

New World

REVIEW



In a Soviet High School Chemistry Laboratory

New World

REVIEW

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U. S. Policies in a Changing World

by JESSICA SMITH

THE BIG QUESTION for Americans today is how far our country is prepared to go in adapting its foreign policies to the needs and opportunities of the new world situation. President Eisenhower told the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 21:

The world changes, and in these days it changes rapidly. A policy that was good six months ago is not necessarily now of any validity. It is necessary that we find better, more effective ways of keeping ourselves in tune with the world's needs.

These words had a heartening sound. Nikolai Khrushchev, returning to Moscow from his visit to England with Premier Bulganin, hailed them as indicating a desire for improvement in relations. But, while it is true that certain changes are being made in U.S. policy in response to compelling world pressures, where is the bold new initiative to implement the President's words?

James Reston pointed out in the *New York Times*, April 27, that "The Eisenhower Administration is consciously changing the tone and emphasis of its pronouncements on foreign policy" and is "singing a different tune about the neutral nations, military pacts, the North Atlantic Treaty, atomic energy and disarmament." But, he added, the change is "in words and attitudes rather than in policies and deeds."

The same writer reported May 7 on the role of George F. Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow and original author of the "containment policy," as head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff. In speeches to groups of foreign policy experts and in a privately circulated paper, Kennan suggests that "a satisfactory and hopeful relationship" with the USSR might be possible if our country abandons "fixed attitudes toward other nations," the "charged and excited quality" it has given all relationships with the Russians, and its "tendency to wait until the Soviet Union or world opinion forces the United States to adjust to world developments that are plain to see."

Judging by Washington's reaction to the Soviet announcement on May 14 of a major cut in its armed forces, this advice seems to be falling on deaf ears. Not only are no new policies and deeds apparent, but the words and attitudes are back in the same old groove. Reaction was described in the press as one of "skepticism," "wariness," "distrust," etc.

The USSR Reduces Its Army

The Soviet Government announced that it would reduce its armed forces by 1,200,000 men by May 1, 1957. This is in addition to the cut of 640,000 which was carried out in the course of 1955.

While the exact number of Soviet armed forces has not been revealed, Harold Stassen, the President's special assistant on disarmament questions, recently estimated it to be 4,000,000. The new cut by this estimate would bring Soviet armed forces to 2,800,000, as against U.S. forces of about 2,900,000.

The Soviet move provides for the disbanding of 63 divisions and brigades, including three Air Force divisions, and the withdrawal of 30,000 Soviet troops stationed in the German Democratic Republic, the closing of a number of military schools and the retirement of 375 warships. Armaments, military equipment and the Soviet military budget are to undergo corresponding cuts. Demobilized service men will be offered jobs in industry and agriculture.

Secretary Dulles told his May 15 press conference that the United States "welcomed" the announcement, and then proceeded to cast doubt on its sincerity, called it a mere "propaganda move" and spoke of "the increasing threat from Soviet Russia" as necessitating an increase in U.S. military expenditures.

Max Lerner commented on the Soviet move in the *New York Post*, May 16:

... It is the first dramatic expression among the great powers of the will to cut the suicidal arms race. It will be taken as such by the world, and despite the lame doubts cast upon it by the Administration leaders, it will strengthen the Russian world position inculcably, and weaken the American.

The fact is that the Russians have gained an immense propaganda victory. But this time Eisenhower and Dulles cannot accuse them of purely verbal propaganda. This is the propaganda of the deed, which speaks louder than the propaganda of words.

There are many excuses coming out of Washington. . . . Never have so many words and so many excuses been used to defend an indefensible position. . . . All the explaining will not explain away the fact that after an unsuccessful disarmament conference at London, when both sides blamed the other for the failure, the Russians have dared to act unilaterally and we have not.

Apparently to offset the impression made by Dulles' negative appraisal, Harold Stassen on May 18 declared the Soviet action "was an initiative we wanted them to take."

Although our government was notified by Harold Stassen after his London conversation with Bulganin and Khrushchev that such a move was to be expected and had several weeks to think it over, no one had sufficient imagination—or humanity—even to call off the Enwitok H-bomb test, a move which would have won world-wide acclaim. The best the White House could do was to comment through its press secretary "that the statement would have had more significance if the Russian delegation at the disarmament conference had been more willing to accept the disarmament proposals made there, particularly the President's suggestion of aerial inspection."

In view of the numerous efforts to blame the USSR for the stalemate in the UN Disarmament Subcommittee, it is worth studying the position of the Soviet Government as set forth in its announcement.

Appealing for new efforts to stop the arms race and prevent the possibility of a new war, the Soviet Government reviewed its repeated disarmament proposals in the UN, beginning with the resolution adopted by the 1946 General Assembly on a general reduction of armaments and

the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The review noted that earlier Soviet proposals had placed the banning of atomic weapons as the first necessity, including an effective control and inspection system. When this was rejected, the USSR proposed that all the great powers pledge not to use atomic weapons. This too was rejected. When the Western powers objected that the USSR had the advantage in conventional weapons, and that therefore the first step should be to limit the armed forces of the great powers, postponing the question of atomic weapons to a later stage, the Soviet Union agreed to this, at which point the Western powers "began to disassociate themselves from it."

At the Foreign Ministers' Conference last autumn, the Western powers proposed that a start be made on a cut in conventional armaments alone, without linking it with atomic weapons. The USSR agreed to this too, and offered a plan to the UN Disarmament Subcommittee in March for reduction of conventional armaments—without waiting for agreement on atomic weapons, which had been the main obstacle. Whereupon the Western powers backed down from their previous proposal and insisted that there could be no reduction of conventional armaments without solving the question of atomic weapons; at the same time they brought in a new element, insisting that any solution of the disarmament problems must be dependent on a solution of general political problems, including the German question. Since the Western solution for Germany means the restoration of militarism and the inclusion of a united Germany in NATO, the USSR made clear that this new condition could not be accepted, although it was willing to

continue negotiations on Germany.

As to President Eisenhower's aerial inspection program, the Soviet Government reiterated its position that unless this were linked up with reduction of armaments, it could only serve to increase mutual fears and intensify the armaments race.

Noting that all members of the Disarmament Subcommittee except the Soviet Union are members of NATO, the statement stressed that agreements made at the recent Paris Council meeting to increase NATO armaments and supply its armies with atomic weapons were incompatible with the purposes of the Disarmament Subcommittee.

The Soviet Government proposed new efforts to reach agreement through the UN Disarmament Commission, for armaments reduction and the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, and in the meantime, declared its readiness to make a practical contribution to peace by reducing its own armed forces.

After outlining its plans to this end, the statement expressed the hope that other governments, including those of the United States, Britain and France, would follow this example, adding that the Soviet Government would be prepared to discuss a still further reduction in its armed forces if these powers would make corresponding cuts. Such measures, it said, would be an important step toward an all-embracing disarmament program and would facilitate agreement on banning atomic and hydrogen weapons. These proposals of the Soviet Government, the statement concluded, were grounded in confidence in the strength of the world peace forces, and that the return to peaceful work of 1,200,000 Soviet citizens and the release of military funds from the state budget

"will be a new and enormous contribution to the further growth of all branches of the national economy of the Soviet Union and will greatly increase the creation of material and cultural values for the good of our Socialist society."

For a U.S. Peace Initiative

There have been plenty of other signs of the urgent need for a change in U.S. foreign policy—both in the increasingly negative reactions against it around the world and the patent failures of U.S. military alliances, and in the positive reactions to the bold peace initiative of the Soviet Union.

It is openly acknowledged that NATO is falling apart and that while America's allies are still perforce giving it lip-service, most of its members find it a burden. Little Iceland, in fact, has asked that U.S. troops be withdrawn from its territory. The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial on May 2, said that of the 30 divisions NATO was supposed to have had by this time it still has only about 12, and these ineffective. Since neither the Germans nor other Europeans see any threat of a Soviet military advance into Europe, the paper concludes that the Rhine armies are not needed.

Sharp differences arose at the NATO Council meeting in Paris. The London *Spectator* of May 11 said, "Strictly nothing was accomplished."

Winston Churchill was no doubt reflecting the sentiments of an important sector of European opinion when in a speech at Aachen, Germany on May 10, he noted "we have a new Russia to deal with" and that he saw no reason why "the new Russia" should not join NATO. He added:

We must realize how deep and sincere are Russia's anxieties about the safety of her homeland. In a true unity of Europe, Russia must have her part. . . . We should be rash and blameworthy were we to attempt to solve the problem of European unity, of which German reunification has a vital part, by any violent stroke, and we must avoid violence by every means in our power.

Advocating a "grand alliance of European powers linked with the United States and the British Commonwealth," and including Russia and the Eastern European states, Churchill declared that through such an arrangement grave issues such as the reunification of Germany could be solved more easily "than they can by rival blocs confronting each other with suspicion and hostility."

It will be remembered that the Soviet Union itself raised the question of joining NATO and transforming it into an all-European security alliance.

The growing opposition to the military alliance system is making itself felt likewise in the Baghdad Pact and SEATO. A recent series of articles by *New York Times* correspondents in the Middle and Far East indicated the growing resistance of governments and peoples to the burden of the U.S. system of military alliances and its support of outworn colonial methods, and the growing pull of offers of Soviet economic aid without strings. French, Italian and Scandinavian leaders have also expressed their opposition to U.S. military policies. In his eloquent plea to Congress for U.S. understanding of the Asian peoples' desire for national independence, Indonesian President Sukarno declared "military aid is no substitute for Asian stability."

The United States has not en-

hanced its prestige in the Middle East by charging the Soviet Union with stirring up trouble through support of the Czechoslovakian-Egypt arms deal, while the United States itself continues to supply arms to Saudi-Arabia.

It is important to note that while the United States had previously rejected Soviet offers to cooperate on Middle Eastern questions, the USSR supported the UN decision to send Dag Hammarskjold to negotiate an Israeli-Arab truce, a happily successful mission. Hopes for a permanent settlement through the UN are bolstered by the USSR's announced willingness to play a part in bringing it about. Particularly significant was the Soviet Union's offer to cooperate in any general embargo on arms to the Middle East.

The Administration made it quite plain it did not relish the visit of "B and K" to England, and the press had a field day playing up whatever difficulties and disagreements took place and chortling about "the failure of a mission." But neither the British nor Soviet leaders considered the visit a failure. Both expressed satisfaction at the results. While agreement could not be reached on certain matters in which British policies are tied to American, great progress was made toward the consolidation of political, trade, scientific, cultural and other relations. Both agreed on the necessity of effective measures for peace and security in the Near and Middle East and on further efforts to reach agreement on questions of disarmament and banning nuclear warfare. On the question of Anglo-Soviet trade relations, a deep impression was made by the Soviet offer to increase purchases in the United Kingdom in the next five years up to the amount of

11 billion rubles, if there were no trade restrictions. While the offer cannot of course be accepted as long as U.S. restrictions on "strategic goods" remain, some scope for trade increase is possible, and undoubtedly Britain will bring pressure on the United States for an easing of these restrictions.

(The increasing restiveness of Britain and other nations with U.S. trade restrictions was further underlined by the announcement on May 16 that Britain would widen her trade with the Chinese People's Republic and independently make exceptions to the U.S.-imposed embargo on "strategic" items. The move was said to follow unsuccessful efforts, joined by Japan, France and Belgium, to get the United States to agree to a revision of the trade embargo against China).

A special agreement was reached on an extensive increase in cultural and scientific contacts between Great Britain and the USSR and both sides agreed to take practical steps toward insuring freer exchange of all kinds.

These agreements, as well as the subsequent French-Soviet talks, strengthening the cooperation between two great nations at the expense of no other nation, can only serve their mutual interests and the interest of world peace, and thus the interests of the United States as well. How much more greatly would our interests be served if we too would strike out on the road of bold leadership for peace! Not through military pacts and the arms and nuclear weapons race, but through wide international cooperation, unrestricted trade, disarmament and peaceful coexistence will we find those "better, more effective ways of keeping ourselves in tune with the world's needs"—and our own.

WHAT'S NEW IN MOSCOW

by PAT SLOAN

TO ONE who has lived in Moscow from 1931 to 1936 and revisited that city in 1937 and 1952 there are, as usual, many changes.

The city continues to grow. A new town is growing up round the new University, where there were bare fields or tumbledown wooden huts even as recently as 1952. Public sanitation is improving. And when I gave some linen for laundering at the hotel at 8 a.m. I had it back, washed and ironed, by midday. This indeed was "American" tempo, and when I told the floor attendant this she said: "Yes, we'll soon catch up and surpass them!" But the waiting in the restaurant was still leisurely, though it is only fair to say that I have heard Soviet delegates complain of slowness of service in London, too.

The shops are as crowded as ever, and there are still too few of them. And there are still ups and downs in supplies. For example, caviar was not available in the shops while I was there. In Britain this would not be noticed, but caviar is a food for wide consumption in Russia.

I had never been to the great new department store on the Red Square, "GUM", since it was reopened. This is surely the biggest and most crowded shop in the world and it was

fascinating to watch peasant women in padded jackets examining modern household gadgets which a few years ago they never dreamt of possessing.

Outside the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum there were the usual queues during visiting hours. Portraits of Stalin hung in the hotel hall and in many offices and public buildings we visited. But no longer is he the "infallible one." It is now officially recognized that many evil effects of his regime must be eliminated.

There is ample evidence that the new Soviet leadership means business in this.

First, for the first time since the Revolution, the question of civil liberties is now regarded as a priority. Many cases, right back to the late '30's, are being reviewed wherever there is the suspicion of a miscarriage of justice. People exiled for alleged political crimes are in many cases being released and returning to Moscow.

The whole of Moscow knows this. And the whole country knows it too. So there is a far greater sense of *personal* freedom (as distinct from the general freedom of the working people as a whole) than at any time since the '30's.

Certainly, there are questionings, since a whole generation was brought up to "thank Comrade Stalin for a happy childhood". True, this Stalin symbolized the system as a whole and was not just an individual. But it has now been made public that he abused this personal position in his latter

PAT SLOAN is General Secretary of the British-Soviet Friendship Society. He has just returned from a ten-day visit to Moscow, a city he knows well from other visits in the past.

years and really did assume personal powers to an outrageous extent. This resulted in many errors and many human tragedies.

The Government has tried to show by deeds first, and only by words, later, its intention to abandon all that was bad in the Stalin tradition. Thus, already in 1953 the Soviet equivalent of the British "18-b," by which people could be exiled without trial (as fascists were in Britain during the war), was quashed.

The Soviet people see these changes against a background of unquestioned progress. Just consider a few of the recent developments which throw light on the present situation:

George Malenkov, former Soviet Premier, leads an important delegation to Britain when the British press was speculating whether he was "next for the high jump". I found that, among Russians I spoke to, Malenkov enjoys wide popularity.

Tourists: Soviet tourism abroad is now beginning to take shape. This May our first post-war tourists from the USSR visit London, they are a group of Moscow's transport workers. And the rate of exchange—so embarrassing to our own tourists—works in their favor.

One of my most pleasant surprises was to hear how much is being done by our recent Soviet visitors to Britain to report back on their visit.

Mme. Kislova, of VOKS, has already given 33 lectures on her visit to Britain last November. The two acrobats, Maslykov and Ptitsina, are giving frequent report-back meetings in clubs. Their procedure is interesting:

First, Ptitsina gives a 45-minute talk on their visit to Britain in which incidentally, she warmly praises the service in our shops and says that the USSR could learn from us in this.

Then the two of them do their acrobatic act, to show "how we demonstrated our culture to British audiences". Then Maslykov winds up with a four-reel 16 mm. film, taken by himself, of Britain.

The Soviet people have seen material progress ever since the end of the war. Now they are seeing a turn towards greater care for the individual, for *personal* rights, the lessening of working hours, the lengthening of maternity leave, the raising of the lowest rates of pay and pensions and some reduction of abnormally high rates, the further raising of the school-leaving age so that by 1960 it will be 17 both in town and country.

Even in the years of greatest difficulty, during the First Five Year Plan, I found the people of Moscow confident in their future. Even when critical of the government they admitted that it brought progress to their utterly backward country. Today this confidence has been greatly strengthened.

A new atmosphere exists and it appears that a real attempt is being made to introduce all kinds of improvements in every sphere of life never dreamt of before. This applies to both internal and foreign policy. Never, therefore, has there been a better time for Britain, the USA and Russia to work together, for us to pool our ideas, for each to absorb the best that the other has to give, and for frank speaking and constructive criticism on both sides.

CORRECTION: On page 51 of the May NWR, the late Nikolai Vavilov was referred to as former head of the All-Union Academy of Sciences. This should have read Academy of Agricultural Science. On page 52 Lysenko was reported to have resigned as head of the Academy of Sciences, which also should have read Academy of Agricultural Science.

KRISHNA MENON:

A New Type of Diplomat

by ESLANDA ROBESON

V. K. KRISHNA MENON, India's chief delegate to the United Nations, was recently appointed to the Indian Cabinet as Minister without Portfolio. He is one of the most important diplomats in the world today.

Mr. Menon speaks for 350 million people, for one of the four most populous and powerful nations (USA, USSR, China, India). When he speaks, and he speaks often to many people on many levels in many parts of the world on many crucial issues, sensible people must take heed.

Although they know they must, Western statesmen find it very hard to take heed, calmly, of what Mr. Menon says; and they find it much, much harder to agree with him. They remember all too clearly that only a few years ago Krishna Menon was speaking from a soap box in London's Hyde Park; Jawaharlal Nehru, now his Prime Minister, was in prison, and the British, as their lords and masters and rulers, thought, patronizingly, that they could afford to treat them as agitators and crackpots.

But times have changed and the world does move, and as Menon himself has said: "It is the experience of all Metropolitan countries, and of all peoples formerly subject to Metro-

politan rule, that the Revolutionary of today is the Plenipotentiary of tomorrow." Jawaharlal Nehru came out of prison to lead his people in freedom, and the Hyde Park "agitator" is now his Foreign Minister.

With these changes, the old type of conservative diplomat finds himself more and more helpless, isolated, out of the stream of things. Conditions not only are new, they also change from day to day. There are new nations, new governments, new personalities; there are unprecedented and unpredictable situations. The old techniques of power blocs, secret agreements, double talk, are no longer effective. Protocol is not what it used to be, and the striped pants and morning coat seem a bit ridiculous. The sleek brief case now has to be overstuffed to contain comprehensive documentation which may be challenged at any moment. No, diplomacy is not what it used to be in the "good old days."

The new type of diplomacy requires a new type of international conference, as was demonstrated at Bandung, Indonesia in April 1955. At this Asian-African Conference practically every fundamental issue which concerned the conferees was actually discussed openly, fully, with no holds barred. Understanding,

common ground and agreements were freely arrived at, and will therefore probably prove constructive and permanent. Diplomats trying to practice in the old way at Bandung were exposed as old fashioned, ineffectual and at times obstructive.

The new type of diplomat, as exemplified by Krishna Menon, is definitely not conservative. One has the feeling that his mind, temperament and interests are ready and eager to consider anything and everything, in all its aspects. He speaks his brilliant, analytical, adventurous mind directly to the point, with no inhibitions. He does not seem to mind at all if you consider him a crackpot. He has the dignity, courage and confidence of his convictions, reasonably arrived at. He has seen great empires humbled and disintegrating, big names come and go, new nations born, and formerly unimportant nations rise to power.

It is said by those who fear and envy his scintillating mind and mischievous wit, that Krishna Menon is a poseur. I have never met a simpler, more natural, more direct, more *interested* man—interested in people, in cultures, in history, science and events in this new world.

It is not surprising that Mr. Menon is interested in what is happening in the world today. He was born at the turn of the century (in 1897) in Calicut, Malabar, South India. His father was a successful lawyer, his family well-to-do. During his school days he joined his fellow students to work for Home Rule for India, and later joined the English Fabian Socialist Movement which was then popular among Indian students.

At the age of 27 he went to England to study. He won a teacher's diploma, first honors and an M.S. in Political Science at the London

School of Economics under the late Professor Harold Laski; an M.A. at London University; studied law and was admitted to practice in the Inner Temple. During all this time he worked hard to support himself by teaching school, writing articles, making speeches; and always, always he worked for Indian independence.

In 1929 he became secretary for the India League. In 1934, he joined the British Labor Party. In 1935 he met his countryman, Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter came to London seeking a publisher. The two men found they had a great deal in common and built a friendship which has grown and lasted through the years.

Together they talked with such leading Laborites as Harold Laski, Stafford Cripps, George Lansbury, probably discussing socialism, the rise of fascism, colonialism, and most certainly independence for India. Together Nehru and Menon went to Spain during the Civil War to observe firsthand the struggle between fascism and the new world order.

After what must have been an illuminating experience, Nehru returned to India to work for independence and to spend much of his time in prison, while Menon returned to England, also to work for Indian independence. Menon in London watched the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, lived through the terrible bombings of Britain, watched the rise of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Republics, followed closely the founding of the United Nations, all the while never ceasing his work for the freedom of India.

Thus Krishna Menon has grown up in the womb of this new world; he knows the birth pains, the heart beat, the language; he knows the how and why of its development,

Krishna
Menon
addressing
UN General
Assembly.



—United Nations

chapter and verse; he knows many of the people, old and new, big and small who are building (and those who are trying to prevent the building) of this new order.

Knowing as he does what the new world means to his people and his country, he also understands much of what it means to the former "Have" and "Have Not" countries; recognizes and appreciates the tremendous readjustments that must be made. He is sensible of their feelings, their long tradition, their misconceptions, prejudices and fears. In committees, at forums, at press conferences and in private discussion Mr. Menon usually takes care to note whatever good points there are on the other side, then adds, "having said that, we must go on to say . . ." and lowers the boom of disagreement or criticism.

No idea, no ideology, no situation is sacred or forbidden ground for Krishna Menon. He walks boldly in where Western "angels" fear to tread; but he does first take off his shoes, figuratively speaking, and treads as gently and courteously as

he can while proceeding to make his points. For instance:

On the explosive Cyprus situation:

Our view has always been that Cyprus must be independent. After independence she may choose which side she will take. It is unreal to choose sides before independence. The solution will be, first, independence for Cyprus.

On colonialism: Mr. Menon is dedicated to the proposition that colonialism must be ended forthwith:

Good government is no substitute for self government. . . . I do not think there can be any real self government for any people unless they have administrators of their own nationality.

On underdeveloped countries: He maintains that underdeveloped countries will never become developed so long as they continue to be forced to furnish raw materials to the more advanced countries:

We must allow and help them to

process their own raw materials at home. . . . If our experience is of any value in the development of industry, the taking of industry to the people, rather than taking of people to the industry could considerably advance the level of subsistence of the population. This might particularly apply to the processing of local crops and even to meeting the clothing needs of the population. Therefore in all these Territories where there are people who are at heart villagers and who live by agriculture only—which calls for seasonal employment, it becomes necessary to provide subsidiary industries without taking the people away from their homes. . . . We have discovered that it is not possible to take hundreds of thousands of people to factories. They cannot be uprooted from their families and everything else. Furthermore you cannot maintain your agriculture if you convert the whole of the rural population into an urban population.

On the Annual Report of Britain as Administering Power of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika:

The statistics of the Civil Service in Trust and Colonial Territories are most misleading. There are 18,479 Africans in the Civil Service (of Tanganyika); there are 1,470 Asians and 2,826 Europeans; but these figures must be weighted to see what we get. The 18,479 include people who have no permanent positions in the Civil Service at all; it includes all the sweepers, the cleaners, the waiters, etc. When we come to the higher levels, the figures are small. But there has been improvement. There is now an African District Officer. The importance of one African District Officer, in the mind of my delegation, is not that one African has a good job . . . but that it certainly proclaims to the Africans and to the world that there is nothing biologic-

ally impossible in an African becoming a District Officer. If one African District Officer can be produced, I believe that with some effort a few more can be produced.

On the forthcoming nuclear weapons tests by the United States in the Trust Territory of the Marshall Islands:

My country and my people certainly will never agree that the explosion of atomic weapons is a defense weapon. You cannot shield people from atomic attack by attacking somebody else with the same weapon. . . . I have no doubt that the intention of the U.S. Government is that more precaution will be taken. But let me remind the (Trusteeship) Council that on the last occasion, the calculations made, even with regard to the rate of the wind, proved to be wrong. . . . Humanity has not yet reached the stage, presumably, when it controls the wind. . . . The explosions of these weapons . . . can do nothing but damage to the prestige of the United Nations, to the cause of peace, and what is more, to what this Trusteeship Council is interested in, the welfare of these populations. How in the world anyone can argue that it is part of the Trust duties to destroy a Trust Territory or to endanger its inhabitants is totally incomprehensible to me. . . . I want to repeat here the expressions used by the Marshallese inhabitants (in petitioning the Council for an end to nuclear explosions in their Territory):

"We should like to repeat that land means a great deal to the Marshallese. It means more than just a place where you can plant your food crops or build your houses, or places where you can bury your dead. It is the very life of our people. Take away their land, and their spirits go also."

This great human tragedy has gone on far too long, and it is the view of

my Government that everyone knows enough about this power to destroy the world. . . . It is not necessary to hold any more experiments.

Mr. Menon is often a thorn in the side of the old fashioned diplomat, and is therefore frequently severely criticized and maliciously misrepresented. He will make no concessions to futile double talk, but goes straight to the point with his brilliant inexorable logic, usually in the simplest terms. I have been present at most of Mr. Menon's press conferences at the UN, and have heard him speak on and off the record. He was always courteous and cooperative with reporters, except when they have been downright rude; on these occasions he has rebuked them sharply.

I remember one occasion when American reporters asked him why India presses for "recognition of Red China." Mr. Menon answered crisply: "My country's view is not that the United States should recognize

China, but that China be admitted to the United Nations." Then he continued with some irritation: "Why don't you people call the country by its correct name, the Peoples' Republic of China? How would you like someone to call your country the 'White United States' or something like that?"

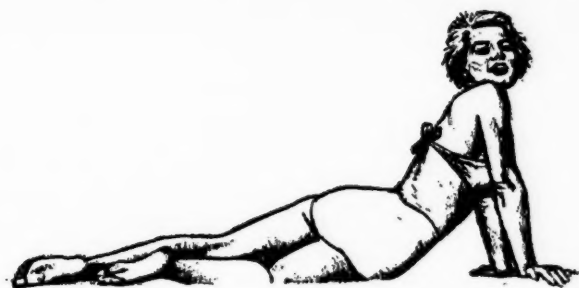
Krishna Menon believes in free, full discussion and negotiation on every situation on every level, and in open agreements freely arrived at. He does not believe in so-called "gentlemen's agreements" so dear to the old type of Western diplomacy, and thus he often infuriates devious people. On occasion the Western press has described him as "Nehru's Bad Boy," "India's Trouble Maker," etc. All of which has practically no effect on Vengalil Krishna Menon, this new type of diplomat who knows where he came from, where he is now, where is going, and why in this rapidly changing new type of world.

SOVIET UNION GAINS SUPPORT IN UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.—A Study by *The Chronicle of the United Nations Activities* reveals that nearly 60 per cent of UN members agreed more often with the USSR in 1955 than 1954. . . . In addition to members of the Soviet Bloc (Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine) most substantial support for USSR came from seven countries of the Middle East and Asia—Afghanistan, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen—all of whom supported the USSR more than 70 per cent of the time.

Yugoslavia increased its support of USSR voting policies from 73 per cent in 1954 to 88 per cent in 1955. This constitutes the greatest support of any country outside of the Soviet Bloc. . . . In the 1955 General Assembly, the United States emerged as the country opposing the USSR most—57 per cent of the time. . . . British Commonwealth countries increased agreement with USSR voting policies 11 per cent, decreased disagreement 18 per cent. NATO countries increased agreement 10 per cent, decreased disagreement 12 per cent. Although the Soviet Union gained support among some Latin American countries, most decreased their support. Greatest decreases were registered by Cuba, Honduras, Haiti, Paraguay; greatest increases by El Salvador, Costa Rica and Guatemala.

—From *The Chronicle of the United Nations Activities*, Apr. 16, '56



Springtime on the Danube

by JANINE BOUISSOUNOUSE and LOUIS DE VILLEFOSSE

We print below the second installment of 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 Writer's Federation. Janine Bouissounouse was formerly editor of the popular daily newspaper *L'Intransigence*. Her husband, Louis de Villefosse (who wrote the sections here given), was head of the Admiralty of the Free French Navy during World War II. The complete diary, translated by Clara Ryan, has been published in this country by *The Hungarian Word, Inc.*, with whose permission we are publishing these extracts, as well as some of the illustrations for the book by Hugo Gellert.

Trip to Lake Balaton

... WE SPUN ALONG southward and southwestward, leaving the Danube behind. The Hungarian countryside exerted its enchanting influence once more; the lovely season was in flavor; the afternoon declined with pomp. . . . One is reminded irresistibly of France. . . .

The same well-balanced harmony emerges from the combination of vine-covered hillsides, orchards, cul-

tivated land, villages, the manifest work of the peasants and the people themselves. What is there in this region that is strange and new to a Frenchman? Perhaps the quality the earth has of seeming not to be a burden. Toil here is probably no less hard than it is at home, but the soil does not seem to weight people down. One sees no bent-backed, numbed old people; rather they are upright and solid. The young people look brisk and cleanly; the girls flirtatious. This is a mercurial race; one is tempted

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to say a race of dancers and horsemen. One sees no tumble-down houses, swaying roofs, leprous, patched, plaster-shedding masonry, no rotting manure at the doorsteps, no dirty puddles with children slopping about in them. Although newly-built houses are few, although one sees here and there a straw-thatched hut, everything is kept in such good repair, it looks new. The whitewash on the walls is smooth and clean. To use sociologist language: rural housing conditions are good. But I must remind the reader I saw only those rural areas West of the Danube.

... The Hungarian soil is fertile, and despite a social system based on quasi-serfdom, Hungary's peasants had never known the terrifying misery, for example, of Southern Italy's Braccianti, who were starved out by drought and unemployment. It is also true that, beginning with the distribution of the land, the new regime had markedly raised the living standards of three million farm workers who had constituted an agrarian proletariat before the Liberation and had barely earned enough to keep themselves alive.

However, it is not with Italy, France, Denmark or America that comparisons should be made. What should be taken into account is the difference, the change, between the present *here* and the past.

I woke early . . . The Balaton . . . Here I was on the shore of this lake, of which I had heard so much. . . . We took a walk with our friends. . . . The atmosphere was that of a fashionable watering place. . . .

If the sky had been more intensely blue, if a delicate mist had not sifted the reflection of the sun on the water, one would have fancied one's self in Cannes. Bronzed skins, boys with the bodies of athletes, magnificent girls

wearing Bikini bathing suits, slacks and beach costumes—sun-glasses, diving boards, deck-chairs, striped umbrellas—an unbelievable spectacle to anyone who identifies a people's democracy with severe austerity, or remembers the untidy throngs that people our "paid vacations." Here one saw nothing vulgar, nothing unseemly. No bands of noisy horse-playing youth shouldered their way through the happy crowd; no unwholesome or scandalized glances were exchanged by people whose bronzed bodies happened to come in contact in passing. The older people of family groups did not contrast with the rest; they did not have the depressing look of petty, pretentious, middle-class vacationers. Joy in life was the predominant mood here; there was nothing to remind one of the loud-speakered thronging of the average beach. Rather, it had an air of thoroughbred luxury. . . .

What kind of people lived here? Who lived in the pretty villas, walked in the parks—the unbroken line of flower gardens that looked over the lake? The debris of the old order, the former bourgeoisie? The answer was provided by printed signs on the hotel fronts, translated for us by our friends (except for the red star which required no translation). Not counting a few hotels, like ours, these buildings were the property of various unions—textile, steel, construction, transport. Some were owned by schools, and others were used as living quarters for members of the armed forces.

That big hotels exist in Hungary is not astonishing; nor that there are countless cafes, Gypsy bands, dances and fashionable fabrics. What is surprising is that this abundance has been placed within the reach of those most deserving of it; that at

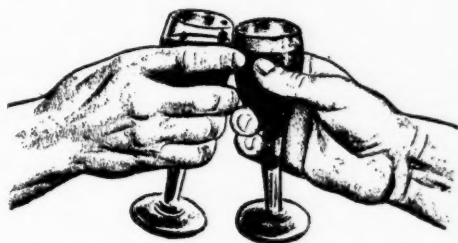
last the disinherited have a chance of happiness. After years of intense labor, joy has been granted citizenship in this socialist country. This is the factor in the situation here which excited us more than anything else. Communism was not, after all, struggle for struggle's sake, but struggle for happiness. The relaxation of tension that was so noticeable nowadays, and the advances toward freedom that were being made, did not take place without casting up questions that had to be solved by the new society. The system has as its aim the highest possible development of each individual; the dignity of labor and love of work is its central theme. Gereblyés [one of their hosts] was much concerned with the guiding and developing of young people. One of the principal tasks of the Party, he said, was to watch carefully over the quality of the entertainments offered; to endeavor, without falling into Puritanism, to exclude factors with a corrupting or criminal influence—certain circles were prone to these influences. Gereblyés cited some overpaid saxophone players and singers. He said that the playboy genre sometimes led boys into temptation, and that in a country so rich in wonderful dances and indigenous melodies, a vogue for jazz was rather annoying than otherwise.

Conversation Piece

... After lunch, everybody gathered in a circle out on the lawn, at the edge of the shade cast by the hundred-year-old trees. We stretched out lazily on the grass, among us a few women in sun-bathing costumes; we formed a group like one of Manet's, in a decoration at Ile de France. There was something of Watteau, too, in the atmosphere, if not, indeed,

of Boccaccio. Italian memories came to us like trumpet-calls over the swinging branches, undoubtedly because a number of our hosts had lived in Rome, either as newspapermen or in the service of their embassy. We began speaking Italian.

But away with politics and literature! Our friends began competing with one another in the telling of stories, mischievous and zany—Marseilles anecdotes, Vatican jokes, Hungarian, Russian and Scottish ones. The fun rocketted back and forth.



Mrs. Baldizsár had to send her little son to play some distance away. Her husband, coldblooded as a stone, told the most hair-raising shockers, but the others retorted in a way that forced him into laughter too—huge, Homeric laughter which finally laid him low. Janine was in tears. Ila had been a little shocked at first at the unexpected turn the "writers' gathering" was taking, but now her laughter was punctuated by hiccups.

It seems that candid gaiety can flourish in Socialist countries just as well as in democratic ones. These jests, with their irreverent points, spared nothing and nobody. Is not humor, or even mere clowning, an approach that draws men together most easily and quickly, and therefore one of the best instruments for cultural exchange? Be that as it may, that afternoon revealed the Hunga-

rian temperament to me in much greater clarity, and its kinship with ours, or, more generally, with the Latin temper. The vivacity and cheerfulness of these people seem to me to make them destined to act as mediators between East and West, when the time comes for us, of the West, to realize that Europe is not mutilated and cannot be so. Having swept away all remnants of feudalism and capitalism, and having formed a society shaped by the economic and social laws of the socialist world, Hungary will not go backward. Its intellectual life will continue to be permeated by eastern culture, but basically, they seem open to all kinds of liberal conceptions.

Those who were enjoying the benefits of this pleasant government-provided vacation-spot were, for the most part, not Communists. The old Socialists, for instance, seemed to find it easy to adjust to the system. As for me, I was reminded of France as I lay on the sunlit lawn. I breathed again the fragrance of Mediterranean humanism in the particular quality of the laughter. An understanding conveyed in half-words revealed itself as an unavowed sympathy based upon our common civilization. The "fine clarity" of which Nietzsche spoke in attacking the deep fogs of the German spirit was to be sensed here; the "fine clarity" of Pascal, evoked in face of the geometrical mind, and of Stendhal, in opposition to boredom.

Reflections and Conclusions

If we feel a need to add these final words it is because we wish to avoid reproaches: that of assuming a naïveté which is easily seen through; and of evading embarrass-

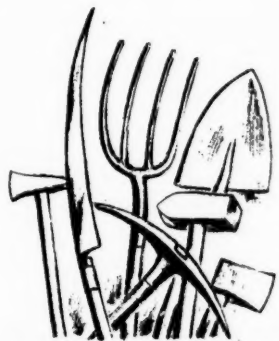
ing questions, particularly those relating to freedom.

Hungary's position, in that respect, is, theoretically, that of the other people's democracies. It is a proletarian dictatorship. The word "dictatorship" suggests compulsion and oppression. All Paris has seen posters depicting the peoples of the countries behind "the iron curtain" as behind iron bars, a mass of pale, skeleton-like prisoners being driven to death camps. Such representations are coarse falsehoods. As regards the country that has occupied us in these pages, a climate of terror does not exist there; our testimony has brought this out, we believe.

A Communist would declare, in this connection, that a proletarian dictatorship does not mean a dictatorship in the Western or bourgeois sense, but quite opposed to that interpretation, is power in the hands of the people, rule exercised by the elected representatives of the working class. The subject can be debated indefinitely. We prefer, instead, to take up some of the factors that have caused the most misunderstanding.

As regards religion in Hungary, we can state flatly that there is no persecution. The churches are open, services are held in the normal way, processions are permitted, and the sharp conflict between Church and government came to an end with the pact of August, 1951. By the terms of this agreement, eight of the schools that had been nationalized were returned to the Church; of all the formerly secularized religious orders, four were again given legal sanction. The government guaranteed "freedom of activity" to the Church and also bound itself to provide funds for the Church's needs. In the eyes of a militant Catholic, this situation is far from satisfactory. Plain and

simple religious freedom is not enough; the Church must have the means for extending its apostolic influence. Each person must settle this question according to his own conscience. The Protestants, for example, who are a sizeable minority in Hungary, equal in membership to about one-quarter of the number of Catholics, do not regard themselves as deprived of their rights in any way. Quite otherwise. The upper ranks of world Protestantism agree on this. Existing conditions in Hungary are more favorable to the Evangelical faith than the pre-war ones were. For my part, I cannot help recalling the intolerance of the Hungarian Catholic Church toward unorthodoxy and those of other faiths. Also the opposition that was waged by the higher priesthood and the cardinal against every element of democratic progress and against land reform. And I think that a true adherence to Christian teaching on the part of the Hungarian Church would be achieved by drawing inspiration from the Sermon on the Mount and the parables, beginning with that of the mote and the beam. I must beg to be excused from further discussion of this question.



Another subject of controversy: Soviet domination, guardianship and

influence. First, I must contradict the assertion that Hungary has become a Russian colony occupied by the Red Army. We saw no Russian soldiers in Hungary. No efforts have been spared, in Hungary, to exalt the pride of Hungarians in their own language, literature, art and their struggle for independence as expressed in their epic poems. Only this much can be said truthfully: that the liberating role of the Soviet army is here and there underlined. (The memorial that rises over Budapest, the Museum of the Working-Class Movement.) But pictures of Stalin and other Russian leaders do not fill the streets, although some evidence has been given that, prior to 1950, every corner-store displayed them.

Though we discerned no signs of a visible, disconcerting Soviet influence over the life of the country, this does not mean that things were always so. We were told that a definite rage for mental Russianization had occurred a few years earlier, an attempt apparently initiated less by the Russians themselves than by sectarian elements in the Hungarian Party who wished to demonstrate their fervor. We heard of one case of a concert at which only Russian works were performed. This had grated upon the feelings of the Russians who were present. "Do you really have no other music to play? Have there been no Hungarian composers?" they asked.

One of the differences between the Hungary that we saw and the observations of travellers who had been there two or three years earlier was that formerly not only Stalin's pictures were to be seen everywhere, but Rakosi's as well, together with political placards, slogans and ideological appeals. (This was one of the



characteristics of Prague and Warsaw too, in that period.) Since then, the Hungarian capital has changed its political exterior. Shop windows are arranged to show goods to advantage, and not for propaganda purposes.

Important changes have come about in Hungary in the past two years; it is no accident that we sensed a milder political climate. The impression we had had to some extent everywhere of the people's full-blooded eagerness for amusement was traceable, I think, to the easing of restrictions. I must add that we experienced no indications whatsoever of police rule. We saw no careful policemen, no radio cars, no truckloads of prisoners, no massed police near public buildings, factories or the university. There was never any tension in the air, either in Budapest or the other towns that we visited. . . .

Generally speaking, sectarianism and fanaticism appear to be losing momentum. All signs point to a settlement of differences and the joining together of all forces with the National Front. A far from cold attitude is maintained toward non-Communists—former members of the Socialist and Peasant parties. These are welcomed—more, they are invited

to participate in the common task of developing the resources of the country.

Although the official attitude has become less severe and more flexible, it is only a comparatively liberal one, so far. It does not claim to be liberal from the roots up. We found the outlook broad in university and writing circles; we found that much had been gained, morally and materially; and that wide new horizons had opened up for the Hungarian people. But it cannot be denied that creative freedom in intellectual and artistic life is subordinated to social aims and necessities. Parallel with this, and despite the fact that a policy of "collective orientation" has been adopted in the upper spheres of public life, an orientation toward the people as a whole; and notwithstanding that the government is far from insensitive to the reactions of the population; recognizing all this, it is still a fact that the apparatus of a single party motivates and supervises all political activity. Concerning this state of affairs, as with the religious question, every one must naturally have his own point of view.

I am of the opinion that the system, as it stands now, would not do for France, and I hope that the limitations discussed here become less and less restrictive. But I also think that they were necessary. What the Hungarian people longed for—and I speak now of the working masses, the majority—were not so much parliamentary freedoms and civil rights, but social rights: to a living, an education, work, health, the good life. Indeed, happiness has gone over to the other camp in Hungary—to the camp of the majority. I am not surprised that those who profited from the old order and are now in exile

feel bitter. But to say, with them, that Hungary eagerly awaits "liberation" is nonsense. The present Hungarian republic is not an artificial creation foisted upon the people from without, but a fruit of long growth that came to maturity as long ago as 1919. It was a foreign coalition then, as we saw, that forcibly put a reactionary government into power. History will not turn backward. Whatever turns it may take, whatever inner storms occur in politics, and these are always influenced by what goes on in the rest of the world, it would be a mistake to suppose that the basic structure of the social order in Hungary can again be called into question. It was within this

framework that the first full awakening to consciousness took place in the Hungarian people. It is the new order that has set in motion the most intensive activity and tapped the profoundest springs of vitality in these people whose development had always been held in check and whose "lower orders" were forced into submission and stupefied, their future apparently blocked.

Here I will call these reflections to a halt. It has not been our intention to justify, without qualification, a political system. Our ambitions would be satisfied if we have succeeded in revealing some of the original and attractive features of this country, which were a revelation.



THOMAS JEFFERSON AND ASIA

President Sukarno of Indonesia on his recent visit to the U.S. made a pilgrimage to Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, where he placed a wreath on Jefferson's tomb. In an address to the members of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation President Sukarno said that Jefferson's life and ideas had been an inspiration to him during the long years of his struggle for Indonesian Independence. He said that Jefferson's belief in the freedom and independence of peoples has set "a big fire burning in Indonesia." And he went on to say that this fire would continue to burn until "all the people in the world are united in a great brotherhood of man, until all the people of the world are living in a pax humanica."

Technical Education Under Socialism

by BEATRICE KING

GREAT ATTENTION is being directed in the West to that section of Soviet education that trains skilled technicians and technologists. The regularly increasing numbers of these, always part of the total economic plan, are in some quarters regarded as a menace to their country, economically and politically.

There is nothing new, no change in policy, in the importance which the Soviet Union attaches to the widest technical and technological training. Indeed it is basic to the whole theory of Communist education.

Friedrich Engels makes very clear why polytechnical education arises in a socialist society: "Just as the peasant and manufacturing workers of the last century changed their whole way of life and became quite different people when they were impressed into big industry, in the same way communal control over production by society as a whole and the resulting new development will both require an entirely different kind of human ma-

terial. . . . Education will enable young people quickly to familiarize themselves with the whole system of production and to pass from one branch of production to another in response to the needs of society or their own inclinations. It will therefore free them from the one-sided character which present-day division of labor impresses upon every individual."

It was Lenin and his wife, Krupskaya, who agitated successfully for the introduction of polytechnical training in the Soviet schools. By 1930 all schools were getting well-equipped workshops, and pupils in the science classes were learning the place of science in modern production. For various reasons, chiefly that its application in the schools no longer responded to the needs which had changed as a result of economic development, polytechnical education was generally abandoned by 1937, including the use of school workshops. The war brought school children back to improvised school workshops. There began anew discussion and argument about polytechnical education. After several years of discussion, a decree reintroduced such education in all schools in 1955.

While the principles are the same—to give every pupil an acquaintance

BEATRICE KING, distinguished British educator, is known to our readers for her articles on Soviet education. She is the author of the book, "Russia Goes to School" among others.

with the use of tools and an understanding of the scientific basis of production and its organization, the tools are no longer only the simple ones. A knowledge of the internal combustion engine, and a much more than nodding acquaintance with modern lathes and machines, is the sine qua non for everyone who today leaves school at 17 or 18. Part of the practical work for seniors is now done in factories or at machine tractor stations. Such education does not, of course, prevent the training of historians, geographers, archaeologists, musicians, artists, linguists, etc.

A dispassionate reading of educational publications and political pronouncements proves the reason for the insistence on technical and technological training; hardly one to cause the high blood pressure that it seems to have done in some quarters. The first and overriding reason for the attention paid to this aspect of education is the determination to develop a people who are culturally abreast of the latest thinking, achievements and developments of their day. No less important is the effort to raise the standard of living of the 200 million people inhabiting the USSR, an aim surely to be welcomed by those so full of pity for the badly dressed, etc. Russians. Quite simply, the Soviet Government intends to implement the promise of the Socialist Revolution.

Raising the standard of living means not only better food, better housing and better clothing. It means more leisure and more facilities for enjoying this leisure in the shape of theaters, concert halls, circuses, libraries, clubs and holiday resorts, with the trained people to provide the entertainment and recreation for both adults and children. It means, in fact, the worker by hand and brain

getting more for less labor. Even if one were to ignore the war damage, this could only be achieved by greater and better production at a smaller cost of materials and labor.

To this problem there is only one real solution, the harnessing of science to industry and agriculture. This demands a new type of worker to be aided by technicians and technologists who are not only aware of the latest advances in science, but are skilled in its application, and able to improve on both the machines and the scientific apparatus. The worker at the bench has to keep pace with the technician and technologist. Therefore he too must have a good basis of science, for he too is rewarded by inventions that increase production.

More than that; today neither the Soviet Union nor the other eastern socialist countries, are content with a worker who is skilled only through years of experience. They cannot afford to wait ten or twenty years for a comparatively small increase in productivity. They demand that the worker in the factory shall be skilled as much through knowledge as through experience. They believe a thorough acquaintance with science, above all with mathematics, will not only hasten the acquisition of skill, but will point the way to improvements in the machine that will greatly increase its productivity. Further, the skilled worker should be sufficiently versatile to change from one industrial process to another without loss of productivity. Only when this kind of education comes to full fruition, and is universally applied, will there be the increased production at the decreased cost which will bring the improved standard of living for all.

I should like to emphasize that it

is not preoccupation with hydrogen bombs that is the reason for great and increasing allocations to education and to science but concern for the welfare of the people. Refusal to recognize this will once more lead the West astray.

What kind of education does this future technician and technologist receive? The basis for all specialization, whether in the arts or in science, is a ten or eleven year general education, comparable to, but on a somewhat higher level than, the general course. The curriculum is the same for all schools in the country, and specialization does not begin till university and even here, Russian, a foreign language, and the Foundations of Marxism-Leninism are compulsory for all, irrespective of speciality. It is planned in the Soviet Union that by 1960 all will remain at school till 17 plus. In the meantime various measures have been adopted to give both the coming young worker and the worker already in industry the necessary general secondary education. Both the goal of universal compulsory ten or eleven year school and the facilities for secondary education for those at work are to be found as well in the Peoples' Democracies.

In the Soviet Union a widespread system of Worker Youth and Peasant Youth schools, and evening secondary schools for older workers, is making good the missing education. There are all kinds of concessions to those attending these schools. They are free, and they turn out workers with the necessary academic education to make the best use of advances in science; an immediate result is improvements in machines and organization of work. In the technicums, at present entered at 14, the first two years are given over to general education.

The attention paid to technical and technological education and to the training of scientists is proportionately as great in the new socialist countries. In Hungary, as long ago as 1950, I found the Matyas Rakosi Youth City was giving several hundred young workers both the academic foundation and the practical training for skilled workers, who would be enabled to continue education and training, and later become technicians, technologists and scientists.

In Bulgaria, three years later, I visited several evening secondary schools that provided the general education previously denied these workers, the majority young. Traveling from Plovdiv to Dimitrograd, I recognized the whole youthful train crew as the pupils I had seen the night before in an evening secondary school. I visited a similar school in Czechoslovakia.

In Poland, last September, I found in one evening secondary school that the majority of the pupils were office workers. They were not taking shorthand, typing, or bookkeeping; but history, mathematics, geography, Russian language and literature, English, etc.; in fact, it was the general high school curriculum. Special facilities such as one-to-three hours for four days a week release, etc., make these easier to attend.

In these countries, where university-trained people are urgently needed before school and university development has had time to produce them, there are courses resembling the old Rabfacs (Workers' Faculties) in the Soviet Union.

In Bulgaria such a two-year course that I visited prepared for university entrance a sizeable number of students of the most varied jobs, and of ages ranging from 25 to 48, most of

them married with children, men and women. Of about 60 whom I asked, all were going back to their industry or farm as specialists after graduation.

In Czechoslovakia I spent a day at a one-year residential, full time course of eleven months. As in the other countries, they were selected by the trade union in their factory, mine, or other place of work, received their normal wages or salary, paid nothing for the education and little for board. I was told by the Dean of the Engineering School of Prague University that these workers made excellent students. Not all the people at this course were ultimately going into production. Some were going into medical schools, and one into a theater school to train as a producer.

In Poland, again, I visited a technical college in Bytom which turned out specialist engineers. Here, too, the students, mostly married workers with families, were sent by the factory committee. They, too, received their full wages from the factory and received free accommodation in hotels, going home for occasional week-ends. The course lasts three years and requires a minimum of seven-year education for entrance, and the secondary school standard in general education is reached in two years. The mining institute in Tata-banya, in Hungary, was not dissimilar, except that the course was longer.

Another misleading impression, much in vogue, is that the Soviet Union particularly, but also the other socialist countries, are training a technological elite or aristocracy, divorced from the ordinary people. It is a fact that at present, and certainly until 1960, in the Soviet Union and probably later in the other countries, several million young people will begin work any time from 16 to

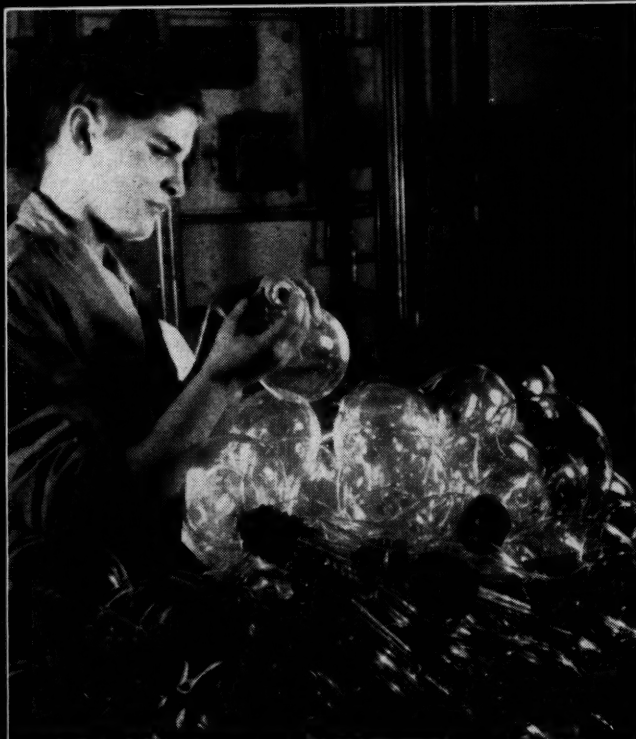
18 years. It is true that nowhere are there sufficient places in universities or institutes comparable to the demand, actual or potential, though numbers accommodated increase every year. But the full-time day university or institute is not the only channel for a graduate's diploma.

There are the correspondence courses which allow the student time off for tutorial help and examinations. There are evening universities for adult workers. There are courses leading to university standard provided by factories and trade unions. There are special courses, short and long term, to train agricultural workers as specialists. Finally the Houses of Culture run by city, trade union, factory or farm, provide facilities for further education, even of university standard.

The rising educational level, and particularly the rising cultural level—which receives attention as early as the kindergarten stage—of the mass of the people will prevent the emergence of an aristocracy.

I have not mentioned the opportunities and encouragement for science provided for youth in the well-equipped school clubs and Pioneer Palaces, all of which help in the proper appreciation of science, as they do in the arts.

There is no doubt whatever that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will in a few years catch up with the economically most advanced countries. As the socialist countries do not sacrifice education to armaments, while the West does, they will very likely surpass them culturally as well as industrially. It is a challenge which Britain and the U.S.A. could easily accept were they prepared to allocate some of the millions now spent for armaments to education.



Maria Hobjila (above) is a leading worker at the "Electrofar" electric bulb factory in Bucharest. (Below) Ion Blana incasing radio sets of the type "S 531."



Industrial Exp In People Ru

Rumanian industry the
owned by foreign capital
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1947 it has forged ahead
wide variety of fields.



The Rumanian factory
rapidly. (above) In the
(below) In the car and fac

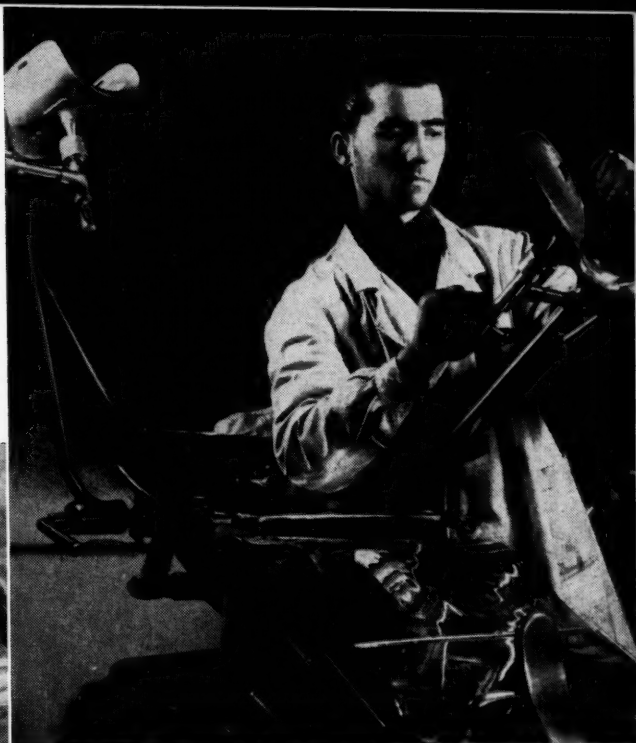


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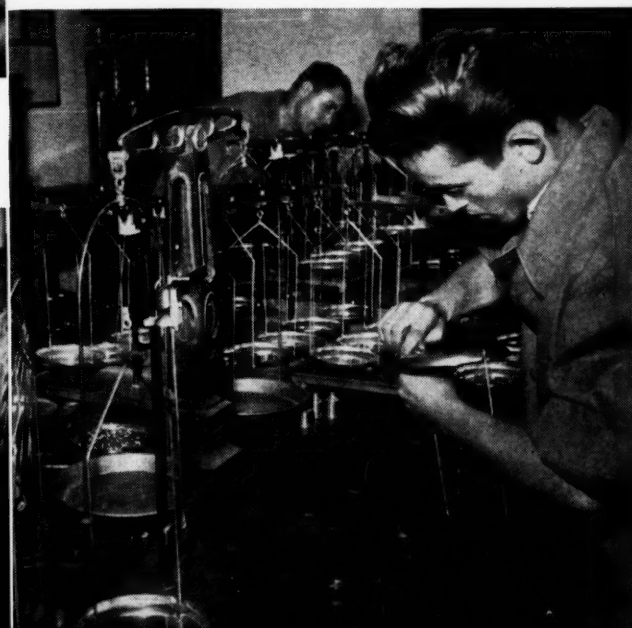
cluster the past largely
foreign capital, is now the
the people. Since the estab-
lishment of the People's Democracy in
1947, the country has moved rapidly in a
forward direction. (Eastfoto)



can for industry has developed
(above) in cheese is packaged.
the canning factory "Mureseni."



Assembling surgical operating tables at
a factory in Bucharest (above). In a
school supply factory: precision scales
for school use are assembled. (Below)



Masters in Their Own Land

by AMY SCHECHTER

THE RUMANIAN People's Republic has again offered to negotiate settlement of claims by Standard Oil of New Jersey and other U.S. companies for war damages to their property in the old Nazi-occupied Rumania of dictator Antonescu; and also for property nationalized by the people's regime.

The recent note to the State Department, asked that talks be linked to discussion of ways to better U.S.-Rumanian trade relations. At the same time the Rumanian government proposed that a number of American musicians, writers and sports teams visit their country as a sign of its desire for closer cultural relations.

The same wish of the young Balkan republic to develop trade and generally friendly relations with the United States was stressed last winter by the three-man agricultural group here on a return invitation from Iowa seedman Roswell Garst, at which time they were warmly welcomed in the farm areas they visited. As a token, they arranged to place orders for half a million dollars worth of hybrid seed corn and farm machinery; they also closed a deal with Swift and Company to trade cement for lard. A number of other U.S. firms indicated their interest in similar trading.

Imports have played an important role in the rapid expansion of Rumanian industry, by which the former semi-colonial oil country has been able in seven years to build a solid heavy industrial base for further all-round economic development. The equipment and produce bought here are the kind needed to solve Rumania's toughest problem: how to speed up the development of farming to keep pace with industrialization. The background is a country rich in natural resources, potentially largely fertile but where in the semi-feudal recent past, over half of the farms lacked even a plough.

An extensive trade has already been built up with over sixty countries, about thirty per cent of them non-socialist. These include nearby states like Turkey, Greece, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and many Western countries. Considerable capital equipment is exported to Asian lands. Indonesia, for instance, is being supplied with oil and mining machinery and complete equipment for mechanized cement plants, the Chinese People's Republic with oil equipment, complete thermo-electrical stations, and many other made-in-Rumania items. Experts go along to help install the equipment and train workers and technicians in using it.

Such exports are the product of the country's new machine building industries, playing a key role in industrialization plans. Before the war over 95 per cent of the industrial equipment had to be imported; over half of that installed in the past few years was made at home.

Exceptionally important—a sort of seal of national independence—has been the creation of a complete oil equipment manufacturing industry, something permitted to neither the oil countries of Latin America nor of the Middle East.

While total foreign trade doubled in the course of the first (1951-1955) Five-Year Plan, trade with non-socialist countries rose two-and-a-half times. In exchange for its industrial goods, its oil and oil products, still the largest item, and the cement, lumber, wine, etc. for which the old Rumania was noted, the new republic is getting materials and equipment needed for building up its industries and for its ten-year electrification plan; and products needed to fill the growing demands of a population rising above the *mamaliga*—the national cornmeal mush—standard of living so many shared in the “good old days.”

Exchanges are increasing in many other fields. People came to Rumania from 48 countries for scientific and cultural exchanges or just to see the country, in the first eight months of last year. They came from points far apart as Brazil and Italy and Indonesia—clergymen from England, a symphony orchestra from Israel, journalists from Yugoslavia, trade unionists from Japan and Brazil; while Rumanian scientists and scholars were attending a variety of conferences abroad, and writers, engineers, musicians, dancers, trade experts and others visiting other lands

in increasingly large numbers.

The regular tourist trade is booming too; offices have been opened in many countries; the state tourist bureau describes the really beautiful country in the fervent terms proper to tourist bureaus. There are the famous Black Sea and mountain resorts to see, the ancient cities, the improbably romantic alpine valleys complete with 12th or 13th century fortresses up on beetling crags and shepherds in national dress playing ancient melodies on the Pipes of Pan.

And there is also the new Rumania indissolubly joined to the old, but a different land and a different world.

The liberal historian, Nicolae Iorga, murdered in 1941 by the Iron Guards, old Rumania's own pogromist, strike-breaking storm-troopers, once wrote that in Rumania the factories were “. . . dungeons in which men cough out their lungs and their lives . . . while the resources of this country are squandered in casinos on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the historic shame of a handful of useless libertines.”

“Rich country, poor people!” is the way the old saying put the same thing.

Development of the national economy had no relation at all to the needs of the population outside of that handful, of whom the outstanding representative was Hohenzollern ruler, King Carol II, whose perquisites were reported to include 375,000 acres of land (in the country, then over 1,150,000 peasant families were landless, another 1,500,000 had only one-and-a-half to four-and-a-half acres). Also around a hundred assorted castles, palaces, villas, and nearly four million shares in leading native and foreign-controlled industries and banks.

The other chief beneficiaries of the country's resources, and its miserably paid labor, were foreign companies. At the outbreak of World War II, about 80 per cent of all investment in Rumanian industry was held abroad, and the same share of the national debt. Control from abroad added up to 91 per cent in oil; 74 per cent in the metallurgical industries; 75 per cent in chemical; 95 per cent in electric power; 72 per cent in lumber and wood products and on down the line.

Descriptions of the prewar and wartime Rumanian village by liberal writers and poets (notably by the novelist of peasant life, Mikhail Sadeovanu, already rated among the great European authors in prewar years, at 76 a deputy and popular hero) sound like something out of the days of serfdom, officially abolished about the same year slavery was officially abolished in our South.

Many villages were ravaged by pellagra, tuberculosis, malaria and social diseases. Infant and general mortality were described as highest in Europe; the per capita peasant debt burden also was in the highest brackets; in some regions the corvée still existed; the great majority of the population was illiterate.

The land itself was abused in the same way as the people who tilled it. The prevailing standard was quick profits, and when World War II broke out, almost 1,900,000 acres of arable land had been destroyed by erosion, over 5½ million acres were on the road to destruction. With unlimited super-cheap labor available, the bulk of the landowners felt little need to mechanize.

In industry also, manned largely by peasants squeezed off the land, and generally poorly equipped, productivity was for the most part low.

Rumanian workers found it difficult to acquire training; in the large foreign-controlled enterprises the general practice was to import a big percentage of technicians and some skilled labor. It was in these enterprises—notably in railroad, oil and coal-mining—that the militant labor movement developed, which, as part of the Democratic Bloc, played such an important role in the struggle for national independence, both pre-war and under the Nazi occupation.

The backward pull of conditions existing less than ten years ago inevitably exerts a strong influence on the situation today. Low productivity remains a problem plaguing industry. Raising agricultural productivity with very small individual farmers still the majority is a problem of staggering proportions. Despite the broad expansion of educational facilities, both under the regular school system and in factory and special technical schools, and the expansion of old and establishment of new institutions of higher learning, there is still a serious lack of trained personnel in industry, and especially in agriculture.

Such problems, above all the extreme and dangerous lag in agriculture, were discussed at length at the December congress of the Rumanian Workers Party and are constantly aired in the press. Rise in arable land in the socialist sector was from 12 per cent to 26.5 per cent during the 1951-1955 Plan; but the goal set was 50 per cent. The socialist sector includes land in state and collective farms, and in the looser, semi-socialist forms of cooperative farming associations. The Plan called for 428 machine and tractor stations; the number set up was 222. Main causes assigned for the lag were too low a level of investment in agriculture;

not enough strength in the state farms, which teach and aid individual peasants besides being an important source of farm products; and backwardness among the peasantry. Grave mistakes made in political thinking and economic planning in connection with the basic questions of the worker-farmer alliance in this people's democracy have been sharply debated in recent years.

Important factors also are a working class almost tripled postwar; a rise in urban population from 3.8 million in 1938 to 5.5 million in 1953 (out of a 17 million total). The very successes of the great humane campaigns against the heritage of the past increases the pressure. The massive coordinated drives against disease, large increase in number of hospitals and maternity homes, increased medical supplies from the newly created pharmaceutical industry, better working conditions, higher living standards halved the infant mortality rate, and cut the general death rate from 19 per thousand in 1938 to 11 per thousand in 1954, and the drop is continuing. More people are eating more and better food.

High new goals for socialization are set in the 1956-1960 Five-Year Plan; but emergency measures in 1953 paid off in 1954 by increased farm output that permitted the end of rationing in 1954. In 1955, 11, instead of the planned 10 million tons of wheat and corn were produced; and the people got 1.2 times more meat, 2.8 times more butter, 2.2 times more lard and oil, more sugar, fruit, wine, etc. than in 1950. At the same time the rural cooperatives sold the

farmers twice the amount of goods they got in 1950. And sixteen farm machinery plants were operating.

An airplane view of comparative industrial production prewar and today gives a broad idea of how the country has been transformed from the angle of industry. By 1955 volume of gross industrial production was 2.9 times the 1938 figure; the national income had doubled. With 1938 as 100, oil production was 187; steel, 269; electric power and equipment, 381; natural gas, 1,300; machine-building, 832; chemical, 540; textile (fairly well-developed prewar) 282.

Exceptionally revealing are figures showing the rise in equipment installed in heavy industry enterprises. In the 1948-1954 period, for instance, value of equipment installed in the machine-building and metallurgical industries rose 7.3 times; in coal, 4 times; in oil, 5 times; in the electrical power and equipment industries, 12.6 times. And for the great construction boom, in cities, in old and new industrial areas and in remote mountain areas where 20 major power projects have been put into operation in the past five years, the value of construction machinery on hand increased *one hundred fold* between 1950 and 1955.

Soviet-made machines stand side by side with the made-in-Rumania ones which arouse such a deeply personal, delighted pride in Rumanian citizens of today. At every stage Soviet aid has been the decisive factor in the country's rapid progress to national independence and economic self-sufficiency.

HOUSING IN THE USSR—In our May issue we published an estimate that the new housing to be built during the 6th Five-Year Plan would accommodate 10,000,000 people. A recent estimate from Soviet sources gives the figure of 25,000,000 to be accommodated.

A Visit to Vietnam

by REWI ALLEY

The following article is by the New Zealand writer and poet who has lived for many years in various countries of the Far East. The visit he describes to North Vietnam took place in February of this year. Our readers will remember that the eight-years war of the Vietnamese against the French colonialists was concluded at the Geneva conference, April 1954. The country was divided at the 17th parallel: the south remaining under the French; the north organized as an independent republic under the presidency of the great Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh. The U.S. refused to sign the final agreement which set up a supervisory commission to prepare the whole country for unification elections slated to take place in July of this year.

In October 1955 the premier of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, ousted the French supported Emperor Bao Dai in a "referendum." Proclaiming himself independent of the French, he made clear he did not mean to allow the elections to take place, on the grounds that the French, not his present government, had signed the agreement. In the *N.Y. Post*, January 1, 1956, Robert S. Allen summarized a private report Mr. Dulles had just given to the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committee: "There will be no unification election in Vietnam this year. Both the U.S. and Britain are backing Premier Diem of South Vietnam in opposing that." *The U.S. News & World Report*, March 3, 1956 bluntly says, "The U.S. is underwriting about 75% of South Vietnam's governmental expenditures. . . ." As the date of the agreed unification election draws near, all Asia is watching the developments as a crucial example of our Far Eastern policy.

IT was cold and wet as we crossed the platform at Pinghsiang in Kwangsi before dawn on a mid February morning and got into the Vietnam train for Hanoi. Vietnam and Chinese railway gauges are different, so a change is necessary.

Soon we were sliding down through the majestic scenery of Mu Nan Kwan, with the mist rising through the jungle and the early morning light breaking through. From the

dining service of the train came strong black Vietnamese coffee and rolls of crusty appetizing bread—surely as good as the best in the world. Then we were at Dong Dang, and suddenly there filed past my window an Indian officer, followed by a Canadian and a Polish one. I realized they must be members of the International Commission, there as a result of the Geneva agreement, looking to see that nothing of a military

nature was coming from China. I wished that they might also be concerned with shipments of American munitions to Diem in Saigon, and my interpreter comrade agreed with me.

The trip from Dong Dang down to Hanoi was a pleasant one—everywhere people busy in their fields, buffalo boys wearing capes made of oiled parachute silk. And I wondered how many parachutes which brought down colonialist troops have ended up as shop awnings, shirts, waterproof capes, while the soldiers they brought down who survived are now far away, back in their own countries with a new respect for the Vietnamese peasant who defeated them.

I had not been to Hanoi since 1932, and was pleased to see the pavilion in the lake where the tortoise took back the sword of the king of the Ly dynasty, in the same way as a hand came from the lake and took the sword "Excaliber" of England's King Arthur. Now the little pavilion has a big star fixed on its roof top.

The other cultural treasure of Hanoi, the little Buddhist shrine set on one big wooden pillar rising from a pond, was burnt by the retreating French, but now has been restored. Pictures of this shrine and of the lake pavilion are common on many kinds of handicraft work, silver, lacquer, embroidery and in various art motifs.

The streets of Hanoi are broad and tree-lined, and everywhere people travel on bicycles. Big bicycles and children's ones, made of strong light metal, many of them in the bicycle factory in Hanoi itself.

In the Hanoi Public Museum was a very fine display of pottery from both China and Vietnam. Good to see this, for surely the porcelain of both China and Vietnam will provide a

useful thing for trade in the new Pacific of tomorrow. Vietnam, a land with so long a coastline and so many harbors, is something like a Sweden or Norway of Southeast Asia, and surely one day will be a maritime country with ocean transport familiar in all Pacific ports.

I talked with a young lad who as a result of Western propaganda, had gone South to Saigon, selling all his possessions, and taking the whole family. After incredible hardships he finally managed to get the whole family back to Hanoi again, where he was kindly received, and work found for him. He was one of the Catholic community, who now find that in North Vietnam they have every freedom for their religious life, and that moreover they have their own working organizations which assist them in bettering their livelihood.

I wish that more people in our world could come and catch the feel of the new day in Vietnam. For Vietnam now is not only playing an important part in world politics, but she is also with warmth and gaiety even repairing the ravages of a long and devastating war, while taking all those immediate steps necessary to improve the livelihood of her people. It is a country of people with a spirit that cannot be smashed.

A striking evidence of this spirit was shown to me when the other day I went from Haiphong to Hongay. There had to be repairs made to several miles of dyke built before summer to make good the damage of last Autumn's typhoon. Thousands of youth had gathered, both girls and boys, barelegged and bare armed, working in the water despite the cold spring weather, digging out big blocks of mud and running them down chutes on to the dyke. They worked with a rhythmical swing,

and their laughter sounded confident and encouraging as each group set about the completion of their stretch as though that was the greatest thing in the world to do at that moment. It was a drizzling rain, as we passed, but many of the lads had stripped to the waist, and looked with their so beautiful figures like athletes in some Greek olympia.

Another evidence of the people's spirit was at the coal mines around the bay from Hongay. Surely no coal mine in the world is so beautifully situated as is the one at Hongay, overlooking the breathless splendor of the bay of Halung. Here the thousands of coal miners worked at the huge open cut, and from their efforts a stream of trolleys and trucks transported the coal down through the pine forests to the wharf side. Despite the rain which came steadily down as we watched, the work went swinging ahead, rather as if it were some great and pleasurable game that everyone was enjoying to the utmost. Berthed at the wharves there were foreign ships loading the coal, and near them the coal screening and washing plants were operating. There rose the merry shouts of one worker to another coming up through scenic valleys, and mingling with the sound of the little waves that broke on the shore.

The industry the old order left and hoped could not be used, is going in full swing again. The Cement Factory at Haiphong, the Alcohol Factory and so many others around Hanoi, keep on working and increasing their production. The doyen of the jungle industry of the Resistance, the paper factory of Thai Nguyen, has come out from its hidden place and makes paper for the new day in the full sight of people, and at the same time trains new workers.

Thai Nguyen is one of the historic places the peoples of the future world will pay homage to. For it was here that the Resistance began, began with just a handful of gallant souls, amongst whom was the beloved President of today's Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh. Before this tiny group lay all the forces of Imperialism—the Japanese and the French both. And allied with Japanese and French the reactionaries of their own country, with all their power of property and position. The steadfastness of this resistance is one of the most glorious pages in the annals of human struggle for freedom. It persisted, and it finally won out, so that now at last twelve million Vietnamese have thrown off their chains and stride resolutely forward. While to the Vietnamese of the South, still under the American puppet Diem, pride in the accomplishments of the only real Vietnam they know, gives them courage to go on and struggle for the unity that must surely come.

Since I have been here, I have seen the spirit of the Vietnamese people well expressed in two great public gatherings—one a protest against the farce of the Diem presidential "elections" and the other against Dulles' visit to Saigon, following his tour East to the meetings of the SEATO pact, so hated throughout Asia. It is not easy for the Vietnamese people to forget Dulles' rejection of the terms of the Geneva Agreement, the arming of Diem, the economic penetration into their land, and the six thousand good Vietnamese killed or wounded and the thirty-five thousand jailed, since the armistice of July 1954.

Here in Hanoi, I have been to see the fine agricultural exhibition to which people flock each day, which shown so well what has already been done and what improvements can be

made. I have seen the evidences of the campaign for literacy, and now only last night I noted the usual week-end health campaign. Across the street in front of the home I live in, there have appeared the words "together—for health" painted in whitewash in big letters, sometime during the night, while groups of young people were out cleaning up the streets, whitewashing the curbs. Hanoi is a beautiful city, especially now that the scenic lakes have been put into better order and the beds of flowers along the streets are in bloom.

Outside in the countryside this spring, the mutual aid teams are busy after the Land Reform, to be completed this year everywhere in Vietnamese Vietnam. Along the railway lines now put back into running order, and all around the great belt of cement and steel forts that the colonialists encircled Hanoi with, the people are winding up the barbed wire, picking it carefully from the rank grasses that have grown up through it, and putting it into bundles for other use. The cement forts, where they get in the way, are torn down and their rubble used to hammer into the roads and make the way easier for the people to come and go. This is the ultimate end of the terror of colonialism everywhere, and the Vietnamese people are justly proud of their place in the vanguard of the advancing peoples of mankind.

The children of Vietnam are especially beautiful. They are so lithe and active, and their neat, short clothing of cloth dyed reddish brown is very pleasing to the eye of the visitor, weary with the overclothed West. Children with big Vietnamese hats, red pioneer scarves and long bare legs, astride their buffaloes as

they herded, were seen in village after village we went through, working and learning together, all as in some great piece of fun.

As I looked at them, I thought of the ex-buffalo boys and girls I have been talking to during these last few weeks. In writing down their stories it has been hard to believe at times, that the old order could have been so full of denial—yet there it was! How different a boyhood these of today will have to tell of the inquirer of a decade hence! And how great an opportunity now lies straight ahead of them.

In the interests of peace throughout the Pacific, it is essential that the people who want that peace to become a permanent thing, should struggle for justice in Vietnam. There is no solution to the problem by simply allowing the Americans to replace the outworn French colonialism by a new brand of their own—as they are attempting to do in South Vietnam. The sickening imposture of the Diem group there cannot do more than bring new misery, new exploitation to the Vietnamese people still under their control. . . . Obviously, there must be a new Geneva meeting, in the interests not only of Vietnam, but also of every country in the Asian and Pacific area. Delay is dangerous, for the future of many millions of people is at stake.

I left Vietnam thinking over these and other problems. There are twenty-three million Vietnamese, of whom some three million are in the sixty-four odd minorities now being organized in the North Vietnam portion of the country into autonomous areas. It was good to talk with Thai, Meo, Moung and other peoples and to feel their intense enthusiasm for their land. How long will their fellows down in the South have to suf-

fer the old exploitation? But the new ideas are things that spread fast and already throughout Southwest Asia the example that the People's Government has set is having immense effect.

Before I left the country, I called on its President, Ho Chi Minh and was much impressed with his quiet, modest sincerity, his understanding of problems not only in his own country but also those in many another land. Speaking to me in my own language, easily and naturally, he left a strong impression of a man with a warm heart, a man of integrity and

insight, and one instantly realized how it is that he has had the devoted loyalty of his comrades in arms over the difficult years. A man thrown up from the people to help them to deal with this stage, and leaving some of his warmth with all those he meets.

In one of the shops of Hanoi I found a series of four small posters, with President Ho Chi Minh's better known wartime poems, one on each, written in classical Chinese, with the Vietnamese version below. I brought them home and trying with the Chinese to make a literal translation, have translated them as follows:

*Fifteenth
of the first month
a great round moon
and a river that seems
in the distance, to run
right up to the sky;
in the haze, we discuss
our work of fighting
and the whole boat is flooded
with the light of the moon.*

*Moonlight comes through
the window, begging a poem;
but a soldier's work holds me
so I cannot compose one;
the bell in the mountain temple
resounds, bringing me out
of an Autumn dream with the news
of victory on our frontiers.*

*Leisure after work
on army affairs; autumn wind
autumn rain and autumn cold
chills; then one hears
the sound of flutes
coming through the hills;
guerrillas have returned
and I rejoice that wine enough
is left for them.*

*As I read, the hill birds
look through the lattice;
the shadow of flowers falls
over the ink slab; so often
it is the tired horse
that brings back news of victory;
remembering you,
I write these lines to send you.*

—HO CHI MINH

Shopping in the New China

by BETTY CHANDLER CHANG

KENNY, my five-year-old son, and I were among the almost 42,000 visitors to our new specialty shop for women and children on opening day this past week. Housed in a spacious three-story cream-colored building in the heart of Tientsin's shopping center, the shop is attracting much interest. Bordering the plate glass windows is a running design illustrating the popular story of "How the Turnip Was Pulled," and throughout the store are designs from the small animal story books, or fashions for the women. But I noticed not only women were attracted by the shop; men too were crowding around buying togs and toys for their families.

A veritable fairyland of tricycles and minute bikes, scooters, child-size cars and tractors, and building blocks huge enough to build a life-size playhouse entranced the small visitors who fairly buzzed around the toy department. And the small playthings counter—80 feet of it—which held its treasures of games, modeling clay, movable toys, and things to build! Kenny bought one toy, a bulldozer;

but a kindergarten had just placed an order for some 220 different kinds of playthings, and I felt so happy to think of all the children who would be thrilled, many of whom I knew would never have had a single toy in the old society. And the cushy prams! None of my five babies ever had anything like these; but how wonderful to think of all the Chinese babies who *would*!

Occupying the rest of the first floor are the handkerchief, towel, scarf, underwear, and cosmetic departments. We bought a couple of colorful knitted singlets for Kenny with charming puppy dogs playing violins on them; there were also lovely underthings for women—dainty floral knits and embroidered silks. The locally made cosmetics and toilet soap were of fine quality and exquisitely perfumed. Some terry towels with pictures of the "kitten who went a-fishing" and lovely ducks couldn't be passed up to make washing small hands and faces fun—and rubber boots, which Kenny refuses to take off even though the sun is shining bright. There's chocolate and luscious candies of all sorts besides fragrant cookies and cakes in the confections department. Here too are milk, malt; and calcium preparations for babies and mothers.

BETTY CHANDLER CHANG is an American, married to a Chinese doctor. They have five children and live in Tientsin.

The second floor is done in restful apple green and is entirely given to the shoe and wearing apparel departments. Here we found lovely dresses, blouses, sweaters and jackets for every purpose and age. The children's togs were adorable. On the second floor too is a spacious and comfortable rest room for mothers and children.

The third floor is decorated in a pretty sky blue; and there a galaxy of color greeted us from the shelves upon shelves of dress materials, an entire floor of them—bright flowered prints, silks, woolens.

My girls, who are 10 and 12, of course had to have some of these new fashions; so we were waiting outside the doors when they opened the following morning. It was like flood gates opening, the way eager shoppers flocked into the store, so that within a few moments it seemed that the entire 2,500 people who can be served at any one time were all there, examining and choosing. The girls chose a shirtwaist dress and frilly blouse each, and we picked out some material for another couple of blouses—this a fresh-looking print imported from Poland. Then after a "must" visit to the confections department, we were off home (on a nice springy, airy bus which we learned was a purchase from Hungary) to display our fashions to the family.

This account may seem commonplace enough to some readers. But when I came to China and up until a few years ago not a stitch of nice ready-made clothing was available—not even a pair of leather shoes could be had without calling in a shoemaker for a fitting. Prints were the same old designs year in and year out, and expensive if colorfast. Children were largely forgotten too. Good soap and cosmetics were limited to costly imported products; locally made ones were of inferior quality and badly perfumed. Sweaters were not to be had; and underwear, what there was of it in the shops, wouldn't fit anything but a slat and was so unsightly that one would look for a secluded spot to dry it in. A "department" store in the old days was a pretty dismal place, and it's no wonder the shops were usually empty . . . aside from the fact that the working people had very little cash for buying anything but the barest necessities of life. So the wonderland of Tientsin's new store is all the more wonderful to us, especially knowing that in this shop as in all shops in China's larger cities, profits revert wholly to the workers who made them, enabling them and their families to buy the ever lovelier things they're making in ever greater quantities now, and to buy the products of other countries increasingly available in China.

CHINA'S PLANS IN SCIENCE

Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, announced May 4 that a draft 12-year plan of scientific advance is being drawn up. He expressed confidence that this plan would "bring China's backward scientific level close to advanced international levels in the next 12 years." Kuo Mo-jo said scientific research in China was basing itself on latest world achievements. He revealed that the Academy of Sciences has 46 research institutes as against 17 in 1949, that the number of research workers had increased more than 10-fold, and that many more were being trained.



Aram Khachaturian

A Letter from Aram Khachaturian

The editors of New World Review have asked a number of leading Soviet composers and writers for statements about their work in progress, their plans for the future, their thoughts about cultural exchange between the U.S. and the USSR. Below we reprint the answer from the leading Soviet composer, Aram Khachaturian.

MY WORK of late has been mostly for the theater and motion pictures. For the first performance in many years in Moscow of Shakespeare's "Macbeth," I wrote the incidental music. This production was staged at the Maly Theater earlier this year. For recent films I have done the musical background of another Shakespeare play, "Othello," which I hope you will see before long in America, as well as two other films for which I supplied the music, "Soltanat," and a picture dedicated to

the great Italian scientist, philosopher and humanist martyr, Giordano Bruno. Rehearsals are well underway both at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow and at the Leningrad Opera and Ballet Theater of my new ballet "Spartacus," dealing, of course, with the great revolt of the slaves in imperial Rome.

Apart from my composing, I am a professor of the Moscow Conservatory and of the Gnssin Institute, therefore a good deal of my time is consumed in the always rewarding work of teaching, as well as learning from, my talented young students. These students, by the way, are drawn from many nationalities, Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Mari, Rumanians, Koreans, etc. Recently at the Novosibirsk Opera a first performance was given of a ballet, "The Masquerade" written by a student of mine, Lev Laputin. Another of my students, Edgar

Oganesyan, now doing post-graduate work at the Moscow Conservatory, has written a piano quintette that has won considerable applause in musical circles.

I conduct, of course, a good many concerts of my own works. This I find of very great help in composing, for direct contact with an audience teaches you an enormous amount about your ability to communicate your musical ideas to others, and at the same time you can learn a great deal from the audiences themselves. This inter-relation between the creative individual and the people is, it goes without saying, of paramount significance to all artists in the Soviet Union.

Conducting my work before factory workers, in Houses of Culture, in concert halls, on collective farms has been invaluable. In 1954 I went back to Armenia—my homeland. There the Yerevan Philharmonic Society put a symphony orchestra of seventy musicians at my disposal, with which I made a tour of Armenian towns and collective farms, most of which have their own clubs. During one month alone of the tour we gave 18 concerts. This was a most rewarding experience for me.

Here in Moscow I have for many years been closely associated with the workers of the Moscow Chemical Plant. I help them in their amateur art activities, and attend the rehearsals of the various musical groups organized in their House of Culture. In general, I am at their disposal for consultation and direct help in the many artistic projects typical of our workers factory groups. I have also assisted amateur musical groups in Leningrad, Kiev, Baku, Yaroslavl and other cities.

As for my family life—it too is intensely musical. My wife, Nina

Makarova, is a composer. We met when we were both students at the Moscow Conservatory. She has written several symphonic works and a considerable amount for the voice and instrumental music. At present she is writing an opera. My daughter Nunne is just now finishing her piano study at the Conservatory, and my son Karen is at the Central Music School here in Moscow.

In recent years I have had the great pleasure of representing Soviet music in many countries abroad—Britain, Iceland, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. I look forward to many more such trips, not only for the honor and pleasure they bring to me, but because they are of the greatest importance in binding together the people of the world and reducing the differences between them.

I receive a great many friendly letters from the United States, Britain, Italy, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries, all expressing the desire of people of different nationalities and political beliefs for deeper mutual understanding and friendship.

Not so long ago I was pleasantly surprised to have a long distance telephone call from America. It was from Mr. Franz Wachman, in Philadelphia, inviting me to come to the United States to give concerts of my music. I have received letters from Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco and other American cities, extending similar invitations.

I have a very high regard for American musicians. In my collection at home I have a number of American recordings which I listen to frequently, especially Toscanini's brilliant conducting of Beethoven's First and Ninth symphonies, Verdi's Othello and other works. All my

friends who have visited the United States have expressed great admiration for American symphony orchestras, Metropolitan Opera soloists, and other virtuosos.

The successful appearance in the United States of Emil Gilels and David Oistrakh, and the cordial reception accorded in Leningrad and Moscow to the American "Porgy and Bess" troupe, were a good indication of the friendly feelings the Soviet and American peoples have for each

other. I am sure that the forthcoming visit to the United States of the Moiseyev Dance Ensemble will contribute still further to the spirit of understanding between our nations.

Here in the Soviet Union we would be very happy to welcome American symphony orchestras, singers and other artists.

There is no doubt that cultural interchange can be of great service to the cause of mutual understanding between countries.

Atoms for Peace Stressed in USSR

A DISPATCH to the *N. Y. Times* of May 22 by Jack Raymond reported that a group of fourteen U.S. scientists attending a conference in Moscow "have come to the preliminary conclusion that the Soviet Union is shifting its military resources from a military to a peaceful basis" and "are convinced that the Soviet Union has undertaken a gigantic program of nuclear energy research for peacetime purposes that may outdo similar efforts in the United States."

These views, he said were set forth in a lengthy interview with three of the scientists and were reflected in the opinions of others. Those interviewed were Dr. Robert E. Marshak, of the University of Rochester; Prof. Abram Pais of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton; and Robert R. Wilson of Cornell University.

The Americans said they were struck by the "general excellence of the Russian scientists in high energy physics" and were reported as considering the Soviet Union "second only to the United States in the quality and quantity of mechanical equipment for theoretical work," on which vast sums of money were being expended in the USSR.

On May 17 it was reported that the visiting foreign scientists had been escorted to a formerly secret site north of Moscow where synchrocyclotrons—

super atom smashing machines—are being constructed. One of the machines shown, which will go into operation next year, will have a capacity of 10,000,000,000 electrovolts. (One at the University of California has a capacity of 6,000,000,000 electrovolts, and a second 15,000,000,000-volt machine is being planned for the United States). The scientists were told the Soviet Union is also planning a 50,000,000,000-volt proton synchrotron.

Dr. Luis Alvarez of the University of California said that in design and principle the Soviet Union's machine shown to the scientists was the same as the one in Berkeley, but he added, "anyone seeing it could not help but be bowled over" because "it is such absolutely first class work." (*N.Y. Times*, May 18.)

The American scientists reported that many of the Soviet physicists now engaged in work on peacetime development had formerly worked on military developments. They said that from the work Bruno Pontecorvo, Italian born scientist, is engaged in, it was clear that he had worked only on peaceful projects since he gave up his British citizenship and went to the Soviet Union in 1950.

Altogether fifty non-Russian scientists, including the American group, were among the 450 delegates.

More on Corrections of Stalin Era

TWO GREAT liberalizing factors are at work in the Soviet Union. One of them is the thoroughgoing process of correcting the violations of socialist principles and law that occurred as a result of Stalin's assumption of one-man leadership. The other is the normal process of internal relaxation made possible by the relaxation of international tensions in the past year.

On April 25, by decree of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a number of wartime decrees designed to keep workers, engineers, technicians and others from changing jobs, were rescinded. These laws have, in fact, become largely inoperative in recent years, when the practice of prosecuting persons for quitting their jobs or for frequent unexplained absenteeism has been replaced by a system of public censure. The decree provides for the release of those convicted and serving sentences under the previous laws, and cessation of prosecution in all pending cases.

Factory and office workers may now quit their jobs on two weeks notice. While this means forfeiting of certain credits accumulated by continuing service and eligibility for temporary disability benefits only after six months in the new place of work, hardship cases will be considered. Exceptions are also made in cases of discharge on grounds of health, transfers of husband or wife in order to be with their families, and expectant mothers.

Following recommendations at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, the work week has al-

ready been reduced by two hours, and a six-hour day instituted on Saturdays and the days preceding national holidays. Paid maternity leave has been extended from 77 to 112 days. As part of the effort to lessen disparity between lowest and highest paid categories, top bracket salaries of administrative and professional workers have been considerably reduced.

The draft of a new pension bill has now been worked out for submission to the Supreme Soviet. The recommendations provide increased pensions for old age and disability and for members of families who have lost their bread winner. The proposed new schedules are on a graduated scale, amounting to 100 per cent of the wages of the lowest paid workers, dropping to fifty per cent in the case of the highest categories.

In connection with the drastic overhauling of special powers which Soviet security organs have had in the past, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on April 19 abolished decrees which had made possible the speedy trial and immediate execution of persons accused of sabotage, terrorism and counter-revolutionary acts. These decrees had been issued at the time Kirov was assassinated. According to investigations carried on since Stalin's death, these and other decrees created a situation in which impermissible methods had been used in extracting confessions from accused persons, and in the use of fabricated evidence.

New York Times correspondent Jack Raymond reported on May 5 that

Anatoli Volin, President of the Supreme Court of the USSR, had recently spoken very frankly of these matters to a visiting group of French Socialists. He read to them the text of a Supreme Soviet decree promulgated in 1953 after the death of Stalin, abolishing OSSOB, a special section of the Ministry of Internal Security which had extrajudicial powers of arrest and execution. Mr. Volin was reported to have told his visitors that Soviet lawyers were "profoundly opposed" to such organs and that "they never will be reestablished." He said new laws had been drafted modifying investigation and trial practices. He told the group that attorneys of accused persons will soon have the right to participate in investigation proceedings from the time the charges are preferred rather than as formerly only during actual court trial; that "conviction by association" will soon be outlawed; that "economic sabotage" (which he pointed out had not been used as the basis of a trial for twenty years) will be taken from the statute books; that punishment of persons failing to denounce suspects of serious crimes will be moderated; and that political opposition, when not involving crimes or definite acts against the state, will no longer be subject to prosecution.

According to a dispatch in the *New York Times* of May 14, the French group was told of further reforms in process, by a leading member of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who accompanied them on a visit to a corrective labor camp at Tula. He informed them that the Soviet Government had decided to abolish within a year or a year and a half all internment camps, and that deportation to areas remote from place of conviction was no longer

practiced except in case of extremely serious political crimes. In the future, even such cases will be tried in accordance with normal legal procedure and those convicted will serve their sentences within a reasonable distance of their homes. With only two types of imprisonment envisaged for the future, prisons and corrective labor colonies, the practice of imprisoned persons working outside of the penal institution will be discontinued.

The latest issue of the authoritative journal *Soviet State and Law*, according to press reports, attacked the idea of "trial by confessions" which it said had been used in the past to frame innocent persons. It said that this theory, advocated by the late Andrei Vyshinsky, was a "glaring violation of the principle of Soviet legality," and "denies the need for a court to establish the absolute truth in each case." The journal said a revamping of the legal code had been under way since the death of Stalin, "with the aim of insuring legality and protecting the rights and interests of citizens."

On the Jewish question, a number of Soviet publications in the last few weeks have strongly attacked violations of the socialist principle of national and racial equality, quoting Lenin's condemnation of "Great Russian chauvinism" and any manifestations of anti-Semitism.

On May 14, it was announced that permission had been granted for a delegation of five American rabbis to visit the USSR and meet "with representatives of the Jewish community." The group will be headed by Rabbi David B. Hollander, president of the Rabbinical Council of America, an organization of 700 Orthodox rabbis.

Regarding questions of local democracy, a recent article in *Izvestia* by Vassili Kozlov, Chairman of the

Byelorussian Soviet Republic, called for more frequent meetings of parliamentary committees and of the Soviets themselves, as well as more searching and intensive debate at these sessions. The Soviet press has published a number of grass roots criticisms of failure of local Soviets to meet at required intervals. *New York Times* correspondent Jack Raymond reported on the revival of local initiative as described to him by the Mayor of Odessa on a recent visit to that city. Mayor Lavishchenko told him: "Take my own case. When people are not pleased with me, they do not hesitate to say so, and frankly, there have been times lately when they did so. That never happened to a Mayor before."

While a great deal has been made of an article in *Pravda* attacking "rotten elements" who took advantage of the present situation to launch attacks against the Party, a later article in *Party Life*, said that references against such elements were not meant to stifle the activity of Party members, and that members should have no fear of engaging in criticism, and "the widest freedom of discussion."

B. J. Cutler, in the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 11, quoted an article in *Pravda* by Igor V. Kurchatov, foremost Soviet authority on nuclear energy. The latter wrote that the Soviet Union was prepared to share with the world detailed information on its work in adapting thermonuclear power for peaceful uses. Academician Kurchatov, who accompanied Bulganin and Khrushchev on their trip to England, had amazed his audience in a lecture at Harwell Research Center by describing in detail results of Soviet research toward controlled thermonuclear reaction. In the *Pravda* article he indicated

that while not all problems had been solved, much progress had been made, and promised early publication of further details in Soviet scientific journals. He wrote that solution of the problem of creating power by nuclear fusion would "relieve mankind of the constant vital concern for energy resources necessary for existence on earth." Cutler commented: "The freedom with which Soviet scientists are being allowed to make public their nuclear research efforts has impressed Western observers." A group of American scientists has been attending a physics conference in Moscow.

In the People's Democracies

In the People's Democracies the process of correction, releasing people wrongly imprisoned, removing some of the officials associated with incorrect methods of leadership, continues, while past mistakes are being fully aired in the press and freely discussed at public meetings.

In Hungary a process of decentralization of planning is reported to be taking place. As a result of requests by the Austrian Government and the Austrian Communist Party, the barriers along the frontiers are in process of being dismantled by order of the Hungarian Government. More than 100 anti-Communist prisoners have been released and Archbishop Groesz, sentenced for treason, restored to his post.

In Czechoslovakia, Dr. Alexei Cepicka has lost his posts as Minister of National Defense, a First Deputy Premier, and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. He had been criticized for faults in methods of administration and as a leading proponent of the cult of one-man leadership. Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the wake of the

Slansky trial have been aired in the Prague press and are in process of correction. Mordecai Oren, an Israeli citizen who testified at the Slansky trial and was subsequently imprisoned as a confessed "Zionist spy," has been released and has returned to Israel.

There he repudiated his confession, which he said, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times*, May 16, "had been forced by means foreign to Socialist practices." The dispatch added: "He declared that he was not a victim of a Socialist regime but of those who brought down the moral stature of socialism."

In Poland a number of Cabinet Ministers and Justice Ministry officials have been dismissed from their posts, and two former police officials are to undergo trial for violations of legality and illegal questioning methods.

Jacob Berman, former Deputy Premier, resigned after criticism by the Politburo of his activities "in the fields over which he had supervision."

The Polish Government, while stressing that the uprising of the Home Army against the Nazis in 1944 was premature, has acknowledged that there has been persecution and discrimination against the ordinary members of the Army. Premier Cyrankiewicz told Parliament that an investigation committee had established injustices against them and their families and that pensions and all rights and honors were to be restored.

The press has reported that in a general review of all cases of imprisonment upwards of 30,000 had been released and the sentences reduced of 40,000 others.

In the process of a drastic overhauling of the Polish legal system

which has already begun, the project of a new penal code has been issued for a several month period of public discussion before its final revision and adoption. The draft code contains a much more explicit description of various crimes than the former one, eliminating vague categories of political crimes which led to grave injustices in the past. It is reported that the new code will be followed by a revision of rules of evidence. Improvements in law education have already been instituted.

A dispatch in the *New York Times* on April 29 said that in the process of revitalizing the Polish parliamentary system it had been decided to introduce a regular period of questioning under which government ministers have to reply to questioning from members of the national legislative body, and to have longer and more frequent sessions instead of the former perfunctory type. Sydney Gruson wrote on May 7:

The freedom granted the press has astounded visitors and Poles alike. The papers have engaged in the most wide-ranging criticism and are digging into every nook of official life for bungling and corruption. . . .

To some younger Communists these evidences of what is called 'democratization' are overshadowed by less publicized events. According to them, there are no longer any tabooed subjects at Party meetings. They say also that rigid centralized direction of affairs down to the lower levels has ceased.

On May 20, Mr. Gruson wrote of the "boundless creative freedom" now permitted in Poland, and took exception to those who doubt the reality of these changes.

U. S. - U. S. S. R. FRIENDSHIP

by JOHN ROSSEN

THE so-called "isolationist" Middle-West isn't as isolationist as it was reputed to be, especially with reference to the cause of peace and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The fact is that since the Geneva summit meeting there has been a great upsurge of peace and friendship feeling in the Middle West, and the expression of a vast pent-up desire for more, and more accurate, information about what is happening in the USSR.

Outstanding was the spontaneous welcome by Mid-West farmers last year to the Soviet agricultural delegation. The unprecedented warmth and friendliness of grass-roots farmers, farm organization leaders, business and civic officials, was recorded in the press in all the places visited by the delegation.

The Chicago *Tribune* has for many years been the bed-rock pillar of "isolationism" in the Middle West. And vis-a-vis the Soviet Union its venom has been so great that to this date the *Tribune* refuses to capitalize the first letters of "Soviet Union"!

Yet, in response to the great interest and curiosity of its readership, the *Tribune* recently assigned a top-notch reporter, William Moore, to full-time coverage of Moscow. Up to now his almost daily articles rank with the best in the Western world for accuracy, objectivity and even downright friendliness in tone.

JOHN ROSSEN is executive director of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

To these examples could be added many more.

The University of Chicago student body is already in an advanced stage of negotiations for student exchange with Moscow University. The warm and friendly reception by audiences and critics of Soviet artists Gilels and Oistrakh was unprecedented in Chicago cultural history.

Neighborhood art theaters for the first time since the Cold War started are programming Soviet movies. The Chairman of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Mandel Terman, was invited to lead a panel on East-West contacts at a very broad and inclusive peace conference.

Soviet documentary and scientific films are used with increasing frequency in Chicago area universities. A Chicago World War II veteran, Joseph Polowsky, organized and led the first delegation of American Veterans of the Elbe Meeting to the USSR.

The growing sentiment for peace and friendship in the Middle-West is not merely a reflection of the general desire for peace and the easing of world tensions—here it also expresses the great interest of all elements of the population in trade with the USSR and the other socialist countries. For the Middle-West is faced not only with the problem of vast farm surpluses, but equally with the problem of finding new markets for its tremendous industrial output.

The problem of full employment and production in the electrical, automotive, farm equipment and other basic Mid-

West industries can be dealt with the long run only in the context of reopened trade with the socialist countries. When the Soviet farm delegation was in Chicago, President John J. McCaffrey of International Harvester welcomed them to its giant Tractor Works and said: "We believe that trade between nations and between peoples promotes understanding and, where goodwill, trust and confidence are present, is a powerful and effective handmaiden of peace."

In the new situation which has unfolded in Chicago and the Middle West, vast opportunities for fruitful work for trade, travel and cultural exchange have opened up for the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship. An independent Illinois group organized in 1943, the Chicago Council has functioned continuously since that time. Since the Geneva summit conference, its services and activities have been greatly expanded.

One of its successful new projects has been the monthly bulletin *Friendship*, which has in seven months achieved a readership of three thousand people, including many outstanding religious, civic and cultural leaders.

Another project has been a six-month

program of lectures and discussions on "Understanding the Soviet Union."

Many Mid-Westerners working on their own organizations' projects for contact or cultural exchange are coming to the Council for information, advice and help. The Council maintains in its office a library of reference books and publications from and about the Soviet Union, as well as a library of documentary films.

Most important of all for the cause of peace and friendship is the steadily growing corps of volunteers helping the Council. Without them, the Council would be greatly handicapped in meeting continually expanding responsibilities and opportunities. And among these, the outstanding worker for peace and friendship in all the Middle-West has been, appropriately, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Council, Mandel Terman, Chicago business man and civic leader.

The Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship has set itself the very worthwhile and realizable goal of assisting in the transformation of Chicago and the Mid-West from a center of isolationism to a center of American trade, travel and cultural exchange with the Soviet Union.

GALLUP POLL FINDS U.S. PUBLIC FAVORS B AND K VISIT

According to a Gallup Poll announced May 5, a majority of the American people favor inviting Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Nikita Khrushchev to this country. Referring to the recent visits of the Soviet leaders to England, interviewers asked a cross-section of the American public their opinion as to whether they should be invited to the United States to talk with Eisenhower and Dulles. The answers:

Should be invited	51 per cent
Should not	31 " "
No opinion	18 " "

On May 26 it was announced that the State Department had set up a special section to facilitate cultural, scientific and other exchanges with the Russians; that the number of Russians coming to the United States in formal delegations, aside from commercial representatives or artists, would exceed 100 this year, while the number of Americans going to the USSR, including many private tourists, would probably reach into thousands.

"Innocents" Abroad

THE QUIET AMERICAN, *by Graham Greene*. The Viking Press, New York, 249 pp., \$3.50.

MR. GRAHAM GREENE has won for himself an important name in contemporary English writing. His novels, books of travel, and mystery stories have been widely admired for their brilliant craftsmanship, if not always for their subject matter or point of view. An inveterate traveler, Mr. Greene has spent considerable time in the past few years in the East, particularly in Indo-China, and it is in this divided land that his most recent novel takes place.

The skill that could in the earlier books set London, Mexico, or Africa before the reader with such admirable economy, is here used to give the atmosphere of Saigon in southern Vietnam in the apprehensive days after the division of the country. In the nervous, bewildered city the discredited French, the venal Vietnamese leaders, the increasingly evident American "advisers" and members of "commissions" carry on their complex struggles against the aspirations of the Vietnamese people for independence and unity with the northern half of their country.

The chief character is an English newspaperman, Thomas Fowler, who tells the story. He is tired, disillusioned, middle-aged, the representative of a colonial power already deeply on the wane in the East. His antagonist in love as well as in the wider problem into which the book quickly passes, is the quiet young American, Alden Pyle, member of a U.S. Economic Commission, whose "innocent" meddling in affairs of which he is tragically ignorant has such evil consequences both for himself and for the people of the coun-

try he has come, so he believes, to help.

The center of their personal struggle is the Vietnamese girl, *Phuong*. She is the least realized and therefore the least satisfying character in the book as she drifts back and forth between the two men for protection, symbolizing presumably the masses of her people, hardly differentiated in Mr. Greene's eyes from the exotic flowers and luxuriant vegetation.

Representing the embattled French colonist is the police chief, *Vigot*, reading the "sad argument" of *Pascal* in the hot tropic nights as he goes through the ritual of authority without belief or hope. And finally there is the figure of the Chinese Communist leader, *Mr. Heng*, dignified, purposeful, complete in his acceptance of necessity, who in the end determines the act of the Englishman *Fowler's* commitment which is the climax of the book.

With consummate art the story unfolds, the personal conflict of the characters merging at once into a conflict far larger than themselves which is the very condition of their existence in Vietnam, and which offers them, if they can understand it, the choice that can give their lives meaning and purpose. This larger condition is, of course, the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom against the older French and British imperialism and the new threat of American imperialism.

It is a tribute to the novel that no one can finish it without understanding the meaning of this struggle and the moral problems involved. The hardly suppressed rage with which the book was reviewed in certain quarters in this country is the best testament that Mr. Greene touched the moral quick of his American readers.

MURRAY YOUNG

AMERICAN SCIENTIST NO. 996, by A. A. Heller, Room 110, 56 Seventh Ave., New York 11, N. Y. 24 pp. \$.25.

AMERICAN Scientist No. 996 is, of course, Morton Sobell, now serving a thirty year sentence in the grim prison of Alcatraz.

Mr. Heller has retold Sobell's story with simplicity and feeling. He correctly sees the imprisonment of Martin Sobell as the indictment of a whole period of American history—the terrible years of the Cold War.

The Rosenbergs are dead. Morton Sobell lives—a prisoner. Now as the terrors of the Cold War begin to lessen a little, Mr. Heller's pamphlet is a necessary reminder to us of the grave injustices of this period that must be set right if our country is to be restored to its finest heritage.

CHINA "UNCIVILIZED"? *Milleniums of Achievement and Contribution to the West*, by Maud Russell. *Far East Reporter*, New York, 20 pp., 20 cents.

THIS is a useful summary of the contribution of Chinese culture to the West. The number of inventions that are historical "firsts" in China is truly impressive. Indeed our indebtedness in many fields to the Chinese is extraordinary. The myth of Western superiority is at once dispelled by this well organized and skillfully condensed pamphlet. For an understanding of the tremendous advance that has gone on in China since 1949, a reading of this summary of the Chinese contribution to man's knowledge and control of his world is essential.

RUSSIA AND THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, by Lionel Kochan. *Fredrick A. Praeger, Inc.*, New York. 190 pp., \$.425.

THIS BOOK examines Russo-German relations in the period 1920-1934, the period of the Weimar Republic. These relations were governed, more or less, by the Treaty of Rapallo, signed

by the two parties in 1922. The author handles his material with skill and objectivity. In fact, it is an amazing job of research to have gone through the huge volume of documentation listed in the bibliography.

Russia and the Weimar Republic contributes a valuable chapter to the study of recent history.

WOODCARVING IN BULGARIA, by Dimitar Droumev and Assen Vassilev. *Bulgarski Houdozhnik, Sofia*, 1955. 133 pp.

THIS HANDSOMELY produced book presents a survey of the ancient art of woodcarving in Bulgaria. Located geographically at the crossroads of several civilizations, Bulgarian art is a rich composite of eastern and western influences creatively restated in local terms. The examples of woodcarving in this volume trace the course of the art from the 14th through the 19th centuries.

VLADIMIR DIMITROV—THE MASTER, by Prof. Boris Kolev. *Bulgarski Houdozhnik, Sofia*, 1955. 76 pp.

THIS is a monograph of the famous Bulgarian painter, Vladimir Dimitrov, known as the Master, by Professor Kolev, who briefly retells the story of this pioneer Bulgarian painter and discusses in detail the generous examples of the painter's work which make up the major part of this strikingly produced book. Born in 1882 of a poor peasant family, Dimitrov managed with great difficulty to acquire a certain amount of training which led to his decision to adopt art as his profession. His natural vigor and closeness to his peasant background is evident in all his work, both in the humanity of the subject matter and in the broad simplification of his style. Woodcuts, black and white reproductions, and a series in full color of his oils provide abundant samples of his work, a considerable amount of which, is to be found in the United States.

SING OUT, a *Quarterly*, published by People's Artists, Inc., 124 West 21st St., New York 11, N. Y. 50c per copy, 1 year \$2.00

The fifth anniversary number of this always fresh and interesting song collection keeps its traditional standard of excellence. Greetings from countries all over the world indicate the place

this quarterly has made for itself. The present issue contains a wide variety of songs and music as well as a number of articles of great interest to the folklore and ballad collector. One of the most interesting features of *Sing Out* are the people's songs from every quarter of the globe—Rumania, China, the USSR, Bulgaria, England, and many other countries.

New Recordings

Reviewed by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

DURING DAVID OISTRAKH's tour of the United States, he found time to make a number of recordings for both the Victor and Columbia companies. One of the most interesting of these contains the new Shostakovich Violin Concerto, in which he is supported by Dmitri Mitropoulos conducting the N. Y. Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra (Columbia ML 5077). It is not a concerto in the heroic vein, but a rather intimate work. For all the brilliance of the instrumentation, it leans towards chamber music rather than symphonic elaboration. Within this restrained vein it is a highly successful work, alternating touching and gay moods, and is masterfully played.

An increasing number of American record companies are showing interest in issuing Soviet recordings, and as a result many wide gaps in the recording of music history are being closed. Westminster offers a complete recording of Michael Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla." To my knowledge this opera, composed in 1837-42, has never been performed by a major American opera company. Yet it is both an important work in the development of national opera, and is thoroughly beautiful, if a little diffuse and loosely written. Especially fascinating is Glinka's use of Persian, Turkish and Tatar Melodies, and the treatment of the old folk legend

is full of tenderness and humor. The singing is not altogether first-rate, but Ivan Petrov, the baritone, makes a fine Russlan, and the contralto Eugenia Verbitskaya is splendid as the young knight, Ratmir. The Westminster company is to be commended for the pains it took with the libretto, presenting not only the Russian text and an English translation, but also a phonetic transliteration of the Russian (four records, Westminster OPW 1401).

Westminster also offers a grand and majestic performance of Prokofiev's "Alexander Nevsky," with chorus and orchestra led by Samuel Samosud (WN 18144). Yet another Soviet classic can now be heard in a performance as close as possible to the composer's intentions; the Fifth Symphony of Shostakovich. Eugene Mravinsky leads the Leningrad Philharmonic orchestra in a reading notable for its great clarity, breadth and monumentality (Vanguard VRS-6028). Vanguard also has scored a "scoop" in being able to offer "Rostropovich Plays Bach" simultaneously with the American debut of the wonderful young Soviet 'cellist. The record contains the second and fifth of Bach's unaccompanied 'cello suites, as well as two short works. The performance is a remarkable combination of impeccable technique, warmth, and intellectual penetration (VRS-6026).

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