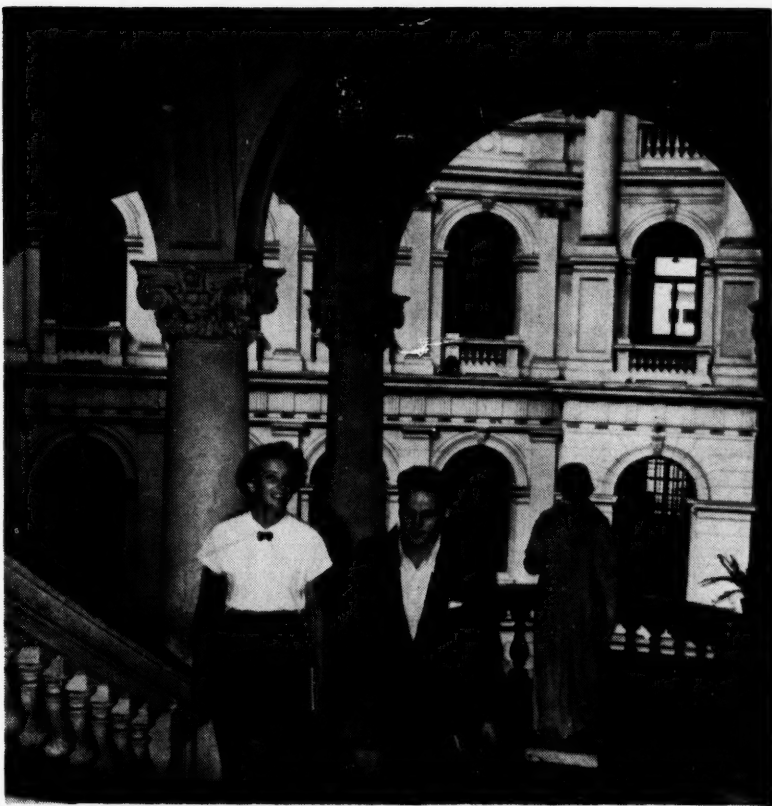


New World

REVIEW



Students at the Warsaw College of Science and Technology

New World

REVIEW

MAY

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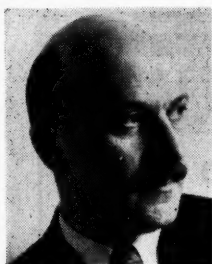
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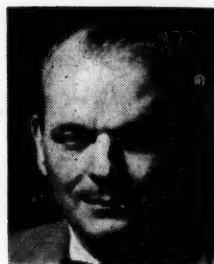
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◄◄ How to get your gift—See opposite page



Andrew Voinow

HAIL AND FAREWELL



Murray Young

WE KNOW our readers will share our deep regret that with this issue we are losing the services of our beloved colleague, Andrew Voinow, as managing editor.

Andy has been the mainstay of the magazine for over ten years. He has been a part of every aspect of our work—writing, editing, make-up, production, promotion. If his many gifts are not as well known to our readers as they should be, it is because of his extraordinary modesty. A fine reporter and writer, with a rich background of knowledge of the Soviet Union and world affairs, he has spent far more time in providing material for others to write about, in editing, in preparing unsigned items of many varieties and attending to many thankless technical details than in writing articles of his own. He is so many-sided, so capable in numerous fields, that in recent years, when necessary economies have compelled us to reduce our staff, he has been doing the work of about three people.

We know that all our readers share our deep gratitude for Andrew Voinow's selfless, devoted and outstanding contribution to the cause of international understanding to which our magazine is dedicated. All of us on the staff will greatly miss our daily contact with him as a warm and sensitive human being. Our future work is made easier by his contribution toward making of our wonder-

ful staff a smoothly running and efficient collective group.

We are also very fortunate in having been able to secure the services of Murray Young to take over as managing editor. A graduate of Notre Dame University, for twenty odd years a college teacher of English literature, Mr. Young brings to our magazine a rich background and many gifts.

Mr. Young has made a special study of Russian history and literature, past and present. His interest in culture and world affairs will be of special value in the coming period as the lessening of world tensions opens up new opportunities for East-West interchange. Knowledge of each other's history and culture and way of life is essential to the peaceful co-existence of nations with different social and economic systems that is our goal. All nations have a rich cultural heritage; each has its own unique contributions to mankind's creative expression and growth. The sharing of these things opens up new vistas of progress for all peoples, and creates a firm foundation for the friendly relations and mutual respect that alone can insure a peaceful world.

In this we feel that *New World Review* can play an increasingly important role. We welcome Murray Young as a co-worker well qualified to further this great task.

THE SIXTH 5-YEAR PLAN

**1960: 68 million tons steel—320 billion kwh.
electricity—455 million pairs shoes—10.2 million
Radio and TV sets—New homes for 10 million people**

by MAURICE DOBB

COMPARED WITH all its predecessors (with the possible exception of the immediate post-war plan of reconstruction, the Fourth) this new Five-Year Plan has been treated with serious attention in most of the Western press. "Massive Soviet Industrial Challenge" was a typical headline in *The Times* (London, Feb. 10); "The New Challenge to the West," said its cheaper and brassier companion, the *Daily Express*; "massive Soviet targets," observed the said conservative *Daily Telegraph* (Jan. 16th). Comment was far from being always informed or intelligent; some showed more-than-usual journalistic carelessness in reading the main details of the Plan as given in their own news dispatches (for example, harping on its "austerity" character, and a remarkable statement by *The Times* commentator that housing receives no special attention). Still, this was all a far cry from the contempt with which the first and Second Five-Year Plans were greeted 20 to 25 years ago,

when the Plan-targets were dismissed as utopian or simply as propaganda and the results as "break-down" and "failure".

Before we speak about the main features of this Sixth Plan, something should, perhaps, be said about the position with regard to the completion of the Fifth, which was concluded at the end of last year. Industrial output had been planned to increase by 70 per cent between 1950 and 1955, which amounted to an annual increase of 12 per cent. This rate of growth was somewhat smaller than in the immediate post-war quinquennium of reconstruction when the rate of growth (1946-50) was 88 per cent; and it was definitely lower than the rate of growth in the pre-war dozen years when the annual increase was 15 per cent or more (appreciably more according to the official figures of the time expressed in 'constant prices of 1926-27'). The increase actually achieved, however, between 1950 and 1955 amounted to 85 per cent—or remarkably close to that between 1945 and 1950. In other words, the overall aim of the Fifth Plan was actually achieved within four years and about four months.

If we take the two main sectors or departments into which industry is divided, producing respectively means

MAURICE DOBB, eminent British economist, is Professor of Economics at Trinity College, Cambridge. Among his works are "Soviet Planning and Labor in Peace and War," "Soviet Economic Development Since 1917."

of production and means of consumption, the former was planned to grow over the five year period by 80 per cent, or 13 per cent per annum, and the latter by 65 per cent, or 11 per cent per annum. The actual achievements of these two branches was 91 per cent and 76 per cent respectively—in each case an increase beyond the original target of about the same amount.

Although in certain years of the quinquennium there has been a switch of emphasis towards consumer goods production and their augmentation, heavy industry (turning out means of production, or capital goods) continued to hold the lead over the period as a whole, although by much less than in pre-war times when (from 1928 to 1940) capital goods registered about double the rate of increase of consumer goods. Some of the increases in specific consumer goods are given in the table of comparative outputs later in this article; and some measure of the rise in the standard of life in recent years is afforded by some figures given by Mr. Khrushchev, in his report to the recent 20th Party Congress, of percentage increases in the "sale of goods to the population through the State and cooperative trading systems" (figures of retail turnover which may, of course, diverge from comparable industrial output figures because they are affected by the results of foreign trade, among other things):

	1950	1955
Meat & Meat Products	100	220
Fish & Fish Products	100	185
Butter	100	158
Vegetable Oils	100	222
Wearing Apparel	100	198
Footwear	100	168
Furniture	100	307

As regards housing, although there continues to be great overcrowding in the big cities (whose population continues to increase; Moscow for example by 300,000 from new arrivals alone during the five years), there was an increase in urban accommodation equivalent to between 2 and 3 million flat-dwellings of 2 rooms plus kitchen and bathroom. In addition there were 2 million or more of dwellings built in rural areas. Accordingly, the total housing provision during the quinquennium did not fall far short of 5 million dwellings, or nearly 1 million annually.

The main laggard over the past five years was agriculture, and livestock particularly; whence the recent emphasis on plowing up virgin lands in the new regions, on maize cultivation and on improved incentives to collective farmers. Although 1955 was a good crop year for most things (cotton and potatoes were among the exceptions), and the grain harvest was 29 per cent above 1950 and sugar-beet nearly half as large again as 1950, the two previous years had been much less good. In 1953 and 1954 the grain harvest was only a few per cent above the 1950 level, and sugar-beet in 1954 was actually below it. Up to 1952 the position with regard to cattle was actually a declining one (though not in the case of pigs and sheep): although from 1953 onwards there has been considerable improvement. It is only in the course of the last year, however, that the number of cows has been raised above the pre-war figure (the total in all forms of ownership for 1955 being 29.2 million, compared with 24.3 million two years previously and 27.8 million in 1941).^{*} The following table, given

^{*} See *Economic Survey of Europe* (UN, E.C.E.) for 1953, 1954, 1955, pp. 52, 78, 170 respectively.

in Mr. Khrushchev's report to the 20th Party Congress, shows in index-number form the change in the situation as regards livestock and livestock-products over the last 5 years:

Head of Productive Livestock in the USSR (1950 = 100)						
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Cows	100	102	100	107	113	120
Total Cattle	100	105	99	110	114	117
Pigs	100	111	117	195	210	214
Sheep	100	110	114	139	142	151

Output of Main Livestock Products in the USSR (1950 = 100)						
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Meat (slaughter-house weight)	100	96	106	120	129	130
Milk	100	102	101	105	108	119
Wool	100	107	122	130	128	142
Eggs	100	113	123	137	147	154

Reverting to the present State of Soviet industrial potential, the comparative position at present of Soviet industry and the industry of Western countries can be gauged from the fact that last year the USSR produced more coal, steel and electricity than the combined outputs of Britain and Western Germany. Mr. Malenkov in his speech at the Party Congress claimed that in electrical power output his country "firmly holds second place in the world." The population of the USSR is, however, about twice as large as that of Britain and Western Germany combined; so that output *per capita* of population in USSR remains only a half that of Western Europe. As Mr. Khrushchev bluntly stated in his report from which we have already quoted: "*Per capita* output in the USSR is steadily increasing. . . . Nevertheless we are still lagging behind the leading capitalist countries in *per capita* production. No little effort is still required to fulfill our basic economic task—to catch up with and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in this respect."

To catch up on this leeway is one of the objectives of the Sixth Plan. Output *per capita* levels of Western

Europe will not quite be surpassed in the sort of products we have mentioned (with the possible exception of electricity); but Soviet industry will have gone the major part of the way to that end.

Mr. Bulganin, reporting on the Plan, claimed, "In 1960, as a result of the implementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union will produce more steel, power, cement and fuel than are now produced by Britain, France and Western Germany combined, and will have come considerably closer to the United States in volume of industrial output." In relation to U. S. output levels, the 1960 target for steel is about two-thirds, for electricity about a half; that for light industry will be considerably further away from American levels, but engineering output may not fall far short of the U. S. A. As a coal producer the USSR looks like leading the world before 1960 is reached. As regards essentials of food and clothing, a correspondent recently wrote in the *Times* (of London) as follows:

The Plan aims at bringing consumption of the main articles of food and clothing near Western European standards. There is to be 1½ lb. of meat a person a week (in towns); about 32 yards of cotton fabrics a person a year; less than two yards of woollen fabrics; and what is quite remarkable for a traditionally barefoot nation, more than two pairs of shoes a person a year.*

The main provisions of the Sixth Plan for industry resemble fairly closely those of the Fifth. The overall rate of increase is slightly lower—65 per cent against 70. This represents rather less than a 12 per cent (compound) increase annually. The relative rates of growth of capital and

* Isaac Deutscher in *The Times* (London), February 3, 1956.

consumer goods are much the same as before—70 per cent for the former and 60 per cent for the latter. Larger increases were set for oil (91 per cent), electricity (88), tractors (97), grain combines (192), and certain types of machinery and constructional equipment and chemicals. Special emphasis is being placed in agriculture on grain production, the 1960 target for which is set at 180 million tons; also on the increase of vegetables, meat, dairy products and wool. The intended doubling of meat production, for example, is to be provided for largely “by the development of pig breeding, as it yields quick results; the share of pork in the country’s total meat output will be raised to 50 per cent”; while the big increase of grain (by nearly 50 per cent) is designed to come largely from the newly-plowed virgin lands (of which some 55 million acres have been added to the sown area during the past two years), aided by the provision of over a million and a half new tractors (measured in 15 h.p. units) over the quinquennium.

It is specifically stated in the preamble to the Draft Directives of the 20th Party Congress on the Plan that “the present level of social production enables the Soviet state to develop rapidly not only the production of means of production, which has been and remains the unshakable foundation of the entire national economy, but also the production of consumer goods, to increase considerably social wealth, and thereby make still further headway towards building a communist society in our country.” On the basis of this increase of consumer goods, “the real wages of factory and office workers should increase on an average by approximately 30 per cent, while the income in cash and kind derived by col-

lective farmers will increase on an average by no less than 40 per cent. (This compares with increases of 3 and 50 per cent respectively over the past five years). Talk about the Plan as an “austerity Plan” and as “neglecting the consumer” is, therefore, nonsense and to be dismissed as the cold-war propaganda that it is. As for housing, it is planned to build from State funds double as much floor space as during the Fifth Plan in addition to which private house building by town workers and by collective farmers is to be encouraged by special loans and by the sale of prefabricated building components and materials.

Target increases for the retail trade turnover of the State and co-operative trading network over the five years are given as follows (with an average increase of about 50 per cent):

Meat products	85 per cent
Fish products	59 “ “
Dairy butter	57 “ “
Vegetable oils.....	60 “ “
Milk & dairy produce	170 “ “
Sugar	70 “ “
Cotton fabrics	30 “ “
Woolen fabrics	100 “ “
Silks	100 “ “
Linen fabrics	260 “ “
Ready-made clothing	67 “ “
Leather footwear ...	65 “ “
Furniture	100 “ “
Clocks and watches.	70 “ “
Bicycles	46 “ “
Radio sets	120 “ “
Refrigerators	370 “ “

There has been special comment abroad on the emphasis which the new plan lays on automation of productive processes. Connected with this is the renewed (but far from novel) emphasis on technological education (which has recently surprised and alarmed educators in England by

its magnitude) and on a growth in labor productivity by 50 per cent between 1955 and 1960. In the past, growth of production has generally come from an increase in the industrial labor force as much as from the rise of productivity per worker; and targets for increased productivity (and consequential cost-reduction) have not always been fulfilled. This was all right so long as there was a surplus of labor on the land that could be continually drawn into industry. But with plans for a big expansion of the agricultural area, this reserve may not be inexhaustible, despite mechanization of farming operations. During the past five years there has been a fairly steady rise of labor productivity, of between 7 and 8 per cent annually; and this rate of increase is continued in the provisions of the new Plan. The employed labor force in the economy as a whole (factory and office workers) is meanwhile to grow from 48 million to 55 million.

Special emphasis was laid in Mr. Bulganin's report (in which a special section was devoted to Technical Progress and "the mechanization of arduous and labor consuming processes") upon the modernization and re-equipment of older plants as well as upon the technical streamlining of newly constructed ones. Hitherto there has apparently been a tendency to keep old plants in production without re-equipment so long as these were not physically worn out; hence there has been a large, and ever widening, discrepancy between productivity in older and in newer works. The report cited as an example: "We have many old turning lathes operating at a speed of 150-400 revolutions per minute, as against the 1500-2000 revolutions of modern machine tools." Now there is apparently to be mod-

ernization and retooling in older plants even before machinery is physically worn out, in order to promote the maximum economy of labor.

An interesting example of automation was given in Mr. Bulganin's report from the Dnieper hydro-electric station, "whose nine hydro-turbines with a total capacity of 650,000 kilowatts, and a number of other machines, are serviced by shifts of only six operatives"; while at another one in Uzbekistan "two or three operatives control four hydro-electric stations from a single panel." As for engineering, "our up-to-date automatic production lines make it possible to reduce the number of workers to between approximately one-fifth and one-tenth of what it was and to curtail working time in processing to the same extent." In the course of the next five years it is intended that four-fifths of the existing rolling mills and tube-rolling mills should be transferred onto an automatic basis.

As for comparative labor productivity in general, Mr. Malenkov in his speech on February 17th claimed that while Russian labor productivity before the First World War was only a ninth that of the U.S.A. and a fifth that of Britain, "the rate of increase of labor productivity in the USSR has been such that now we have outstripped Britain and France in this respect, but as yet lag behind the United States."

The accompanying table, giving quantity-figures for a number of typical products, for which details are available both for pre-war and today and for 1960 as planned, will, I think, serve to show even to the most skeptical, in the cold language of statistics, that adjectives like "massive" applied to this Plan are no idle exaggeration. (see next page)

OUTPUT OF CERTAIN LEADING PRODUCTS OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE IN USSR

Product	Unit	1940	1950	1955	1960 (plan)
Coal	million tons	166	261	391	593
Oil	" "	31	38	71	135
Electricity	thousand million kwh.	48	91	170	320
Steel	million tons	18	27	45	68
Rolled Steel	" "	13	21	35	53
Pig-iron	" "	15	19	33	53
Cement	" "	6	10	22	55
Mineral Fertilizers ...	" "	2.6	5.5	9.6	19.6
Tractors	thousands	31	109	163	322
Motor Vehicles	"	147	368	445	650
Motorcycles	"	..	135	244	395
Bicycles	million	.3	.6	2.8	4.2
Paper	million tons	.8	1.2	1.8	2.7
Cotton Fabrics	million meters	3,840	3,900	5,900	7,270
Linen "	" "	270	420	305	556
Wool "	" "	120	155	251	363
Silk "	" "	78	130	526	1,074
Leather Footwear	million pairs	205	226	299	455
Rubber Footwear	" "	68	105	112	*
Radio & TV Sets	million	.2	1.1	4.0	10.2
Granulated Sugar	million tons	2.15	2.53	3.42	6.53
Tinned Foodstuffs	thousand million tins	1.1	1.5	3.1	5.6
Grain	million tons	119	125†	129†	180†
Meat†	" "	1.1	1.3	2.2	3.9
Fish	" "	1.4	1.7	2.7	4.2
Butter	thousand tons	206	319	436	680
Vegetable Oil	million tons	.71	.78	1.12	1.84

* Not available.

† Figures of grain for 1955 and 1960 are in terms of so-called "barn yield" (i.e., allowing for harvest losses), whereas figures of earlier years appear to be of "biological yield." The E.C.E. Report, cited above, estimates the 1950 crop in *barn yield* to have been 100 million instead of 125.

‡ Packing-house production.

SOURCES: *Economic Survey of Europe in 1955* (U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, 1956) Table XXX; Directives of the 20th Party Congress on the Sixth Five-Year Plan; Report of the Central Statistical Administration on Results of the Fulfillment of the State Plan for 1955.

EXHIBITION OF ENGLISH BOOKS IN THE USSR

ON MARCH 15 at the Lenin Library in Moscow an exhibition of English books was opened. There is always a great demand for English classics in the Soviet Union as well as the work of 20th century writers like John Galsworthy, H. G. Wells and Shaw. 4,780,000 copies of Wells' books have been distributed in Soviet editions, and 3,624,000 of Kipling's.

A PHYSICIST VISITS CHINA

An Interview with DR. LEOPOLD INFELD

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

THERE MUST be something special about the New China: something special, I mean, even for those of us accustomed to another part of that New World for which this magazine is so aptly named. Otherwise it would be hard to understand how it is that all sorts of visitors come back from China in such a state of enrancement with the people they have met and the things they have seen; with the culture, the glimpse of ancient history, but above all with the humane values which they have found pervading the relations among people in every kind of activity. This is true not only of inexperienced visitors on their first trip abroad, but also of sophisticates who know many lands and their customs.

Take Professor Leopold Infeld, for instance, Poland's distinguished theoretical physicist and a Vice-President of the World Peace Council. Both as scholar and as fighter for

peace he has done quite a bit of traveling in recent years. But when I interviewed him after his visit to China he became quite lyrical, for all his wide previous experiences and the typical dose of scholarly skepticism which marks any scientist.

"How did you come to make your two months' trip to China?" was my first question.

"Oh, that had been planned for some time," he answered. "I've had a long-standing invitation from Kuo Mo-Jo, a Vice-President of the Peace Council and also President of the Academia Sinica of China. It had been reinforced by invitations from previous associates of mine at the University of Toronto and elsewhere, young scientists who have returned to their homeland and are now helping to build up its institutions of higher learning. One of them is now Vice-Rector of the University of Peking. So I've wanted to go there for some years, but it was only last fall that I was able to get away."

I knew that Professor and Mrs. Infeld had traveled all the way across Russia and the Siberian territories by train, and I was interested to hear their impressions of that long trek.

"As I had occasion to remark at one of the banquets given for us, we traveled in the utmost comfort for

LEOPOLD INFELD, Director of the Warsaw Institute of Theoretical Physics, has studied and taught in England, Canada, America. He is the author of many articles and books, some in collaboration with Albert Einstein. MARGARET SCHLAUCH, now head of the English Dept. of Warsaw University, formerly taught at New York University, Chicago, Johns Hopkins.

eight and a half days, and in all that time we crossed only one country, right up to the Chinese border: a country which represents not a division but a tie between Poland and China. The geographical distances may be great, but the two are ideologically near. The train trip entailed vast changes in climate, in the views glimpsed from our windows, the people seen at the stations. From Omsk to Novosibirsk, a distance of over 400 miles, the railroad is electrified. As we got deeper and deeper into the continental mass of Eurasia, the climate became colder and colder, of course. One of the most impressive spectacles was Lake Baikal viewed by moonlight: a dark inland sea of fresh water with white-capped waves dashing against the rocky shore almost immediately beneath our wheels, while on the other side steep cliffs towered above us. Though the journey was long, the days passed pleasantly. We enjoyed supreme comfort in immaculate surroundings."

"And your first experience of China?"

"Right at the border began the signs of that thoughtful and generous hospitality which we found everywhere. A delegation greeted us, together with a well-known Russian poet and his wife who had also received official invitations. Dr. Tzu, a theoretical physicist, was among those who made us welcome. During our eight-hour wait at Manchouli, the border town, we found quarters prepared for us where we could relax and eat and sleep. There was a local banquet for us. The food was chosen according to the diets some of us have to observe. Really, those people thought of everything!"

"Now for the big question. What was it like to be inside China?"

"Well, quite suddenly we were in

a different world. Externally, I mean. There were the different people, the varied costumes ranging from practical, uniform-like outfits in blue to the traditional colorful ones, and the children, lovely boys and girls. . . . Two days later we were in Peking. All of our interior traveling was done from this city as a center. My contacts and reunions with scholars began at the station, where 25 people came to meet us. They were members of the Academy, representatives of the university and the Peace Council, and—a charming group bearing flowers.

"Everywhere I found endless alertness and a desire to learn. My lectures were crowded, except of course for two which were designed for advanced specialists. China possesses excellent scientists, mostly trained abroad (in Europe, both East and West, the United States, Canada, etc.) but they are obviously inadequate for 600 million people. The great task of the present and near future is training new scientific personnel. At the moment, scholars unfortunately have too often to divide their time between teaching, research and administration. However, that problem will be solved, and in a decade or so China is sure to be a leading country in science."

I was interested in getting some impression of the contrast between the new kind of learning and the old. About this Professor Infeld had some illuminating things to say:

"The old type of scholarship was feudal. It was socially limited, exclusive, and it was perpetuated by examinations designed for a small clique—examinations based on study of the classics and relying chiefly on brute memory. The one way to become a high official, for those in the minor ranks of the ruling class, was

to pass examinations. The ambition to qualify as a high official is the theme of many traditional plays and folk tales (girl loves boy, but papa says girls must marry high official; there follow heartbreaks and suicides). The handicap represented by ideographic characters instead of an alphabet is also hard to estimate. Imagine trying to become literate, against the will of a hostile ruling class, when literacy means mastering some thousands of different written characters! The technique of writing tended to keep learning a jealously guarded and restricted privilege. Yet this does not by any means imply that culture was not high, very high, in China's long past. Many aspects of culture depend on more than writing.

"As for the present, everything is changed. The new system provides for social advance on the basis of popular schools for everyone. In practice these are being expanded as rapidly as possible and eventually they will cover the entire population. Already, after so few years, there are three times as many university students as before liberation."

Professor Infeld's characterization of university atmosphere had especial interest. After listening to the generous and kindly way in which colleagues speak about one another, and the affectionate deference shown by students to their professors, he came to the conclusion that Chinese academic loyalty is exceptionally fine and disinterested.

"You see," he said, "it's like being in a family. Curious how the Chinese sense of family ties—deference for the old, helpfulness for the young—carries over into other human relations. Family feeling in the positive sense (not of course the internal bickering some understand by the

term, or the patriarchal autocracy associated with it in the past) is something that can by extension readily become a great emotional aid in developing a socialist way of life. We sensed this cohesive force in many social groups: in village cooperatives, in laboratories, in factories. We especially liked the way people get together to thrash out difficulties and to help a weaker colleague to get over his fault or handicaps, in a cooperative spirit. Many other visitors have commented on the refreshing lack of cynicism in the Chinese world view. Coming back to professors, they are leaders in the academic family who receive devotion amounting to adoration, but they also have obligations of which they are deeply aware."

"What were some of your most striking visual impressions?"

"First of all, the animated city streets. Those of Peking may be poor compared to those known to me in Europe, but they are fairly pulsing with life, and they are extraordinarily *clean*. No litter, no garbage, no smells. Considering the crowding and the limited facilities and the old heritage, this achievement alone is a tremendous one. And it's true that there are no flies: not only because they were killed off in the recent campaign, but because the present cleanliness gives them no chance breed and reappear. In our train trips we got some idea how the campaign was carried out and how it is continued. Every train has a public address system used to convey useful information to passengers. A girl's voice tells them about coming stations and scheduled times, advises and warns (Don't forget your bundles, Have your ticket ready, Don't throw paper on the floor) and conveys good wishes to those about to

get off. In the intervals when recorded music is being played, you can see that same girl busy up and down the train, polishing and dusting. In fact, I have never seen such ceaseless cleansing as goes on in Chinese trains, in coaches of all classes!

"The Old City of Peking is made up of small houses. They were limited in height so as not to compete with the emperor's palace. The houses are behind walls so that courtyard and gardens are not visible. Inside the Forbidden City is the Imperial Palace, which is really a cluster of 800 separate palaces! A very rich color effect is produced from the roofs and painted woodwork, all beautifully blended. Very much of the portable treasure in these buildings was stolen by the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the western imperialists, who also permitted the structures to suffer from scandalous neglect. Walls were crumbling and shrubs were growing out of some of the roofs, when the people's regime took over. But restoration was begun promptly, and the Palace museum contains many exquisite treasures despite robberies under the old regime.

"One of the most interesting institutions we visited was the College of Minorities. It houses about 2,000 students from 40 or so of the 100-odd national minorities within Chinese borders. Most of these peoples, you must understand, have never had an alphabet. Here pioneer linguistic research is done. Specialists undertake the first recording of the languages in alphabetic specially created for the purpose, and elementary grammars are evolved. With these as a foundation, detailed field work can later be done by the students.

"While they live in the school, students observe the cultural traditions of their own peoples. Great care is

taken to enable them to follow traditional diets, cults, religious observances and the like. When they return they are expected to act as cultural missionaries among their people, but their work is to be carried out in a spirit of respect for the achievements of the past."

Turning from these inspiring themes, I now raised the question of more mundane delights to be enjoyed in China. Concretely, I asked about its world-famous cuisine—or rather cuisines, since cooking is by no means the same throughout that huge land. The remembered rapture of a gourmet was to be perceived on Professor Infeld's expressive countenance.

"You ask me if we enjoyed the food . . . ! I simply haven't words for it. We were guests at about eight banquets, averaging twenty dishes each, and each was a succulent delight. To mention just a few: lotus seeds, bamboo shoots, walnut juice, the proverbial shark's fins, birds' nest soup, and roast Peking duck, portions of which are taken crisp and sizzling from the spit, delicately sauced and flavored, and then rolled in a thin, non-sweet pancake.

"And one of the most delightful things about all this hospitality was that it was always unobtrusively kind and considerate. For instance, every time we reached a town or city, there would be a friendly delegation to meet us, there would be flowers in our hotel room, tea would be served at once and people would stay to drink it and chat for a short time, but always, very promptly, they took their graceful departures and left us to our needed rest. . . .

"Yes, you're right: what was most wonderful about the trip, everywhere, was the people. What a people! We feel as if we had made 600 million new friends."

China's Road to Socialism

by ISRAEL EPSTEIN

"PRIVATE ENTERPRISE" is out in China. Virtually all privately run industry and business has now changed over, quickly and voluntarily, to joint state-private ownership. In this arrangement, former capitalists continue to get a return on their investment at a fixed rate of interest (as one does on bonds). But while these payments will continue roughly long enough to repay their whole capital, probably for ten years or more, they will finally stop. China is ending, not perpetuating, the class that lives off ownership, not work. Alongside the compensated change of private enterprises into socialist ones, she also converts the businessmen gradually into employees and administrators working for the people. Besides the interest that helps tide them over materially and psychologically, they are guaranteed jobs, salaries and the opportunity of learning socialist management or some other useful function.

This is a decisive and historic event. Coming on top of the rapid construction of hundreds of big new

state-owned enterprises in industry and of the upsurge of cooperation in agriculture, it has removed the possibility of China's economy developing in any direction but socialist. It takes place at a time when the advance of China's revolution from the New Democratic to the socialist stage, always the openly stated program of the Communist Party, has won the understanding and support of the entire people—having proved itself to be the only way to the national equality and strength of which Chinese patriots of all classes have dreamed for a century. It illustrates in fact what was meant by the statement in the Chinese constitution:

The system of people's democracy—new democracy—of the People's Republic of China guarantees that China can in a peaceful way banish exploitation and poverty and build a prosperous and happy socialist society.

What About the Capitalists?

The capitalists involved are the owners of some 140,000 factories and workshops and perhaps 4 million retail stores. A tiny part of these are large, some are of medium size, but the vast majority are very small. To the sound not of guns but of celebratory fireworks, they have entered into a merger with the state. Orig-

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MAY, 1956

inally carried out individually, the process culminated by the going over to joint ownership of entire trades. And it is by entire trades that this inchoate mass of disconnected units is being gradually and carefully reorganized, consolidated and redistributed on a planned basis. Within each industry and line of business, the regrouping is led and supervised by a "trust" of the socialist type. The local nucleus, in every case, will generally be the largest or most modern enterprise in each trade, which will absorb the smaller ones or make them into branches.

Even in cases where some of the original units are closed down as antiquated or redundant, the former owner will not suffer—since he continues to receive his fixed interest just the same. Nor will he have to bear the expense and possible temporary cessation of profits incident to retooling or reorganization (though he also will not get the benefit of increased profits or efficiency brought about by state investment or higher productivity by the workers). When the small merchant continues to manage his own original property or some other unit as a branch of the new "trust," however, he may receive a kind of bonus for increases in sales due to his own efforts. This will encourage him to exert himself, and not fall into apathy. An even greater stimulus is the opportunity of promotion, at better pay, to some higher level of the entire trade.

Concentration—With a Difference

Under socialism, as under capitalism, efficiency in production and distribution comes with concentration. But here the resemblance ends.



Capitalist concentration concentrates private ownership, and produces a more powerful and uncontrollable mechanism for sucking profits out of the public. Socialist concentration takes place under public control, for the public good.

Capitalist concentration, while it allows planning in each enterprise, brings industrial and commercial titans into life-and-death struggle. Thus it means not economic planning but economic chaos on a nationwide and international scale; one of its consequences being war. Socialist concentration means overall planning for the common good. Capitalist trusts guard trade and industrial "secrets."

Capitalist concentration heightens the power of capital against labor. In socialist concentration, all are owners and workers at the same time, and have a democratic voice in administration.

Capitalist concentration wipes out the small owner by bankruptcy if it can, buys him out at its own price if it cannot, or subordinates him as a sub-agent, dictated to but voiceless, with no chance of breaking out of his small outlet or service station. In China's socialist transformation, the small owner is bought out at a fair price (even when his equipment is obsolete), consulted on reorganization, and given a job with opportunities of rising limited only by ability.

Finally, under capitalism the small owner is haunted, with some justification, by the idea that entering the

working class means expropriation, loss of social status, and probable unemployment (which may be permanent if he is older or unskilled). In China's socialist transformation of private enterprise, entry into the working class means attainment of the highest and most respected social status. It is also a guarantee of employment, shorter hours, less work, much greater security than the small owner anywhere enjoys, and a pension at retiring age.

Why It Could Happen

Things can happen this way in China because of several circumstances. Some arise specifically from the country's history. Some are common to many countries throwing off the colonialist yoke. Some may arise in other sorts of countries as well. First and most important, political power has been taken over by a people's coalition, led by labor and by its political party which is committed to socialism. Without this condition, the present events would be impossible in China, nor can they possibly be repeated elsewhere.

Secondly, it was not only the workers and farmers that refused to live under or support the old order, but the medium and small industrialists and businessmen also. In China there was a sharp cleavage between this part of the capitalists, who had never held power and who accepted or in some cases even helped the revolution that won victory in 1949, and the big monopolists and landlords who opposed it.

The reasons for the split among winning groups were closely tied up with the issue of patriotism, of national liberation. The landlords and the few monopolists known as "bureaucrat-capitalists" (because they

were also high in the Kuomintang government and had in fact laid the basis of their huge fortunes by using their official position) had been tied up with imperialism. The majority of manufacturers and merchants, on the contrary, were interested in protecting the markets against foreign infiltration and control, and needed national independence to avoid imminent ruin.

After the revolutionary victory the property of the monopolists (which included by far the larger part of heavy industry and mining, a minority of consumer goods industries and the banking and transport system) was taken over by the state and became the socialist part of the economy. National capitalism, by contrast, was helped to get on its feet with state loans and orders, and freed from the incubus of unfair foreign competition. It also gained a wider market when the peasants, with the abolition of landlordism and its exorbitant rents, became masters of their own land and spenders of the income from it.

Finally, the united front, with the working class as the leader and the socialist sector dominating the economy, continued after the success of the revolution. The national capitalists gave their allegiance to the people's government and its program (later embodied in the Constitution). In return, they were enabled to participate in political life (some are members of the National People's Congress, others are vice-ministers, one is vice-mayor of China's biggest city, Shanghai.) The aim of the people's government, never hidden, was socialism. The discussion and accommodation with the national capitalists did not concern the questions of whether there would be socialism; it meant that persuasion, not compul-

sion, was used to keep them in step with the general development, and that their interests were taken into account in the form and pace of transformation.

Why It Had to Happen

The historical process in China made the capitalists accept socialist transformation as inevitable, and in fact desirable. In the initial years of the People's Republic, the main task was the restoration of the wartorn economy and the settlement of the land question. China was extremely backward economically and the big problem was to jack up production and trade regardless of ownership, to somehow meet the immediate needs of the people.

The national capitalists, always semi-bankrupt under the Kuomintang, enjoyed a kind of bonanza at that time. They not only increased profits but expanded their industrial plant and opened new factories. Everything useful that they could make was snapped up. The state then demanded chiefly that they produce honestly and not speculate or cheat on quality.

The people had won national independence and worked to rehabilitate the economy, however, not to establish capitalism but to provide a base for socialism. The state built socialist industrial plants and gradually, to insure proper distribution and safeguard the people from profiteers, took over the wholesaling of such key commodities as grain, edible oils, cotton, and cloth (often using private retailers as agents). State department stores also began to play a considerable role in retail trade.

In the countryside, the peasants were beginning to cultivate the land in common and to buy goods and market their own produce, through

cooperatives of various kinds tied in with the network of state commerce.

As the sphere of economic organization and planning widened, capitalist factories, while still working full blast and making money, found they could only get certain raw materials through the state. Moreover, selling to government agencies on advance order (or simply processing the materials for the state for a fee) was the only way to use all their productive capacity. Some entered into partnership with the state which invested funds to help them expand and renovate. Such enterprises began to follow the national plan as to what and how much to produce.

By 1955, the third year of China's first Five-Year Plan, private enterprise found itself in a fix that was the opposite of its position under the Kuomintang. Then it had been unable to work because the demand was so small and the economy was stagnant. Now the demand for goods, in point of both quantity and quality, was beyond its capacity to meet with its old machinery and methods, especially as magnificently equipped new state enterprises were setting fresh standards of low-cost, high quality products.

The capitalists could see clearly that, working in the old way, they were falling behind; hindering national development. They knew that the socialist sector of the economy could now drive them out of business if it so desired; so they were grateful that it gave them the outlet of joint ownership with gradual "buying out," and retention of their jobs and political status, much higher than ever under the Kuomintang. Patriotism, strong among many of them, and clear appreciation of the way things were going, both pointed the same way; hence the flood of applica-

tions for trade-wide transformation.

Furthermore, in every private factory and firm, the workers were pressing for joint ownership. They felt aggrieved because, unlike their fellows in socialist enterprise, they still produced for private profit. (A common saying was, "We are masters in our nation but not in our own places of work.") Even from the point of view of upgrading skills, they looked with envy at those in state factories who had a chance to work and learn on up-to-the-minute machines.

Other political and social factors influencing the capitalists must also not be overlooked. Many of them had participated in discussing and adopting the national Constitution, which set the course of socialist transformation, and felt it would add to their reputation to take the first steps in implementing it. Many were strongly influenced by their children, trained professionals and government employees on salary, or students getting free university education that is the right of all qualified young people in China. On the one hand, these children, many of them members of the Communist Party and New Democratic Youth League, often declared to their fathers that they did not wish to use or inherit money they had not earned. This removed one of the big incentives for amassing wealth (a big Shanghai industrialist, for instance, had built up a factory to leave each of his sons and they all refused). On the other hand the fathers were often happy to see their children independent, secure, respected and of good character (the spendthrift, drunkard, rich man's son was a commonplace in old China). They felt that having capitalist parents would not add to the prospects of their sons and daughters but rather embarrass them in the new society.

Personal comforts were now the chief remaining use for money, and no one lost these through the change. To take one example, Yung Yi-jen, the biggest Shanghai national capitalist, said he already had cars and houses, and enough in the bank to enjoy them always, so since joint ownership he had been putting the interest he received into national banks. Insofar as the small owner is concerned, a good job is often the very thing he wants; if he had had one in the first place he would, like many U. S. small businessmen, have never set up for himself at all.

It may seem a kind of "Alice in Wonderland" situation for capitalists voluntarily to sit down and study Communist theory (the laws of social development as discovered by thinkers of the working class and applied in its interest to replace capitalism). But that is exactly what has been happening in China for some years, with classes and discussion groups often meeting in Chambers of Commerce and businessmen leading them. Strange? In China, it seems much stranger that workers should sit down in union conventions listening to their own elected leaders expatiating on the benefits of capitalism, as in the U. S. A. This is not only a question of the prevailing ideas varying with the class that is on top. Since Chinese capitalists also learn about socialism by seeing the tremendous advance of their own country, they can see its validity—and historic inevitability. Their increasing appreciation of socialism and of the road by which China means to reach it, has been a big factor in getting them to make the present turn with their eyes open, with no apprehension, and in most cases, with satisfaction at getting in step with the rest of society.



Springtime on the Danube

by JANINE BOUISSOUNOUSE and LOUIS DE VILLEFOSSE

We are happy to present some extracts from the diary of two well known French writers who visited the Hungarian People's Republic in the spring of 1955 as guests of the Hungarian Writers' Federation. Janine Bouissounouse was formerly editor of the popular daily newspaper *L'Intransigence*. Louis de Villefosse was head of the Admiralty of the Free French Navy during World War II. Their book was published by *Editions Minuit* in France, where it has enjoyed wide popularity. An English translation by Clara Ryan is to be published in May in this country, by *The Hungarian Word, Inc.*, with whose permission we are publishing these extracts, as well as some of the illustrations by Hugo Gellert.

These excerpts hardly convey the full flavor of the book. Both of its writers made a deep study of Hungarian history and cultural heritage before making their trip, and their diary thus gives a well-rounded picture of Hungary's past and present. Nor do these excerpts give more than a tantalizing hint of all they say of Hungary today and its cultural developments in every field—or of the many conversations they held with Hungarian people, intellectuals, workers and farmers. More excerpts will appear in our June issue.

FROM THE FOREWORD

... We realized beforehand, of course, that the living Hungarian reality could not be forced into the framework of either side's propaganda—whether concentration camps and totalitarianism or Stakhanovism, statistics, nursery schools, tractors and kilowatts.

But we were not prepared for the actuality. We were struck with wonder at the beautiful, characteristic

landscape, and strongly drawn to this more-than-ordinarily gifted people, wide awake and enterprising. We were deeply impressed by the manifestations we observed of a colorful, many-sided and intensive national life. Even the discovery that people there amused themselves was a little surprising; not only did men work—but they also had a good time. . . .

It is true that we were well disposed when we set out. Since when

has it been obligatory for the writer of a travel book to be hostile beforehand to the country he plans to visit?

Neither my wife nor I is a militant Communist, or even simply a Communist. We believe that the social advances made by the people's democracies—each in its own way—represent progress and achievement in the improvement of living standards for their working populations. We have observed, moreover, that an absorbing experiment is under way in these countries in the sphere of the broad dissemination of culture.

No, we did not see everything. They did not show us the prisons. May we point out that articles published these days on conditions in Algeria, Peru and the Philippine Islands contain no descriptions of the prisons on those places? And that when a foreign writer visits France, he does not ask for a permit to visit the prisons at Fresnes and Calvi, where for years past, certain of the deputies to our National Assembly have been locked up?

IN BUDAPEST

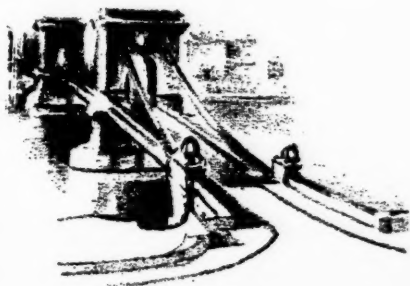
... We walk through a little square where the priest, wearing his priest's hat, chats with a group of children. Ila takes us toward a small house that I would have taken for an antique shop. It turns out to be a place for afternoon tea. ...

Gerbaud's is quiet. Curiously so, for places like this are usually filled with chatter, like bird-houses. It is noisier at "The Danube", nearby, on the bank of the river. But here, as in every cafe in Budapest, violins cut into the hum of conversation.

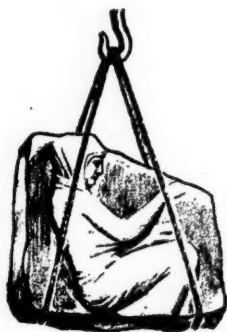
The Englishman goes willingly to a pub, to sit drinking in silence. The Frenchman goes to the cafe to argue. The Italian goes for the joy of sitting and talking. ...

The Hungarian apparently goes to the cafe to listen to music. It's true that the wine is good, and that the people like to drink and chat with their friends. But if a gypsy comes over to them, they don't drive him away. They have him play their favorite song, and he bends over and draws his bow across the fiddle close to the sitter's ear. ...

We finish the evening by visiting old friends. The man is a sculptor, the woman an engraver. We had met often while they lived in Paris, where they spent several years, and we are very fond of them. Their home is not far from the People's Stadium. It is part of a little bungalow colony laid out in gardens. The place reminds us of Margutta in Rome. Our friend has been given the order for one of the eighteen sculptured groups that are to be erected on either side of the approach to the Stadium. He will work for a year and a half on the three huge figures—a boy and two girls representing the Dance. He will be paid a sum worth approximately \$8,750 which, after deductions for the salary of an assistant, tools and materials, will leave him about \$4,285. Like any other recognized artist, he receives a government subsidy in the intervals between orders. His periods of unemployment are brief, however, in this country which,



upon its resurrected ruins, is beautifying its cities and even building new ones.



STEEL TOWN ON THE DANUBE

We would go this morning to a town whose existence is unknown in the West—Stalintown. This is a steel-town on the Danube, sixty-five kilometers south of Budapest. The building of Stalintown was begun in 1950. . . .

We cruised about, inspecting our surroundings. "Beke Etterem"—I already knew enough Hungarian to understand this sign on a house front: "Peace Restaurant". We went inside. The place was tastefully decorated, by Western standards. There were shelves of attractively lighted rows of colored bottles. Five or six people were drinking coffee, seated on high bar stools. Upstairs, the restaurant was very roomy. There was a platform equipped for a jazz band. The place had nothing in common with a workingman's canteen or a bistro in an industrial town. The ground-floor of the building housed small shops. The grocery-store window was bountifully filled with jars of preserves and canned goods. One could easily imagine this shop situated in one of the "better districts"

of Paris. Next to it was a clothing and woolen goods store. One did not receive the impression here, either, that one gets in looking at shops in poor suburban neighborhoods, or in crowded working-class sections of a city. Here were suits for men, shirts, raincoats. Every article, except for the shoes, was superior as regards variety and quality, to the goods with which, generally speaking, our French working-class satisfies its needs. . . . However, calculating the prices in terms of the exchange, they were higher than those in France.

[The following information was gleaned from a man in the leadership of the town's cultural organization.]

. . . . Every workers' family arriving in Stalintown found an apartment waiting. In the planning of the town the residential districts were located on that side of the blast furnaces away from the direction of the prevailing winds. A belt of land planted with trees separates the industrial and residential districts. Each district will have an autonomous life, its own stores of every kind, its libraries, groups of schools, etc. Apartment houses are equipped with steam heat, the steam being piped from a central spot in the city which is provided with fuel by the coal combine. The steam hot-water pipes will, at the same time, serve to melt snow from the streets and supply the city's bathrooms with hot water.

The lowest wage, we were told, was that of the unskilled worker or apprentice, which was 700 forints (approximately \$64) a month; the highest was about 2,000 forints (\$180, approximately). By comparison, during the Horthy regime, a bank-teller or school teacher received about \$40 a month, a domestic worker from \$6 to \$9. Numerous social benefits must be taken into account in considering

the actual standard of living. Rents were very low: 4 per cent of the wage, and this included electricity. Medical care and medicines were virtually free. Food was extremely cheap in the workers' dining room and canteens, of which there was one in every enterprise. The total price for three meals a day was 6 forints 60—some-what more than half a dollar.

Then there were cultural benefits. Besides the elementary schools, a high school is planned, and two technical evening schools for the training of machinists and steel workers. Elderly workers, men and women, were learning to read. Others, the younger ones, were on the staff of the local newspaper. The number of clubs was on the increase—clubs for the dance, dramatic clubs, book-clubs. There was also a club that interested itself in painting. A movie-house with seats for 800 had already been completed and another one was being built, to seat 5,000. Also a huge theater. Touring theatrical groups often



gave performances in the town, and every Thursday, artists from Budapest appeared there. As for sports, in addition to the playing fields that were already in use, a "park of culture and sports" was planned for the bank of the Danube. This would include a stadium with a capacity of 40,000.

We went to see the Bela Bartok House of Culture, the largest of its kind in the city, for the time being. It was a building of simple lines, with a pillared lobby and an auditorium with 800 seats. Among other activities housed here, the most worthy of attention was the music school conducted by professors from Budapest. Two hundred and fifty students were enrolled—parents as well as children.

Next we visited a girls' school. . . . The schoolrooms were the same—I give you my word—as schoolrooms are anywhere in the civilized world. Their cleanliness deserves special mention, though, as well as that of the children themselves. They rose as we entered—that goes without saying—but their bearing was pleasant, without stiffness, their glances direct and healthy. The children had their dinner at school, and remained there until five o'clock, the time when their parents returned from work. Many women were employed by the combine; to tell the truth, not many in the foundries and furnaces; most women worked at the machine tool factory and in the machine-shops. A good number were employed in the textile and canning factories. The wives of workers were not compelled to work; many stayed at home. Schooling is compulsory for eight years—from the age of six to fourteen. Then come examinations and the setting of a course; apprenticeship, or an industrial or high school. After that the university.

Working mothers of young children were relieved of their care during the day by day-nurseries. Coming out of the elementary school we went in to see one. The babies were entertaining themselves with large toys under the watchful eye of several young women. There were twelve

women—six were permanent employees—to seventy-five children. They were obviously devoted to their work.

Our day's program included a visit to the new hospital that had just been put into operation in addition to the temporary hospital that had been functioning. The new one had 400 beds, which would now be added to the 100-bed capacity of the old. . . .

Back in town, we found the sidewalks crowded. The workday, for most people, was over. People were going home in a leisurely way, lingering in front of shops, pausing for a little chit-chat at the crossings, buying newspapers, quenching their thirst at kiosks; girls stopped to buy flowers. Stalin Road, a wide thoroughfare, was gilded by the sunset. One side of the way was for cars, the other for bicycles; the center was planted with grass and flowers. Together with the strollers on the pavements, it was the color of sand after a flood. Never in all my travels, except perhaps in Stalingrad, had I seen a working-class crowd that impressed me as this did. There was not one sign of poverty, of slovenliness or neglect. Perfectly clean clothes on well-washed bodies which were obviously healthy and athletic. Every face had a look of security, a care-free expression—the look of prosperity and calm enjoyment. Nobody shouted; nobody addressed his neighbor in a rough manner. I thought of many of my countrymen who would be astonished, if they were transplanted here, to come face to face, in this crowd of workers only, with men, women and children who radiated “good breeding”. All this was a demonstration of an indisputable human and social achievement, the perfect balance arrived at between the time devoted to labor and the time given to leisure. These people seemed

to be thinking: All this is ours. We are part of the life of the town that we have made for ourselves, and here we feel happy and comfortable. Tomorrow, it will be even better for we will see to that ourselves; and after tomorrow, we'll go on seeing it.

—L. V.



A FOLK DANCE EXHIBIT

“The People’s Song and Dance Collective of the Hungarian State” of which we have heard much praise, was far away from Budapest. We therefore went in the evening, to see “The Folk Art Collective of the National Trade Union Council,” an intimidating name for a dazzling spectacle.

For two hours we watched skirts with dazzling pleats swell out and fall together in round dance, farandole and czárdás, their many colors appearing only when outspread. The skirts were pursued, captured and embraced by mountain-dwellers dressed in heifer-white cloth modeled upon the people of the Tatra, dashing peasants in Sunday clothes whose flaring embroidered trousers looked like skirts, shepherds in embroidered felt cloaks, jaunty horsemen in fine long riding coats. Black shoes slithered softly, top-boots hammered the stage, sleeves fluttered like

wings, flowered aprons flew about, brown and yellow braids of hair were trimmed with bouquets of ribbon, capes stuck together, hats fell off as applause was acknowledged. The dancers smiled at one another, exchanged glances, linked themselves together, seized one another and separated again. Many of these dances appeared to pantomime the forcible seizure of women; others the three leaps, the candle dance, the recruitment dance, the bottle dance—were apparently based upon village customs and forms of worship. Still others were genuinely humorous.

A Gypsy dance—the women wrapped in shawls, the men glittering with *passementerie*—resembled the Spanish Gypsy dances. There was nothing remarkable about this, since Spanish and Hungarian Gypsies have a common origin. The conductor, who played first violin, was a slender, muscular man, broad-chested under his short jacket. He was wearing high top boots. Full of fire and melancholy, he was the handsomest type of romantic Gypsy that can be imagined.

The audience, composed in the main of working-class people, was wildly receptive. They shouted and stamped and recalled the performers again and again, although the dancers returned to the stage without waiting to be asked.

... This people's art, which bears witness in every medium to the powers of endurance throughout the centuries of the national genius, and to its vitality, is highly esteemed in this young democracy. The Institute of Folk Art was established in 1951. Experts were sent into the villages to do research. Thus it came about that movie makers, musicologists and linguists worked together in studying regional dance. They made two films for each dance, one for the use of students and scholars, in which each step, the most negligible gesture, the facial expressions, were all recorded in detail. The other film was popularization, to be shown at movie houses and cultural centers, so that every Hungarian might get to know these dances.

—J. B.

TWELVE SHAW AND IBSEN PLAYS FOR POLAND THIS YEAR

THE CENTENARY of George Bernard Shaw's birth will be marked in Poland this year by the performance in the country's leading theaters of eight of his plays. Four dramas by Ibsen are scheduled to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his death.

Already showing or in production in connection with the Shaw anniversary in Warsaw and other cities are "St. Joan," "Candida," "Major Barbara," "Arms and the Man," "Pygmalion," "The Devil's Disciple," "Heartbreak House," and "Mrs. Warren's Profession."

The Ibsen plays in preparation are "The Wild Duck," "Ghosts," "Peer Gynt" and "The Lady from the Sun."

Major Polish theater companies will tour West Europe during the coming months. Two leading Warsaw theaters are to take part in the Paris and Venice drama festivals; the State Jewish Theater will travel to Paris, Strasbourg and Lyons, and the Slowacki Theater of Krakow has been booked for engagements in Vienna.

Last month the famous Vienna Burgtheater troupe performed plays by Schiller and Herman Bahr in Warsaw and Krakow.

A London Dock Worker Visits Bulgaria

by A. GANDER

OUR DELEGATION of five trade unionists was invited to Bulgaria by the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. The party consisted of a power station worker, a Coal Board clerical officer, a building worker, myself (a docker) and a British Railways engine driver. They came from England, Ireland and Scotland so we had a varied representation of occupations and nationalities.

We were met at Sofia and Varna in the usual Continental way—hugs, kisses and flowers, which the French and German delegations who were with us seemed quite used to.

Dotted around the Black Sea are many people's holiday homes and for five days we stayed at the Building Workers' Home.

In the mornings we swam in the beautiful warm sea, and in the afternoons we visited places of interest. There were no clouds and at night the moon and stars shone brightly as we sang and danced with the Bulgarian people on the terraced hotel just a few yards from the sea.

One day we visited the great Soda Works near Varna, which was built in record time, with help from Soviet Russia. The docks at Varna were very interesting from my point of view and so was the shipbuilding

yard and the new dry dock. About 30 per cent of the workers here were women, but they did no heavy work on the quays, nor did they work in the holds of ships, but they drove cranes, electric trucks and other equipment which was quite modern.

They had cranes from two tons to 40 tons, fork-lifts, corn suckers, silos and elevators. Varna is a grain port, but they export quite a lot of fruit from there too. The dockers seem to enjoy quite good conditions, each man had a locker and many were using the shower baths which were quite close by. They can also retire at 55 after working 20 years or more in the docks. If they continue working they draw their pension which is between 75 and 90 per cent of the last year's wages, and this is increased proportionately until one can get his week's wages plus a 100 per cent pension. The canteens were very good, too. I had two meals there and the workers pay only three-eighths of the cost, the rest is subsidized from the directors' fund. This fund comes from the profits of the enterprise, 50 per cent of which goes to the State and 50 per cent back into the factory, dock or shop. It is administered by the trade unions, and with this money they subsidize meals, pay for the holiday homes, etc.

All dockers are permanent men and they have a medical examination before starting work; they are also shown the "prevention of accidents room" and with the many posters about, it appeared that they concentrated on "Safety First."

From Varna we traveled by coach to Ternovo, which was the ancient capital. This is a city built in the mountains on terraces, and here we visited the mayor, who told us how the city was administered. Here we saw the children going in to school and all were very neatly dressed. The Bulgarians are very proud of their schools, and we observed on all our travels that the newest and largest building in the small towns and villages through which we passed was the school.

In Ternovo we saw many priests; we stopped one in the street and asked him about the religious freedom of the people. He said that people were free to practice their religion and that he got quite large congregations in his church. On festival days, he said that there were as many as 1,500 in the congregation.

It was here that our building trade worker, an Irishman and a strict practicing Catholic went to Mass. He said that there were about 500 people present.

We had two days in Ternovo and left there for the steady climb into the Rhodope Mountains. We stopped at the small town of Gabrovo for lunch, and there we saw the peasant women sitting in groups outside their homes spinning wool which was held on a stick from which it was pulled on to a spinning wheel.

We continued climbing into the 8,000 ft. range and went through the famous Shipka Pass where in 1878 the Tsar's army helped the Bulgarian patriots to free their country from

the Turks who had ruled them with terror for 500 years. Over 100,000 were killed in the Turko-Russian War and at Shipka 18,000 Russians were killed. At the bottom of the Pass is Shipka village and here is the beautiful church which was built in memory of the Russian Army.

This church is one of the most beautiful I have ever visited in my travels. All round the dome inside the church is a wonderful painting of Christ. Gold chandeliers hung from the ceiling and many gilded pictures surrounded the walls. With all the other works of art they must be priceless.

On all our travels in this country, we saw the old and the new side by side. In one field would be a wall, a tree stump would be set up and another branch would be placed across the top with a log or piece of stone to counterbalance it, at the end would be a bucket or can. This would be pulled up and emptied in a channel to run and irrigate the field. In the very next field would be concrete ditches with a small motor pump sending the water all over the ground. Then we would see several pairs of oxen pulling a single plow, and right alongside would be a large tractor with a five-furrow plow. The peasants to whom we spoke appeared quite happy and I'm sure that they only knew the time by the sun and the seasons.

Approaching Plovdiv, we encountered more traffic—on the way to the Great Fair which is held there every two years. Some of this traffic was going to the great new town of Dimitrovgrad, a town named after Georgi Dimitrov who stood up so valiantly against Hitler and Goering at the famous Reichstag Fire Trial.

We stayed here for two days and visited a big chemical works which

produced fertilizers for the land. They told us that one part of the works began to produce within 12 months of the first brick being laid. What struck us about this town was the youth. We saw very few old people and they were peasants coming in from the country to sell their produce. Young men and women came from all over Bulgaria to help build this plant, they stayed on and studied in the technical schools and were now working the plant. We asked many questions of the workers about conditions, wages, etc. and it was obvious to us that they were not afraid to speak. One young girl of 22 was in charge of about 15 dials and gauges. She said that she had come from a village on the Danube and was very happy in her job. She was fond of music and took part in the factory sports and lived with a friend, two in a room, in the factory hostel.

The director of the plant was a man of 45, but he looked older. We were told that he had spent some years in prison under the fascists. He was the oldest man in the plant and was very proud of the works. In between the different shops were grass patches and gardens, they were not cramped for space. Once again it was "safety first" for everybody, and every six months they had a test to see if they still remembered the rules. Attached to the factory was a welfare clinic and a fine rest-room for the women workers. Some distance away was the hospital, kindergarten and a good sports ground. We visited them all in the two days, and were greatly impressed with what we saw. We had a swim in the beautiful pool and saw the Factory Soccer Club training under a paid coach. They showed great speed and ball control and later we spoke to the

players and coach and told them how England was going to beat them in Sofia. This caused great laughter and they said, "Wait and see."

We were lucky to get accommodation in Plovdiv because of the great demand by people arriving for the Trade Fair, but our rooms were quite nice and we had our meals at a Bulgarian Tourist Hotel nearby.

Plovdiv is situated on the banks of the Maritsa River in the middle of the Plain of Thrace, but it is quite a hilly town. Its people took part in the liberation movements of 1878 and 1944 and many tobacco workers were killed in the struggles. Besides tobacco, it has textiles and paper industries as well as fruit and vegetables. It is also the center of cultural life in Southern Bulgaria; they have a State Symphony Orchestra, an Institute of Medicine. There is also the Opera House and the National Library and Open-air Theater at the foot of Stalin Hill.

Here again, we see the old and new, one part has wide streets with lawns in the big square and imposing housing blocks, then public buildings and beautiful parks, but if you turn into one of the side streets up near Tepeh you will enter another Plovdiv, the city of old two-story houses with bow-windows jutting out from the foundation to roof, the windows ornamented with wrought iron and their ceilings decorated with exquisite carvings. Here the narrow cobbled streets are very steep and the eaves of the houses nearly touch each other to form an archway.

Before the Liberation of 1944, the waters coming down from the Balkan Range and the Rhodope Mountains joined the River Maritsa and then flowed down into the Aegean Sea without being used, but in the Plovdiv area in the last seven years

small dams and catchments have been constructed, thereby irrigating thousands of acres of land.

The Great Trade Fair which is built on the south bank of the Maritsa is a collection of wonderful buildings, and we had a preview on opening day.

Great Britain was represented by the Brush Group and a Scottish firm. On the Brush Group stand we did not see their representative as he had gone to the bank, but we did have a chat with Tommy Tate, a carpenter, who had put the exhibition stand up. Just for the fun of it, we had a show of union cards and Tommy was up to date and said that he does the exhibitions for all English firms who go behind the "Iron Curtain" and he was always treated with respect and kindness. The only quarrel he had (and that goes for me too) is the question of currency. We get a very poor rate for the pound.

After two days in Plovdiv we left that city for Velingrad in the Rila Mountains. From Velingrad, a small town named after a famous girl partisan leader who shot herself with

her last bullet after a fight in the Rila Mountains with the fascists, we went on to Sofia, the capital. This is a lovely, clean city, the roads of which are cobbled in semicircular patterns.

Here we visited the railway junction and works and were taken round by the shop steward and director, both former engine-drivers. Our Scottish engine-driver was most impressed and so was I, especially with the Transport Workers' Union Home of Culture. This magnificent building of five stories contained a beautiful theater, music rooms, ballet hall and large library, and had 29 full-time teachers in art, music, etc. The Transport Workers have a choir of 180 voices, besides a children's choir.

We saw Gladstone Street, named after our great Liberal statesman, who denounced the Turkish atrocities against the Bulgarians so many years ago. The workers gave us a message to let the British people know that all they desire is peace and trade with the rest of the world.

Courtesy of *Transport and General Workers' Record*, London. Dec., 1955.

WEIR URGES NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR

ERNEST T. WEIR, chairman of the National Steel Corp., speaking before the Poor Richard Club of Philadelphia on March 18, maintained that the U. S. should have a permanent policy "to keep the door always open to Russia and other Communist countries for discussion and negotiation on any subject."

He went on to say, "We can be dead sure that people everywhere—behind the Iron Curtain, in front of it and on all sides of it—are desperately sick of war. In my opinion, this worldwide sentiment of all rank-and-file people is the strongest restraint against war. Furthermore, this sentiment is on the increase. I believe it will grow so strong within the next five years or so that no leaders in any country will dare precipitate war."

A five-point program was then proposed by Weir which included an open door for negotiations, treatment of our allies as "full" partners not "instruments," and dispelling the belief that we support colonialism.

EDUCATION IN POLAND

by BEATRICE KING

IT WAS frankly stated wherever I went in Poland, that they had many and serious educational problems to solve. And no wonder! Education for the people had been shamefully neglected in the past. Yet the present, with its new tasks and aims, cried out for a highly educated people immediately.

Pre-war Poland had an illiteracy of 23.1 per cent in 1931. Of those who attended school, the majority left at the age of 12 and many at nine or ten. In 1934-1935 nearly one million children of school age were not attending school. Out of five million children, just 150,000 finished the seven-year school (14 years). Naturally it was in the villages that the position was the worst, only 27 per cent of the children remaining at school till 14. There was one seven-year school for 17 villages. In the one-teacher village school, this was predominant; 63 children, for example, of a widely varied age range, were taught and cared for by the one unfortunate person. Irrespective of the fact that a third of the rural

population was non-Polish, education was in the Polish language, which made an added difficulty for the one teacher.

High school education was in the main limited to cities and excluded all but a small percentage of workers' children. The curriculum paid little attention to science. The technical schools were few in number, and agricultural schools were practically non-existent, in a predominantly peasant country. Higher education too did not encourage workers' children, only 13 per cent of the students coming from that class.

The qualifications demanded from teachers in primary schools were not very high, it being the common practice to use unqualified teachers here. This was generally the situation in the villages. In the whole country there were 70 training colleges, which apparently were more than enough for the authorities since there were in 1938, for example, 17,000 unemployed teachers.

Thus one of the chief causes of the problems facing the Polish Ministry of Education is the legacy of backwardness inherited from pre-war Poland. The war made its contribution to the problems. The vast scale of physical destruction which the Nazis carried out in Poland must be

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.

well known by now. Less well known is the fact that 20,000 teachers were killed in the war, a great many deliberately as part of the Nazi policy of destroying the Poles as a nation. An education system demands other professional people besides teachers, architects to build schools, authors to write the books needed, engineers, philosophers and artists. All these were equally decimated as part of the Nazi policy.

Building the new socialist society poses problems more difficult and more complex for educators than just the physical reconstruction of the devastation. It is not only that new methods and new machinery have to be devised for carrying out plans. A new type of man has to be educated which brings with it problems of discipline, of incentives, of social relationships inside and outside of the school, of linking school with life so that learning becomes reasonable and desirable. The last is particularly important since unwilling learning is sterile, and to achieve the high standard of living that is the country's aim, knowledge and skill must be very widespread, and creative. Up-to-date science and technique must not only be applied, it must be improved upon. And the country is in a hurry; there is so much to make up in industry, agriculture and general culture.

The first problem, that of providing the physical facilities for education for everybody is being tackled with force and vigor. The pre-war 2,000 seven-year schools had by September, 1955, risen to 11,000. There were by then 800 high schools, of which 100 were now in rural areas. Already between 60 and 70 per cent of the children now remain at school till 18 years. Of these about 70 per cent go from the seven-year school to vocational schools of one kind or an-

other, while the remaining 30 per cent go to the general lyceum (high school) from 14 to 18 years. There is now a general tendency to move the high school from city centers to the suburbs for the greater convenience of the people. The educational aim is to have a unified eleven-year school (7 to 18) for all, and in line with this, schools have begun to be reorganized so that the pre-war class system has already gone. Equality of educational opportunity has been made a reality by the service being free to all.

Science plays a great part in the school curriculum today, in the junior as well as the high school. All new eleven-year schools, and most schools are inevitably new, have laboratories for physics, chemistry and biology. The question of polytechnization is now under consideration. In one form or other it is likely to be introduced. Then workshops not only for hand work but the study of machines too, will be added. There is, as is to be expected, a shortage of equipment and apparatus at present, but some laboratories I saw were excellently equipped. One finds overcrowding everywhere. Even with the use of buildings for two school shifts a day, there is not enough room. The Poles prefer overcrowding to the neglect of education, and as they insist, it is only temporary.

Both because the country is in urgent need of workers, and because the extra earnings help, in the temporary period of shortages, to buy some desirable luxuries, an increasing number of women are going out to work. To cope with the need to have adequate facilities to care for their children there has been a great expansion in nurseries and kindergartens. All new building plans whether of apartment housing or en-

terprises, take into consideration provision for the pre-school child. For example in Nowa Huta, the new industrial city, the kindergartens were functioning almost simultaneously with the factories. New apartment houses are built with nursery and kindergarten as part of the all-over design. The latest figures for 1935 showed 380,000 children in kindergartens and 40,000 under-three's in nurseries. But they are all too crowded and the service, in September, 1955, was still in the main limited to mothers at work. It should be emphasized that these facilities are to be found in growing numbers in rural areas.

An all-round attack is being made on the problem of sufficient qualified teachers. It is difficult for the training colleges at present to keep up with the demand. One still finds unqualified teachers in schools, though their number is rapidly diminishing since everything conspires to make them take qualifying courses. There are at present three types of teacher-training institutions. The four-year course, entered at the age of 14, prepares teachers for kindergartens and the first four classes of school (7 to 11); the two-year training college, 18 to 20, for classes 5, 6 and 7; and the five-year—university standard-course trains for classes 8 to 11.

But training is only the first stage in the making of a good teacher. Learning from and with others must follow and this is becoming a widespread custom. In the school there is the School Education Council, embracing all the members of the staff. A cooperative atmosphere has already grown up, and teachers bring their problems to council meetings. Since members are concerned with the school as a whole and not with personal prestige, criticism is freely

accepted and the common responsibility is recognized. There is now too, the accepted practice within the school of the senior, more experienced teachers helping the new and inexperienced ones, even to being present during a lesson and its subsequent analysis.

There is a central organization responsible for running courses of varying lengths for the improvement of teachers' qualifications in skill and in academic attainment. Seminars are held in urban and rural centers and teachers are freed from school one day a month for some courses, although most courses are taken in the teachers' free time, and of course there are holiday courses, too. The Teachers' Union, which embraces all teachers, makes a very great contribution to the provision of facilities for improvement.

With the increasing demand for labor in every field, it may be expected that a stage will be reached when only those who feel called to it will enter the profession. In the meantime there is a ferment of discussion on all education problems, particularly on the best way to help the mediocre and the inexperienced teacher.

Discipline, in school and society, which is so many-faceted, is the subject of much discussion and provides many lines of research for pedagogical workers. To carry through the change from the old society to the new socialist society demands a high degree of discipline, a new attitude to work and to the community. It is essential for the new Polish man arising, not merely to work and study hard, but to enjoy doing this because he accepts the social as well as individual purpose. He must think of himself simultaneously as an individual and as a member of the commun-

ty whose level he can raise or lower according to his behavior. This demands a new outlook and approach from teachers and parents who so influence the children. The responsibility here is laid squarely on the teachers, for they are the people, more than anyone, to help the parents.

Association between home and school is being developed more and more closely. Every school has a Parents' Council. The school, and particularly the kindergarten, is the place to which parents can come, and are encouraged to come, with their problems of child upbringing. The role of the teacher is immensely important. There are no school psychologists to whom to hand over the problems. They have to be solved in the school in cooperation with the home and when necessary with the factory union where the parents work. If this makes the task of the teacher harder, it adds greatly to his stature and importance.

School discipline however, is not a problem just of the school. It is very much linked up with the way the pupil spends his leisure, with the social influences; the cinema, radio, press publications, advertisements, that daily, and as far as the child is concerned unconsciously, press upon his mind and emotions. This is realized by all in Poland so that great attention is paid to these out-of-school influences. For leisure there is a growing number, still far from adequate as is to be expected, of clubs ranging from the breathtaking Warsaw Palace of Culture down to simple garden play centers. This provision is for the children of school age, from seven to eighteen. The early age is particularly important for the formation of socially beneficial habits and attitudes. All the clubs, whatever kind they may be, try to occupy the

mind as well as the hands and body.

The community itself, through housing committees, trade union committees etc., tries in a variety of ways to insure facilities for purposeful and satisfying leisure. Some of the most successful ventures are the apartment house mothers' committees, who in addition to turning the garden which the apartments surround into an exciting, adventurous place, with the help of fathers, assist neighbors with difficult children, often looking after them in the absence of the mother at work.

The cinema and children's literature supports education in its aims as does the press, while there is a complete absence of the advertising which makes a mockery of the social and moral aims that the school tries to inculcate.

The problem of providing sufficient skilled technicians as well as leading administrative personnel and technologists is a very acute one for Poland and makes great demands on the education system. It must be solved if the rate of progress is to continue and to accelerate so that plans may be achieved. There has been a great development of the most varied courses to which young people can go at 14 or 16, and universities or polytechnical colleges at 18, including agricultural schools. But they are not waiting for the schools to produce the needed number of entrants. Among those at work there are many who were never given a chance to develop skill and ability. For them, too, there are the most varied courses, from six months to three years.

One could go on enumerating problems. What strikes the visitor is not their number but the firm conviction of Polish educators that, given peace, they will certainly solve them.



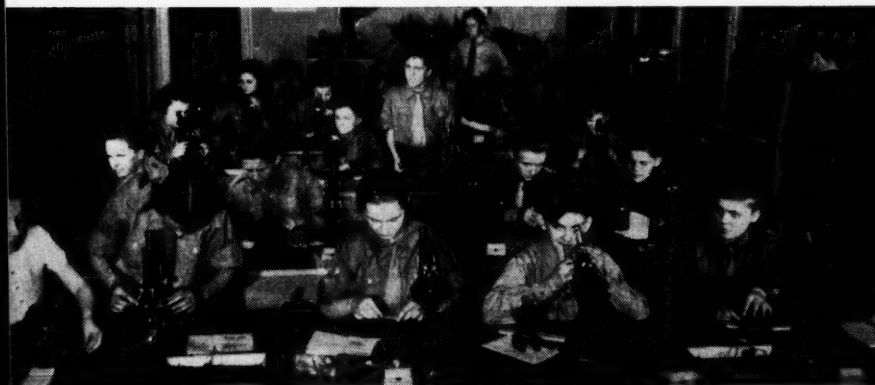
A familiar sight in Poland: a Children's textbook stall in Stalinograd.



Three Polish schoolchildren on their way to begin the first day at school.

Group of young Polish boys and girls in a biology study circle held in the splendid Youth Palace in Stalinograd.

Young people applying for many schools.



A group of young Polish men and women studying to be dental technicians at the College of Dental Technique.

Women students of the College of Dental Technique, one of the rooms of the College.



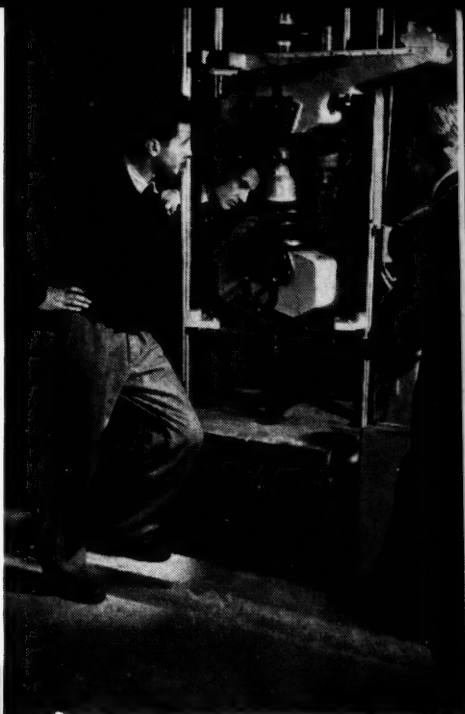
Polish Education Rapidly Advances

Now open to all, Polish education has been reborn in People's Poland, from nursery school to advanced study in both ancient university and the newly established technicums. (Sovphoto).

Young apprentices listen as a teacher in a mining school explains the working of a machine.



Students of the College of Science and Technology studying in one of many dormitories available at the college.



The Engineering Institute in Warsaw: four electrical engineering students.

A student working on wall painting: State High School of Plastic Arts.



The Whips and Scorns of "Time"

by SUSAN WARREN

A READER of this magazine has asked for comment on an article in the March 5 issue of *Time*, purporting to tell the story of terror in China. Wrapped in the *Time*-perfected technique of anonymity, where no writer takes the responsibility for what is written, this synthetic package deal throws in fancy for fact, myth for reality, and half-truths more vicious than the whole lie.

It is not necessary to deny that when some 600 million people "turn over" and change the whole fabric of a feudal, semi-colonial existence, there will inevitably be many who will suffer. If the few who have lived at the expense of the many resist and resort to violence and subterfuge they are restricted, thwarted and "rendered harmless." Judging the nature of civil liberties in any country is not an abstract exercise. What was its past and where does it start from now are pertinent questions. It is important to understand who and how many in China have for the first time tasted freedom and who, and how many and why are "less free." The story in *Time* magazine is a concoction of unidentified quotes

torn out of context without reference to time, place or concrete circumstances. Astronomical figures such as "20 million Chinese disposed of" or "liquidated" and 23 million "believed to be held in forced labor camps" all on the word of unnamed "foreign specialists" or "accounts from Red China's press," abound.

Such shabby "scholarship" need not be dignified with too close attention to all its details. However, some of the grosser distortions can be profitably exposed as a gauge to a certain type of American journalism. Most important, Americans will want to understand why *Time* magazine with the formidable job of a weekly capsule coverage of the entire world scene devotes four of its slick pages to this travesty on terror in China. For while *Time* may be innocent of documented facts it is far from pure in purpose.

James Endicott, co-editor of the *Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter*, for many years missionary in China and one time adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, answered a minister friend who asked him to comment on the *Time* article:

Thank you, for calling my attention to the *Time* magazine article. . . . Ordinarily I do not read *Time* any more because I found its reporting on China so biased and distorted

SUSAN WARREN has long been a student and writer on Far Eastern affairs. She was formerly the editor of "Far East Spotlight."

as to be useless. I was personally acquainted with *Time's* two top correspondents in China, Theodore White and Miss Annalee Jacoby and I watched them protest and finally resign because of *Time's* refusal to print the truth. They came home and wrote "Thunder Out of China" in protest. In regard to the article the first thing I notice is that the pictures . . . second and third from the top, are pictures of Chiang Kai-shek executions. The uniforms of the soldiers are Chiang army uniforms and not people's militia or army. I personally have witnessed many such executions of Communists and sympathizers in China.

The *Time* article makes much of the term *Hsiao Mieh* which it defines as meaning "deprived of existence . . . done away with . . . otherwise disposed of. . . ." The use of this term as it appears in the Chinese press which *Time* claims as one of its "sources" is deliberately distorted. According to Mr. Endicott "*Hsiao Mieh* was a term used in the civil war reporting to describe the capture and disbanding of 8 million of Chiang Kai-shek's military rabble." It was also he says "applied to the rounding up of another several million bandits and warlord underground armies. . . . Only a few of the more rascally and murderous officers were executed for their crimes. Most of them today are reformed and taken into productive life or the army. As for the execution of landlords, only those who were tried for a total of three crimes, murder, rape and stealing land from the peasants, were executed if found guilty."

Kingsley Martin, editor of the London *Statesman and Nation* visited China in 1955. On his return he wrote an article for the *Nation* (May 14, '55) called "The China We Face." This article is certainly not that of

an approving friend of the new regime. With British practicality, however, it does attempt to deal with some of the realities of that vast country. Mr. Martin writes:

In Peking I did my best to discover whether there was any basis for the Hongkong-American view of divisions, discontent and instability in China. . . . I talked for instance with a European expert who as a Roman Catholic and conservative cherished a particularly strong animosity against the new order in China. I asked him how many people had really been "liquidated". . . ("Liquidated" meaning killed was a mis-translation of a speech by a Chinese general who boasted that 2 million enemies had been "rendered harmless").

The parenthesis, which is Mr. Martin's own, would seem to bear out James Endicott's statement on the misuse of the term *Hsiao Mieh*. What is of special significance is the conclusion of Mr. Martin's admittedly hostile informant that ". . . fewer people have died violent deaths in China in the last five years than in any other five years in the last century." As to the reported divisions, discontent and instability, Mr. Martin had this to say:

. . . whatever the West does in the future it should base its policy on the assumption that China is becoming not only a great power but one whose inhabitants have much to lose and will be inspired with a united hatred against any country which gives aid and comfort to Chiang Kai-shek. . . . Allow for all the unspoken criticism you like and it yet remains true that for the first time in history China has an organized, purposeful government rapidly industrializing and commanding such authority as no Chinese government has ever before in history commanded.

Shanghai figures prominently in *Time's* hashish nightmare. Housewives (unidentified) "recently escaped to Hongkong", interviewed by no one knows who, when or where, are the sole witnesses to bodies "hauled to the crematories in low sided trucks with splashes of blood visible on the victims' clothing." Carried away by his own purple prose, *Time's* anonymous writer outdoes himself. Rising to a great crescendo he tells of machine gun executions "staged . . . on the paddyfields." Of Shanghai?

As for the Bund on the Whangpoo River which *Time's* writer claims was roped off to accommodate the "hundreds of thousands" of businessmen and industrialists who were jumping from its roof tops, "thereby hangs a tale."

It is a matter of common knowledge shared by the many foreign correspondents who were in Shanghai at the time that there was one instance when a whole square block of the Bund, which was Shanghai's banking district, was roped off. That was in the last days of Chiang Kai-shek. The Nationalists had declared a curfew from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. Accurately reading the handwriting on the wall, those notoriously corrupt officials roped off the area around the block and during the curfew hours when the people were forbidden to be on the streets removed the gold and U. S. dollars from the bank vaults which they then proceeded to ship out of the country! As for the suicides, there were some. The figure of "hundreds of thousands" is as ludicrous as would be the assertion that during the 1929 financial crash in the U. S., when Wall Street was the scene of some suicides, they had reached those gigantic proportions. Thus the "kernel of truth"

is distorted beyond all recognition.

The intent of *Time's* article is to prove that China is a police state. Ralph Lapwood who was Professor of English at Tsinghua University in the suburbs of Peking for many years, had the opportunity to observe both the old and the new China at close hand. When he returned to England in 1952 he was frequently asked about freedom in modern China. He is worth quoting at length:

Most of the people of China have more freedom than they ever had before but a small proportion have less. . . . These losses of freedom to behave as they pleased on the part of people previously privileged, are the natural concomitant of the gains of freedom by the workers. They are inevitable in a revolution and loudly proclaimed by the enemies of the revolution. Is China a police state? Every people which aims at socialism must be highly organized, with strong government planning and control. The energy lies with the mass of citizens but until it is given organization it can achieve little.

A police system which expresses the will of the people and depends for its efficiency on the backing of the people will make for security and freedom—though a certain amount of red tape is unavoidable, especially when the system is being instituted. But if it expresses the will of the minority and depends for its action on the threat of force, in the background, there is the beginning of the police state. My experience with the police of China over many years convinced me that whereas the Kuomintang police showed the second characteristics, the People's Government police show the first. The people's police started with a hard job. Bitter experience of many years had led people to dislike and avoid all police. Yet within three years they had on the whole, won the confidence of the

people. . . . The old use of power to squeeze commissions and all the other forms of police corruption had been rooted out. With certain individuals whom the government regards with suspicion . . . the police officers are severe—cold though correct—in attitude; they demand conformity to the official procedures down to the last jot and tittle. But to the ordinary people they are friendly and human. China is not a “police state.”

To come to the heart of the matter. Why this outburst of rage and spleen on the part of *Time*? “Something of deep significance to China, to Asia and to the world occurred in the last six months of 1955”, says *Time*. “One of the most enduring and resilient of peoples apparently gave up hope. Whatever those hopes had been—an internal breakdown, a return of the Formosan Nationalists or simply in the words of U. S. Secretary of State Dulles ‘hope from without’ . . .”

Look closely and you will see that these “hopes” projected on to the Chinese people are in actuality none other than the hopes of publisher Luce and the U. S. State Department. And they are indeed collapsing. As for the Chinese people they seem to have been otherwise engaged. By *Time*’s own evidence an “astonishing increase of 43.1 peasant families in six months” have brought 60 per cent of all China’s 110 million peasant families into the agricultural cooperative movement. In the major cities of Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, Chungking, Sian, Wuhan and Canton the transformation of capitalist industry to joint state-private ownership has been completed.

So rapid has been the advance that *Time* comments on the fact that plans

which were to have been accomplished in ten or fifteen years were cut to five and quotes Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People’s Republic of China, to the effect that the “socialist revolution in the main, can be completed on a national scale within about three more years.” How explain this unprecedented tempo of achievement? How maintain the illusion that this is a government not supported by its people? How in the face of these no longer deniable accomplishments defend six long years of misinforming the American public about what was really going on in inside China and fostering the costly and dangerous delusion that China was about to disintegrate from internal dissension and would welcome Chiang back to the mainland?

Finally, how to continue to justify China’s exclusion from the United Nations and a vindictive and self-defeating trade embargo?

There remains one final desperate resort—cry terror! In its anxiety to prove that the great progress reported in its own article was inspired by violence from above, *Time* in its spate of quotes understandably neglected a significant one from Mao Tse-tung. In his July report on “Questions of Agricultural Cooperation” Mao warned that “leadership must not lag behind the mass movement. As things stand today, however, the mass movement is in advance of the leadership. . . .” Strange state for a people bereft of hope and driven by club and executioner! But reports of progress from China seem to indicate that this gap has been closed.

Would that the yawning chasm between *Time* and Truth were as easily bridged!

A Poet Comes Home

by STEFAN HEYM

I have never laid great store by poetic glory, and whether my songs are praised or blamed matters little to me. But lay a sword on my bier, for I have been a good soldier in the wars of human liberation.

HEINRICH HEINE

THE MAN who died a hundred years ago today on a heap of mattresses in the city of Paris, Heinrich Heine, is one of the most controversial figures still. A hundred years after death, when other poets and writers have long been removed into Olympic sedateness and into the more or less dusty files of the historians of literature, this man, Heinrich Heine, still has enemies who would like to wipe out his memory, and partisans for whom he was and remains today the spokesman.

"I am the sword," he once wrote, "I am the flame. . ."

And a writer who considers himself a sword and a flame, the sword of humanity and the flame of revolution, necessarily has an effect on peo-

ple's minds quite different from that which other authors, less passionate and more inclined to social compromise, had. In a sense, Heine, who is mostly known abroad for his lilting lyric verse and his poetry of love, was the first modern German poet, the first German poet to have a deeper insight into the forces that make history.

If he had been just one of those romantic minstrels, would the Nazis have bothered to burn his books, in 1933? Would they have tried to extinguish his name by printing under the title of his immortal poem "Lorelei" the strange line, "Author unknown"? And would the authorities in today's Western Germany, in the so-called Federal Republic, refuse permission and funds for monuments to the poet in Dusseldorf and Hamburg, the cities where Heine was born and lived, if they weren't still afraid of his word?

For his word was searing, and he had a way of slashing at the forces of reaction and chauvinism which today is as sharp and potent as on the day he put pen to paper. He was not afraid of leaving behind him his poet's room and going out into the streets where people battled, and he sang of those battles and of the future and of the paradise which the

STEFAN HEYM, the novelist, is well known for his widely read novels, "The Crusaders," "Eyes of Reason," and "Goldsborough." He is now a citizen of the German Democratic Republic.

people one day would build on this earth. He had a vision which was the vision of a poet and yet more than that. He learned from Hegel and he was a friend of Karl Marx; he was hounded into exile and he died in exile; he was a Jew and suffered by it and debated all his life with a God whose existence he greatly doubted. He was a German and he loved the Germans—the people, not its kings and rulers—and he loved the French who fought the great revolutions of his time; he was a citizen of the world in the best sense of the word; and what he wrote in prose and in verse was then and is today a weapon in the struggle for the liberation of mankind.

I remember coming to Paris shortly after World War II and going to Montmartre and to the cemetery there where Heine lies. At the corner I bought a small bouquet of flowers. The guard at the cemetery gate said: "Ah, Monsieur wishes to visit Monsieur Henri Heine?" I asked him how he knew and he told me that whoever comes with flowers to the old cemetery on Montmartre comes to see Heinrich Heine and to leave his token of love at the grave. The stone, crowned by the head of the poet, half inclined, thoughtful, is remarkable—it is covered by inscriptions, quotations from his poetry; and these quotations were scratched in there during the night of Nazi occupation when people who were hounded as the poet himself was, sought refuge with him—physical refuge, and the refuge of the soul. For he, Heine, had prophesied that a new world was coming, and he had written for it and sung for it and fought for it.

Although Heine, who died a hundred years ago, was not a Communist, he stated that his newspaper reports

to the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* practically gave intelligence to the "Union of Communists" which at that time was fighting underground in Germany. Communism, as he said himself "exercises a fascination on my soul against which I cannot defend myself."

Heine believed that people have certain inalienable rights, and there must be justice, and he wrote: "If I cannot disprove the premise that all men have the right to eat, then I am forced to subject myself to all its consequences . . . and I proclaim loudly: This old society, it has been judged and condemned long ago! May justice be done! May it be destroyed, this old world, where innocence was annihilated, where cynicism flourished, where man was exploited by man!"

It could have been written today—it was written, by Heinrich Heine, more than a hundred years ago.

He also wrote: "If I think of Germany at night, I cannot sleep."

Today, too, thousands of people cannot sleep at night when they think of what is happening in Western Germany—where the same powers which Heine fought in his day have been resurrected once more and are being armed with atomic weapons. But today, too, there exists already another Germany, a different Germany, a Germany trying to live up to the great poet's vision, a Germany where exploitation of man by man is being abolished, where an end is being put to the influence of the chauvinists and the philistines and the bigots and the profiteers and of all those whom Heine castigated with the whip of his word.

In this Germany, in the German Democratic Republic, the poet and fighter Heinrich Heine has assumed the place due him among the great

of his nation. In this Germany, in its plants and factories and mills, on its farms and in its villages, its town halls and theaters and schools, thousands of people are meeting today to pay homage to their poet, to the prophet of a better time—that better time which is being made a reality in the German Democratic Republic. Here monuments are being erected to him and, more important, his works are being read by hundreds of thou-

sands of people, by workers and students, farmers and engineers, young and old; and in the school books of the German Democratic Republic his poems are printed no longer with the byline "Author Unknown," but under his name, Heinrich Heine.

The poet of the people, a hundred years after his death, has found his people.

Note: Opening quotation: Poetry and Prose of Heine, tr. F. Ewen, A. Kramer. Citadel Press.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

On the German Democratic Republic

by JOHN PEET

We print below a letter from Mr. John Peet in answer to a series of questions sent to us by one of our readers, Mr. Roger Frohn. In answering the questions Mr. Peet quotes directly from Baxter's Economic Report the points queried by Mr. Frohn. Mr. Peet, formerly with Reuter's, resigned his post a few years ago in protest against Anglo-American policies toward Germany, and remained in East Germany from where he edits the Democratic German Report.

The misleading details given by Baxter's Economic Report are a mixture of fact and fiction, but I shall do my best to disentangle them.

1. "Before the war there were 67 million people in combined Germany." Correct, but it must be remembered that Germany at that time included East Prussia and large areas such as Silesia which now form part of Poland.

2. "There are now 72 million people in combined Germany." Approximately correct.

3. "In East Germany before the war there were almost 27 million people. This has now declined to a little over 17,800,000." Here a comparison is made between two completely different areas. The 27 million people referred to lived in an area nearly twice as large as the present German Democratic Republic, and included densely populated Silesia, which is now part of Poland. The Germans who lived in Silesia and similar areas were moved mostly to West Germany after the war. The population of what is now the German Democratic Republic has risen, not fallen since the war.

4. "In West Germany before the war there were a little over 40 million. There are now close on 55 million people." Approximately correct. The 15 million additional people are mainly resettled German minorities who previously lived in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and areas now included in Poland.

5. "In the year 1955 . . . 271,000 Germans fled from depression in East

Germany to join in the prosperity in West Germany." These West German "official figures" are open to grave doubt, since many people are counted twice, once when they arrive in West Berlin, and again when they are flown out to West Germany. In the same period, according to official East German statistics, about 180,000 persons left West Germany to come to East Germany, so that the traffic is by no means all in one direction.

6. "In West Germany, all of the millions of refugees have been absorbed in industrial prosperity." This is true of East Germany, where industry is booming and there is a shortage of labor. But—in West Germany many thousands of resettlers from the East are still vegetating in refugee camps.

7. "... complete failure of the Russians in East Germany." There is neither success nor failure of the Russians in East Germany, since the German Democratic Republic is a sovereign state responsible for its own successes or failures. Industrial production has been practically doubled since 1950, agricultural production has been boosted 44 per cent. Wages rose during the same period by 48 per cent and prices were steadily decreased.

8. "East Germany only exported \$84,000,000 in the whole year." This figure is completely imaginary, and has nothing at all in common with the facts. The German Democratic Republic has hitherto not published total export figures (mainly to avoid giving away valuable information to U. S. Battle Act cold warriors), but partial figures available show that East German exports are at a very comfortable figure. At the Leipzig Fair, Spring 1956, for instance, the German Democratic Republic concluded export contracts for about \$700,000,000, and this figure includes only a small proportion of exports to the eastern countries, most of which are dealt with under long-range contracts. A "western" figure giving some idea of the scope of East German export trade is the announcement at the beginning of March by the West German Economics Ministry that East Germany exported \$276,000,000 worth of goods to West Germany during 1955.

But it is of course true that East German exports are not as high as West German exports—partly because West Germany is a much larger country, and partly because a very high proportion of Germany's industries were already situated in the West (Ruhr).

THE SPOILS OF WAR RETURNED

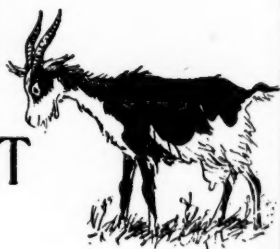
THE IMPERIALIST INVASION of China, known in the West as the "Boxer Rebellion," took place in 1900. Apart from the miseries inflicted upon the Chinese people, rare treasures, relics and ancient books were looted by the invading powers and carried away to enrich the museums and private collections of the imperialist powers.

The great Yung Lo Encyclopedia, consisting of 11,095 hand written volumes, and compiled 1403-1407, thus making it one of earliest of encyclopedias produced and regarded by many as one of the greatest, was brutally ravaged and many of its books stolen and placed in Western libraries and museums.

In 1951 the Soviet Union returned eleven of the volumes which had been in Tsarist hands. In 1955 another three volumes of the encyclopedia, which had been in the library of Leipzig University, were returned by a delegation from the German Democratic Republic. These gestures of friendship from the socialist west made a profound impression on the Chinese people.



THE LION AND THE GOAT



An Indian Tale

Retold by **MULK RAJ ANANI**

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a herd of goats that went to graze in a forest every day. One day, as they were returning home, one of their number, an old she-goat, became tired and was left behind. The evening fell and as she could not find her way back, she sought refuge in a cave that she saw near at hand. What was her surprise when she went in and found a lion there. She was terrified and stood still for a moment, then collecting her wits about her, she reflected on what she could do. "If I try to run," she thought, "the lion will soon catch me, but if I muster up courage and hold my own against him, I may manage to survive."

She walked impudently up to the lion, therefore, without showing the slightest sign of fear. The lion looked at her, looked and looked, not knowing what to make of this boldness on the part of a mere goat, so unlike the attitude of the other members of her tribe, none of which had ever dared to come near him. At last he thought she could not be a goat but must be some other strange animal which he had not seen before.

"Who are you, old one," he ventured to ask courteously.

"I am the queen of the goats," she replied, "I am a devotee of the God Siva,

and I have vowed to devour a hundred tigers, twenty-five elephants and ten lions, in his honor. I have already eaten the hundred tigers and the twenty-five elephants and now I am looking for the ten lions."

The lion was extremely perturbed to hear this and, believing the goat had really come to devour him, crept out of the cave on the pretext that he was going to wash his face at the river.

As he was rushing out he met a jackal, who, seeing the king of the beasts in a panic, asked what was the matter.

The lion gave the jackal a hurried



account of his meeting with what he said was a queer-looking animal, very much like a goat, but without any of the timidity of one.

The jackal was very clever. He soon guessed that the cause of all this excitement was only a miserable old she-goat. And he tried to reassure the lion by telling him that it was a ruse which the feeble old animal had employed in order to escape being devoured.

"Compose yourself and come back with me to your cave, and make a meal of this pretender," he suggested.

The lion took this advice and returned with the jackal.

Now when the goat saw the lion returning, she knew it was the wily jackal with him who was responsible for it. But she did not lose her courage. She

walked up towards them and assuming a very dignified pose, said to the jackal:

"Is this the way you carry out my orders? I sent you to fetch me ten lions to eat at once, and you have brought me only one. I shall skin you for your negligence."

As soon as the lion heard this, he thought he had been betrayed by the jackal, fell on him in a fury and gobbled him up.

Meanwhile, the goat slipped out of the cave and escaped from the lion's clutches.

The author, Mulk Raj Anand, a progressive Indian writer, was awarded an International Peace Prize in 1953. The drawings are by I. Semenov, and the story from the magazine Soviet Woman.

SOVIET UNION DEVELOPS CLOSER UN TIES

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, at the end of February this year, set up a USSR Commission for UNESCO Affairs, with N. A. Mikhailov, Minister of Culture of the USSR, as chairman, and prominent Soviet cultural and scientific workers as members. In announcing the formation of the Commission, the USSR said it was taking the action because of the great importance it attached to the role of UNESCO in promotion of international ties in the field of science, culture and education.

On March 28 a meeting was held in Moscow which voted unanimously to set up in the USSR an Association for the Promotion of the United Nations, to apply for membership in the World Federation of United Nations Associations, and to endorse the Charter of the Association. The Charter adopted by the meeting says the association's mission will be "to popularize in every way the aims and principles of the UN in order to promote world peace, to support the desire of all peace-loving peoples for peaceful international cooperation and understanding and to strengthen the feelings of solidarity and friendship for other peoples."

The resolution passed by the meeting underscored peace as the most important issue concerning mankind today and noted that a certain relaxation of tension recently achieved had opened new opportunities for strengthening peace, in which the United Nations has an important role. Declaring that the lofty principles and purposes set forth in the UN Charter can and must do great service to peace and progress, it said that the Soviet people, "engrossed as they are in peaceful constructive endeavors, working consistently and vigorously for the cause of peace," wholeheartedly wished the United Nations success in these tasks and would do everything possible to support them and thus help strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the world.

A Statement to Our Readers

by JESSICA SMITH

AS THE editor of this magazine for many years, I feel deeply that I owe our readers an explanation of our editorial position on many matters now revealed in quite a different light than we formerly presented them. The recent revelations of excesses resulting from Stalin's one-man leadership make this imperative.

It is a painful experience not only to face certain terrible realities unrecognized before, but to realize that in some matters, one has not only convinced one's self but others that true was false and false true. How convincingly we did this job is apparent from the fact that many of the letters we have received have been in defense of Stalin.

I can only express the deepest regret that through my own too unquestioning faith I have misled so many others in certain respects. The important thing is not to become disillusioned or cynical, but to face with utter clarity all that has been wrong in the Soviet Union, and at the same time to hold fast to all that is good and true and enduring.

However greatly we have erred in gilding reality, in glossing over mistakes and shortcomings we *did* know about, we stand by the record we have set down of the great and breathtaking achievements of Soviet society, advancing more rapidly than ever now that the infection which was poisoning and retarding its growth is in process of being cured.

These achievements show the

steady onward march toward the great goal of Soviet socialist society—to provide the maximum satisfaction of the growing cultural and material needs of all the people. Joined with the Soviet people in this march are 700,000,000 more of the world's people, who have learned from the mistakes as well as the successes of the USSR and are receiving from her mighty economic and other aid. These and millions of other peoples throughout the world love and honor the Soviet Union for its pioneer role in building socialism, and above all for its great and consistent leadership for peace.

We proudly maintain that we have never erred in proclaiming the Soviet policy of peace as an unchanging one, in exposing the myth that our country is or ever was threatened with aggression by the USSR, in ceaselessly calling for negotiations and peaceful coexistence. On this record we stand. This position was in fact confirmed by our own government at the Geneva Summit conference, where the great historic decision was reached that atomic war between the Soviet Union and our country is inadmissible.

The basis of our faith that many of the things charged by the enemies of the Soviet Union could not be true, was that such things could not happen in a socialist society. We were right to the extent that it was no part of the nature of socialism that they happened. The repressions, the excesses, the death of many in-

nocent victims were all in violation of socialist principles and practice, and cannot be condoned. The great achievements of the Soviet Union were due to the fact that the economic basis of socialism had been firmly established. Stalin's methods retarded rather than advanced socialist development.

In the pages that follow, we have tried to set down those of the excesses so far reported that we feel can be accepted as reliable and to show something of the sweeping corrective process under way. With so many shocking facts already known, people here and around the world who have supported Soviet policies for many years, are naturally asking for the whole story. The Soviet leaders apparently feel that it can be unfolded only gradually. The main explanation for this, it seems to me, is to be found in the *Pravda* editorial of March 28. Here the intention seems first of all to make crystal clear that Stalin's one-man leadership and the "monstrous forms" it took were in every way a violation of socialist principles and the teachings of Lenin. If the "monstrous forms" had been detailed at the outset, this basic truth would have been obscured and in the minds of many people equated with socialist methods.

As *Pravda* made clear, Stalin contributed great services in the early years to the revolution and socialist construction and at that time fought for correct policies. It was absolutely necessary to defeat Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution—that socialism could succeed nowhere until it succeeded everywhere. That policy would have plunged the world into unending bloodshed and would have long postponed the development of socialism anywhere. The Lenin concept of building socialism in one

country and showing it could succeed, and the corollary need for peace, which Stalin followed, was the only possible way. It was Stalin's commitment to this policy and his great contributions to the building of socialism, that in the early years won him the support and prestige he later misused.

At what point the inevitable violence accompanying a revolution occurring in a country where no democratic road to socialism was open merged into needless violence, we do not know. It will take a long time to unravel all the details. What is clear is that among the errors of Stalin was his theory that with the continuing success of socialist construction the class struggle would be sharpened. He used this as the basis for suppressing those he considered "enemies of the people" and for maintaining a repressive apparatus that became a law unto itself. This was in complete contradiction to the teaching of Lenin that force should be used only in the measure that there was forceful resistance by the exploiting classes, when they were still strong. Lenin held that as soon as the economic and political foundations of the capitalist forces were removed and socialism firmly established, the need for repressive measures no longer existed. It had been Lenin's position, too, that the death penalty for crimes against the state would then no longer be needed.

Again, the point at which what Stalin considered revolutionary necessity turned into pathological repressions, we also do not know.

We can rejoice in the great new turn toward the ending of repressions, the development of civil liberties and the restoration of the essence of socialist democracy and humanism. For a full knowledge of

the steps that are being taken we must await the publication of the new legal code. Meantime, we know that great practical steps forward have been taken in ending lawlessness, reviewing the cases of all political prisoners and the emptying of the jails, in the new wind of freedom blowing into all corners of the land.

We must always keep in mind is that there have been real plots and efforts to destroy the Soviet Union from the first days of its existence, and an unending flood of slander from all those who have not wished to see a socialist society succeed. It is not the excesses that these people really oppose, but the successes of the Soviet Union. Witness the numerous statements being made today that the USSR represents "a greater danger than ever" now that the great turn has been made away from all these things the enemies of socialism used to their own advantage, and when the great economic, scientific and cultural advances of the USSR cannot be denied!

Finally, and above all, we repeat, the commitment of the Soviet state to a policy of peace, passionately supported by the whole people, was not and could not ever be changed.

This has remained true in spite of all the actual invasions and threats of war directed against the Soviet state since its inception. It was this actuality, this danger, that also played a great contributing part in the development of Stalin's methods and his obsessions. And this, too, must be understood as one element in the yet unanswered question as to why the other leaders were unable to prevent these developments.

Without the ever-present war danger Stalin would not have been able to equate dissent with treason.

It is not easy to support those who in the eyes of the people have been branded as traitors to their country. Who knows what seemingly incontrovertible proofs may have been presented, in one or another case, that victims of the purges were indeed guilty? With Stalin acting alone, the security apparatus under his control, it was no doubt difficult if not impossible to know the real facts. Moreover, Stalin had managed to gather so much power into his hands that it is possible no effective opposition could have acted without bringing on a bloody civil war, opening the way for new foreign intervention, which a divided country would have been in no position to withstand.

Well known are the efforts of our government to stir up subversion and unrest in the USSR and Eastern Europe, and the big Congressional appropriations for this purpose, which meant the searching out of individuals within these countries as its instruments. C. L. Sulzberger wrote in the *N. Y. Times*, April 18, 1956, after a tour of Eastern Europe, that the Dulles "liberation" policy had implied "that our country was prepared to support with force any counter-revolution in Eastern Europe." He spoke of the torrents of propaganda "from our radio stations," many of them manned by emigres dreaming of returning to power in their countries through war. Sulzberger concluded that whether we like it or not, the revolution is a reality in Eastern Europe, and it is necessary to adjust U.S. policies to this reality.

To the policies described by Sulzberger must be attributed some of the responsibility for creating an atmosphere in which the Rajk and other trials could happen, as well as many of the deeply tragic events

that happened in the Soviet Union.

Does not all this give added urgency for unprecedented new efforts for peace? Treason, espionage, plots and counter-plots, real or imagined, frame-ups, executions, repressions and thought control—all these ugly concomitants of war and the arms race are to one degree or another poisoning the wellsprings of human society everywhere in the world, as well as relations between nations.

The Soviet Union, the whole camp of socialist and neutral nations, are putting forth strong new efforts for peace. As we go to press, the Soviet and other European Communists parties have announced the dissolution of the Communist Information Bureau as a step toward bringing peoples closer together. The Soviet leaders have called on both the Arab states and Israel to avoid any further provocations, and offered complete support to United Nations efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. This means, now that the Arab-Israeli truce has been agreed upon as a result of Secretary General Hammarskjöld's efforts, that the way is open to a permanent solution through the United Nations.

A further constructive step was the agreement of the USSR to join with eleven other UN nations in accepting the draft of the international statute setting up an agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy along lines originally proposed by President Eisenhower.

It is expected that further disarmament proposals will be made by Soviet leaders to open the way to some measure of agreement towards arms reduction, mutual inspection and the eventual banning of A- and H- bombs.

The complete revelation of past wrongs before the whole Soviet people is the best guarantee that what-

ever new mistakes may still be made, the excesses of the Stalin regime will not be repeated, and that a great process of moral regeneration is under way. It is deeply heartening that such a sweeping process of reevaluation and correction is under way.

The Soviet leaders and people are taking care of their problems.

What will our country do about the reevaluation of its internal and foreign policies being called for on all sides?

Heavy on the conscience of America is the unleashing of the first atom bomb, killing hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians; military policies which, in Dulles' words, led us to the "brink of war"; economic policies which draw wealth from other lands leaving their people in impoverishment; unheard of repressions at home in violation of America's democratic traditions, and especially the long agony of our Negro citizens. Our own mistakes, not those of others, must be our deepest concern.

We look to our own government for a new peace initiative which will mean a new moral rebirth in our own country.

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In our April issue we reviewed the positive contributions to strengthening peace in Khrushchev's public report at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and those aspects of the negative aspects of Stalin's policies known at the time. Space does not permit repeating these points, but for a better understanding of what follows, it should be considered in connection with this previously published material, as well as the article by Maurice Dobb on the great Soviet economic achievements which opens this issue.

REEVALUATION AND CORRECTION

The Special Khrushchev Report

The contents of the report made by Khrushchev to a closed session of the delegates to the 20th Congress have by now been read to millions and millions of the Soviet people, and widely discussed. It has not yet been made public to the outside world, and it is difficult to know exactly what is true in the numerous published rumors and reports. We shall therefore limit ourselves to dispatches with a Moscow dateline which we can assume to be in the main reliable. The most enlightening of these was the March 31 dispatch by UP correspondent Henry Shapiro. Shapiro made clear that it was not possible to publish all details because "owing to the sensational character of the revelations and the obvious painfulness of its implications, the Soviet leadership apparently decided to treat the speech as a purely domestic matter."

Shapiro said a dogged campaign was under way to erase the Stalin cult, and the leaders were content to have it move cautiously. He said Khrushchev had emphasized Stalin's extraordinary merits as a revolutionary leader before his assumption of personal dictatorship, and then went on to "a condemnation of tyrannical, one man absolute rule with its attendant evils," citing Stalin's misdeeds and making it clear they would not be repeated.

Shapiro wrote that the campaign had begun after Stalin's death, reportedly initiated by Malenkov, and included a re-examination of the trials of the mid-thirties. Many victims were rehabilitated and released, and it was understood that by the

end of 1954 most political prisoners had been freed and given topmost priority in housing, pension and health facilities. The campaign was also directed against local party leaders who were a law unto themselves. He quoted Khrushchev as having said that the cult of the individual had meant isolation of the leaders from the masses, the stifling of popular initiative, and that the leaders were now going to the people and telling them, "No more miracle workers, no more sacred cows." Shapiro continued:

Floodgates of discussion and criticism have been opened as never before, so that every Soviet citizen is beginning to enjoy a feeling of freedom from fear. Never in more than 20 years residence in Russia has this correspondent heard so much open and uninhibited talk as now goes on wherever two Soviet citizens gather . . . the Soviet citizen . . . is now encouraged to talk and criticize.

Shapiro concluded by saying that while there were many questions, especially "why didn't we hear it before," the reaction of the Soviet public appeared to be "of general relief-breeding optimism," that the Georgian situation seemed to be completely under control and that chances of internal disorder apparently are minimal.

Other correspondents wrote that Khrushchev had criticized Stalin's conduct of the war; that Stalin refused to heed warnings from Winston Churchill and several other sources of the impending Hitlerite attack and that many thousands of lives were needlessly lost because of failure to prepare for it.

A Welles Hangen Moscow dispatch to the *New York Times*, April 30, said reports were circulating of the early release of a war film entitled "The Immortal Garrison" depicting the unpreparedness of a Soviet border city against the German attack. It should be noted that these criticisms evidently do not, as some have concluded, refer to the Soviet-German non-aggression pact itself, but only to Stalin's refusal to believe that Hitler would violate it.

It is also clear that the decimation of the top ranks of the Red Army of some of its leading generals, now rehabilitated, must have had a weakening effect. The actual military conduct of the war by Stalin, putting his own opinion above that of his generals, seems also to have been strongly questioned. Since the Congress, leading Soviet military organs have sharply criticized Stalin for minimizing Lenin's military knowledge and exaggerating his own, and for preventing the development of new ideas in military science.

The Process of Rehabilitation

The extent of the unjust executions and imprisonments is partly revealed by the rehabilitations, freeing of the living, and clearing of the names of those who died. This process began very soon after Stalin's death, when many were given amnesty and old Bolsheviks and others not seen for many years reappeared. B. J. Cutler reported in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, April 12, that since the Beria reign of lawlessness had been brought to an end and principles of socialist legality restored, "a great work was carried on and is still continuing in the review of the cases of many people who were condemned at that time as enemies of the people."

Among those from earlier years whose names have been cleared according to press reports are Stanislav Kossior, Vlas Chubar, Yan E. Rudzutak, Pavel Postyshev and Bela Kun, Hungarian revolutionary leader branded as a Trotskyist agent in the 30's.

An article in *Pravda*, February 21, announced that a Commission from the Parties of the USSR, Italy, Bulgarian and Finland, had examined the materials on the dissolution of the Executive Committee of the Polish Communist Party in 1938, and found that the action had been taken on the basis of falsified charges of its penetration by "enemy agents."

Among those of the postwar period reported posthumously rehabilitated are Nicholas Voznesensky, former head of the State Planning Bureau, and geneticist Nikolai Vavilov, former head of the Academy of Sciences, who was removed from this post and died in disgrace. A strong opponent of Lysenko's theories, his works are to be republished by the Academy of Sciences.

The process of reviewing history and restoring the good names of many wrongly branded enemies of the people, called for at the 20th Congress, has been going forward. According to a dispatch in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, an editorial in the *March Questions of History* praised nine military men who had been purged or later branded as traitors. Marshal Vassili Bluecher, one of the Soviet Army's famous field commanders of the Far East headed the list. The others listed were Marshal Alexander I. Yegorov, Chief of the Soviet General Staff before 1938; Vladimir A. Antonov Ovseyenko, a member of the "committee of five" at the time of the Petrograd uprising in 1917; Andrei S. Bubnov,

another member of that Committee and of the Political Bureau of the Party (who is still alive): Marshal Y. B. Gamarnik, who was reported to have committed suicide in 1936; S. S. Kamenev, one-time Chief of Chemical Defenses; M. S. Kedrov, Chief of the Defense Section of the State Planning Commission; M. L. Rukhimovich, Commissar of the Defense Industry; and I. S. Unschlicht, Chief of the Air Force.

The Jewish Tragedy

It is with the deepest anguish that we must record the terrible fate that befell the Jewish cultural and political leaders in the Soviet Union, as among the most dastardly of the many excesses that came about as a result of Stalin's one-man rule and pathological suspicions regarding plots against himself and the Soviet state. We had not previously believed these reports because they were in such absolute contradiction to Soviet policies and practices in the past, and in complete violation of the Soviet constitutional provision making anti-Semitism a crime. Since the story of the shocking executions and imprisonments of so many members of the Jewish community of the Soviet Union was published in *Folks-shtimme*, the Warsaw Jewish newspaper, of April 4, there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. The New York Morning *Freiheit* published the text of the article April 12. *Jewish Life* is publishing an English translation in its May issue, from which the following facts are drawn.

The article reviews the great inspiration to the Jewish people everywhere of the original Leninist national policy which had opened the doors of all levels of community and government life to the Jewish people

persecuted under Tsardom. "*The Jewish problem at that time was completely solved*" said the article, recounting activities of Jews in industry and agriculture, in the social and political life of the country, the development of national Jewish regions, the unprecedented flowering of Jewish culture and the creative work of the Jewish writers and poets, then widely published.

Later, gradually, the repressive influences which began to infect all aspects of Soviet life began to affect the Jewish community as well. The Polish paper mentioned some of the first victims of this plague back in the 30's—political and literary figures such as S. Dimenshtein, Maria Frumkin, Rakhmiel Weinstein, Yankele Levin, Merezhin, Moshe Litvakov, Mikhail Levitan, Hershl Brill, Izi Kharick, Moshe Kulbak, Max Erik, Yasha Bronstein, C. Daniets. These and many other honest and talented people, the paper reported, were cut down.

Yet even so, because the basic law of Soviet society remained, a considerable amount of Jewish cultural activity continued, especially in Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine when they became a part of the Soviet Union, where Yiddish schools and publications and theaters came into being.

When Hitler marched into the Soviet Union, *Folks-shtimme* said, the whole Soviet Jewish community joined with the efforts of the entire Soviet people to repel him, in an effort which saved the lives of many millions of Jews from destruction. This the paper said "remains forever the historic achievement of the Soviet Union which the Jews of the entire world will never forget." Indeed, no greater service could have been performed for the Jews of the

world than the defeat of Hitler.

The paper asks how it could happen that after war, the Jewish anti-fascist committee which had headed the heroic efforts of the Jewish people, could suddenly have been liquidated and its leaders executed? While placing prime responsibility on "the Beria gang," it makes clear that the latter could have existed only in the atmosphere of the "cult of the individual."

Victims of the post war assault named were: David Bergelson, Der Nestor, Peretz Markish, Leib Kwitko, David Hoffstein, Itzik Feffer, Benjamin Zuskin, Itzhok Musinov, Eliku Spivak and S. Persov.

The article states that Communist Party leaders are making determined efforts to tear out this evil by the roots and that long before the 20th Congress steps were taken to clear the names of the innocent and to make their works available. The slandered name of Mikhoels, [reported killed in an automobile accident] was cleared, and the names of all the innocent writers who perished rehabilitated. Living Jewish artists and scientists have returned to their interrupted work, more than 60 writers are preparing work for publication. The Jewish State Theater is to be restored and other Jewish institutions. "In all this," the article states, "we find our consolation, our hope and our certainty of the future."

To this tragic story must nonetheless be added that while the flower of Jewish culture was cut down in the over-all assault on those wrongly called "enemies of the people," there was never anything in any way comparable to what happened in Germany, no mass assault against the Jewish people, no manifestations of racism as such except as they were revived in the regions occupied by

Hitler. The evil of anti-Semitism, outlawed under the Soviet Constitution, remained outlawed in the hearts of the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people.

Dogma and Freedom of Thought

Efforts to correct the stifling effects of dogmatism, have been apparent ever since the death of Stalin. Many steps are being taken to eliminate any sort of paralyzing orthodoxy in all branches of science.

It is now clear that Lysenko's ideas about the development of new species as a result of characteristics acquired through environmental conditions, had become enshrined in Soviet doctrine because Stalin himself approved them. For some time opposing views have been taught and published in Soviet scientific journals. Many of Lysenko's methods which had been widely applied in agriculture have been abandoned. Growing of hybrid corn, which he had opposed, is being introduced on a wide scale.

On April 10 it was announced that Lysenko's request to be relieved of his post as President of the All-Union Academy of Sciences had been accepted. That Lysenko's practical and scientific abilities are nonetheless recognized is apparent from the fact that he still retains a number of important scientific posts within the Academy of Sciences.

On March 26, the *Times* correspondent quoted from an article in *Literary Gazette* which said that Soviet economists had avoided exposing shortcomings of agriculture though aware of them; that Soviet jurists had known the pernicious effect of illegal abortion, but did nothing to promote its legalization (this was done some months ago).

It pointed out that no statistical manuals had been published since the 30's, that the 1939 census was still the source of all demographic data about the USSR, and called for systematic publication of statistical information as an aid to overcoming the "sterile dogmatic treatises by many Soviet social scientists."

The very nature of music has prevented as pervasive damage as in other fields, but here, too it is clear that much harm was done by the fact that in many cases the main criterion for a composer's work was merely Stalin's taste. The new freedom that has swept this field has been indicated by a number of articles in the last few years by leading Soviet composers. At a Ukrainian composers conference in early April the extent to which the Stalin cult had harmed music was discussed.

The Writers' Congress held last year, was the occasion for searching reexamination of past unhealthy tendencies, although the source was not frankly faced at the time. At the 20th Party Congress Mikhail Sholokhov made a scathing attack on the separation of Soviet writers from the realities of life. B. J. Cutler reported to the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* (April 4) on an article by Leonid Novichenko published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. The author said that the excessive adulation of Stalin had caused a "dreadful sickness" in Soviet literature, drama and films, in the past 15 or 20 years. He cited as examples of harmful films, (liked very much by Stalin himself), "The Vow," showing Stalin faithfully carrying out Lenin's behests, and "The Fall of Berlin" showing Stalin master-minding the war.

The stultifying influence of the Stalin cult on Soviet art have long been evident. The new healthy turn

is testified by a long article by Alexander M. Gerasimov, President of the Soviet Academy of Fine Arts, in the latest issue of *Soviet Culture*. Gerasimov acknowledged that the cult had debased the work of painters and sculptors of both old and new generations, leading to the multiplication of "pompous pictures bearing the imprint of machine production." He added: "thinking of some of my own works in recent years I must confess that they reflected the negative influence of the cult of personality."

In the People's Democracies

When, last year, measures were taken by the Soviet leaders to restore the ruptured relations with Yugoslavia, and statements were made at the time of the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit that charges against Tito were fabricated, the question inevitably arose as to what this meant in relation to the trials of those who were supposed to have plotted with Tito.

Many of us had had great difficulty in accepting the charges. But when numerous people in different countries made detailed coherent confessions about various aspects of the supposed plot all fitting into each other, the only explanation that seemed to make any sense was that the trials and confessions were genuine. The mind reeled under any other explanation. This was true not only in our own case, but in the case of others. Forty-seven foreign correspondents and foreign diplomatic and observers were present at the Rajk trial in Hungary. Stephen White, who attended the entire trial, wrote in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, August 7, 1949:

The matter of drugs and torture, for example, can be disposed of at

once. Not only is there no physical evidence to show that the eight have been subjected to unusual treatment at least in the recent past) but there is, in addition, ample evidence to show that they have not. . . . Once the idea of drugs and torture is dismissed, it would be impossible to give a rational explanation for confessions which were made by innocent men, and which were tailored out of whole cloth.

Despite doubts widely expressed, similar statements were made by many observers by no means in sympathy with the USSR or the People's Democracies.

On March 29, this year, news came from Hungary that the Rajk trial was a frame-up. Matyas Rakosi, first secretary of the Communist Party, announced that the trial had been reviewed by Hungarian legal authorities, who cleared all the defendants. Former Foreign Minister Laszlo Rajk and four others executed with him for treason were found to have been falsely accused. The three remaining defendants, had been released from jail along with a group of Social Democrats.

Rakosi said the false charges had been prepared by Gen. Gabor Peter, former chief of Hungary's security police (himself sentenced to life imprisonment in 1954), in collusion with Beria.

This was followed by news from Bulgaria that former Deputy Premier Traicho Kostov, had been cleared of the charges of high treason and plotting with Tito for which he had been executed in 1949 and that other defendants of the trial had been released from prison and rehabilitated. First Secretary Todor Zhikov of the Bulgarian Communist Party said the evidence had been faked. Bulgarian Premier Vulko

Chervenkov, according to newspaper reports, was attacked for having been mainly responsible for the trial and for having practiced Stalin-like methods of one man rule which had done much damage. Chervenkov submitted his resignation to the Bulgarian Parliament on April 16. And Anton Yugov, former chief Deputy Premier, was elected Premier, while Chervenkov became a Deputy Premier.

From Poland was reported the release and rehabilitation of former deputy Premier Gomulka, imprisoned on charges of implication in the supposed Titoist plot, and several dozen others, including former deputy premier Morgan Spichalski, former deputy defense minister Wacław, and a number of officers.

In Czechoslovakia, the cases of former Party first Secretary Rudolf Slansky and former foreign minister Vladimir Clementis, tried with 13 others, include wider charges than the other trials. Premier Viliam Siroky, according to a *Times* dispatch from Prague, April 14, said that while charges of Titoism had admittedly been wrongly introduced, the main charges against Slansky, which included an attempt to take over the Czechoslovak government as an agent of the imperialists, still stands and that "there is no doubt that Dr. Clementis was in the service of foreign agents," Premier Siroky also said that "certain manifestations of anti-Semitism had been wrongly introduced into the trial and that the prosecutor had erred in bringing out that most of the defendants were Jewish." Others imprisoned as a result of the trial have been released.

Anton Novotny, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia according to another *Times*

dispatch, criticized the Party Central Committee as a whole for propagating a cult around Premier Gottwald, (who died in 1953), which led to a weakening of collective leadership. While referring to the modesty of Gottwald himself, he declared: "What happened was that we have taken over, imitated and developed the system, harmful to the Party, which for many years was created in the Soviet Communist Party by Stalin."

The Czechoslovakian paper *Rude Pravo* said that an investigation had disclosed abuses of the security system for which Slansky had himself been responsible, and that as a result some police officials had been discharged and others would be tried for "inadmissible" methods.

The question, of course, of how framed trials and false confessions could ever have taken place in socialist countries, and by what means, remains to be answered.

The Pravda Editorial

The editorial article printed in *Pravda* on March 28 presumably contains some of the material from Khrushchev's speech to the closed session of the 20th Party Congress; but omits concrete details of some of the most shocking to the excesses of the Stalin period. Its main point is to make clear that such excesses were in absolute violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and retarded their application. The emphasis is on the harmfulness of the cult of the individual, (better expressed in American terminology as one-man leadership) which gave rise to these evils and on laying a sure foundation to prevent the recurrence of such a situation.

The editorial opens by stressing the decisive role of the people "in

the majestic program for the further advance of our country toward communism" drawn up by the Twentieth Congress, and the harmfulness of the cult of the individual. It said the Party had launched a vigorous struggle against the cult because

... the cult of the individual means inordinately exalting individual persons, endowing them with supernatural features and qualities all but turning them into miracle workers and worshipping them. Such incorrect conceptions concerning a human being, namely J. V. Stalin, although alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, arose and were cultivated in our country over many years.

Pravda was careful to make a distinction between Stalin's earlier years when he won support by correct policies, and the later period of his life. This section we quote in full:

It is indisputable that Stalin rendered great services to our Party, to the working class, and to the international working class movement. Universally known is his role in the preparation and carrying through of the socialist revolution, in the Civil War, in the struggle for the building of socialism. Occupying the important post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, J. V. Stalin became one of the leading figures in the Party and the Soviet state. He fought actively, especially in the first years after Lenin's death, along with other members of the Central Committee, for Leninism, against the distorters and foes of Lenin's teaching. Stalin was one of the strongest Marxists; his works, his logic and will exerted a great influence on the cadres, on the activities of the Party.

Guided by the teaching of the great Lenin, the Party, with the Central

Committee at its head, carried on extensive work for the industrialization of the country, for the collectivization of agriculture and the carrying out of the cultural revolution, achieving historic victories which are known to all. These victories were won by the Party in an irreconcilable ideological struggle against various political trends hostile to Leninism—the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, right wing opportunists bourgeois nationalists and all those who tried to divert the Party from the only correct Leninist path. At that time Stalin attained popularity in the Party, earned its sympathy and support, and became known to the people.

But gradually there began to appear in Stalin's practice of leadership those features and characteristics which later developed into the cult of the individual. This cult arose and developed against the background of the majestic, historic achievements of Marxism-Leninism, the enormous successes of the Soviet people and the Communist Party in the building of socialism, the victorious conclusion of the Patriotic War, the further strengthening of our social and state system and the growth of its international prestige.

These gigantic achievements in building a new society, scored by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and on the basis of the laws of history discovered by Marxism-Leninism, did not receive in sufficient measure, a correct Marxist-Leninist interpretation, but were unjustifiably attributed to the merits of one man—Stalin—and explained by his special merits as a leader. Lacking personal modesty, he not only did not cut short the praises and adulation addressed to him, but rather supported and encouraged them in every way. As time passed, this cult of the individual assumed ever more monstrous forms and did serious harm to our cause.

It goes without saying that such

a practice on the part of Stalin represented a violation of Leninist principles of leadership and was at variance with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Pravda then gives a number of quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin condemning personal adulation in relation to themselves or to anyone else and showing that they all carried on an ideological struggle against the concept of "the hero and the mob," maintaining "The people are the real creators of history."

While emphasizing that Marxism "does not deny the role of outstanding persons in history," *Pravda* declared that Lenin had above all demanded adherence to the principle of collective leadership, and that violations of this principle in the later period of Stalin's life and work caused great harm, adding:

... his disregard of the standards of Party life and of the principle of collective Party leadership, his frequent personal decisions of questions, led to a distortion of Party principles and Party democracy, to violations of revolutionary law and unwarranted acts of repression.

Only due to such violations, *Pravda* continued, were Beria and his accomplices able to worm their way into leading positions in the Party and the State; their exposure and punishment had made it possible to put an end to the violations of socialist law. Within the Party organization the practice of regular congresses, conferences and meetings, broad discussions at all levels from top to bottom, the collective working out of decisions, the rule of elections from below and right of recall, have now been restored.

Some results of the "vicious

method of leadership of Party and economic work" noted by the article were: administration by "mere issuing of orders"; fostering the disdain for initiative from below; neglect of important branches of agriculture; "the growth of such ugly practices as the covering up of shortcomings, the varnishing of realities and bluffing." While much has been done in the correction of these mistakes, *Pravda* declared:

We have still not a few fawners and sycophants, people who are accustomed to delivering speeches prepared in advance and who were brought up on servility and subserviency. It is our urgent task to eradicate these most harmful survivals of the cult of the individual.

As examples of the harm done in many works on philosophy, political economy, history and other social sciences, given over in large part to

glorification of Stalin and quotations from his works, the "Short Biography of Stalin" and the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," both written with Stalin's direct participation, were cited. All this led to the flourishing of dogmatism, learning by rote, the idea that only Stalin had anything of importance to say; art, literature and films all suffered from this pervasive stifling influence.

The article ends with a call for the eradication of all survivals of the cult as an urgent task that must be carried out in order to preclude any possibility of its revival "in any form whatsoever." This task, said *Pravda* cannot be accomplished by administrative measures, or with "haste and precipitancy." It requires the most thoroughgoing educational work.

The process of profound moral regeneration is now under way throughout the Soviet Union.

A Letter from Gordon Schaffer

Stockholm, April 6

MY MOST interesting piece of news from the special session of the World Peace Council which is being held here came in a talk over the dinner table with one of the Russian delegates. In various centers in the Soviet Union, he told me, they are forming branches of a Soviet United Nations association and they intend to join the international body linking the UN associations from the various countries.

This can be the beginning of a real breaking down of barriers. It can speed up the process of genuine interchange of view between West and East which I have seen in action at this conference. There can be no doubt that the criticisms of Stalin and his regime shook the Russians, party and non-party alike, as much as it did their friends, and their enemies too, for that matter

outside Russia. But I am certain after my talks with the Russians here that they are looking forward to an era of free discussion.

Equally, friendship between peace lovers can survive the most outspoken controversy and at this conference there were no punches pulled.

The pacifist case was put by many delegates. The Rev. Clifford Maguire of Britain's Fellowship of Reconciliation told the conference bluntly that he and his fellow pacifists could never accept the sincerity of the world peace movement until it demanded from all governments a declaration recognizing the right of any citizen to refuse compulsory military service. One of Denmark's best known scientists, Dr. Morten Simonsen, demanded action to secure the abolition of the death penalty and cited the Rosenbergs and the Rajk

and Kostov trials as instances of the perversion of justice.

The supply of arms to Egypt by Czechoslovakia came in for heavy criticism from some Western spokesmen. They recognized that the Czech arms are not the cause of Middle East tension, if for no other reason than that U.S., British and French arms supplies to the Arab countries are far greater. But they pointed out that the Czech deal is being used to recreate hostility between East and West.

Out of the discussion came a decision that the Council should consider how it could best press for the international control of the arms traffic.

Another noticeable feature was the attention given to the conference by countries in the neutral bloc. Representatives from these lands, notably India, were almost able to speak with the authority of government. From Greece, we had two MPs and a professor, while the Syrian and Jordan delegations both included MP's. These countries have no doubt of the value of the World Peace Council as a point of contact with the socialist countries and a sounding board for their opposition to alliances which they believe threaten their independence.

In the light of this picture, the American reader can realize just how silly the U.S. government's passport ban is. The delegates here will report back to millions of men and women of every color and creed in every part of the world and all they will be able to say about the United States is that it did not dare allow its citizens come and present their viewpoint.

To come to the more constructive side. We had a detailed analysis of the various disarmament plans prepared by Science for Peace, a British group including some of our most famous scientists. The main point that emerged was that there is already enough common ground between the great powers to prove that disarmament, abolition of nuclear weapons and an international control system are possible and practicable. The

trouble is that the people do not know what is going on in the disarmament sub-commission and because they do not know we have the merry-go-round of the Western powers announcing plans and then denouncing them as unacceptable when the Russians adopt them.

Then the Soviet delegation stressed that their government is ready to stop nuclear tests tomorrow, provided Britain and America do the same. Both the Western powers should study the reaction at this conference to the proposed test by America in the Marshall Islands and by Britain over Christmas island. No doubt a Russian test is as dangerous from the point of view of radioactivity as anyone else's but at least they carry them out on their own territory. The Americans and the British are using Asian territories and they are creating a bitter resentment thereby.

Between now and the date fixed for the explosions, the opposition will grow. It will unite the peoples of Asia against being used as the guinea pig of those military leaders who still base their strategy on nuclear war. I think it will be as potent a force in uniting Asia against the West as was President Eisenhower's fateful statement: "let Asians fight Asians." Perhaps the American and British governments will be warned in time.

If only the first step towards agreement can be achieved at the London talks, the proposals of the conference for the lessening of tension in Germany and other danger spots will come into the field of practical politics.

Stockholm did not find a solution to the problems but it pointed the way, and it is a way which the vast majority of the peoples of the world desire.

Six years ago in this city the appeal against the atom bomb quickened the conscience of the world and demonstrated the vast forces waiting to be called into action in the cause of peace. Today we can see the fruit of that great campaign and we can glimpse the promise of victory.

Mothers of the World Appeal for Peace

THE FIRST meeting of the Permanent International Committee of Mothers, set up by the World Congress of Mothers in July, 1955, was held in Lausanne, February 2-4, 1956. Sixty-two delegates from 36 countries in the Americas, the Middle and Far East, Africa and Europe were present.

The delegates represented different backgrounds and viewpoints. Many were officers of such organizations as the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Women's Section of the World Federalist Union, the Federation of American Women, the Women's Peace Movement of West Germany, the U.S. "Save Our Sons" group, the Methodist women's group from North Austria, the Polish Catholic Organization, *Pax*. Members of the Italian *Catholic Action* organization, the Belgian Cooperative Women's Guild, and many others were represented.

Among the delegates were three cabinet members, two mayors, numerous members of parliament, professional and working women.

The session was opened with the report of Dr. Andrea Andreen of Sweden, President of the International Committee of Mothers. Following lively discussions to find a basis for agreement on common action for the protection of children and peace, three documents were unanimously adopted. Copies of these have been sent to us by Mrs. Dora Russell of Great Britain, secretary of the organization, with the request that they be brought to the attention of the mothers of the United States.

The first of these was a declaration for the defense of children against the danger of war, which said in part:

All mothers, all women, know from experience what terrible suffering war brings to their families. . . . Today, our children are exposed to even more frightful dangers because of the weapons of mass destruction.

As mothers, we have the duty to demand the end of this threat and we have the right to be heard. . . . By their work in field and factory, in professional life and in the care of the family, women contribute their full share to the creation of wealth and will no longer endure the squandering of that wealth on armament and war preparations.

We are convinced that all disputes can be solved by negotiation in spirit of friendship and co-operation.

We demand general, progressive substantial and simultaneous disarmament, essential to remove the immediate danger of war.

We demand, pending the prohibition of atomic weapons and complete disarmament, that all governments sign a Convention not to use weapons of mass destruction, and that they at once cease from experiments with nuclear weapons.

We demand that the resources of the world be used for the well-being of humanity and above all for our children. . . . We demand the education of our children in the spirit of friendship, justice and peace. . . .

We want all men and women to work for increased understanding, friendship and exchanges between the peoples of the world.

The second document appealed to women of the whole world to help make the Declaration a reality:

We must persuade still more millions of mothers that maternal love will succeed in saving their children if it is transformed into a great and active force.

To this end, they asked the cooperation of all women's organizations and groups as well as individuals in making the Declaration widely known and discussing it with the aim of finding a basis of common action and cooperation. They called for specific action on the following points:

To demand that national budgets, instead of being allocated for war preparations, shall be used to improve the well-being of children and families.

To call upon parents, writers, educators and all who concern themselves with children to denounce children's papers, radio programs and films which glorify war, crime and racial superiority, so that children shall be brought up in a spirit of peace and friendship towards other peoples.

To develop on a wide scale exchange of delegates and correspondence, to provide opportunities to learn to know one another, to set up commissions of inquiry on especially difficult situations in certain countries.

To approach those who bear responsibility for the lives of the peoples: governments, parliaments and elected assemblies—and demand that they carry out a policy of peace and well-being, and that their representatives in the United Nations should express this wish.

The appeal concluded:

Let us unite and act together so that millions of mothers and women of all continents shall no longer tremble in fear of the lives of their children, but rise up to defend them against war. Let us reach out our hands across the frontiers for a peaceful future.

The final document, officially addressed to the Government of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, we reprint in full:

ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS

The Permanent International Committee of Mothers is disturbed to learn that new experiments with nuclear weapons have been announced for the near future.

Distinguished scientists have warned the peoples of the mortal danger, not only in the use of nuclear weapons, but also in experimenting with and in stockpiling them. They have also demonstrated that the life and health of our generation, as well as of future generations, are menaced.

High moral and religious authorities have also raised their voices in vigorous condemnation of nuclear weapons, which could destroy our civilization materially and which even now are damaging our spiritual values.

Mothers, whose responsibility it is to raise their children, and shape their consciousness, have declared themselves by the millions for the banning of atomic weapons. Once again they state their determination to resist this impending catastrophe.

In the name of the mothers of the whole world, the Permanent International Committee of Mothers addresses itself to the governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and asks them to make an agreement to stop immediately all experiments with nuclear weapons.

The stopping of these experiments would be a first step towards a ban on nuclear weapons and towards the neutralization of the stocks of nuclear bombs.

Mothers of the whole world will fight to have atomic energy used exclusively for the welfare of humanity.

"Civil Liberties Are Indivisible"

a review by HARRY F. WARD

FREEDOM IS AS FREEDOM DOES,
by Corliss Lamont, *Horizon Press*,
New York, 1956. 322 pp. \$3.95.

THIS BOOK was designed as "a documented over-all survey of the drive against freedom in the United States", in the post-war decade. The "important sphere of race relations" is omitted, necessarily so because of its extent. In its achievement the book is much more than a survey. This is because the personality of the author combines the philosophic mind with the fighting spirit. For him the principles of the Bill of Rights constitute an ideal to be continuously made real by struggle against the forces of reaction who constantly seek to nullify them. Into that struggle Corliss Lamont has for years put his energy, his time and his money, at the risk of losing his liberty. In his career theory and practice, principle and action, have truly become one.

Consequently, because he was a part of all that he saw, his portrayal of the post-war assault upon our democratic freedoms has the vivid action of a great historic drama, and the insights of his analyses come from more than contemplation. The history begins with two personal conflicts with the Un-American Activities Committee and McCarthy. Then come the major battles, still unfinished, in the cold war attack of our government upon the liberties of its own people. One after another the panorama moves before the reader: the Congressional Committees' Inquisitions; the repressive laws which deny our stupid worldwide boastings about democracy; the police state actions of the Department of Justice and the State

Department, the twofold attack on culture and academic freedom; the growing demand to conform or lose your job.

There follows the inside story of the decline of the Civil Liberties Union—an object lesson of what happens to liberals when they permit antipathy to communism, and/or the desire to escape the red smear, to dilute their devotion to the Bill of Rights.

On all of these issues the speaker or writer will find the essential facts he needs on any main point. From all of it the average reader should get both stimulus and guide to the actions needed if the Bill of Rights is to be restored to its original purpose of shaping continuously the democratic way of life.

For this purpose his readers should also gain from the author the sharpening of insights which has come to him out of his experience in using them in action. He begins with the basic principle that "*civil liberties are indivisible*." (His emphasis.) Start making exceptions and you are lost, he warns. Begin judging teachers by any other standard than professional competence and you open the gates to a general witch hunt. Admit the clear and present danger rule and you end up by putting communists in jail for a subjectively assumed probable future danger. He maintains that the only ground for punishing speech on social issues that reconciles social interest with individual rights is when speech is direct incitement to overt criminal acts. This the course of events has proved.

Our author also sees clearly that the final value of the Bill of Rights is that it provides a way for peaceful change

of the social order. This means that the ideal has now become the practical necessity of the atomic age. At the same time the desire of blind reaction to nullify our constitutional guarantees of freedom is also increased. Consequently, as our author sees, while the tide is turning against repression, the decisive battles are yet before us. Witness, since this book was completed, the Senate approval of a Handbook for Americans, loaded with falsehoods, designed to whip up a vigilante movement against alleged Communist fronts, and then the raids upon the offices of the Daily Worker and the Communist Party.

Our author also sees clearly that the cold war repression has derived most of its strength from the hoax about the danger of aggressive attack by the

Soviet Union. It was Corliss Lamont's Chairmanship of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship which first brought him before the Un-American Activities Committee. It was the inclusion of his book "The Peoples of the Soviet Union" in the bibliography of an Army Manual which brought him before McCarthy and got him a citation and indictment for contempt of Congress. A deeper connection between his book and the objectives of this magazine is that a major purpose of the repression of our democratic rights is to prevent peaceful coexistence and the ending forever of the mass murder and destruction that modern war has become. Consequently one thing the readers of this magazine can do to help accomplish its objectives is to get their friends to read this book.

A Fine Social Novel

a review by ALBERT MALTZ

OUT OF THE DUST, by Lars Lawrence. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1956. 311 pp. \$4.50.

THE SECOND book of a three volume novel, *The Seed*, has now been published. The first volume, *Morning, Noon, and Night*, was reviewed with great praise in this magazine. It is my pleasure to announce that the second volume, somewhat less explosive in its events than the first, is on the same high level.

The design of *The Seed* is almost unique in artistically successful literature. The author has set himself the objective of presenting a bitter social struggle, not through a few representative figures, but in terms of an enormous range of characters. (One is reminded of some of the unique paintings of Breughel such as "Peasant Wedding.") A book of this sort requires an artist of unusual skill. Lars Lawrence has this skill, and the power and beauty of his art are such that he is achieving

a truth, an excitement, and a social reality that are most unusual.

A prime essence in the writing of history is the presentation of the class forces that move in society—and transform it. The essence of a fine social novel is the portrayal of the manner in which extremely varied individuals are affected by class interests, and become agents of social progress or reaction without in themselves being all good or all bad, all wise or all stupid. History moves through people and, of all living creatures, the human being is the most complex and the most contradictory. It is the dramatization of this endlessly rich phenomenon that Lawrence has set as his artistic goal, and he is doing it superbly. The town is Reata, New Mexico, in the thirties, the people are the unemployed miners and their families, the owning class, the police, the children, the members of the Communist Party—the entire community since it is a community struggle on a fierce plane.

One of the unusual aspects of these first two volumes is the author's open, deeply felt handling of class struggle as such, and of the role of the Communist Party. Commercial publishing being what it is, especially today, one can only conclude that the editors of Putnam's had rare artistic taste in recognizing the high quality of a novel whose implications they themselves would reject, and real integrity in deciding to publish it. This is, of course, in the best tradition of honorable publishing.

Since my space is limited, I cannot enter into detailed comment. Doubtless *The Seed* will not satisfy all readers equally. The perfect novel has never yet been written, (nor will it be), and every reader is an automatic critic, including myself. Let me therefore recommend an inevitably imperfect, highly original work, which, when completed, is likely to find its place on a shelf with the best social novels ever written. Readers who missed the first book can now buy both volumes for the same price. It is *not* to be missed.

Music and Ballet

two reviews by **SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN**

Shakespeare and Prokofiev

IN RECENT YEARS, both the United States and English cinema have distinguished themselves with serious and faithful productions of Shakespeare. A short while ago the Soviet Union entered the circle, with an utterly captivating "Twelfth Night," seen in New York in March and April. Now an extraordinarily Shakespearean achievement of a different kind comes from the Soviet Union; the film, "Romeo and Juliet," which re-creates in camera terms the greater part of the evening-long ballet, with music by Prokofiev, that has long been spoken of as one of the outstanding achievements of the Soviet ballet. It is a memorable chapter in the history of the ballet, based on the techniques of the traditional classic ballet yet sweeping aside all conventions that stand in the way of the most realistic portrayal of real life, human character, and social background.

The film is a magnificent work of art, which demands to be seen at least three times. The first time, one is inevitably caught up in the sweep of the drama

itself, with its unflagging movement and colorful Renaissance setting. The second time, one can savor more fully the details of the dancing, both of the supremely great Ulanova and of the marvellous company that surrounds her. The third time, one's ears can perhaps do justice to Prokofiev's score which, composed in 1935, is one of his most beautiful works and enters the select circle of worthy musical re-creations of Shakespeare.

It may seem strange to have Shakespeare without words, except for the few lines from the play occasionally spoken by a voice in English, during the course of the film. Yet the conception throughout is Shakespeare's, the dance movements creating in their own terms the human images conceived by Shakespeare's poetry and psychological insight. Some of the characters fade into the background, notably Shakespeare's lusty nurse. But what is remarkable is how many fully conceived and sharply differentiated characters emerge through the dance. Outstanding is Ulanova's Juliet, a miracle of plastic beauty, and of the deepest expressiveness in movement and gesture. An-

ther classic of dance, now happily preserved through the film, is Sergei Koren's Mercutio, who embodies down to the tip of his toe, the ironies and laughter of Shakespeare's lines. Tybalt, danced by Yermolayev, is another vivid type, an embodiment of the blood-thirsty feudal mentality who lives for nothing but the clash of steel. Yuri Zhdanov's Romeo is properly ecstatic and moonstruck, and the arrogant Lord Capulet, danced by Radunsky, emerges as a powerful character. Best of all, with true insight, the ballet and film catch the essential point of Shakespeare's drama, which is not simply the sad story of two ill-fated young lovers, but a biting critique of the medieval mentality of the old aristocratic families, who sought to preserve their power with hired cohorts of swordsmen in the face of the rising Renaissance respect for human life, and the right to love.

Splendid as the film is, in bright color, it only whets our hopes that the Bolshoi Theatre ballet, with Ulanova, will visit our shores. This ballet, with its equally inspired music and dance, is too important a contribution to 20th century culture for us not to know it in its original form, with the rapport between real dancers on the stage and the fresh sound of a live orchestra.

Rostropovich Debut

FIRST CAME across the name Mstislav Rostropovich about two years ago, when I happened to hear a recording he had made with a Czech orchestra of the Dvorak 'Cello Concerto. Judging from the gravity, serenity and depth of the performance, I assumed that this must be one of the Soviet "old masters" of the 'cello, who had lived with that work for at least twenty years. It now turns out that, born in 1927, he is the youngest of the Soviet instrumentalists who have visited our country in the past memorable season. A week before his April 4th debut in Carnegie Hall in New York, the ticket-seller was grumbling that the "public

just isn't interested in the 'cello." But apparently word got around that an event out of the ordinary was in the making, and by the night of the concert, the hall was packed.

Nor was the audience disappointed. A tallish, gangling young man, with spectacles and slightly unkempt hair, walked out on the stage, followed by a grey-haired accompanist, sat down, gripped the 'cello between his knees, and proceeded to address himself with utter absorption to great music. He obviously did not know the "laws" of concert programming, for what other 'cellist would choose, not only as a debut piece in New York but as a "warming up" number, the Brahms E minor Sonata? It is splendid music, of course, but written by Brahms with an almost fiendish delight in challenging the 'cellist to make himself heard over the fat part allotted to the piano. However it was soon obvious that a first-class musician was at work, with lovely, singing phrases and a pure and beautiful tone. He played as if he were in his own home, and looked somewhat startled when applause broke out, after he had negotiated, as if it were child's play, the complex and forbidding fugue.

Then came the Bach Suite No. 6 for unaccompanied 'cello, and after a miraculous performance of the Prelude, the audience broke the unwritten law of not applauding between the movements of a musical work (a silly custom anyway). This and the following five movements displayed Bach playing of the most beautiful kind. For its superior one has to go back to cherished memories of Pablo Casals.

After the intermission came the Shostakovich Sonata, an ingratiating combination of lyricism with slap-dash comedy written in 1934, and then a group of short numbers, including Debussy's "Minstrels," in which the 'cellist's sense of humor captivated the audience. The program closed with Rostropovich's own "Humoresque," which demanded and got dazzling virtuosity.

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