less true in the field of foreign aid. Soviet assistance to the countries newly emerging from colonial status has already provoked widespread debate and inquiry into the nature of U.S. aid. All help to these countries, if genuinely disinterested, could have an exceedingly beneficial impact on the American and world economy. It would make it possible for the people of the underdeveloped countries to exploit their own resources and derive the benefits of a rising national wealth and higher living standards. The people of the more advanced industrial nations would benefit from a permanent growth of new markets arising from this expanded wealth and scale of living.

More and more Americans are coming to recognize that the emergence of the socialist world and the heretofore "backward nations" to full participation in every aspect of international life is no "threat" but a healthy impetus to the growth of all.

USSR REVOKES PROHIBITION OF ABORTIONS

THE PRESIDIUM of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree on November 23 revoking the prohibition of abortion that had been established in the summer of 1936. The decree states that steps taken by the state to encourage motherhood and child protection and the steady rise in the cultural level of women who are now active in every phase of Soviet life make it now possible to withdraw the prohibition against abortion. At the same time it declares that prevention of abortion can be ensured by extending state measures to encourage motherhood and measures for child care. Operations to terminate pregnancy artificially are permitted only in hospitals and other medical establishments.

ARCHITECTS ARTICLE POSTPONED

THE ARTICLE on the Congress of Soviet Architects promised for this issue was unavoidably held up for lack of space but will appear soon.

West Germany Is Rearming

by GORDON SCHAFFER

ALMOST unnoticed by the millions of men and women who fought against the plans to re-arm Western Germany, first steps have already been taken to create in the Federal Republic military power that will dominate all Western Europe.

That is the grim truth behind the meetings of NATO generals in Paris. We have been treated in the press to pictures of the ex-Nazi generals arriving in Paris in their new uniforms with flash-backs showing them with Hitler, their former Lord and Master. The West Germans have been demanding bombers and submarines. (Do you remember how the agreement between British Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and Hitler, giving Nazi Germany the right to build all the submarines she wanted, set the pace for World War II.?)

There is no talk now about safeguards as there was when the people's opposition to a new German army had to be overcome. The propaganda is being turned on in Washing-

ton, Paris, London, and Bonn to suggest that the "defense of the free world" demands ever swifter moves to rebuild West Germany's military power.

The reality of the situation was summed up by the Paris *Tribune des Nations*. The authoritative newspaper recalls the pledge given by M. Mendes-France when he persuaded the French Chamber to ratify the London and Paris agreements that there would only be a "controlled" German re-armament. Then the newspaper adds, "This proposition is not being given any serious consideration at all by any members of the subcommittee of UN charged with examining the various disarmament plans. Even M. Jules Moch does not now claim that the Paris agreement provides any machinery to control West German re-armament. The simple truth is that West Germany is being re-armed outside any control by the Western Union."

France knows that she will soon be confronted with a demand for the incorporation of the Saar in the Federal Republic, and that when the re-armament plans are complete she will be as helpless in face of West German military strength as she was in 1940. Britain knows that she has committed her boys to maintaining

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armed forces in Europe for the rest of this century, not because of any threat from Russia but because France demands assurance against German aggression.

Those of us who fought the years-long battle against German re-armament warned that events would follow this tragic course. Already, the men who demanded a German army have created a Frankenstein monster that they cannot control. You can see now why the Soviet representatives warned from the start that the London and Paris Treaties would make a solution of the German problem infinitely more difficult and why Mr. Molotov stressed at the Foreign Ministers' Conference that there must be an assurance of collective security in Europe before Germany could be reunited.

Significantly, the British press and radio have been almost silent about the reaction to these dangers. In Germany itself, in both the Western and Eastern Republics, there is growing anger at policies that will permanently divide the country and threaten the German people with the first horrors, if war should come. France is humiliated and bewildered. The unanimous viewpoint of the Eastern neighbors of Germany, who suffered such agonies at the hands of the Nazi invaders, was summed up by Mr. Marian Naszkowski, chairman of the Polish delegation to the UN, in a statement to the French news agency which the British press ignored. He said: "One must express astonishment that the Foreign Minister of France, M. Pinay, so rapidly forgets the lessons of history and in particular the lessons of the Second World War."

Mr. Naszkowski was referring to a statement by M. Pinay at Geneva that the proposals of the Western

powers constituted a sufficient guarantee for the neighbors of Germany, and the Polish diplomat went on to say:

"In the period preceding the Second World War, the statesmen of the Western powers offered to various countries so-called guarantees against aggression by German militarism. Guarantees of this kind were offered to Poland by Great Britain and France. However, the Polish people learned the hard way when they had to fight single-handed against the German war machine. How indeed can one speak of security guarantees by the powers participating in Western military groupings when those very powers ally themselves with the West German State which is being transformed into a new bulwark of German militarism?"

British people may justifiably reply that in 1939, Britain did fulfill her pledge to Poland, but she was unable to help the Polish people. The fact was of course that in the pre-war period the men of Munich carried out exactly the same policy of encouraging German re-armament, and consistently refused the Soviet offer of a collective security agreement, the only policy which could have prevented war.

It's a terrifying thing to see the same tragedy being re-enacted. But the world of 1956 is not the world the men of Munich betrayed 18 years ago. The peoples have learned the lessons of history if some of their leaders have not. In 1938, President Benes of Czechoslovakia was bludgeoned by Mr. Neville Chamberlain into refusing the Soviet offer of assistance and thereby doomed his country. The pre-war Poland of Colonel Beck refused even to discuss collective security measures with the Soviet Union.

Today, both countries are firmly allied with the Soviet Union. And Germany is not the Germany of Adolf Hitler. In the West, some of the same militarists and politicians may be in power, but the World Peace Movement has shown how strong are the forces working for peace in the Federal Republic.

The German Democratic Republic stands for peace and friendship. Recently, in Warsaw, re-built out of

the ruins left by the Nazis, 10,000 Polish people celebrated the conclusion of a week of friendship with Democratic Germany.

These are facts, just as the rebuilding of the West German army is a fact. The paramount task of today is to break through the propaganda barriers, so that the people realize the dangers in time and exert their strength for peace and friendship.

Wipe Out This Shame!

BEHIND THE LYNCHING OF EMMETT TILL, by Louis Burnham. *Freedom Associates, New York, 16 pages. Five cents.*

THE FACTS in this powerful little pamphlet should be known by all who care about human decency, civil rights, American democracy and peace. It gives a shocking picture of what is happening in bloodstained Mississippi and other parts of the South, and why. It shows that the fiendish killing of 14-year-old Emmett Till is part of a system that exists in the South today, a system in which murderers go free,

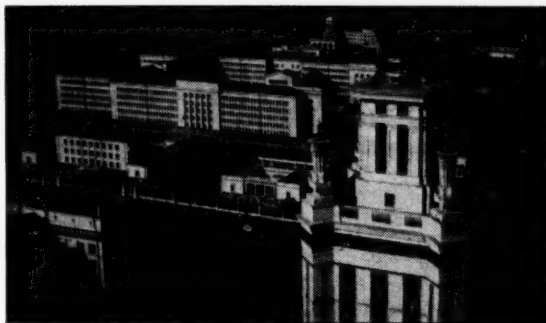
force and violence flourish and the U.S. Constitution is nullified with impunity.

The author shows that the movement for Negro freedom in the South is allied with the worldwide liberation struggle of oppressed peoples, which gained such a powerful impetus at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations. Thus the fight for civil rights at home merges with the worldwide struggle for peace, freedom and democracy. America's good name and its relations with nations representing more than half of the world's people require that we remove this terrible blot, and set our house in order.

RUMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN FARM DELEGATES

TWO FARM delegations, one from Rumania and the other from Hungary, upon completing several weeks tour of American farming areas each sent statements to the press to thank their American hosts and to declare that they were received everywhere with warmth and friendship. Both delegations had been invited to this country by Roswell Garst and Dr. Geza Schultz, farmers of Iowa and Minnesota who had visited the European countries several months previously. Both delegations expressed great interest in the techniques and methods they had observed. The Rumanian visitors said that they had made half million dollar purchases of hybrid seed corn and farming equipment and declared that "this is only a beginning," adding they hoped such trade in both directions would develop. In their farewell statements both delegations expressed hope that American farmers would visit their countries.

NOTES ON SOVIET SCIENCE



TWENTY of the most important of the journals published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR have instituted the practice of providing foreign language summaries of all the articles that they will contain in 1956. This will be an enormous aid to Western scientists in following Soviet scientific literature.

* * *

THE INSTITUTE of Scientific Information of the Academy of Science of the USSR is now in the second year of its work as publisher of an abstracting service for the natural sciences. It is at present abstracting 1,000 Soviet scientific periodicals and 7,000 foreign ones. It appears in seven issues, one for each branch of science. The one on biological sciences appears fortnightly and provides Soviet biologists with some 100,000 abstracts a year. The international importance of this work is very great, partly because it provides Russian language abstracts of scientific papers published in Chinese and Japanese.

* * *

PROFESSOR N. P. DUBININ, distinguished representative of the school of cytogenetics in the USSR, has resumed work on X-ray induced mutations in animals in a new laboratory established for him in an institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Looking down on the big buildings of the Department of Biology and Soil Science of Moscow University. The photograph was taken from the top of the central tower of the university

A SPECIAL scientific research institute has been established in Moscow for the study of poliomyelitis under the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences. The organ of the Soviet Ministry of Health, *Meditzinsky Rabotnik* (Medical Worker), reports that microbiologists and other technicians from various parts of the Soviet Union will study at the new Moscow institute to learn how to diagnose the disease.

In Leningrad, the Institute of Experimental Medicine, in conjunction with two other Leningrad research centers, is working on the development of an effective vaccine against polio.

* * *

DR. LLOYD BERKNER, of New York, told an International Geophysical Year symposium at the convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Atlanta recently that the USSR is cooperating fully in the interchange of information connected with the scientific program of the IGY. He said much of the program would fail without the Soviet Union's help because in Asia lie answers to many of the questions that have long puzzled geophysicists.

Peace—or the Brink of War?

by JESSICA SMITH

BEHIND all the complex issues involving the deepest concern of the peoples of the world today, the one basic to the solution of all others, is that of finding the way to the effective prohibition of atomic weapons and disarmament. Until international agreement has been reached on this, all other aspects of human progress remain in jeopardy, for all would be wiped out in the event of atomic war. This is also the key to the ending of the cold war, and its continued alarms and dangers which those whose policies are based on a continuing arms race must have as their excuse for imposing its burdens on the people.

The ending of the arms race and the cold war can only be achieved through negotiations instead of force and threats of force as the essence of diplomacy, and peaceful competition among nations to achieve their goals.

The Geneva summit conference pointed the way to such solutions. To conserve the gains of Geneva and act upon them, thus becomes a primary task of all the forces working for progress and peace.

Our duty as Americans to turn the policies of our government in the direction demanded by our own national interests and the fate of humanity itself, is plain. For despite all efforts to put the blame for attempting to reverse the Geneva decisions on the Soviet Union, recent

actions and statements of U.S. leaders have given wide currency to the opinion that the main obstacle to world peace and progress is the war party in Washington which seeks to repudiate the Geneva decisions and depend wholly on building up "positions of strength," military pacts and ever more fiendish atomic weapons—all summed up in the Dulles "brink of war" policies.

Soviet Leaders and Peace

The beginning of the New Year brought new evidences that the Soviet Government desires to keep the Geneva spirit alive and is convinced of the possibilities of continued East-West negotiations and adjustments.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR meeting at the end of December adopted a budget in which military expenditures are 8.5 per cent less than last year. The savings are allocated to developing the national economy and providing educational facilities.

In his budget message, Minister of Finance Zverev declared:

The reduction in military appropriations means that the Soviet Union, not only in words but in deeds, shows its concern for lessening world tension and insuring peace and international security.

The determination of the Soviet

Union to stay firmly on this course was made clear in the reports of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the results of their trip to India, Burma and Afghanistan. The content and meaning of these speeches were wholly obscured in sensational headlines which presented them as being attacks on the West and opening up a new phase of the cold war.

Both leaders emphasized, to be sure, the consistent sympathy of the Soviet Government with the aspirations of peoples seeking to be free of all forms of colonial domination. Both emphasized the unprecedented welcome they had received in Asia and its significance in strengthening the camp of world peace and enlarging the number of nations bound together by the famous five principles of "respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, for whatever reason—economic, political or ideological, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence." These were embodied in firm agreements with India and the other countries visited. Far from being directed against the Western nations, Premier Bulganin emphasized in his report:

The Soviet Government considers that the acceptance of these principles by other countries, including the United States of America, Britain and France, would contribute to the further easing of international tensions and promoting the necessary confidence between the nations.

Both Soviet leaders emphasized the agreement reached on the dangers of military blocs and on the necessity for international agree-

ment on the outlawing of manufacture, testing and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and other types of weapons of mass annihilation, including rocket missiles, as well as a cessation of the arms drive in all its phases and effective steps toward disarmament, and the desire of the Soviet Union to strengthen its friendly relations with all states, including the United States.

From press accounts, it might have been concluded that the main burden of Khrushchev's report was an attack on President Eisenhower.

Khrushchev did refer to the Christmas messages of President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles, Governor Averell Harriman of New York and other American leaders to the Eastern European democracies, as being contrary to the spirit of Geneva, and "rude interference in the domestic affairs of free and sovereign states." These messages had followed the "liberation" line, expressing hope, as in the case of President Eisenhower's, "for the restoration of individual freedoms and political liberty," and the entry of these countries into the system of "free nations." In the light of U.S. support of the exiled members of former reactionary regimes of these countries, it is not surprising that the Soviet leaders interpreted this as an appeal for the return of capitalist regimes.

Mr. Khrushchev coupled with these remarks the statement, "I would not like to talk about all this, and particularly about Mr. Eisenhower, whom I especially respect."

Anyone who considers that the Soviet leaders should have refrained from commenting on these messages should try to imagine what would have been the reaction in Washington had Soviet messages been directed to certain Latin American

countries under the domination of U.S. capital and bound to American diplomacy under the Rio Pact, expressing the hope that they would change their form of government and enter the socialist camp.

Another point completely distorted in press reports was Mr. Khrushchev's supposed "rejection" of President Eisenhower's air inspection plan. This plan was specifically included by the Soviet Union in its UN disarmament resolution.

Pointing out that the United States in its latest proposals has in fact removed from the agenda the general question of reducing armaments and now puts to the fore only the President's proposal, Mr. Khrushchev declared:

... In conditions when no reduction of armaments is actually envisaged, and it is intended even to increase them, flights over the territories and aerial photography can only fan war passions and the war psychosis. This is no longer control and not even a semblance of control. This actually is a means used for the purpose of finding out more about the forces of another country. . . . (emphasis added)

He added that measures of inspection to prevent sudden attack could be realistic and feasible only if joined with over-all agreement on armaments levels and prohibition of atomic weapons. Mr. Khrushchev reiterated the Soviet conviction that the only way to carry on the struggle between capitalist and socialist systems was through peaceful competition, in which the Soviet leaders are confident that socialism will be victorious, just as leaders of the capitalist world declare that capitalism will win, and went on:

In this competition, in this strug-

gle, we will never start an aggressive war, we will constantly fight against the armaments drive, for disarmament, for strengthening peace, for peaceful coexistence.

While Washington and the press still buzzed with charges that the Soviet leaders had "killed the spirit of Geneva," Premier Bulganin took the occasion of the New Year to send cordial greetings to the American people, and to express the hope for "the development and strengthening of friendly mutual understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union." These greetings were contained in replies to a series of questions by Mr. Charles Edward Shutt, manager of the *Telenews* Washington Bureau.

Asked whether he thought the spirit of Geneva still lived, Mr. Bulganin expressed the conviction that the Geneva spirit cannot be buried because the hopes of the world's people for peace are bound up with it, and because it has already played an important role in improving the international situation. He declared that a new summit meeting would be fruitful if all participants had "due regard to the interests of all the parties concerned."

Asked if he felt the possession by both East and West of thermonuclear weapons would automatically exclude the possibility of hydrogen war, Mr. Bulganin declared that assertions of thermonuclear war being "automatically excluded" could only "lull the vigilance of the peoples." He said that while knowledge that such weapons cannot be used with impunity has a certain restrictive influence. . . .

It is clear that the armaments race, including the field of atomic weapons, not only fails to reduce but, on the

contrary, increases the threat of a new war. Therefore, the Soviet Union sees the way out of the so-called atomic stalemate not in the continuation of the armaments race but in new efforts directed toward reaching agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the cessation of the armaments race.

Regarding the outlook for peace in the coming year, Premier Bulganin said:

If the governments of all countries, and primarily of the Great Powers, in consideration of the indomitable yearning of the peoples for peace, will really strive for the further lessening of international tension and the establishment of trust among states, then it is beyond doubt that the year 1956 will bring evidence of new achievements in the struggle for the cessation of the "cold war," for the lessening of international tension and for the creation of confidence among states.

The Pope's Appeal

The worldwide demand for new efforts toward the cessation of the atomic weapons and arms race which are being urged by the Soviet leaders is growing. This demand received great emphasis in the recent Soviet-Indian agreements. Prime Minister Nehru of India has been trying to promote new East-West talks to this end, with Soviet approval.

A powerful impetus to the movement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons was given by the Christmas Eve appeal of Pope Pius XII.

Painting a horrifying picture of the devastation and suffering that would be spread over the world in an atomic war, and the terrible menace of radioactivity to human life and future generations, the Pope warned that as a result of such a war

There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity which in desolation will gaze upon the catastrophe brought on by its folly.

He urged solemn international agreements on a three-step program:

Renunciation of experimentation with atomic weapons, renunciation of the use of such, and general control of armaments.

The Papal message aroused new hopes for progress toward prohibition of testing and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. UN observers saw in it the possibility of a new lease on life for UN disarmament discussions.

A Moscow radio broadcast declared that the Pope's views on disarmament "command attention" and that public opinion in many countries "heard with satisfaction" his proposals regarding atomic weapons.

But U.S. leaders failed to respond to the Pope's statement that international agreement on the precautions he proposed "is an obligation in conscience of nations and their leaders."

While the Voice of America was reported to have said the U.S. Government approved the Pope's proposals, this was quickly belied in official quarters.

On January 11, Secretary Dulles told a news conference that the United States so far has not found any basis which would seem to warrant suspension of nuclear tests.

The next day the Atomic Energy Commission and the Defense Department announced that a new series of the most extensive tests yet of A- and H-bombs would be held at Eniwitok this spring, in what an AP dispatch of January 13 said

"amounted to an official rejection at this time of demands that all big powers quit testing."

Nor did President Eisenhower's annual message to Congress offer any hope to the American people that our government is considering any constructive steps toward discharging its "obligation in conscience." Questions of peace and reducing the armaments burden were handled in the most general terms, while the need of "deterrent military power" and the extension of military pacts were emphasized.

All this was capped by the President's budget message to Congress on January 16 which he declared would "provide this nation with the greatest military power in its peacetime history" and which served notice to the world of the Administration's determination to continue the cold war and the arms race. In his report on the message in the *New York Times* (January 17) Edwin L. Dale Jr. wrote:

As in the recent past, this budget was dominated by the "cold war." Defense and other expenditures for "protection"—such as atomic energy and foreign aid—took up two thirds of the spending. Total spending for protection was estimated to rise from \$41,400,000,000 in the current year to \$42,400,000,000 in the fiscal year 1957.

Describing the "spectacular" new weapons on which main emphasis is to be laid in military spending, Anthony Leveiro wrote in the *Times* the same day that highest priority is given to "guided missiles, more and more powerful nuclear weapons, supersonic aircraft, nuclear-powered warships and intensive research on nuclear-powered aircraft."

With 64 per cent of the budget going to build up our country's war-

making potential, there is no adequate provision for low-cost housing, schools and other needs of the people, while any tax cut to ease the burden on the people has been ruled out.

Contrary to the growing worldwide demands for banning of nuclear weapons, the President insisted that continued increase in our nuclear weapons "is the principal deterrent to armed aggression in the world" and referred repeatedly to the need of meeting "threats of aggression" with deterrent military power.

The Dance of Death

Secretary Dulles, in the *Life* article that has aroused such a wave of revulsion and protest around the world, has exposed the falsity of the premise on which this huge military budget rests. This article flatly declares that in Dulles' book "deterrence" means readiness to plunge the whole world into atomic war. It records his boast of making peace in Korea and Indo-China and preventing war over Formosa (Taiwan) by threatening atomic attack and meaning it.

The statement "Dulles has never doubted . . . that Eisenhower would have regarded an attack on Quemoy and the Matsus as an attack on Formosa" can be taken as a proclamation that, as far as Dulles is concerned, the United States is still ready to launch an atomic war over the off-shore islands, a possibility which aroused the most widespread protests among the American people.

Most remarkable is Dulles' assumption of personal credit for an "acceptable solution" of the Geneva negotiations on Indo-China, which he walked out of at the time, leaving a deputy behind, and refusing to sign the armistice agreement.

But the Dulles statement that has struck the people of the United States and the world with cold horror is this one, in direct quotations:

... Of course we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into the war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost. We've had to look it square in the face—on the question of enlarging the Korean war, on the question of getting into the Indochina war, on the question of Formosa. We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action.

Are the lives of our children, of people everywhere, to hinge on the possibility of a misstep by John Foster Dulles in this dance of death he so coldbloodedly describes?

Assuming the situation was as Dulles says, it was no art of his that kept us all from going over the brink together. It was the mighty and irresistible pressure of the people of the world and of our own country for peace, the resistance of America's own allies to these wild risks, and the determination of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic to avoid provocations.

This version of American policies is no service to President Eisenhower who, when these crises arose, was given credit for holding back the warlike elements in the Administration and the Pentagon who advocated the methods which Dulles now insists the President supported. If Dulles represents the President's position correctly, this article would also mean a complete repudiation of the President's role at the Summit conference for which he received such worldwide acclaim at the time.

Yet the President at his January 19 press conference, expressed complete faith in Dulles and his "devotion" to peace. While refusing to discuss the *Life* article which he said he had not read, he conceded that it might have contained "unfortunate expressions."

One of the first Democrats to speak out in protest, Senator Humphrey (D.-Mon.) accused Dulles of "distorting history," causing "untold trouble with our Allies, and coming 'perilously close to rejecting the traditional American conviction that we must not strike the first blow.'" Senator Kefauver (D.-Tenn.) Speaker of the House Rayburn and others joined in the attack.

Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson, expressed shock at the Secretary of State's readiness to gamble with the life of our nation and declared "the art of diplomacy, especially in this atomic age, must lead to peace, not war or the brink of war." He called upon the President either to repudiate or dismiss Dulles.

In Republican circles, main support for Dulles came from Senator Knowland and Vice President Nixon.

Sections of the American press usually supporting the Administration, including the *New York Times*, have carried editorials excoriating the Dulles statements.

In an unusual front page editorial, the *New York Herald Tribune* (January 17) tried to get Dulles off the hook by placing the main responsibility for the article on the editors of *Life*, and the author, James Shepley, pretending that Dulles "did not read the article," although admitting it had been cleared by the State Department. The editorial expressed concern at the effect of the article on such countries as Pakistan, Burma and India.

Walter Lippmann in the same issue tried to rescue the Administration from the opprobrium heaped upon Dulles by declaring that the article provides a "fundamentally false account" of recent U.S. policies. He wrote:

The article has done damage to the country and to Mr. Dulles' own usefulness as Secretary of State. . . . The exasperating thing about it is that whereas ordinarily we have to contend with untruths that others tell about us, here we have to contend with half-truths that are tantamount to untruths put out by the Secretary of State himself.

The entire British press from right to left has carried blistering attacks on Mr. Dulles. The *London Times*, (January 14) took the occasion to urge that during Prime Minister Eden's visit to President Eisenhower the two leaders should take the initiative to end the race on hydrogen bomb tests, thus showing the world that "far from relishing walking along the brink, the free powers still desire to rid the world of its sickness and its madness." The *Times* went on:

It is not enough to recognize that the Russian offer of last November to discontinue the tests was propaganda. The fact is that it remains good and effective propaganda until the West has made some forward move.

British officials and members of Parliament are up in arms against the strategy outlined by Dulles. A dispatch from London to the *New York Post* of January 16 said the attacks against Dulles in Britain were the most savage against any individual since Hitler, adding:

It is recalled here that Hitler also

made three successful expeditions to the brink—Rhineland, Austria and Czechoslovakia—before he lost the art of walking away unscathed.

The British foreign office felt compelled to issue a reply, reportedly authorized by Eden, to Dulles' charge that Britain had first agreed to intervene with the United States in Indo-China in 1954 and then backed down. It denied there had ever been such an agreement.

The People Must Speak Out

We return to the question of banning atomic weapons and disarmament as central to all others. All the vexed questions in the world today arise around the policies of promoting military pacts and the continuing arms race, which thus become the main obstacles to the success of big power negotiations.

The World Council of Peace, representing hundreds of millions of people in almost every country of the world, has recognized this fact, along with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, India and the countries in the neutralist camp, and the Vatican. It has called an extraordinary session for next April to be devoted to the question of disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The American people have the moral obligation to join in these worldwide efforts for peace, and in the first place to bring unceasing pressure on our government to abandon all "brink of war" policies and turn its efforts toward ending the threat of atomic war and the arms race and making a new try for effective reduction of armaments.

Only so can we end the cold war and all its evil effects at home and abroad.

Shostakovich's New Concerto

Also some notes on fine records
by outstanding Soviet musicians

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

A HIGH POINT of David Oistrakh's triumphant tour of the United States was his performance of the newly written *Violin Concerto* by Dmitri Shostakovich, at the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra concerts of December 29 and 30, and January 1. There was the usual tumultuous reception of the great violinist, the only unforeseen event being that in the Friday afternoon concert, while Oistrakh was playing the concerto, he broke a string, whereupon he exchanged violins with the assistant concertmaster and continued.

The *Violin Concerto* confirms the fact that the Shostakovich who has emerged in the last six or seven years is a very great master, with a sureness and command of his materials, and an ability to probe the deepest feelings, on a level surpassing his previous work. Far from having settled down to a fixed style, he is even more varied in his approach to musical form, and more ceaselessly experimental. The concerto makes an interesting comparison to his *Tenth Symphony*, first heard in our country last year. Both works seem to have a kind of eighteenth century "baroque," rather than "classical," layout, with the first and third movements slow, and the second and fourth movements fast. Both are written largely in the style of a subtle, freely unwinding melodic recitative, meditative and declamatory. But the symphony

is a deeply introspective work, full of inner struggle, anguished, ironic and fiercely protesting.

The concerto, on the other hand, is more serene and even gay. The first movement "Nocturne" has a sweet and gentle sadness, without painful feelings. The second movement, "Scherzo," is full of the spirit of youth and joy. The third movement "Passacaglia," with the violin weaving variations over a reiterated bass, is sombre, with a deeply "Russian" feeling. The last movement, "Burlesca," is full of dazzle and sparkle.

It would probably be wrong to follow an impulse and call the concerto a "Geneva" work, for after all, music isn't journalism. But starting with the works written during the war, the composer has made himself, so to speak, a sounding board and reflection of his people's deepest feelings. The *Tenth Symphony* spoke of the horror at the looming war clouds, the bitter memories of past tragedies, the fierce determination that this must not happen again. And so it is not far-fetched to find in the contrasting *Violin Concerto* the lifting of spirits brought by 1955, and the bright rays rising of world peace.

Some new recordings, processed by American companies from performances put on tape in the Soviet Union, enable us to fill in the remarkable picture of the Shostakovich of recent years. The Ballet Suites Nos. 1, 2 and 3, for orchestra, conducted by Alexander Gauk and Abram Stassevich, (Classical Editions CE-3012) are the most delightful music imaginable, giving us

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN'S books include "Art and Society," "Jazz: A People's Music," "How Music Expresses Ideas," and "Realism in Art."

the style of the late nineteenth century ballet dances and "divertissements" treated with tender affection and a touch of modern wit, combining high spirits with genuinely lovely melody. Another record brings together the String Quartet No. 4, Op. 83 and the String Quartet No. 5, Op. 92, played respectively by the Tchaikovsky and the Beethoven Quartets (Vanguard VRS-6021). These are major works, not only of Shostakovich but of twentieth century chamber music, beautifully written for the instruments, big in dramatic scope, deeply intimate in mood, exploring the tragic moods and the struggle against them with passages, reminiscent of the *Tenth Symphony* and in some ways even more moving. Shostakovich himself appears as a pianist in seven *Preludes and Fugues*, from a set of twenty-four, Op. 87, completed in 1951 (Concert Hall CHS-1314). They exhibit Shostakovich at his most austere, avoiding tuneful melody, working out problems of counterpoint and harmony, with a bare, economical piano style reminiscent, if anything, of Moussorgsky's style in *Pictures at an Exhibition*. Too dry for immediate appeal, they have nevertheless passages of haunting beauty, and reveal the kind of experimentation which bore fruit in the rich and expressive counterpoint of the *Tenth Symphony*, *Fifth String Quartet*, and *Violin Concerto*.

Another group of recordings of Soviet Union performances brings to the public little known works both of 19th century Russia and of recent times. They also indicate that Gilels and Oistrakh are only two of a galaxy of splendid instrumental luminaries. Two cellists ranking with anybody playing today are heard on opposite sides of one record, S. Knushevitsky in Tchaikovsky's *Variations on a Roccoco Theme*, for 'cello and orchestra, and M. Rostropovich in Miaskovsky's *Sonata No. 2* for 'cello and piano (Kingsway KL-301). The latter, an extremely modest, lyrical and beautiful work, is a fine introduction to the music of Nicolai

Miaskovsky, who died five years ago at the age of sixty-nine, the composer, among other works, of twenty-seven symphonies. He was not a giant among composers, but nevertheless a fine craftsman, whose symphonic writing has an inward-turning, romantic "tone-poem" character, deeply sincere, if never quite touching the most tragic qualities or the most overwhelming joy. A powerful and sumptuous work is his *Symphony No. 27*, conducted by Alexander Gauk, and united on the record with his completely engaging *Divertimento*, Op. 80 (Classic Editions CE-3006).

Mili Balakirev, one of the founders and the teacher of the "Mighty Five" of the past century, is today almost completely absent from American concert programs. How inventive and accomplished a composer he was can be heard in the *King Lear Overture* and the *Overture on Three Russian Songs*, both of which are coupled with the melodious, tightly written and rousing *Symphony No. 2* by Dmitri Kabalevsky, which dates from 1934. The conductors are Leo Ginsburg and Nikolai Anosov (A-440 Records AC 1201). Tatiana Nikolayeva proves herself again to be one of the foremost woman pianists in the world, with her performance of Tchaikovsky's *Concert Fantasy*, Op. 56, for piano and orchestra (Classic Editions CE-3007). The splendors of Russian operatic singing, both in chorus and solo, are heard in a record of "Great Scenes" from Moussorgsky's *Khovanshchina*, a fine introduction to this infrequently performed masterpiece. Finally, both those who have heard Emil Gilels, and those eager to know what he sounds like, will find great satisfaction in his recording of Mendelssohn's *Piano Concerto No. 1 in G minor* and Beethoven's early *Piano Sonata in C*, Op. 2 No. 3 (Concert Hall CHS-1312). In both, the fast movements exhibit Gilels' fantastic mastery of the piano, but it is even more the poetry he exhibits in the slow movements, that places him among the world's great musical artists.

A Major Historical Record

A review by PAUL V. KRAMER

MAO TSE-TUNG: SELECTED WORKS, Volumes 2 and 3. *International Publishers, New York*, 1955. 296 pp., 260 pp., \$2.59 each.

IN READING Mao Tse-tung the French phrase, *embarrass de richesse*—literally an embarrassment of riches—repeatedly comes to mind. One does not know where to begin in describing the wealth of insight his writings comprise. Volumes 2 and 3* of his recently published selected works cover the critical years in China from 1937 to 1941.

The stepped-up aggression of Japanese imperialism, conjoined with the treacherous attacks of Chiang Kai-shek forces on the Chinese People's Liberation Army, created a most dangerous situation. To make matters worse, Britain and the United States (which was selling scrap iron to Japan) sought to find a basis for compromise with Japan, to arrange a Far Eastern "settlement." "Strategic Problems in the Anti-Japanese War," "On the Protracted War," "Problems of War and Strategy," chart the course which helped unite all patriotic Chinese against the Japanese juggernaut and its Chinese collaborators. Without this China might well have been conquered. Many an American owes his life to Mao Tse-tung's wise leadership of the Chinese people's heroic struggles. The two volumes are first and foremost a major historical record revealing many such facts, hidden from the American people.

This record can also be juxtaposed with current fables depicting the Chinese Communist Party as a

"creature of the Kremlin." How this unwanted "importation" withstood 22 years of fierce attacks by Kuomintang forces, armed to the teeth with modern weapons, is not explained by the push-button theorists of war and revolution.

These volumes are not only a chronicle of past events but a manual on leadership by the Chinese Communist Party's master strategist. The thought of Mao Tse-tung, written in the caves of Yen-an (1937-1941) knows no frontiers and has significance for our time. His thinking is international, American as well as Chinese.

In the sphere of ideology there is "On Contradiction," a guide to understanding and applying the fundamental laws of change, dialectical materialism. Nothing could more sharply mark the cleavage with those who rest content in interpreting the world (and those who misinterpret it) without seeking to change it. "On Liberalism," marks off the ideological boundaries between a middle class and working class viewpoint.

In the realm of theory, "On New Democracy" delimited the transition from a semi-feudal to a socialist economy, a change-over now embodied in the People's Republic of China. This is meaningful for more than half the human race, seeking a way out of backwardness.

In the area of tactics and organization "The Question of Independence and Autonomy Within the United Front" is revealing. The fundamental tactic was to mobilize the people. "With the common people of the whole country mobilized, we shall create a vast sea of humanity and drown the enemy in it. . . ." The question of the United Front, the simultaneous maintenance

* Vol. 1, previously published: vols. 4 and 5 in preparation.

of unity and independence with regard to other classes, was one of the three central problems of the Chinese revolution.

All these are only a few of the stimulating contents of the two volumes. Taken as a whole they are a strong antidote to passivity and superficiality. The "medicine" is, moreover, administered with charity and humor. An instance is Mao's speech in 1940 at a meeting urging "New democratic constitutionalism" (workers and peasants to have a say in the government) as contrasted with the monopoly of power by the Kuomintang (the landlords and capitalists):

"Why do we trouble to hold this meeting? Precisely because some people will not advance, but stay put and refuse to make progress. Not only do they refuse to advance, but they want to go backwards. You may call on them to advance, but they would rather die than do it; these people are called die-hards. . . . Comrades, do you think that once meetings are held and telegrams dispatched, the die-hards will be thrown into a panic, start to make progress and obey our command? No, it is not so easy for them to take advice. A great many die-hards are graduated from special training schools for die-hards. . . . Anyone who intends to profit himself by harming others will come to a bad end. I think that unless they make progress, the anti-Communist die-hards of today cannot be exceptions to this rule. . . . If they must do so

(oppose the communists), then they should draw up a resolution with the following as its first point: 'With a view to resolutely liquidating ourselves, the die-hards, and giving the Communist Party an opportunity for large-scale expansion, we have the duty to oppose the Communists. . . .'

In 1938, midst the most difficult trials of the Anti-Japanese War, Mao envisaged a new era of peace:

"In no historical epoch was war ever so near to permanent peace as it is today. . . . The liberated new China of the future will be inseparable from the liberated new world of the future. Hence our Anti-Japanese War takes on the character of a fight for permanent peace. . . . Fascism and imperialism want to prolong the war indefinitely, but we want to bring it to a conclusion in the not distant future. To attain this end, the great majority of mankind must exert their utmost."

Mao wrote in 1939 on "The Unity Between the Interests of the Soviet Union and the Interests of Mankind." Today this can be said of the People's Republic of China as well. Chairman Mao of the People's Republic of China is truly an architect of our time and his works will endure. In this ever more closely knit world, the fact that he is at the helm piloting China's way ahead, is an assurance that the struggle of the American and other peoples for a peaceful world can also go well.

A Protest Against the Witch Hunt

FAITHFUL ARE THE WOUNDS, by May Sarton, *Rinehart & Co., New York*, 1955. 281 pp., \$3.00.

THE MOUNTING revulsion against the witch hunt in America has produced several novels in the last year. Notable among them is May Sarton's book, which is based upon the suicide

in 1950 of F. O. Matthiessen, the brilliant Harvard scholar and teacher.

Matthiessen killed himself, in his own words, because: "I am exhausted. I have been subject to so many severe depressions during the past few years. . . . How much the state of the world has to do with my state of mind I do not know. But as a Christian and

a socialist believing in international peace I find myself terribly oppressed by the present tensions."

They were the tensions of the cold war, proclaimed in 1947 and at its most intense in 1950, which oppressed the distinguished scholar. They are the same tensions May Sarton utilizes to oppress and drive to suicide her Harvard scholar, Edward Cavan.

If the novel leaves the reader somewhat baffled over the suicide of its leading character, it is perhaps because the author leans more toward a Freudian

interpretation of his final act than toward an evaluation rooted in the actual world around him.

Nevertheless, Miss Sarton has created a host of typical characters who live in this very real world and who are affected by the suicide of their friend and teacher, Cavan, in positive ways.

As a protest against the destruction of human values implicit in the witch hunt, "Faithful Are the Wounds" is a positive achievement. It is on the side of life and decency.

ALVAH BESSIE

China's Reality Makes Its Point

CHINA AND THE COLD WAR, by Michael Lindsay. *Cambridge University Press, New York, 1955. 301 pp., \$3.75.*

LORD LINDSAY, who spent so much time in Yenan before the Chinese victory, found there was a great deal about the Chinese Communists he did not like—after they came to power. His book is a rather tortured analysis of what he considers the inadequacies of Marxism as applied by the Chinese; he feels even more strongly about the Soviet Union.

The curious thing, however, is his postscript which describes his visit to China, the first in many many years, as an interpreter for the Attlee-Bevan delegation in the summer of 1954. Whereas the bulk of his book—written from a distance and in somewhat embittered isolation—splutters and rails, his postscript says: "The point on

which there seems to have been an important change, as compared with the situation described in the main text of this book, was the general Chinese attitude toward the West. The attitude showing general hostility towards anyone who was not sympathetic to Communism had been replaced by an attitude showing quite a genuine desire for better relations with the non-Communist world and with Britain in particular."

Is it not possible that Lord Lindsay's vision was a bit distorted during the 1951-1952 period, as well?

"Internal conditions appeared to be better than I had judged from the evidence available outside China," he continues. But perhaps his "evidence" was not the only "available"; perhaps it was the only evidence he took seriously—until direct contact with Chinese reality proved him wrong.

JOSEPH STAROBIN

A People's Calendar

THE PEOPLE'S ALMANAC, by Elizabeth Lawson. *New Century Publishers, New York, 1955. 64 pp., \$.50.*

AN ALMANAC is a book or table containing a calendar of days,

weeks and months, to which astronomical data and various statistics are often added. Benjamin Franklin strove to make *Poor Richard's Almanack* both entertaining and useful, a means of instruction for the common people.

As the title indicates, Elizabeth Lawson has organized an almanac centering on people and progress, which is in itself a fine example of Frederick Douglass' statement, quoted on page 29, that "If there is no struggle, there is no progress."

The struggle for justice in those key areas which determine the growth and reality of American democracy (such as the fight for Negro rights, for organized labor, women's rights, for independent political action, for peace etc.) is clearly outlined in a wise choice of events, succinctly put.

The text is enhanced by well-chosen quotations, skilfully integrated into the context of historical events. Illustrations

are humorous and meaningful, the format reminiscent of the conventional almanac—but with a lot added.

The People's Almanac is more than interesting and informative. It is a moving document which upon contemplation cannot but inspire one with love for those who have struggled for goals already won and yet to be won; which imbues one with confidence in the ultimate worth of that struggle.

Though reference use would have been simplified had there been an index at least of birthdays and very special events, for its impact and inspiration, based on historical events, the *People's Almanac* warrants reading and re-reading.

—MAURINE AUSTIN

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