

New World

REVIEW



Nature Study At A Soviet Summer Camp

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AUGUST 1956

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*Unless otherwise specified, photos are
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Vol. 24, No. 8, August, 1956. Re-
entered as second class matter June 27,
1951 at the Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
Subscription \$2.50 per year. \$1.25 for 6
months (Canadian, \$5.00 foreign \$3.50 a
year. Draw money orders or checks payable
in New York). Published monthly by the
S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 25 West 26th
Street, New York 10, N. Y. Indexed in
Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information
Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 5-3855.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.



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RUSSIA'S CHANGING SCENE

by RALPH PARKER

I FLEW BACK to Moscow, after a short vacation abroad, with a group of Norwegian fliers who had NATO numbers on their brief cases and who followed the course of the Aeroflot liner to Riga on maps prepared in the Pentagon. There were no customs formalities (our baggage was not even unloaded) and when during dinner at Riga's new airport we were told we would not be able to fly farther that night because of weather conditions an Intourist guide said brightly: "Good, that means you'll be able to drive round the city." Riga, it should be recalled, was strictly out of bounds for foreigners until the Scandinavian Air Lines ships started using it on the flights from Copenhagen and Stockholm.

"You can do whatever you like," said the young security officer who had been examining our passports.

This feeling of being a welcome visitor to the Soviet Union, hitherto extended only to 'delegates,' is one of the most marked of the changes I noticed on returning to the country. And now the members of officially-invited delegations are in the minor-

ity among foreign visitors. There are of course countless shortcomings to irritate the foreigner but few if any of these have their origin in distrust. Even the supervision to which one is to some extent subject is motivated less by suspicion than by a desire to insure the visitor's comfort.

I had left Moscow at a time when the contents of Khrushchev's confidential report on Stalin to the 20th Congress were known mainly at second or third hand. The general mood in Moscow in early May was compounded of fascinated horror, feverish excitement and a good deal of scepticism. Now, six or seven weeks later, everybody seemed to have read or heard the speech (and not via *The Voice of America*), and to have succeeded in fitting its contents into place alongside other events in the complicated process of establishing new methods of government that has been going on since early 1953.

On that Friday evening (just a fortnight after Khrushchev spoke), when most Communists heard the speech for the first time, many people's minds must have gone back to the extraordinary scenes that marked the death and funeral of Stalin. I do not think that anyone could have felt embarrassed when he recalled his grief on that occasion, no

RALPH PARKER, NWR correspondent in Moscow, formerly represented the "New York Times" in the Soviet capital where he has lived for 15 years.

more than anyone could have felt ashamed of the fact that he had gone into battle with Stalin's name on his lips or worked "for Stalin" during the hard times of post-war reconstruction. But people's memories did not play them false when they recalled that in March, 1953, their grief was accompanied by a feeling that with Stalin's death Russia had entered a new era in its history. Everything was going to be quite different from now on.

How different the Russia of 1956 is from the Russia of 1953 is something I shall try to explain later, but it seems to me important to make a preliminary point: Khrushchev's reassessment of Stalin's role in history was made at a time when public opinion was ripe for that reassessment, when, one may go so far as to say, people in their subconscious had already reassessed that role. The historic importance of the 20th Congress lay in its call to the people to understand *their* role in the new situation. It was the *cult* of the individual, not only the individual that was attacked, the habits of thought and behavior that caused people to rely on others to think, plan, decide and act for them.

On my return to Russia I found people much more alive to the lessons the Congress had spelled for them. Gradually they are coming to realize that they are being treated as responsible grown-ups or, if they happen to be persons in authority, that they must abandon methods of governing that, at the best, were paternal and, at their worst, tyrannical. There are, no doubt, still quite as many people willing to be bossed about as there are little bosses who have not given up their old habits. There is the story of the small-town mayor who when told that he would

no longer have to take his orders from the local police chief inquired: "Who shall I go to for orders now?" There is still a good deal of suspicion that criticism of one's superiors is not as safe as people are told. It is expressed in the following definition of the difference between 'criticism from above' and 'criticism from below': A man at a third floor window drops a stone on a man on the ground. That is criticism from above. A man on the ground throws a stone at the man standing above him. He misses and the stone falls back on his own head. That is criticism from below.

However, practical measures of no little importance have been taken to give people opportunities for deciding things for themselves without the haunting fear that if they make mistakes, fail, or deviate from the general line, they will automatically be suspected of a deliberate intention of doing harm to the state. Take, for example, such a basic right as that of growing what one likes on one's private plot of land. There was a time when the smallholder or the peasant with a small plot was virtually obliged by the system of taxation in kind to produce what the tax assessors decided. Now the landowner pays at a flat rate—so much per 100 sq. meters—raises what he likes and sells his produce on any market he chooses.

Somewhat similar is the new approach to collective farming. A farmer whom I called on recently in the Kiev region told me that for the first time since he took over the management of the farm twenty-five years ago he felt free to use his own judgment about what to grow where. Of course he had his delivery quotas to fulfill but he was freed from elaborate "directives" that had previously



U.S. Builders delegation inspecting a new house for workers in Kiev. The house shown was constructed within one week. The 6th Five Year Plan includes a vast housing program.

made him little more than a "representative" of the Ministry of Procurements, a passive one, moreover, who knew from bitter experience that it was far safer to fulfill bad "directives" than to raise his voice in criticism of them and perhaps get the reputation of being "troublesome."

It needs but a cursory reading of modern "directives" to detect this new relationship between the executive and the people. There is a more persuasive note; an effort is being made to explain the details of situations which make such "directives" necessary. The phrase "it is obligatory" has practically disappeared from the official vocabulary. And with the change of approach has come the removal of considerable numbers of "inspectors," "plenipotentiaries," "representatives" and other snooping busy-bodies whose very existence was a measure of the government's distrust of the people.

I think the present Soviet Government is making a serious bid for the people's trust. I have little doubt that when in the summer and fall of 1953 the data pertaining to the true

economic state of the nation—data long held secret by the Ministry of the Interior and by Stalin's trusted band of pseudo-statisticians—were brought to the knowledge of the Government and the Central Committee, they gave the new Soviet leaders a profound shock. It was on the basis of this data that Khrushchev was able to reveal the true state in Soviet agriculture and, a little later, Bulganin could point to serious shortcomings in the country's heavy industry and technology. It is to prevent any repetition of so false a picture being presented to the government as it suited Beria to give to Stalin, that the present Soviet leaders are urging people to report faithfully and without fear of reprimand. They are determined that the Sixth Five-Year Plan shall be carried out on the basis of accurate statistical data, and they have not hesitated to employ foreign "bourgeois" statisticians to advise them in this matter.

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of a story that is being told of the way Khrushchev reprimanded a peasant recently for a piece of deception that is typical of what

happens when people get into the habit of telling their superiors things they imagine those leaders want to believe rather than the unpleasant truth.

While visiting a collective farm (which is something we are told Stalin never did in recent years) Khrushchev asked a peasant how he lived. The peasant said he lived fine. And your house? asked Khrushchev. Oh that was fine. Khrushchev asked to be taken indoors, only to find a scene of squalid misery. "Why do you tell lies?" he asked the peasant angrily. "You are not only deceiving the government but—and this is more important—you are deceiving yourself. You will never live well until you face the fact that you are living badly now."

It is making people feel they are trusted when they read on the walls of their places of work that they can go abroad for their holidays, when in the club reading rooms they find copies of *Newsweek* and the *Manchester Guardian*. It makes them feel they are being treated as adult citizens when the works of foreign authors far from sharing the Soviet "ideology" are printed in their magazines, or when post-impressionist paintings long since immured in cellars are taken out to glow on the walls of their museums, or when they can ask foreigners into their homes without being questioned about them on the following day by a plain-clothes policeman. It helps to restore a sense of running their country

when the proceedings of the Central Committee of the CPSU are circulated to all Party branches.

At the time I write this, the new penal code and new criminal procedure have not been made public. It is known, however, that far-reaching reforms have been introduced that will insure the accused access to a lawyer before interrogation, not, as hitherto, only on the eve of trial; that the practice of using convict labor on public works has been discontinued; and that measures have been taken to modify the punishment of juvenile delinquents. Of capital importance are those measures that have been taken to curb the power of the police in cases involving state security. The Committee for State Security, placed under the direct supervision of the Council of Ministers some time ago, is now also under the control of an elected commission of the Supreme Soviet. Thus the era of the secret dossier is over. Now not only the procuracy (whose function is to see that the process of law is respected and which can be approached by any citizen in search of facts about a case under investigation), not only the government, but the deputies of the people possess powers to examine "security" cases. This is, no doubt, the most important development so far in the changes that are being introduced to prevent a repetition of Beria's methods of faking "plots" to maintain the reputation of the secret police in the dictator's eyes.

JAN PEERCE ON CULTURAL EXCHANGE

JAN PEERCE, Metropolitan Opera tenor, just back from a concert tour of the Soviet Union, told reporters in an interview he was deeply convinced of the benefits arising from greater exchange between artists of the Soviet Union and the United States. "It would form a basis for friendship of a permanent kind," he asserted.

PRESIDENT SUKARNO

Brother, Father, Son of the Indonesian People

by **ESLANDA ROBESON**



PRESIDENT SUKARNO

"PERHAPS you would like to know," President Sukarno of Indonesia said during his visit to this country, "that in Indonesia the people, all of them, call me Bung, which means Brother. If they wish to be formal, they address me as Bapak, which is the honorific name for Father. This I often feel is wrong, for I am by no means the Father of my people, but rather their Son. . . . You see it has been my duty and pleasure to go out amongst the Indonesian people, to mix with them and learn from them for many years now. I have travelled my country from end to end, and talked with I don't know how many audiences. In so far as the restricting chains of protocol allow, I like to be with my people, for all I have learned and all that I am comes from them."

Coming from the people as he does, it was natural for President Sukarno to address himself directly to the people of the United States. Addressing a special joint session of Congress May 17, he declared:

Standing here before you, Mr. Speaker, and before all the other honorable members of this Congress, my thoughts go to the homes and hearts of the multitudes of the American people from all strata of your society, for whom you act as elected representatives. May I therefore convey to you and through you to the people of America the most sincere greetings of the Indonesia people, and their thanks for your past generous assistance, with the hope that this visit to the United States will foster closer relations between our two Nations. . . .

President Sukarno made his State visit in response to an invitation from President Eisenhower. Accompanied by U.S. Ambassador Hugh S. Cummings, Jr., he arrived May 16 with his party, which included his twelve-year old son, Mohammed Gumtur, Indonesia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, the First and Second Deputy Chairmen of the Parliament, the Chief Justice, the Chief of the Indonesian Air Force, and several Indonesian journalists.

Dr. Sukarno is 55 years old, small, compact, and handsome. An engineer by training (Bandung Technical College), a scholar, philosopher and celebrated orator, a successful practical politician, he is the beloved and undisputed leader of the Indonesian people. Prof. Kahin of Cornell University, in his comprehensive book *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, says of him:

Possessed of a considerable Moslem as well as Western education, he had the unique gift of being able to synthesize Western and Islamic concepts with those of the strongly surviving Hindu-Buddhist-tempered Javanese mysticism and translating this synthesis in terms which the peasant could understand. . . .

Sukarno was in the forefront of the fight for independence of Indonesia from the Dutch, and for this the Dutch sent him to prison in 1929. During his 13 years in prison and in exile, he read widely, and learned four languages: English, French, German and Dutch.

The idea of inviting President Sukarno here and giving him the full "red carpet treatment" was an inspiration, and it met with the spectacular success it deserved. He came, saw, and conquered, and we learned something very useful. The Ameri-

can people, felt his deep sincerity, his unaffected warmth and friendliness, recognized and appreciated his profound intelligence. The *New York Post* (May 20) summed up the impact of his visit:

The Sukarno visit is a healthy thing in giving us some perspective. His combination of adroitness and courage . . . his candor, his articulateness combine to form a portrait of a sophisticated political leader. It will rid us of the belief that only whites and only Westerners know the art of politics. . . .

His Excellency's visit came at just the right time, and his speeches made an important practical contribution to the urgently needed "agonizing reappraisal" of our foreign policy. In order to formulate a sound foreign policy for Asia and Africa, we must acquire some understanding of what is actually happening there, how Asians and Africans feel about it, and how they feel towards the West. It is in this area that Sukarno made his most valuable contribution. He discussed Indonesia's foreign policy at Town Hall in New York at a meeting on May 24 sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association, as follows:

I do not speak as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, but the man who . . . has been chosen to head a nation of 80 million people who have just recently been reborn into the world . . . [Indonesia] is a country whose products have long been consumed but whose people have long been ignored. . . . Today we are called an 'underdeveloped country.' Frankly, we do not like that term. It is too all-embracing. Culturally, spiritually, morally we hold ourselves the equal of all. . . .

In the field of foreign affairs we

follow what we describe as an independent and active foreign policy. . . . The chief aim of a foreign policy must be to conserve and strengthen the peace of the world. . . . You cannot release hydrogen bombs on populations of great cities if your aim is the liberation of mankind. . . . Our policy is not one of neutrality. We do not attempt to withdraw from world conflicts. We believe we have a part to play in those conflicts. . . . We believe that the division of the world into two camps is not the way to the unity of mankind. . . . Because we are independent of either bloc, and because we are actively seeking means of conciliation, we refer to our foreign policy as being independent and active. But I repeat, it is not neutral, and it will never be neutral so long as man's tyranny exists anywhere in the world. . . .

Our ideal in international affairs . . . is that the nations of the world can live together in peace . . . as the days pass I grow more confident that sanity—and humanity—will triumph. The nations are in fact living together today. There is no reason why they should not continue living together in peace. . . . If we of Asia and Africa could be sure of peace we could more easily get on with the task of building our countries and providing a fuller and better life for our people. . . .

President Sukarno visited UN Headquarters in New York. The Secretary General, members and Secretariat welcomed him warmly. At a UN press conference arranged by the Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abdulgani, we took full advantage of the opportunity to question him. Mr. Abdulgani told us, in answer to a question about technical assistance, that the Indonesian people are determined to develop their own national resources if possible with their own hands, if neces-

sary with outside aid, if that aid has "no political or military strings." On the question of West Irian (New Guinea) which has been a thorny issue between the Dutch and Indonesia, and has been discussed in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Foreign Minister said:

West Irian is like the right hand of our body; as long as part of our country is occupied by a foreign army, we never feel secure, especially so when the army is hostile to us. . . .

Mr. Abdulgani also said, in answer to a question, that his Government is of the opinion that the People's Republic of China must be represented at the United Nations.

President Sukarno received an honorary degree of Doctor of the Humanities from Columbia University on May 24, and addressed the Convocation. Appropriately, he spoke of men and women down through the centuries who have contributed their "vision and truth to Humanity's storehouse of knowledge and skill":

Indeed, of all things international, the essential unity of Humanity is perhaps best shown in the field of the mind. He who lifts himself just a little further towards the stars, lifts all Humanity with him. . . . What has been learned anywhere in the world is the common heritage of all. The use Mankind makes of this knowledge is also a matter of common concern, and a matter which has its effects upon all men. . . .

I came to America to . . . confirm or to modify impressions, to observe, to learn, to collect wisdom. . . . What you have experienced as blessings shall be a lesson to us. What you have experienced as curses shall be a warning to us. . . .

His Excellency, in a most friendly

way, warned the American people that there is nothing positive or constructive in seeing the defeat of communism as the final objective of national policy. The Indonesian people seem to take communism in their stride: "... Their preoccupation with the staggering task of economic development ahead," wrote Walter Lippmann (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, May 22) "makes the evils of communism appear remote. The evil they known and remember is European colonialism. . . ."

The 80 million people of the Republic of Indonesia held their first national election early this year, to elect a new Parliament and Government. Thirty-five million people (85 per cent of the electorate) took their democratic responsibilities seriously enough to go to the polls. Of these, 6 million voted for the Indonesian Communist Party. The Communists form the fourth largest political party in Indonesia, and won 39 of the 260 seats in the new Parliament.

Mr. Sukarno said that the Indonesian people believe strongly in the practice of democracy. He told the joint session of the Congress:

For us democratic principles are not simply an aim . . . they are also a means of providing our people with a reasonable standard of living. The freedom of expression and the freedom from want are indivisible. . . . To the famished man democracy can never be more than a slogan. What can a vote mean to a woman worn out by toil, whose children fret and ail with the fever of malaria?

President Sukarno spoke frankly to Congress about many very important issues which are being discussed widely in our country, issues such as colonialism, nationalism, and foreign aid. He declared:

That Conference in Bandung, in which the leaders of 29 States took part, and which represented more than half the population of the world, was a clear indication of history's direction. Practically all shades of the political spectrum were represented there, and almost all were but recently emancipated from colonialism. They produced a Declaration which explicitly stated their continuing opposition to colonialism in all its forms. . . .

We are told that the people are not ready for a change from their colonial status, and that they need the continued guidance of the West to train them for the transition to liberty. We know this "guidance!" It left us after 350 years with an illiteracy rate of 94 per cent. It left us without sufficient doctors to treat even those sick unto death. It left us with a typically colonial economic and social structure.

I tell you this in all solemnity. In the eleven years of our independence the Indonesian nation has made more human progress, and has been the scene of greater human happiness, than in all the tens of generations of colonialism that went before. . . .

We are not anti-West. It is true that there is one manifestation of the West which we—and all of Asia—completely reject and will continue to reject. That manifestation is colonialism. . . .

Most of the violence in post-war Asia was not caused by the ferment of nationalism, but by the remnants of colonialism. . . . We did not seek this violence. It was forced upon us. We had more than enough to do to repair the national fabric. . . .

This is a period of Asian and African resurgence. . . . The world is passing through the period of Asian and African nationalism. . . . We do not interpret nationalism as meaning the superiority of our peoples over others. No! For us nationalism means the rebuilding of

our nations; it means the effort to provide equal esteem for our peoples; it means the determination to take the future into our own hand. . . .

For us in Asia and Africa it is the mainspring of our efforts. Understand that, and you have the key to much of post-war history. Fail to understand it, and no amount of thinking, no torrent of words, and no Niagara of dollars will produce anything but bitterness and disillusionment. . . .

Indonesia welcomes United States assistance on the condition that it should not be based on colonial economy, and assistance not at the expense of our independence. . . . We will accept with the greatest appreciation any assistance that may come to us, from whatever quarter it may come, for that assistance will lighten our burdens and shorten our struggle. . . . From whatever quarter of this divided globe that assistance comes, we are determined that no material advantage will buy from us any part of our hard-won freedom, for that freedom is more dear to us than any products which any country can give or sell. . . .

In his speeches to many organizations and groups, President Sukarno presented the Asian-African point of view forcefully, realistically, and persuasively. His articulateness, forthrightness and common sense, his illuminating analyses, his friendliness, tolerance, humanity and profound understanding built a bridge spanning the vast distance between East and West for all those who wish to use it. If the people of the world are to survive and progress, they will have to use this bridge. It is a sturdy beckoning bridge as President Sukarno blueprinted it. Walter Lippmann (*N. Y. Herald Tribune* May 22) suggested how very badly we need it:

The Administration and even some members of Congress are reappraising American policy in Asia. We know that we have been working up a blind alley. . . . The Western Nations are now on the defensive . . . from Morocco to Tunis through the Middle East, to Aden to Ceylon to Singapore to Indonesia, probably to Formosa and Japan . . . and all the key positions remaining to them are under attack. One has the feeling that the Western Nations are fighting rear-guard actions—the French in North Africa, the British in the Middle East, we in Formosa and beyond. . . . A new relationship between the emancipated East and the democratic West will have to be found. . . .

The Administration is at long last facing the hard fact that most of the new small defenceless Asian nations cannot be bullied, bought or seduced, and has decided, reluctantly, to follow the excellent example of the Soviet Union, and to initiate respectful, friendly, direct personal contact between the leaders of these new nations. Former Government Thomas Dewey of New York, Secretary of State Dulles and Vice President Nixon have made rapid tours of Asia in the hope of influencing people and winning friends for the United States and Western policy. But none of these men have the winning personality and velvet touch of humanity for the person-to-ordinary-person spontaneous understanding, tolerance and friendliness. Judging from the increasing trend of the "uncommitted nations" away from the West, and the rapid growth of neutralism, their efforts can be said to have been unsuccessful.

If our Government is really searching for clues to peace in the world, President Sukarno gave a direct one in his speech to the Foreign Policy Association:

The domination of one country by another is a basic cause of unrest in the world. In this age of Asian and African nationalism, there can be no final peace and security until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept into the ash-can of history along with fascism, feudalism, slavery and other rubbish of the ages. . . . Our nations are weary of being the dispossessed, the voiceless, the under-privileged. They demand equality of status in the world. Meet Asia, and peace will come into the world. . . .

This Wise Man from the East, this great statesman, spoke eloquently of peace to our Congress. . . .

There is irony in the fact that the first time ever man has it in his power to make the desert bloom like a garden, to banish poverty and want from the world, to open up a new era of brotherhood, and yet at the same time no man can look with confidence into the future. The rivers and tides obey our command, we bestride the skies and pluck wealth from under the earth and the sea; we conquer the age-old plagues of humanity and even fight a winning battle against death. At the same time we dig shelters in the rocks and prepare to die in them as man did during the dawn of the world. Have we then made so little progress? Have we learned nothing? It may be that war is a natural function of man and that his combative feelings prevent his living together in peace with his neighbors. It may be so, but I do not believe it. I do not believe it. . . .

Paying tribute to our country, President Sukarno said that Thomas Jefferson had been one of the great sources of his belief through the long years of his own struggle that all men could live "in a pax humanica."

His Excellency President Sukarno, well aware of racial color, religious and other prejudices in the United States, was deeply moved by the warmth of his reception here. He said proudly:

I am a brown man, an Indonesian, an Asian, I am the son of a poor family, the son of a nation only recently emerged into the world of national existence, yet you accept me as a friend, you accept me as a human being, and perhaps you accept me as a brother.

This respected and beloved statesman who dedicated 36 years of his life to the cause of freedom and independence for his people and his country, has pointed the way to understanding, cooperation, friendship, brotherhood and peace between his people and our own. He has laid down, a challenge in the word "perhaps."

Will we meet this challenge?

President Eisenhower took up the challenge when he said, in an impromptu speech at the annual dinner of the Women's National Press Club in Washington:

If we, as a nation, can convince every other nation that when they refer to us as brother, they won't have to say 'perhaps'; they will see a real democracy.

If we as a nation, can convince every citizen here at home, and everybody abroad—by deed as well as word—that we are indeed brothers, then every man, woman and child everywhere can look forward to peace and security, progress and happiness in our One World.

Meanwhile we salute Bung Sukarno, brother, father, son of the Indonesian people, and friend of the American people.

A DOCTOR VISITS HUNGARY

by DR. R. LESTER BLACK

HIGH IN THE mountains that surround the ancient city of Budapest, on the steep and wooded slopes now named Freedom Mount, is situated in an idyllic setting a 182-bed tuberculosis sanatorium. Formerly a privately owned institution, it is now part of the Hungarian state health service. I was privileged to visit this hospital not as a member of a delegation but as a private British holiday-maker overflowing with curiosity on my first visit to a country under communist rule.

There are many things deserving of criticism in Hungary. Some of these I will touch on later in this article. But the sanatorium on Freedom Mount is without doubt one of the finest of its kind in the world. I do not refer in particular to the techniques of treatment which are much the same as in Britain and the U.S.A.—indeed they were well acquainted with the current trends in the western countries and their library was well stocked with British, German, American and Swiss medical journals—but to the general attitude in the hospital. The superintendent doctor was a man of the most profound tenderness and kindness, a man who himself had survived the bestial cruelties of a Nazi concentration

camp. He did not pass a patient without a soft word, a stroke on the head and a smile. The relationship between doctor and patient was quite remarkable by western standards. Many of the patients were direct victims of the war; some had come through, but only just, the indescribable sufferings and indignities of the Nazi camps; one indeed, an eminent author, had been the subject of medical experiments by the Nazis and bore the mark of these barbarities permanently imprinted in the deep sadness of his eyes.

The first impression of a new patient entering the hospital would be the cosy welcome of the hospital waiting room, less institutional than anything I had seen before, a small well-furnished room with several chairs, flowers and magazines, scattered about and on the wall a painting which had been executed by a former patient. Nothing could be more calculated to put an apprehensive patient at ease. The dining-room, shared by staff and those patients (the majority) well enough to be up, also exuded the same warmth and intimacy. The tables were for four people. Each had a menu and the patients could choose between numerous alternatives for each course. Five meals are served daily. There was no meal in progress the time I was there but I sampled the food in preparation and I can testify that the standards of catering were of the highest, not excelled by many

DR. R. LESTER BLACK, is a Scottish physician who practices in Glasgow. He recently returned from a visit to the Hungarian People's Republic.

first-rate restaurants in which I have dined in London, Paris and Rome. Each course of each meal must be tasted first by a member of the medical staff who records his comment in a book.

Not only was there this excellent relationship between patients and doctors, but there was also a relationship of respect and regard between the doctors and the whole working staff. It would be unthinkable in Britain (and I presume in the USA also) that I, a visiting physician, would be introduced to cooks, orderlies, maids and stokers as I was in this sanatorium.

The hospital rooms were of one to four beds. There was a cinema show once a week, amateur musical and dramatic performances and a 1100 book library. There is no apparent shortage of drugs; streptomycin and izoniazid are made in Hungary, while the third important anti-tuberculosis drug, P. A. S., is as yet imported. The main importation of other medical supplies is from West Germany, Switzerland, as well as the socialist countries. The great bulk of equipment, from complicated X-ray plant to refrigerators, is, however made in Hungary. In the campaign against T.B. extensive use is made of prophylactic B.C.G. vaccination, as well as tuberculin-testing of cattle. No less than half the population are X-rayed annually in the campaign for the early detection of T.B. For certain groups of workers, e.g., in the food trade, yearly radiological survey is compulsory. All those who have worked three years continue to receive three-quarters of their wages, with smaller proportions for those employed for lesser periods.

The health service outside the field of tuberculosis is extremely comprehensive although scarcely so

wide in its scope as the unique national health service of Britain. Possibly for this reason there is still a flourishing private practice both in medicine and dentistry. The hours worked by physicians in the state service are sufficiently limited to enable the practitioner to undertake this private work in conjunction with his state work.

One must remember that the general poverty of the country is such as to limit the extent of the social services. The children get the best of what there is not only with regard to social service but also with regard to clothing and food. Everywhere, however, was evidenced the difficult times in the country. The shops were poorly stocked and the inferior quality of most consumer goods was equalled only by the distinct lack of variety.

Many of the old people were for one reason or another disqualified from the old age pension, and even those who received it were having a serious struggle to make ends meet unless assisted by their families. In the towns all were well clad but occasionally in the country one would see a barefoot child. This nonetheless contrasts favorably with pre-war when nearly all the peasant population lacked footwear and those who possessed a pair of boots would, when visiting a town, carry them over their shoulders, only putting them on as they entered the outskirts in order not unduly to wear them out.

In a country which fought on the losing side in two world wars, in a country which was itself a battleground in the bitter struggles and room-to-room fighting in the second world war, in a land so poor that in one pre-war year emigration exceeded 200,000 out of a 7,000,000 population, in a country such as this any

visitor who expects a land flowing with milk and honey or a socialist paradise will be disillusioned, and any visitor who comes back not having observed the stigma of poverty is blind.

This is not in any way to gainsay the remarkable progress in industrializing and restoring the country. Business men and technicians from all over the world were there to assist in this process, German, Russian and British. Rapid progress has been made in rebuilding the buildings and bridges (most of the bridges had been destroyed by the retreating Germans). Eighty per cent of the houses in Budapest had been damaged. The railways, primitive and inadequate in the first instance, had been decimated by the Nazis. Nearly all the agricultural livestock was stolen or destroyed by the Germans, thus there is a shortage of meat while the herds are being built up.

The number of very young expectant mothers seen in the streets shows that there is no great economic bar to early marriage. At the same time many Hungarians deprecate these early marriages and cite the high rate of divorce to support their argument.

The great hotels and playgrounds of the rich are now open to all. Margaret Isle, the beautiful lido siting placidly in the middle of the Danube at Budapest, is one such mecca. Formerly a stiff admission charge had to be paid merely to enter the island, but now free access is open to everyone to stroll through this enchanting floral isle, to sit beneath the trees, perhaps to visit the spectacular open-air opera (always booked up long in advance), to visit the open-air theatre, or the several enormous and luxurious swimming pools; or perhaps merely to lounge

outside the former casino, sitting at the bright little tables sipping a refreshment while listening to the lilt of soft music and watching the passing show.

The great hotels have likewise opened their portals and many have been converted into trade union holiday homes. I visited one of these at the lakeside resort at Balaton. Here the waves of this enormous inland sea lapped almost to one's feet, the trees were tropical in type and now and again a frog would dance across the footpath and crickets would chirp in the undergrowth. Workers staying at the holiday home paid nominal charges, just over half a dollar a day, while those preferring the additional comfort and privacy of a hotel of course paid more.

I visited the Basilica, the principal Roman Catholic house of worship. It had undergone restoration following war damage when the Nazis had mounted an anti-aircraft post on its roof. I also attended a service in the Jewish synagogue, which in its architectural and artistic splendor was a monument to the glories of a bygone era. The Jewish population, as is well known, suffered grievous casualties at the hands of the Nazi barbarians and Hungarian quislings.

In a land as poor and backward as Hungary progress can only be made by concentrating a disproportionate share of the national wealth on the task of building up a heavy industry. This policy does not produce immediate results so far as the standard of life is concerned, but is, in my view, the correct, indeed the only means to build prosperity in Hungary. It must not, however, be unduly rushed and it must be explained to the people. I was by no means certain that this latter proviso was sufficiently operative in Hungary.

WRITERS' SPRING CLEANING

by **ELEANOR WHEELER**

EXCEPT FOR the national conference of scientists which came a few days earlier, the Czechoslovak Writers' Congress was the first large public gathering in this country after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. The week from April 22 to 29 was the first time for a long while that cultural figures had dismissed the "inner censor" and spoke of substantial faults and shortcomings without worrying what the "class enemy will make of it." The general tenor of the sessions was "with criticism we have nothing to lose but our faults."

It is good to review this congress now, with the perspective of the two months which have elapsed, and in the light of the conferences of technicians, inventors, scientists and—primarily—the national conference of the Communist Party which closed June 17th. It is generally agreed in broad circles that, in spite of differing opinions among some officials, the total effect was a good one. It was a free forum for a great variety of views and only a minority seem

to think that it should not be repeated.

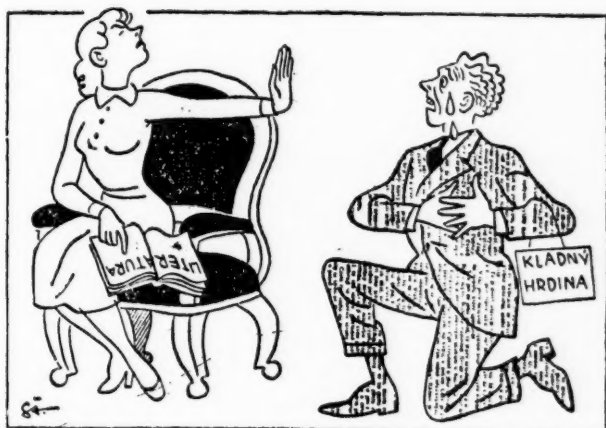
In the last few years complaints about Czech and Slovak literature had been gradually snowballing. Writers and readers complained that there was a lack of interesting and sharp conflict; that in the emphasis on the "typical" the difficulties were too much smoothed over; that the emphasis on the educative value of a "positive hero" had made many heroes positively uninteresting; that officials in the Writers' Union had set up dogmatic standards to which they and publishers expected writers to conform, thus cutting down on diversity and many-sided talent; that satirical works have had a hard struggle, and still do, when in the opinion of bureaucrats they are "harmful"; that, in short, literature was given the secondary role of illustrating and affirming the infallibility of certain theories.

These mistakes were not made deliberately, but usually with the best will in the world. Culture as a "weapon" in the fight for peace and progress was often taken to mean that discussions of shortcomings would blunt the weapon. Gradually came the realization that the contrary was true, that a one-sided weapon had less effect. Nor was this

ELEANOR WHEELER, a frequent contributor to *New World Review*, has lived with her husband and children in Czechoslovakia since 1947.

Positive Hero (paper-clad): "After all my loyalty and service you throw me in the waste basket?"

Cartoon from Prague
Literary News



one-sidedness what the leading public figures wanted; it was not the way President Zapotocky wrote, for instance. The letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the Congress made explicit the hopes and expectations of the general public:

The Party and the people expect that the Second Congress of Czechoslovak Writers will be an important event in the development of our socialist literature and a serious stimulus for all the healthy and vigorous forces striving for an artistic expression of the whole truth and complexity of present-day life. . . .

. . . It is natural and right that in the struggle for new artistic expression groups of artists should form among those who are close to each other and who are fighting for one or another artistic view. . . .

. . . Our Communist Party will never give writers prescriptions for their literary work. We have always been against regimentation of literature and the tying down of writers' creative forces. We proceed on the view that the writer must be fully free and must pose his own artistic problems. The Party has put and will put as its political aim,

however, to win over openly and honestly all writers to the cause of socialism and communism.

The extent to which the Congress lived up to expectations can be partially evaluated even now, looking back over its effect on cultural life in the last two months. It will be even clearer, of course, in a few more months or a year, but now we can hazard the judgment that the freer attitude of criticism and the more varied approaches to literature are here to stay. As the writer Frantisek Rachlik said at the Congress, "When we listen to what our people, Party members, are saying at their branch meetings, we hear a mighty breath from the inner depths of our people and are convinced that no one will be able to close the windows even partially with the cleverest and best constructed theses of 'balance and order.'"

It would not be fair to dwell exclusively on the complaints about recent Czechoslovak literature. As many speakers pointed out, there has been an impressive body of competent and interesting Czechoslovak writings in the last ten years which

can take their place beside the works of Capek. Vancura, Jilemnicky, Hasek and others less well known abroad. It was in this period that Jan Drda wrote his "Silent Barricade" and Nezval his epic poem "Song of Peace." Marie Majerová, known abroad for her "Sirena" has continued her writing, and Marie Pujmanova finished her trilogy about the parallel lives of a working class and a progressive intellectual family in the First Republic on up to the 1945 Liberation. It was also in this post-war period that President Zápotocky wrote his series of biographical novels covering the life of his father in the beginnings of the Social Democratic movement in Bohemia, his own participation in labor struggles and—in the fourth of the series to be published, but earliest in point of time covered—telling about the development of his grandmother from a naive seamstress "with ambitions" to a class-conscious aide and abetter of her radical son-in-law.

Not only do the Zapotocky series breathe the life of socialist realism, but also in his work habits the President is a reproach to those writers who complain that the burden of public duties encroaches on their writing: those who know him say he rises at four or five in order to write his novels on his own time, and not on "state time." This is in addition to attending most important theater and opera premieres, art exhibitions, trade fairs, receptions, etc., and carrying on the routine of government business. I mention all this to make more understandable the remarks of the President at the Writers' Congress, and of others at the Communist Party Congress, about the complaints of the less organized writers.

The general comment on the first

few days of the Congress was that it was off to a slow start. Perhaps this was because the 300 members present, the 140 candidates for membership and about 140 guests met in the official atmosphere of the Parliament building, perhaps because the introductory speeches were mostly reviews of accomplishments and a few general remarks about shortcomings.

The turning point came with the speech of poet Frantisek Hrubin which he called a "personal confession." Although he greatly exaggerated the ills of Czechoslovak literature in its first ten years after liberation and, while he self-centeredly projected his own problems into all of Czechoslovak literature (even overestimating his work by comparing it to a "swan caught in the ice"), he did perform a useful service in getting freer discussion going. He cried out against the wrong done some talented non-conformist poets when they were ostracized from literary life. He reproached those who looked the other way when this was done:

Those of us who tranquilly walk, tranquilly write, tranquilly gather our fees, and sleep in peace, those who pretend that they know nothing about it and don't say aloud: 'A wrong is being done!' are disguised petty-bourgeois egoists—and he who is only secretly ashamed is a coward. There are, and will be, attempts to pass over, cover up, belittle these facts; but every such attempt makes our shame that much greater. If we today are not ashamed, then one day our children will be ashamed for us.

Hrubin also regretted the harm done Czechoslovak literature itself when narrow standards were set for art, when there was a "tendency to

measure the progressiveness of a poet, his devotion to his people and country by the themes of his poetry." He declared that the people themselves had thereby been cheated: "what do the people want from poetry? Glorification? Declaiming? Sloganizing? Not at all. They want poetry to show where life is going."

Most of the speeches boiled down to the same statement of aims for writers as Hrubin's "show where life is going." Some said "write the truth," some said "be the conscience of the people," some agreed with poet Seifert that "when a statesman keeps silent on a certain question, that is strategy, when a writer keeps silent he is lying." But in essence the aim was the same. As literary critic Jiri Hájek said, there were, in addition to the group at the Congress who strove to "retain the halo of infallible authority" or those who wanted the "glory of an unhonored prophet," the great majority who had "many unsolved questions. Even a great deal of confusion, doubts and uncertainties. Sometimes in questions of life, but chiefly in questions of literature and esthetics." One great certainty they had in common, said Hájek, however, and that was the acceptance of the cause of socialism and serving the people. Among the opportunists and dogmatists on both sides were Marxists and non-Marxists; among the "seekers" were both Party members and non-members. The significance of the Congress lay in the fact that it was a new stage in discussion and in creation.

The searching discussions were furthered, not only by those who objected to the state of Czechoslovak literature over the last ten years, but also by those who had helped to make it what it was. The younger generation, reproached by several at

the Congress for its brash assumption of correctness over the last few years and for its cruelty to authors who were not strictly "on the line," was well explained by one of the outstanding members of this generation. Stanislav Neumann, son of a prominent actor and grandson of one of the foremost poets of the 1920's and 1930's—both also named Stanislav Neumann—gave the following explanation:

My generation entered literature very young, undoubtedly sooner than was healthy for us. We went through a very simple school of life. We began to live consciously in the years of the occupation. Then it was very easy to find the answer to the question 'which side are you on?' because the front was clear and unambiguous: on one side the Gestapo and we on the other side . . . perhaps that is why we could not understand after liberation that for thousands of others these questions were far more complex . . . therefore we were impatient. Therefore we believed in the magic power of the word, therefore we used strong words . . . we did not know the bitterness of daily struggles. . . . Not until now have I understood the complexity and burden of life, realized that I hurried, I simplified. Youth explains these errors, but it does not excuse them. . . . Nevertheless I am sad and bitter about the remarks made yesterday by Seifert. Like others I believed that Seifert had understood the eleven years of our life, eleven years filled with griefs, but also with great joys and triumphs. It hurts and offends me when these years are spoken of as years of suffering of our people. When our people were really suffering their writers were with them in the underground, in Pankrac prison, in concentration camps.

President Zápotocky similarly pointed out how incorrect it was to

overlook the great triumphs achieved in the first eleven years of the People's Democracy. He felt that the root of the errors lay in an underestimation of the victory which had been won and "from this underestimation came the thesis that in building socialism the class struggle sharpens. Do you understand the importance of this fact and the unhappy results?" On the contrary, as the discussions at the 20th Congress have shown, said the President, the socialist system has become a world power, and capitalist positions have become weaker. "As a result there has come about a complete change in the situation. It will be the socialists who must extend democracy to its logical consequences. . . . It is up to every one of us to think through the results of these change. Then we shall understand much of what has happened in this country and what

could have happened and what we are rightly condemning today."

The essence of this point of view is that socialism has been shown to work; it has distributed more equably the fruits of labor; it has given more opportunities to young people, women, handicapped and others neglected in a competitive system; it has brought cultural opportunities to remote villages and reanimated the cultural life of the towns among working people and the general public. In spite of mistakes made, the advances have been enormous: the foreign policy is one of which all Czechoslovak citizens are proud. It is right that these gains should be celebrated in an optimistic literature, one which expresses the complexity of this new life. This is what should be borne in mind when demands are made for a more varied and many sided literature.

AN EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE: USSR VS. USA

MME. LYUDMILA V. DUBROVINA, Deputy Minister of Education in the USSR, and a recent visitor to the U.S., challenged the United States to a contest in the field of education at a conference held in Geneva on education, organized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Mme. Dubrovina pointed out that in both the Soviet Union and the U.S. one out of every four persons attends some kind of school.

In her report Mme. Dubrovina stated that the 9 per cent rise in expenditure on education in 1955 had been made possible in part by a reduction in military expenditures.

With the exception of the Soviet Union, all the 74 countries attending the conference expressed dissatisfaction with the teaching of mathematics in the secondary schools. Deep concern was reported with the shortage of mathematics teachers because this was leading to a slowdown in technical and economic progress. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, reported that it has a standard curriculum that provides every student with seven years of mathematics whether he shows any aptitude or not. The other countries, allowing for a choice in the study of mathematics, described the faulty teaching methods unrelated to everyday life that discouraged students from pursuing further their studies in this essential field.

THE LESSONS OF ART

by SAMUEL MARSHAK

We reprint through the courtesy of the British Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR a speech given at an international conference on the theater held last year in London. Samuel Marshak is the distinguished Soviet translator of Shakespeare and writer of plays and poetry for children.

I AM NOT really a man of the theatre, but as a writer I have certain ties with the stage, and today I should like to share with you a few thoughts which I hope may find a response among you.

It was a very happy idea to call us together so that we could examine what is happening in the theatre today in the light of its history, and what has been and is being contributed by different nations.

Art has the magic power of cutting through barriers of race, nationality and tradition, bringing men to a recognition of their universal brotherhood. Achievements in science and technique make us admire and respect a nation, but achievements in art make us love it.

Every nation has made its contribution to the mighty edifice of world art. Arch after arch goes curving away from such keystones as

Shakespeare, Lope de Vega and Goldoni. These arches span oceans and continents. The more seriously and honestly an artist serves his own people, the more international his works are bound to be, for true art can reach the world only if it has deep roots in the soil of a culture, of a people. Truly national playwrights like Shakespeare, Molière, Beaumarchais, Goldoni, Sheridan and Bernard Shaw, or Gogol, Tolstoy, Chekhov and Gorky, are claimed as their own by the peoples of the whole world.

Our great poet Alexander Pushkin, who, Russian to the core, had a profound understanding of the art and literature of other countries, used the affectionate term "father" when speaking of Shakespeare. And how many playwrights today, whatever their country, might use the same word when speaking of Chekhov?

But artists do not copy one another. They influence one another as the Italian influenced Shakespeare or as Shakespeare influenced Pushkin as a dramatist.

This influence is essential if art is to flourish. As we cannot air a room if the windows are closed, so we cannot catch the fresh breezes of art without opening the windows of all lands to each other.

This meeting in London is an opening of the windows, an airing of the room. And never perhaps was an airing more timely. There is a stuffiness and tension in the atmosphere of our world today to which no artist can be insensitive. Fortunately there are signs of an easing of this tension and it behooves us as artists to help bring this about. We bear a very serious responsibility, for whose influence over the minds of people can be compared to that of the writer, the poet, the actor?

The form used by the playwright makes it easier for him than for other writers to reach the hearts of the people in his own and foreign lands. He speaks not only in words, but also in action—a language understandable to all people, whatever their experience. That is why Shakespeare has a long, great world history. Shakespeare in French, German, Russian—how different he is in every language, and yet how much the same.

When I translated Shakespeare's poetry, his immortal sonnets, I came to realize how much more slowly thought penetrates when expressed in lyric form than when presented on the stage and supported by action. I was not the first to translate Shakespeare's poetry into Russian, but I have been the first to see the sonnets reach hundreds of thousands of readers.

Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies, however, which became known in our country in the middle of the 18th century, immediately found a place on the Russian stage and captured the hearts of the spectators, although the early translations were not very good. There has hardly been a generation that has not produced its new translations of Shakespeare,

each closer to the original and more poetic than its predecessor. This is not only the victory of a great playwright, but also a victory for the dramatic form, which is built on action and on the spoken word.

However profound a play, it is more likely to be understood by the unsophisticated than other forms of art. But this short cut to the hearts of millions places a great responsibility on the playwright. He who speaks loudly should speak well and should have something to say.

There are times, of course, when a loud voice speaks from the stage or the screen, wrangling, gossiping, slandering or advertising worthless goods. But that is not art and is never long-lived. When we consider art that has survived at least two generations without losing any of its freshness and charm, we can see that it is built on firm ethical foundations. Such art is humanist in the full sense of the word.

Like Bernard Shaw, Chekhov and Gorky had many contemporaries whose plays were a success in their own day, but are now forgotten. And not because their authors lacked talent. Or perhaps they did—if by lack of talent we mean an inability to say what is most important and vital to mankind.

Today the most vital factor in the life of mankind is peace and friendship between peoples and countries, irrespective of their political systems and convictions. Today the artist, whatever his theme, cannot and should not forget this.

After all, the greatest degree of originality is achieved when the artist can trace the movement of history in a fleeting succession of days, when he perceives in a thousand contradictory trivialities one great and simple truth. And perhaps his great-

est responsibility is to the young, for they will have to carry on when we are no more.

In 1916, when the world was enveloped in the flames of the first world war, Maxim Gorky, who courageously opposed the war hysteria then raging, wrote a letter to Romain Rolland, asking him to write a life of Beethoven for children. At the same time he asked H. G. Wells to write a life of Edison, and F. Nansen to write a life of Christopher Columbus. He himself chose the subject of Garibaldi and offered to arrange publication of these books. "Our aim," Gorky wrote to Rolland, "is to make young people love life and believe in it." Is not this an urgent aim for us today? As never before, the youth of the world, the youth that still remembers the last war and hears far too much talk about a future war, needs to be taught to love life and believe in it.

Art is the best teacher and has its own way of teaching: through joy, play, aesthetic pleasure. And great art never separates beauty from truth, aesthetics from ethics.

True, we all know that art is often degraded to the role of a pampered, idle and capricious mistress whose only concern is to be seductive. It would be far more becoming if art assumed the great and modest role of the housewife, full of maternal solicitude for the coming generation.

I do not mean to say that this housewife should wear an apron, hold the inevitable duster in her hand and have a platitudinous moral suitable for all occasions. The lessons art teaches are much too profound to be served up on request.

It is impossible to reduce the comedies and tragedies of Shakespeare to a formula and it is often difficult to decipher their message. And yet

they have a message. The triumph of reason, generosity and nobility in the comedies, and the catastrophe which moves the spectator so profoundly in the tragedies—do not they lead us to draw a moral conclusion, even though the moral may not be visible on the surface? Yet it envelops us like the air we breathe. And the same may be said of the theatre of a totally different time and character, of the plays, for example, of Ibsen, Hauptmann, Chekhov and Gorky.

There are sound reasons why all these plays are staged in all our country's many theatres. Since 1917 theatres have sprung up in places where there was nothing but impenetrable forest or barren desert. Nowhere else in the world have Shakespeare, Molière, Lope de Vega, Tolstoy and Chekhov such a huge and responsive audience as in our country.

The theatre is part and parcel of our lives. Every republic of the Soviet Union has its dramatists, producers, actors and stage designers. Even in the smallest town people will take pride in showing you their theatre. And in the villages, on the collective farms, practically everywhere, you will find amateur theatres where classical and contemporary plays are often performed. Among all these theatres I want to mention one that has made its appearance since the Revolution. It is the children's theatre; and no other, perhaps, has such an influence.

Before the Revolution children's matinees were sometimes arranged by theatres in the capital and in the large provincial towns. Such performances took place on important holidays and with the sole purpose of increasing box-office receipts. The plays they staged were tedious or trifling,

the actors were usually second and third-rate, and the audience consisted for the most part of the children of the well-to-do. In point of fact the children would have preferred a visit to the circus.

During the want and suffering of the civil war and intervention period that followed the Revolution, the young Soviet state did not begrudge any efforts or money required to open new schools, libraries and children's theatres. These theatres had their own buildings, companies, directors and playwrights. Their aim was not commercial; their noble task was the entertainment and education of the youngest and most responsive and sensitive of all playgoers. The new theatres undertook their task with a whole-hearted devotion. By so doing they carried on the traditions of progressive Russian theatre, whose purpose was defined by Stanislavsky in 1898, when the Moscow Art Theatre was being formed.

"The task we have undertaken," Stanislavsky said, "is not a simple one and is not our private concern . . . it is a social one. We want to found a theatre in which reason and high moral standards will reign supreme, a theatre which will be accessible to all. To this great purpose we dedicate our lives."

Today not only the Moscow Art Theatre, founded by Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko, but all our theatres are accessible to all. Some theatres are better than others, but all of them are free of the twin evils that have so often ruined and are still ruining the finest artistic undertakings — commercialism and snobbery.

Only in such conditions was it possible to ensure the rapid development of children's theatres, including puppet theatres, that has taken place in

our country. The children's theatres receive state subsidies and are generally recognized as one of the most important means of education. Today the Soviet Union has 31 permanent theatres for young people and 68 puppet theatres, mainly for the very youngest audiences.

Children's theatres, employing professional actors, have been opened in every part of the country (in the Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Estonia, Tataria, Chuvashia and so on). Puppet theatres, which by their very nature are portable, penetrate to places where the footlights have never yet been switched on. They set up their screens on the broad fields where tractors are at work, in the huts of the lumberjacks, in the taiga and in the tundra, where the puppeteers, with their boxes of toy actors and folding screens, travel by dog sledge.

To create good theatre for children was neither simple nor easy. It was by no means simply a matter of putting up a theatre building, supplying the stage equipment and forming the company. Both playwright and actor had to learn how to talk to children without lisping or preaching. When Stanislavsky was once asked how to play for children, he replied:

"The same way as for grown-ups, only better."

Neither the dramatist writing for children nor the actor playing for them should forget, however, that he has a very special kind of audience.

When attending a play at a children's theatre you are sometimes at loss to know where to look—at the stage or at the audience. The audience reflects the stage like a magnifying glass. Eyes sparkle, cheeks

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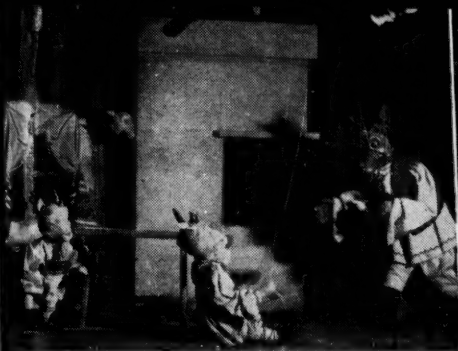
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VIEW



In a children's Puppet Theatre in Rumania: the audience of children are watching a well loved story "The Mother Goat and Her Three Kids."

flame, dozens of voices warn the hero of the trap being set for him and a storm of applause greets the helping hand that arrives in the nick of time.

I once spoke to a small boy who had just been to the cinema to see the well-known film on Chapayev. "Did you like it?", I asked. "No." "But why not?" "Because Chapayev was drowned. Tomorrow I'm going to see the same picture at another cinema. Maybe there he'll swim ashore."

Of course he was a very small boy. But older children as well—those who aren't upset when the hero is drowned, and are fully capable of appreciating the quality of the play and the skill of the actors—even they respond so warmly and spontaneously to every thought and emotion that the question involuntarily springs to mind: was it not for them that Schiller wrote his *Love and Intrigue* and was it not for them that the story of *Romeo and Juliet* was written?

It is a joy to write a play for an audience with such a vivid and responsive imagination. Nikolai Pogodin, one of the oldest of our Soviet playwrights, was so moved on seeing the children's play *Good Luck* by Victor Rozov, a young writer, that after all these years he has started

to write his first play for children.

Good luck to him! That is a sign that our young authors writing for the children's theatre influence not only their youthful audience, but also their teachers who have long since forgotten their childhood!

And while the children's theatre is of inestimable value in that it prepares its young audience for a great future, it is no less useful to the adult theatregoer because it reminds him of the childhood from which his manhood sprang.

We think it is a sign of the times that the educative value of the theatre is growing and that the theatre is paying more attention to the children. From many countries comes news of fine new productions of children's plays: from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, China. True, our information is not complete, but what we know holds out great promise for the future. For instance, a few days ago I received a letter from Japan with news of a fairy tale play for children.

It must not be forgotten that care for young people, for their aesthetic and moral upbringing is our best guarantee for the continuous development of civilization. Maxim Gorky, one of the greatest poets of our age, said: "Only the children are immortal."

The Supreme Soviet Meets

by JESSICA SMITH

A GOOD deal has been made of the fact that no "sensational" developments materialized at the recent meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

We must admit that we, ourselves, had hoped for some new concrete demonstrations of the growth of the democratic process, more discussion, the introduction of the new criminal code, measures to activize the functioning of the Soviets on all levels and to liberalize the election system, which had been discussed in the Soviet press. But we who look for new sweeping actions to overcome the evils resulting from Stalin's one-man rule, must realize that the Soviet leaders have apparently determined that it must be a gradual, thorough and long time process.

If the session lacked in sensations within the USSR, it was largely because most points on the agenda had already been publicized and discussed among the Soviet people, before the session. Certainly the question of the new law increasing pensions, the main internal question on the agenda, was one of the deepest concern to the whole people, affecting every Soviet family. Did we expect opposition to that? Or to the ratification of other measures already promulgated affecting the people's welfare?

Let us consider those things that are of the greatest concern to us here in America and to the question of world peace. Suppose, for example, Secretary of State Dulles had come

before Congress and urged immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union and Great Britain for the ending of all tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and Congress had enthusiastically endorsed the idea? Suppose both houses had unanimously passed a resolution endorsing an immediate cut in our armed forces, and calling on all parliaments of the world to do likewise, as an immediate step toward disarmament?

Let us ask ourselves why such proposals are not considered at all sensational when emanating from Moscow, but would be sensational if they took place in Washington, and view the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet in those terms.

In procedure and atmosphere, Moscow correspondents noted certain changes already apparent. Jack Raymond wrote in the *New York Times*, July 15, "The Supreme Soviet this week was the very model of a conscientious Communist legislature" but, he added "that is not to deny that a much improved atmosphere of a distinctly democratic flavor was evident compared with past dreary sessions under the rule of Stalin." He spoke of the great crowds both outside and inside the Kremlin gates, where formerly only a few could enter; of the fact that the leaders came down among the deputies and talked with them during recess, which did not happen in Stalin's time, the much more frank talk by leaders generally, the emphasis on the Constitutional requirements of

regular biennial meetings; the fact that Committees of the Parliament began their work six weeks in advance, whereas there was a time when they did not meet at all, or only a few days before the session.

Bulganin on New Pension Law

The Draft Law on State Pensions was presented by Premier Bulganin at the joint opening meeting on July 11 of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

The Soviet Premier opened his report by announcing achievements in industry and agriculture for the first half of 1956. He said industry had overfulfilled its plan for the first six months, and volume of industrial output had increased by 12 per cent over the same period last year. He cited as concrete results of efforts to raise agricultural production the fact that the sown area is now around 480,000,000 acres—about 90,000,000 more than in 1953, and that there had been a notable advance in animal husbandry, increasing the supply of meat and dairy products for the population. On foreign policy, he said:

The main concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government in foreign policy is the struggle for the peace and security of all peoples, the establishment of friendship and cooperation among all governments.

In presenting the draft of the new pension law, covering all factory and office workers, who receive its benefits, as in the past, entirely from the incomes of the enterprises and without any deductions from their own earnings, Bulganin reported that in 1955 social insurance budgetary funds amount to 26,500,000,000 rubles, as against 8,600,000,000

rubles in 1940. The new law will mean an additional outlay of state funds of about 12,600,000,000 rubles annually. It provides that lower paid groups will receive double and more in old age pensions than previously, while higher paid categories will receive a lesser rate than previously, thus removing previous inequities. Greater privileges are provided for those with especially difficult working conditions, those with a long uninterrupted service record, and those who support disabled relatives. Pensions for both occupational and non-occupational disabilities are increased as well as those granted for loss of the family bread-winner. The lowest pension is fixed at 300 rubles, the highest at 1200 rubles. As an example of what the increase would mean, Bulganin said that the 210 ruble pension of a lathe operator earning 750 rubles under the old law, would rise to 536 rubles monthly under the new.

During the discussion, Bulganin explained to those who proposed further increases that this would be unrealistic because it was necessary to live within one's means. "The time will come when we have everything," he declared, "We just cannot grant all the wishes of the people now." The law, as finally passed, contained some of the amendments which had been offered by the Commission for Legislative proposals and others.

Constitutional Amendments

One important business of the session was the ratification of decrees, with appropriate constitutional amendments, passed by the Presidium in the interval since the last session of the Supreme Soviet, many of which reflected steps already taken in the correction of unhealthy

tendencies that had arisen during the Stalin era.

Constitutional amendments were adopted embodying changes in Ministries turning over certain formerly centralized economic and other functions to the Union Republics, a process which began before the 20th Congress. Thus in a number of cases former All-Union ministries, which directed their particular branch of administration throughout the whole territory of the USSR, have been reorganized into Union-Republican Ministries, which operate through the corresponding ministries of the separate Republics, while in some cases All-Union ministries have been abolished, leaving only the Republican ministries.

The most significant example of the latter was the abolition of the All-Union Ministry of Justice. Henceforth each Union Republic will be responsible directly for administration of justice within its own territory. (This action must be considered in connection with measures already taken and in process giving the Procuracy wide powers to protect the individual against arbitrary action and controlling and limiting the powers of the State Security organs).

All-Union Ministries transformed into Union-Republic Ministries include Geology and Mineral Resources (effected last January), Construction of Metallurgical and Chemical Enterprises, and Construction of Coal Industry Enterprises. The All-Union Ministry of Grain Procurements became the Union-Republican Ministry of Grain Products.

Another important action ratified the abolition of fees, instituted in 1940, for upper high school classes and higher educational institutions. Article 121 of the Constitution of

the Soviet Union thus now reads:

Citizens of the USSR have the right to education. This right is insured by universal and compulsory seven-year education; by the extensive development of secondary education; by free education at every level, both secondary and higher education; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in the schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

Other decrees ratified were those reducing the workday on Saturdays and the eve of holidays by two hours; providing for a six-hour weekday for youths 16 to 18 years old; increasing paid maternity leave from 77 to 112 days; abolishing legal penalties for quitting jobs without permission and for tardiness without justifiable reason.

Another question on the agenda was an appeal by President Otto Kuusinen, on behalf of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, that it be transformed into the Karelian Autonomous Republic within the RSFSR. This had been its original status. It had become a Union Republic following the addition of areas acquired from Finland, (in exchange for areas turned over by the USSR) in the peace treaty following the Soviet-Finnish war in 1940, at which time it had a large Finnish population, many of whom subsequently resettled in Finland.

Kuusinen based his request on economic difficulties—the Republic had failed to fulfill economic plans for several years and agriculture had

lagged badly—and on the fact that the composition of its population had changed markedly, with Russians now constituting three-fourths of the total. This proposal was adopted.

Shepilov Asks End of Nuclear Tests

The final joint session of the Supreme Soviet on July 16 considered proposals of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of both houses on the Japanese Parliament's appeal for prohibition of nuclear weapons and termination of their tests, and on a disarmament appeal to the parliaments of all countries.

Dmitri Shepilov made his maiden speech as new Foreign Minister in the discussion of the Japanese appeal. Shepilov declared that the failure of the League of Nations in the disarmament question had cost humanity too much. Yet, he said, there are still forces in the world speculating in human lives, who have turned the arms race into a gigantic business. He cited the Soviet Union's persistent efforts towards general disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons, under a system of effective international control, and charged that the Western powers were using every pretext to avoid agreement on this question. He termed as a "false and absurd invention" reports in the Western press that the USSR has lost interest in a ban on nuclear weapons, describing the Soviet policy as "full prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, tests, production of nuclear weapons and of the use of these weapons, as well as the destruction of nuclear weapons."

In view of the difficulties in reaching agreement on prohibition, he continued:

Prohibition of atomic and hydrogen tests could be the first step in this direction. No elaborate system of control would be needed as technical levels at the present time are high enough to disclose any nuclear explosions. There would be no need for long and many-sided negotiations because agreement would be required only by the three countries capable of exploding nuclear weapons—the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.

He proposed an immediate agreement to end all nuclear weapon tests, either within the framework of the United Nations, through a tripartite agreement among the governments mentioned, to be joined subsequently by other states, or by unilateral action on the part of the United States, Britain and the USSR. He declared that any of these methods would be acceptable and that the Soviet Government was ready to enter into negotiations to end tests.

The Supreme Soviet unanimously accepted a resolution supporting the appeal of the Japanese Parliament on the prohibition of nuclear weapons and termination of their tests.

Also adopted unanimously was a disarmament appeal to the parliaments of all the countries in the world. The appeal urged all countries to adopt effective measures to stop the arms drive, pending an acceptable solution through the United Nations. Referring to the USSR's decision to reduce its own armed forces by 1,200,000 by May 1957, in addition to the 640,000 reduction in 1955, the appeal urged all parliaments to support this initiative and reduce their own armaments. On July 24 the Supreme Soviet's appeal was presented to the U.S. Government by Soviet Ambassador Zarubin for transmission to Congress.

CHINESE MEDICINE: ANCIENT AND MODERN

by DR. CHANG CHI-CHENG
and BETTY C. CHANG

FOR MORE THAN 2000 years the Chinese people have fostered their own system of traditional medicine and almost every village and hamlet has its traditional style practitioner. Thus this indigenous medical system is both widely accepted and of long standing. After the Opium War over a hundred years ago, Western medicine, (along with other Western ideas and practices), was impressed upon semi-feudal and semi-colonial China by the imperialist powers. And while it is recognized that Western methods of medical and surgical practice have served a limited section of the Chinese people very well, Western medicine never did penetrate into China's vast interior and rural areas because Western trained doctors have been and are still comparatively very few, and these for the most part have not been willing to live and work among the people in less developed and thus poorer areas of China. Western medicine has never served China's masses. There is still only one West-

ern style doctor to 10 of his traditional style counterparts, and these some 30,000 Western practitioners are to be found almost entirely in the large cities, especially along the coast facing the Western world.

In 1929 when the Kuomintang government under Chiang Kai-shek was zealously aping the West, it legislated against Chinese medicine. Certainly such a deep-rooted, accepted and integral part of Chinese life could not be abolished, and the move only further alienated its own people by making their livelihood more difficult. It did obviate any possibility of cooperation between the two systems and even rendered them two diametrical opposites. People generally have been either of one school or the other, Western devotees considering the traditional method "quaint" and traditional devotees fearing the "drastic" Western methods. Such was the situation until Liberation. And even afterwards a mistaken view was that the traditional system was hopelessly "feudal" and therefore should be discontinued. But taking such a view was disregarding the facts. For with the encouragement and support of the People's Government, research into traditional treatments revealed definite curative effects in many dis-

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eases, as for example in the treatment of Encephalitis B, where a clinical test involving 54 patients between the ages of one and 61 showed the 300-year-old method to be 95 per cent effective. Also herbal treatment for leprosy based on a prescription from a Chinese medical book written in 1649 was used in 309 cases at the Liaoning Leprosorium in northeast China with some relief in 99 per cent of the cases, according to a paper read before the Chinese Society of Medical Science in Peking. Dr. Yueh Mei-chung, who presented the paper, cited the case of a patient who had suffered from leprosy for 31 years and had been bed-ridden for 15 years. After five months of Chinese herbal treatment the patient was walking with support. Traditional Chinese treatment has been found dramatically effective in a case of paralysis of the vocal cords, and herb medicines have been found to be therapeutic in schistosomiasis (liver fluke) and malaria. We've personally witnessed easing of symptoms in patients with hypertension and sciatica after acupuncture (needling). It is clear to us that traditional methods have a definite place in modern medical practice in China.

Furthermore, these some 300,000 doctors of traditional Chinese medicine are a powerful force in carrying out national public health programs. For example, Hu Hsieh-kung, veteran doctor of Chinese medicine in Kiangsi, personally gave more than 6000 vaccinations in the spring of 1951. During the 1954 spring ploughing season, Chinese physicians in Szechuan joined mobile medical teams giving their services to the peasants of the mountainous and outlying areas. To integrate the two systems then has been seen as an important task in New China,

and this is in fact being done steadily. Chairman Mao himself made a statement on the urgency of this task. "To bring together physicians practicing Chinese medicine and those practicing Western medicine" was stated as one of the four main principles in Government health programs. In actual practice, a modern type hospital solely for the practice of Chinese traditional medicine has been set up in the heart of Tientsin. A 235-bed hospital of traditional Chinese medicine was opened in Peking on May 1. This hospital includes departments of internal medicine, surgery, gynecology, pediatrics, osteology and acupuncture. Four colleges of traditional Chinese medicine with an enrollment of 480 students will be opened in China this fall.

Doctors of Western medicine are also studying the history, methods, and application in general practice of traditional medicine. In Shanghai a lecture series on traditional Chinese medicine especially arranged for professors of the medical colleges and physicians of the hospitals is in progress at present. Over 700 medical personnel are attending this 3-month series given by Shanghai's experienced traditional medical practitioners to explain systematically the major classic works on Chinese medicine. Also in Shanghai another seven famous traditional-type doctors have joined the work in public hospitals, and more than 30 hospitals and clinics will set up internal medicine, surgery and acupuncture sections of traditional Chinese medicine this year. Shanghai will also establish a traditional Chinese medical college and research institute. The Shanghai Municipal Public Health Bureau plans to train 3000 doctors of traditional Chinese medicine in the next 12 years, according to a

Hsinhua News Agency report. From Chengtu comes word that a two-year course for the study of traditional Chinese medicine was opened June 5. It is attended by 38 Western trained doctors and assistants in medical colleges of six provinces.

Meanwhile traditional practitioners are forming medical associations in their fields. In Tientsin 1,029, or 88 per cent of all traditional doctors here have an association to carry out research in their field, benefit by mutual exchange of experiences, and help Western trained doctors to study traditional medicine. Another trend among traditional practitioners is to make public their generations-old secret formulae. More than 700 formerly guarded prescriptions that have been proved effective have been published by a research institute in the coastal province of Kiangsu. More collections are to follow. They have been proved effective have been doctors after many years use. Ancient treatises are being studied and re-published. One such work is called "Ancient Chinese Medical Classics" which includes a treatise written 1400 years ago by Liu Chuan-tzu dealing with surgical diagnosis, operational methods and surgical drugs. Another recent publication by the People's Medical Publishing House is "A Study in Acupuncture and Cautery" which has already sold 130,000 copies. The titles to come out this year are to total over 100.

Wild herb medicines are now grown by cooperatives and the output is increased. An experimental herb garden has been set up in Peking by the Chinese Medical Research Academy. Over 300 kinds of herbs have been collected from all parts of China for transplanting. Work is also being done to extract the efficacious substances from herb medicines and produce them in the more convenient form of tablets.

Aside from specific methods and medicaments, it is felt here that the whole approach to the problem of health and disease by traditional medicine is scientific in that it looks upon the patient as a complete human being affected by his joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, and considers disease as a state of disharmony between the organism and its environmental conditions. In diagnosing, for instance, the traditional doctor uses the "look, listen, ask, feel" method; that is, he observes signs and symptoms, listens to the quality of the patient's voice, asks him to describe his symptoms, and takes his pulse.

If Western medicine has contributed qualitatively to better health for the Chinese people, certainly traditional medicine has contributed not only qualitatively but certainly quantitatively and through the centuries, and the combining of the two systems is advantageous for the whole Chinese people.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

LU TING-YI, head of the propaganda department of the Chinese Communist Party, said in a recent speech, "natural sciences, including medicine, have no class character. They have their own laws and development. Their relations with social systems is only that under bad social system these sciences develop slowly, and under good social systems they develop quickly."

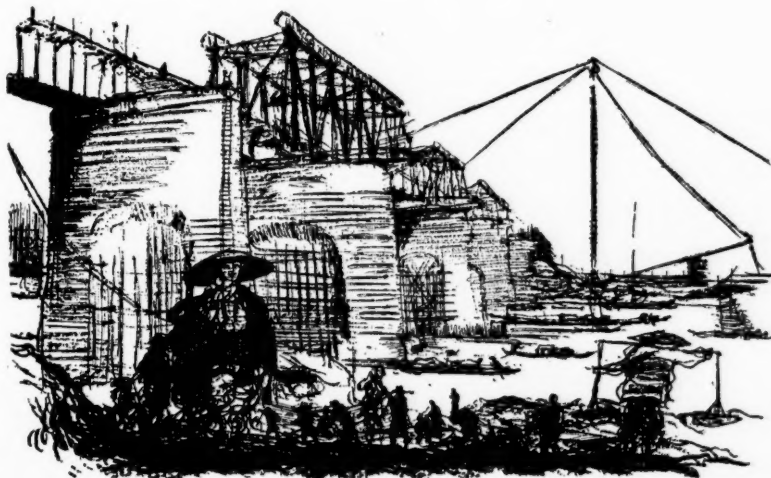
From an Artist's Journey In New China

The following drawings and excerpts are taken for "Looking At China" by Paul Hogarth, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1956, \$2.75. They are used with the permission of the author and publisher. The book was reviewed in the New World Review for July.



MISS WANG-YANG

MISS WANG-YANG was a tiny dignified woman who once organized underground workshops to supply Mao's partisans. Under the very noses of Japanese and Kuomintang her women spun and wove, made uniforms and shoes. She was also active in organizing demonstrations of unemployed women in Peking, Shanghai and Nanking. She was arrested, tortured and imprisoned and when released just kept on organizing. Without the many thousands of women like her, the Chinese revolutionary movement could not have existed. In 1949 she organized a group of unemployed seamstresses into one of the largest cooperatives in China.





SHENSI PEASANT

A PEASANT strode by us with a shoulder-bag of rice seed; he wore a faded blue denim jacket and ochre-colored trousers. I made a portrait drawing of him, and in an amused tolerant manner he struck an unselfconscious stance, looking me straight in the eyes. He gripped his pipe the way farmers do, with an air of relaxed purpose.

He had first received land of his own when this part of Shensi was occupied by Mao's armies after their arrival in the north-west from their famous "Long March." When the Japanese advanced into the province, the Red Armies withdrew to the mountains. His land had been restored to the big landlord who collaborated with the Japanese. His house was destroyed because he was suspected of aiding the partisans; the landlord took his wife and son in payment of debts. He subsequently joined the Red Army, had learned to read and write, and became a platoon commander, and for ten years continuously fought the Japanese. He was now the chairman of one of the largest cooperative farms in the district. His face was the very essence of the awakened Chinese peasant; a real Chapayev of Asia.



FUSHUN MINER

H E HAD WORKED in the pits of Manchuria since childhood. As a child he had worked alongside his collier father. He remembered when the local miners were the lowest form of animal life, living in holes scooped out of the earth and filthy shacks of clay and corrugated iron. Contractors supplied the Japanese with workers at a pittance for a period of years. The whole of Fushun had been owned and exploited by the Japanese-South Manchuria Trust and terrorized by armed police whose habit it was to drag sick miners out of their homes to brutally beat them for being absent from work. If miners suffered from tuberculosis or heart ailments they would be summarily dismissed. With others he had struggled in secret for more years than he remembered. One day they won the right to organize themselves in a trade union; to work eight hours instead of fourteen; to live decently; to have a paid holiday; and to be treated as human beings. For him the liberation was, in his own words, "like the day is to the night."

EDUCATION IN CHINA

by ELSIE

FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY



A CANTON SCHOOL GIRL

FIFTY-FIVE MILLION people were going to school in China in 1955. This was more than double the peak pre-liberation figure.

In the second Five-Year Plan (1957-62), it is expected that education will be made universally available and illiteracy wiped out in the main. At the time of liberation illiteracy was approximately 80 per cent.

Half a million students will be studying in higher educational institutions next year. The number at present is 300,000. In 1949 it was only 130,000.

A million men and women graduates from higher educational insti-

tutes and special technical and vocational schools are taking up jobs in their special fields during the First Five-Year Plan (1952-57).

These impressive accomplishments are only part of the gigantic effort to make education general in a country of 600 million people, four-fifths of whom were formerly illiterate, and to train the immense number of scientists, engineers, specialists and technicians needed to build and man a highly industrialized, socialist China.

In China today the right to education is guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution. This is what the government is implementing in its tremendous program in this regard. But not everyone can go to school as yet. How many can receive education in the immediate future depends on how quickly schools can be built and teachers trained.

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY who now lives and works in Peking was correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph" during the Sino-Japanese war.

Attack on Illiteracy

The big thing in a mass sense has been the attack on illiteracy which began immediately after 1949. Using the experience gained in the liberated areas during the war against Japan, spare-time classes were opened for the workers in the cities and for the peasants in the winter when agricultural work was slack. By 1954 the enrolment in these schools was 26 million and it was estimated that 10 million had learned to read and write the complex Chinese script. But this pace was too slow. Moreover, in the villages, where the figures for illiteracy were highest and intensive schooling was possible only in the agricultural slack season, many peasants forgot much of what they had learned in the long stretches between one winter and the next.

It was only after the tremendous development in agricultural co-operative organization and the change-over of private industry and commerce to a semi-socialist form, in the winter of 1955, that the present goal of wiping out illiteracy in from three to seven years could be set. These basic changes heightened the eagerness of the workers. They should as a result learn new techniques and thus share in running enterprises. In the case of the peasants, of course, it was much easier to organize classes once they were working collectively than when they were scattered cultivating individual plots.

At present literacy classes of different types are run by the cooperative management committees, the trade unions, the women's organizations and the youth. Teachers are volunteers from among those already literate and in most cases hold other jobs. In accordance with work conditions, there may be regular class

study, or literacy instruction can take place in rest periods in the fields of agricultural cooperatives, or even individually as when school children go to the homes of housewives to teach them.

Workers who join the classes are required to guarantee to study six hours a week, and peasants 240 hours a year, but it is expected that the peasants will give more time in the winter months than at other times. To graduate, workers must know 2,000 characters and peasants 1,500. Simple arithmetic is also taught.

Besides literacy classes there are spare-time schools of other types which can take adults from primary school all the way through college. The diplomas they give are considered equal in all respects to those given by regular schools. In those of middle-school standard or higher, more study hours are required per week, and more full-time teachers are provided by the government.

The greatest difficulty encountered in the running of literacy classes or spare-time schools is regular attendance. There is a constant tug-of-war between the needs of work and study. Teachers often have to argue with other organizations to which a worker may belong to establish the priority of the classes over other after-hour activities. They generally win, because schools are nationally acknowledged to be a key factor in the battle to wipe out illiteracy and under-education which stand in the way of progress.

Growing Pains in Schools

So far as the regular school system is concerned, the big problems stem from the need and efforts to expand. The largest figures before

liberation were around 23½ million pupils in primary schools, two million students in middle schools and 155,000 in universities and colleges. Now there are 53 million primary school pupils, nearly four million in middle schools and 300,000 university and college students.

This growth means constant pressure for new schools, more teachers, more equipment, and more funds for building and running schools. The situation is made more complex because, in the old days, schools were not properly distributed geographically. Most of the universities and colleges were concentrated in the eastern part of the country and all the middle schools were in the larger cities, which meant that a prospective pupil from other parts of the country had to travel a long way to them or give up further education. There were huge areas with no modern schools of any kind. Tibet, as an instance, did not have a single primary school (now it has many and middle schools as well). The educational needs of the minority nationalities, who inhabit half of China's total area though they form a much smaller proportion of the population, were almost completely neglected.

The pressure on the school system is felt everywhere, but in the middle schools most of all. Last year there were twice as many primary school graduates as the middle schools could accommodate. On the other hand, a strong demand for students who had completed only junior middle school (the first half of the full course) came from agricultural cooperatives and factories which wanted accountants, young workers and so on. This created a shortage of students in higher middle schools; and it followed that there were not enough

entrants to fill the vacancies in colleges and universities.

One might ask what is it that is preventing a quicker expansion of middle schools? The present plan calls for the establishment of a middle school in every district (the administrative unit below the county) in China. This plan has been realized in a few counties. Despite big appropriations, however, there are still not enough funds, to say nothing of building materials and construction workers, to put up the great number of schools needed at once. The first call on all these, of course, is for industrial development. A partial solution has been found in the two-shift system—one class of students working mornings and a second in the afternoons—which has been introduced in some cities as an experiment.

Problem of Teachers

An even more serious problem is that of finding enough teachers. Already the middle schools are multiplying faster than teachers can be trained, and for the school year beginning this fall there will be a shortage of 20,000. Measures being taken to fill the gap include increasing teaching hours and promoting qualified teachers from primary schools. Dozens of teachers' training institutes were opened immediately after liberation and 13 new ones of colleges standard will be completed this year in time to enroll 11,000 students. But the legacy from the past, when little attention was paid to higher normal education, cannot be overcome in a short period.

One danger of too rapid expansion of middle schools is that the quality of teaching and direction is liable to drop. To tackle this problem the government has set up a special college

devoted to the training of middle school principals and provincial school superintendents. Similar colleges are being opened in the provinces for the training of junior middle school principals and county education officers. In addition every Teachers' Training School is required to give correspondence courses. Because the quality of teaching is not as high as it should be, middle school graduates often have a hard time to catch up after entering college. This in turn affects the quality of their work on graduation.

Administratively, there has been some decentralization and the local authorities are now being asked to take greater responsibility for the organization of schools. A system of inspection and educational research work has been initiated.

One thing that should be mentioned about middle schools today is that their curriculum is being geared more closely to production. Students will spend many hours in classes in carpentry, electricity and mechanics. In mathematics there will be more emphasis on surveying. In physics and chemistry more stress will be laid on practical experiments. The aim is that when students graduate they will have a basic understanding of modern production.

Higher Education Reorganized

Although the main task is still general education, specialized training in science, engineering, and various other skills is essential to the industrialization and modernization of China. This has involved the expansion and reorganization of universities and colleges and the reform of teaching programs and methods.

As has already been said, the universities before 1949 were few and unevenly distributed. Some were

governmental, some were supported by private or missionary funds, many of the courses offered were quite unconnected with the needs of the country, stressing arts and neglecting science and technology. Instruction varied in quality and much of it was poor.

The reorganization of colleges was undertaken in earnest in the summer of 1953. Existing universities were reorganized, each concentrating on a certain field, and laboratory and training equipment was concentrated to create specialized institutes of high standing. In the capital for instance, Peking University which was comparatively strong in philosophy, letters and general sciences was strengthened by the addition of the related faculties of Tsinghua and Yenching universities. The engineering colleges of Peking and Yenching universities were transferred to Tsinghua University, which already had a good base in this field and became a first-class polytechnic institute. The agricultural colleges of both Peking and Tsinghua universities were amalgamated with the North China Agricultural College to create the strong Peking Agricultural University. Similar re-shuffles took place in other university cities.

By 1955, China had 194 higher educational institutions, of which 14 were universities teaching both the arts and the sciences. This year the problem of distribution will be tackled and universities will open branches in the new industrial centers. Shanghai's Chiao Tung University will have a branch in Sian. The Shantung Provincial University will open one in the central province of Honan. Among new colleges being established are an architectural college in Sian, a medical college in

Inner Mongolia, which is the first in that area, and a petroleum school in Urumchi, in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region near China's westernmost border.

In reforming curricula and teaching methods in accordance with the outlook and needs of the new society, it was necessary to enlist the support of professors who were mainly products of the old system, and many of these were suspicious of the new government at first and very unwilling to change the ways they were used to. This was done very successfully through a long process of discussion. Because the universities were expanding, the problem of increasing the faculties has also been crucial. This is mainly being solved by using post-graduate students to teach part-time while continuing their research. Other graduates are sent abroad to continue their studies in the Soviet Union, East European countries and India. As normal diplomatic relations are established, I was told authoritatively, China will be glad to send graduate students to western countries as well.

Use of Trained Personnel

The whole problem of enabling intellectuals to make their maximum contribution was discussed by Premier Chou En-lai in an extremely interesting report on January 14. He pointed out that, in the six years since 1949, intellectuals had been integrated in various kinds of work on a great scale, and had advanced professionally. There were now, he said, 3,840,000 qualified people, including many of the 217,900 students who had graduated from universities and colleges since liberation, engaged in scientific research, education, engineering, public health, cultural work and the arts. But this number,

he said, was not nearly enough for the needs. In every field of science and technology the aim is not only to provide sufficient personnel but to reach the most advanced international levels within a few years.

While noting the successes of the past few years, Chou En-lai said that there were still many defects which must be corrected. In many organizations, trained people were not properly placed. Some professors in universities and colleges taught no courses. About a tenth of the people with advanced specialized training were in posts for which they were not suited. Many complained that their duties required them to spend too much time in meetings, on administrative matters and at social functions. Some lacked necessary reference books, material, equipment, or suitable assistants, so that they could not work as effectively as they should. Some, though they lived better than before liberation, had such cramped quarters that they could not get proper rest, and some had to spend too much energy on domestic chores.

Of course not all such problems will be solved immediately. But all organizations have been asked to look into these questions and find solutions and a special bureau has been set up under the State Council (the Cabinet) to see that brain workers of high qualifications are properly placed and given good conditions for work.

Premier Chou pointed out in his January report that modern science and technology are advancing rapidly. China cannot afford to lag behind and must by the end of the third Five-Year Plan raise the branches of science most urgently needed to approximate the most advanced international standards.

WE MUST GET TO KNOW EACH OTHER

by **DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH**

THERE ARE MANY ways to mutual understanding, but as a musician I should like to dwell on the value of cultural cooperation.

Any nation, irrespective of social system, has its own culture, its arts, its rich cultural heritage and traditions. To understand another nation it is necessary to know its character, and knowledge of its culture, the voice of its soul, renders an invaluable service in this respect.

To us, musicians, and to all other cultural workers for that matter, knowledge of the culture and arts of other nations is important also for another reason.

Close contact between musicians is of great benefit to the musical life

of the whole world; it is highly instrumental in advancing the progress of modern music, in enriching it with new creative aims and ideas. Visiting an unfamiliar country the composer makes a detailed study of folk melodies and songs faintly known to him before; and who knows what creative plans they may inspire, what works of genius he may write as a result of that. Would we be able to delight in the remarkable music of Tchaikovsky's "Italian Capriccio," if he had not visited Italy, or hear Glinka's beautiful "Jota Aragonese," if this great Russian composer had not been to Spain?

Desiring to promote better mutual understanding among nations, the



**SHOSTAKOVICH
AT WORK**

Soviet Union is constantly broadening its cultural and economic exchanges with other nations. Last year alone, it received 2,200 cultural representatives from 30 countries. Soviet audiences applauded the performances of French, German, Brazilian, British and American musicians and actors.

Muscovites and Leningraders received with delight George Gershwin's opera "Porgy and Bess." The music of this opera, with its pronounced national color, is fresh and novel. Especially characteristic are the choral songs, which, in my opinion have absorbed the specific features of the African melodies and the wonderful melodies of the Anglo-Scottish folk songs.

In their turn, more than 2,500 Soviet cultural workers visited more than forty countries in 1955 alone.

I was pleased to learn of the welcome accorded by American audiences to the Soviet pianist Emil Gilels and to the violinist David Oistrakh. Back at home from his guest performance tour Emil Gilels told me about the scores and letter he had received from Mr. William Schuman, the president of the Juilliard school of music, who wrote that they would be happy to afford to him, his colleagues and also to students, the possibility of becoming acquainted with the music of the modern composers of the USA, and voiced the hope that regular exchanges of performers and cultural treasures would lead to the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

This opinion is shared by my American colleagues, Aaron Copland and Eli Siegmeister, and the celebrated conductor Stokowski told me plainly in the course of a conversation we had, that Soviet and Ameri-

can musicians should exchange visits more frequently.

And, indeed, it would be well if we, representatives of two great musical countries, could meet more often and acquire better knowledge of the national music and culture of our respective countries. For the music born under the stars of another hemisphere makes listeners ponder not only over the fact that it is new and unfamiliar, that it differs from the melodies of his own country, but also over the fact that it has much that is near and dear to him, and that such concepts as "love," "beauty" and "friendship" are the same everywhere. The language of music requires no translation. It is clear and understandable to all people. A beautiful melody born in Italy, Russia or America, makes hearts beat faster and inspires noble emotions in the people of any country.

My American colleagues often ask me about my present work. It is with pleasure that I answer this question. Right now I am writing my Eleventh Symphony which is dedicated to the first Russian revolution, the revolution of 1905. I have just completed the music to the film "The Pioneers" which pictures the reclamation of virgin land in the USSR, and I have completed the arrangement of six Spanish folk songs.

Among my works issued recently by the Soviet music publishers are the "Holiday Overture," "Series of Songs From Jewish Folk Poetry," "Concertino" for two pianofortes.

We, Soviet musicians, are carefully following the developments in American music. We know that you have some splendid symphony groups with which we should like to make a closer acquaintance. A feature common to these orchestras, in my

NEW SOVIET PICTORIAL MAGAZINE

OUR READERS will welcome the new English-language Soviet pictorial magazine, USSR, scheduled to hit newsstands as we go to press. The magazine is published under an agreement with the State Department providing for simultaneous distribution of a U.S. Russian-language publication, Amerika, in the Soviet Union.

The first issue of USSR contains friendly greetings from Premier Bulganin to the American people, hailing the opportunities for greater mutual understanding offered by the two publications.

Enver Mamedov, editor of USSR, told the press he hoped to present a "real-life" rather than a "dressed-up view" of the Soviet Union, using such magazines as *Life* and *Look* as models for format.

The first issue contains a candid review of Soviet farming by Soviet Minister of Agriculture Matskevich; an article on motion pictures everywhere by Soviet producer Alexandrov; an illustrated visit with violinist Oistrakh; an interview with Soviet scientist Kurchatov on peaceful uses of atomic energy; articles on education, ballet, art and other features. A pre-view of the forthcoming Olympics in Australia predicts a U.S. victory in track events.

The magazine will sell for 20 cents a copy, subscription \$1.00 for six months, \$1.80 per year.

opinion, is the great harmony, accuracy and good teamwork of each group of instruments and of the orchestra as a whole. At the same time each orchestra has its own specific features and style. We have learned with great pleasure that one of the best symphony orchestras of the United States, the Philadelphia orchestra, which was conducted by S. Rachmaninov when he arrived in America in 1909, is expected in the Soviet Union this year.

We in our country know also about the Boston symphony orchestra which was conducted for many years by Serge Koussevitzky. Its performances have always been distinguished by infallible purity of sound, rich colors and bright ones which are especially impressed in the memory.

Speaking of your symphony orchestras, one cannot but think of the symphony orchestra known as

the "Symphony of the Air," conducted for many years by the celebrated Arturo Toscanini. It is gratifying to know that even after the resignation of the latter, the orchestra has preserved the high merits developed by the great conductor. This orchestra is noteworthy for its rare teamwork, splendid rhythmic discipline and superb mastery.

I believe that the American public would welcome the opportunity of hearing opera soloists and seeing leading dancers of the Bolshoi Theater, hearing the orchestra of the Leningrad Philharmonic Society and Soviet singers. Let us hope that the coming guest performances of the USSR Folk Dance Ensemble directed by Igor Moisseiev will be honored with deserved interest by the public in the United States and will help to further mutual understanding between the peoples of our countries.

FORTY YEARS IN THE AIR

A Soviet airman recalls pre-war meetings with American flyers and their friendly cooperation in Arctic rescues.

by MAVRIKI SLEPNEV



Slepnev today

THIS IS A jubilee year for me: it was 40 years ago that I started my career in aviation.

I come from a peasant family, but my life did not follow the usual pattern of a "muzhik's son" in tsarist Russia. For all his modest means, my father spared nothing to give me an education, and I put all my energy into studying.

When the first world war started I was called up not as a private but as a "volunteer," as soldiers who had a higher or secondary education were called. This meant certain privileges.

From the very first days of the war, the tsarist army suffered heavy losses. The command started to train officers hastily. Among other "volunteers," I was enrolled in a school for junior officers, and was graduated as an ensign, the lowest officer's rank in the Russian army.

It was in 1916 on the Rumanian front that I first came in close contact with aviation.

At its inception the air force in Russia was aristocratic, exclusive, and no "muzhik's sons" were allowed to enter it. But during the war the situation changed. The Russian air force suffered heavy losses and the finest flyers perished. The aristocratic officers began to evade the dangerous service. I made friends with the commander of our air unit. His support and my officer's rank helped me to realize my dream of becoming an airman, and I was enrolled in the Gatchino school for military pilots.

Training in those days can be aptly described by the lines of Pushkin that "all of us studied a little of something, somehow." One month was assigned for general technical training and the other, for the study of the plane and the engine. After this the future pilot was taught on the ground how to work the controls. The planes were ancient affairs—Farman IV.

Then came the long-awaited day

when I made my solo flight. I flew low. When the belfry of a church loomed in my path, I flew around it, not daring to fly over. The plane had no cockpit and the wind was whistling in my ears. My heart was filled with inimitable joy. Thus began my forty years in the air.

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The October Socialist Revolution found me in Gatchino where I had been graduated from the school for pilots. The officers and most of the students fled. The Red Army opened a military engineering academy and I was among its first students. Since only three of us were airmen, no aviation department was established. I was enrolled in the field engineering department, and ten months later was sent to the Simbirsk front, where I was placed under the command of the famed Civil War hero Chapayev. Chapayev told me: "You are an engineer, which means you have to be able to do everything."

And so I became the fortification expert in the Chapayev division! I did everything: built fortifications around the Gailovsky settlement, built roads, bridges, launched the Volga cutters of the Baltic Fleet, was in charge of an armored car. . . .

Service under Chapayev left a deep imprint on my whole life.

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Then I became a civil pilot and flew over the sands of Central Asia. Counter-revolutionary gangs of Bas-machi were operating on the vast territory of the Soviet Central-Asian Republics in those days and the 265,000 miles I flew in Central Asia came the hard way. At times torrid sand hurricanes covered everything with an impenetrable shroud. Each forced landing was fraught with the danger of capture by the Bas-machi.

Later I flew the route from the USSR to Afghanistan, made difficult in those days by lack of radio communication and ground signals.

Tragedy in Long Bay

In 1929, I was working on the Irkutsk-Yakutsk air line. My route, 1,700 miles in one direction, lay over desolate primeval forests and the tundra, across the big Siberian rivers. I was the first to fly from Irkutsk to Aldan, the center of the rich gold bearing area in East Siberia. The job was to transport gold. On each flight I carried only two bars of gold, each weighing over 300 pounds. There I gained flight experience in grim northern conditions.

At the end of that year the Soviet boat "Stavropol" became ice-bound for the winter not far from Cape Severny, in Chukotka. Among the passengers were women and children and several sick people, for whom a winter in the ice would mean terrible hardships. The Soviet Government decided to evacuate the passengers to the mainland, leaving only an emergency crew. Two planes were assigned for this job, one piloted by Viktor Galyshev, an experienced Siberian flyer, the other by myself.

At the end of January, 1930, Galyshev and I arrived in Chukotka. The organization of intermediary fuel and supply bases and the evacuation of the passengers from the "Stavropol" was quite a difficult job, which challenged all our resources.

We learned that an American schooner "The Nanook" was also ice-bound for the winter in Long Strait. The schooner belonged to the fur trader Svenson and had a big cargo of valuable furs, which the owner arranged to have removed by plane through the Alaska Airways Company.

In the course of that operation a plane piloted by the director of the Alaska Airways, the well-known American flyer, Carl Ben Eilson, was lost. He had his mechanic, Bordland, on board. Eilson had gained fame as a participant of Admiral Byrd's first Antarctic expedition and was an experienced polar flyer.

On arriving at Cape Severny, we met several American airmen. They were worried over the fate of their missing comrades. One of the pilots, Joe Crossen, who had been with Eilson in the Antarctic, had just returned from a reconnoitering flight. He told me that while flying over the tundra, he had noticed something sticking out of the snow, resembling the wing of a plane.

The news staggered us all. Crossen accepted my offer to join him on his next flight. A strong wind was raging in the Amguema hollow and our plane was tossed around like a feather. Crossen flew low, and we saw that the object he had spotted was indeed the wing of the lost plane. Eilson who had flown so intrepidly in the Antarctic had perished in the Amguema Lagoon.

On returning to Cape Severny, I at once communicated by radio with Moscow and was ordered to take part in the search for the bodies of the American airmen.

I landed my plane near the accident site and we started the search. When we found Eilson's revolver, helmet and cartridges, the last doubts as to the tragic fate of the American flyers vanished. We thoroughly searched the accident area and suddenly noticed a booted leg in the snow. When we dug up the body, we identified Bordland. Four days later we found Eilson's body. . . .

We were about to leave the mouth of the Amguema River when a plane

appeared on the horizon. It made two circles and boldly landed. When it reached the ground it hit the ice and, losing the landing chassis and propeller, ran into a pile of snow. The pilot came out from the wrecked machine.

"Pat Read," he introduced himself. "I came here by special order to bring you a message from Washington." And he handed me an invitation from the United States Government for myself and the mechanic of the Soviet plane to accompany the bodies of the airmen to Fairbanks, Alaska.

We took off from the Amguema Lagoon, heading for Fairbanks. A mourning flag was flown by the USSR-117 which carried the two bodies. From Cape Severny I crossed the Bering Strait for the first time. Wherever we stopped we were warmly received by the people of Alaska. Many of them, descendants of old Russian settlers, spoke Russian.

Among those who met us at the Fairbanks airport were Bordland's wife and Eilson's father.

"Your husband and your son perished fighting to conquer the boundless expanses of the Arctic," I told them. "The Soviet people have sent me to discharge a painful duty. Allow me to present you this rudder of their plane as a reminder that one does not mourn for heroes but is proud of them!"

The Chelyuskin Epic

In 1934 I was working in Moscow, where my job was to deliver planes from the aircraft factory to the airlines. That year, on February 13, the icebreaker "Chelyuskin" sank in the Sea of Chukotsk, 155 miles off Cape Wellen, after more than six months in the Arctic waters waging a cease-

less heroic battle against the elements. The members of the expedition and the boat crew, 104 people in all, were stranded on a drifting ice floe. Among them were ten women and two little girls.

Together with other pilots, I offered a plan for rescuing the Chelyuskinites. Remembering my flights over the Bering Sea, I proposed that, parallel with other measures, rescue operations be organized by plane from the Alaskan side, since help from there would arrive sooner than from our desolate Northern shores. My plan was approved by the Chairman of the Government Commission for the Rescue of the Chelyuskinites, V. V. Kuibyshev, and the U.S. Government offered its cooperation. Twelve days later Sigizmund Levanevsky and I were already in New York. There was no regular air service to Alaska in those days and we went by boat to the town of White Horse in Canada. Boarding a plane from there, I was delighted to find at the controls none other than Joe Crossen, the pilot with whom I had flown four years before in the search for Eilson and Bordland.

At Fairbanks the planes of the Soviet-Rescue Commission were waiting for us. They were of 600 HP and could develop a maximum speed of 165 miles per hour.

Our pilot Levanevsky was the first to take off from Nome for Vankarem in Chukotka. With him was the well-known Arctic explorer George Ushakov, chief of the rescue operations on land, and an American mechanic, Armstead. Flying over Wellen and continuing westward, Levanevsky ran into a blizzard. The plane became ice coated. With exceptional skill he glided over rocks and landed the plane on a narrow strip of clean ice. But in doing so he lost both skis and



Slepnev in Nome, Alaska, 1934

his plane was temporarily put out of the running.

Only my plane remained.

On March 31, I took off from Nome and crossed the Bering Sea for the second time. With me was a young American mechanic named Bill Lavery. As we mounted, Bill raised his thumb upward, meaning that the engine was doing fine. Heading Northwest we ran into a fog and storm, but there is never any fair weather over the Bering Sea.

After less than two hours in the air, the windows became coated with hoar frost, making the plane heavier. The darkness ahead was endless. At

last we sighted the American coast. It was clear of fog and I dove from an altitude of 10,000 feet almost to the ground and then turned westward but again ran into impenetrable grey mist. Finally we landed at the small Alaskan town of Teller.

Early in the morning we again headed Northwest. The plane climbed to 12,000 feet. Beneath us Cape Dezhnev was blotted out by fog. Wellen should be somewhere below. For the first time I made out the contours of the Heart Stone. And again there was darkness all around us!

Then suddenly I noticed a "window" in the fog. I dove straight into it from an altitude of 12,000 feet and banked the machine. After a brief search I found myself over Wellen.

Jubilant comrades surrounded our plane. I came out of the cockpit and stepped on our native soil. The radio carried the news of my safe arrival all over the Soviet Union.

For several days we waited for flying weather and prepared the machine. At last, on April 7 we could take off. On board my plane, beside myself and my mechanic, was Anatoly Lyapidevsky. We were taking him to Kolyuchino where his plane was being repaired—a dangerous spot close to the place where Eilson and Bordland met their death and not far from Levanevsky's crippled plane.

We reached Cape Onman and then Vankarem. We landed and unloaded the plane very swiftly. Not a minute was to be lost. Only 73 miles separated us from the people on the ice floe.

The freight was replaced by eight splendid northern sledge dogs for the Chelyuskinites on the ice floe. I flew with Ushakov, leaving Lavery.

Our course was due north. Beneath us stretched the measureless ice fields. The 36 minutes of flight seemed to drag on tortuously.

Then on the right, some three miles away, a long dark streak appeared. I strained my eyes until they hurt. No, there could be no mistake. A minute later, people, living people with their arms upraised waved to our plane. A red flag fluttered on a mast.

That meeting, the handshakes and embraces stand out clearly in my memory. But time was precious. The Chelyuskinites helped me to repair the skis, damaged during the landing. The plane was soon ready for the take-off. A group of Chelyuskinites climbed on board and we headed for Vankarem.

The head of the Chelyuskin expedition, the outstanding Soviet Arctic explorer Prof. Otto Schmidt, had become gravely ill on the ice floe and I was given the task of evacuating him, via Vankarem, Alaska and the United States.

There were five of us on board—Schmidt, Ushakov, Lavery, Armstead and myself. When we reached Nome we displayed two flags, the Red Flag of the USSR and the Stars and Stripes of the United States. We were given a great welcome for our rescue of the members of the Chelyuskin expedition had touched the imagination of the world and our achievement was celebrated as an example of the kind of international cooperation science had made possible for mankind.

I have not been flying for several years now. I am sixty years old. I have "landed" on a small "field" near Moscow. I lecture and teach and spend all my leisure time gardening.

DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR TESTS

THE H-bomb horror has been brought home to the American people anew in the recent statement by Lt. General James Gavin, chief of research and development for the U.S. Army, that several hundred million deaths would result from any large scale use of H-bombs, the direction of the wind determining which peoples would be the victims. He told a Senate Committee that if we were to H-bomb the USSR with the wind blowing to the Southeast, not only Russia and China but Japan and the Philippines area would suffer; if the wind blew the other way, the whole population of Western Europe would be endangered, and that an H-bomb attack could wipe out almost half our own population in a short time.

Scientists have warned that the bombs already in existence could blow the earth and all its people to bits. Recently various groups of scientists have issued studies concluding that testing alone has already created a danger for future generations, and that within a few years radioactivity and Strontium-90 from further tests would reach the danger point for the entire population of the globe. They agree that there is, in fact, no "safe rate" of radiation for mankind from a genetic viewpoint.

Experts of the Genetics Committee of the American Academy of Sciences have issued reports covering the dangerous effect of radiation on the human body and future generations, on food supply, water and

weather. While cautious in estimating damage already done by fall-out from tests, they urge concern that it should not reach "more serious levels," and emphasize the cumulative effects of radiation. The British Medical Authority recently declared that damage of radiation to genetic organs is "cumulative and irreparable." American scientist Ralph E. Lapp, in testimony before a Congressional Committee on June 20, said a progressive increase in nuclear weapons—

... will release enough dangerous radiation by 1962 to give everyone in the world the "maximum possible amount"—that is, six years from now, if these tests go on as they are going on now, the maximum possible amount of radiation will penetrate every single human being in the world.

With these scientific opinions before us, there is not much reassurance to be found in AEC Chairman Admiral Strauss' recent statement that U.S. tests in the Pacific had shown that it is now possible to localize the fall-out of nuclear explosions. This was called "thoroughly disingenuous" by the Alsop brothers, (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 25.)

In the light of the scientists' warnings, the question of action to stop further tests as the first step toward complete banning of atomic warfare has become the most immediate and vital issue around which world public opinion is mobilizing.

The Soviet Union and India, all the Socialist and many neutral nations, the 29 Asian and African Bandung Nations, Indonesia, Burma, New Zealand, Japan, influential groups in many nations including our own, have called for ending the tests, the World Peace Council has made this its main point of emphasis. The Western Big Three have opposed ending tests, taking the position that there must first be agreement on control and inspection. But the universally accepted fact that there is no way of concealing nuclear explosions robs this argument of validity. Failure of agreement on any measures at the recent New York sessions of the UN Disarmament Committee makes all the more urgent further pressure by the people that a beginning be made.

The UN Disarmament Committee

Despite the assertions by Harold Stassen, the President's special assistant on disarmament, that areas of disagreement had been narrowed at the London subcommittee meetings, the stalemate continued in the New York meetings of the U.N. Disarmament Committee. Once again, lack of progress has been laid at the door of the Soviet Union. What must be of concern to Americans is whether our own government showed the necessary degree of flexibility.

At the outset of the meeting, a resolution was introduced by the United States, France and Canada, proposing continued search for agreement under certain guiding principles. The first of these was that disarmament should proceed by stages, which the Soviet Union had already agreed to, but adding also the condition of the "settlement of major political problems," which had been the main cause of the dead-

lock at London. The Western countries had made clear that this included a settlement of the German problem on Western terms (unification on the basis of Germany's inclusion in NATO), which it was well known the Soviet Union would not accept. While stating that the program should begin with reduction of armed forces and military expenditures, the Western proposal also made as a condition that this must be coupled with control and inspection measures, mentioning specifically President Eisenhower's aerial reconnaissance program, to begin at the outset on a limited scale. Only at "an appropriate stage," it should provide that all stockpiling of atomic weapons be stopped, and future nuclear production be devoted to peaceful uses alone.

In the discussion that followed, Soviet representative Andrei Gromyko attacked the Western proposal as one of merely general aims instead of practical measures which, he said, would amount in effect to dropping any real disarmament plans from the UN agenda. He charged that the West's demonstrated lack of interest in disarmament was due to the "fabulous profits" reaped by American monopolists. He attacked the "open skies" plan as in fact "having no relation whatever to disarmament," and charged that making political problems such as German unification a condition for settlement of disarmament questions "means the wreck of any disarmament proposals."

Western speakers in turn condemned the USSR as abandoning its own earlier proposals for inspection and control.

At the July 12 session, Mr. Gromyko offered the Soviet Union's four-point disarmament program. It

included: 1) Agreement on the banning of all mass destruction weapons, elimination of atomic bomb stocks and on an immediate halt to the testing of nuclear weapons; 2) The reduction of armies with corresponding cuts in military expenditures; 3) Establishment of control to verify how each state carried out its obligations; 4) Pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, the nations should renounce their use, as well as the use or threat of force as a national policy.

Mr. Gromyko explained that while his government preferred such an over-all agreement, it would support a partial one if it were easier not to make conventional disarmament dependent on nuclear disarmament. He made clear that the USSR program involved inspection measures such as Premier Bulganin's plan for ground inspection at strategic points, but objected to aerial inspection as an initial control measure. He referred to Soviet charges that American military planes had made illegal flights over Soviet territory (since denied by the United States), as casting light on the "real motives" of the U.S. proposal.

The Soviet representative also announced that his government was ready to accept the Western armed force levels of 2,500,000 for the Soviet Union, the United States and China. (After the USSR previously accepted the Western levels of 1,500,000 each, the latter withdrew their proposal, insisting on the higher figure). He added that smaller nations should be limited to 200,000, criticizing the Western position that smaller nations, such as Western Germany, should be allowed to have 500,000. This latter limitation the West rejected.

During the discussion, French

representative Jules Moch, who for some time has been trying to effect a compromise between West and East viewpoints, expressed criticism of U.S. policies. He made clear that he still supported the earlier level of 1,500,000 for the armed forces of the big powers. He also criticized the "open skies" plan which he said, has "neither all the good qualities nor all the shortcomings attributed to it," declaring insistence on it was not so essential that everything else should be allowed to break down.

Menon Appeals for End of Nuclear Tests

A highlight of the sessions, was the appearance before the Committee of India's representative V. K. Krishna Menon to appeal for action on resolutions on ending nuclear tests which his country had previously presented to the UN Assembly.

In his July 12 speech, unreported in any detail in the American press, Mr. Menon presented a powerful array of facts from scientific sources on damage already done by the tests and the mortal danger to millions of people in their continuance. He quoted the U.S. National Academy of Sciences to the effect that 13 months after the first test in Bikini in 1954, the contaminated water mass of the Pacific Ocean had spread over one million square miles. He said that the Japanese Welfare Ministry had recently warned that fruits and vegetables in the central district of Japan were radioactive to an extent already five times greater than considered safe for human consumption. In India, too, effects on eatables had been noted and scientific commissions were studying their effect. He read from reports of visiting medical missions to the Pacific Trust Territories of skin and internal con-

tamination of the Marshall Islanders and others in the area.

Declaring that India stands without reservation for the banning, the total non-use and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, Menon urged the ending of tests as the first step toward nuclear disarmament. He argued that in view of the fact that weapons already made were sufficient "to blow the whole planet to smithereens," further tests were futile. If the Disarmament Committee were to recommend negotiations between the powers mainly concerned for the suspension of experiments, he said—

I think the Commission would have taken a measure having far greater psychological importance than any architectural plan of control, supervision, inspection and so forth. It would echo through the world that a great step had been taken to reverse the engines of destruction which, we are told, are conceived to save aspects of civilization or for self-preservation. If a step were to be taken to suspend these tests, that would represent the single and major measure that the United Nations could take to create confidence among the people.

The representative of India emphasized that there was no validity to the argument that a system of control is necessary before such a step could be taken, since the advice of scientists everywhere agrees that such explosions could not be concealed. Mere limitation of tests, as proposed by England, would not be enough, because there would still be a constant increase in the amount of radioactivity in the world. It would also be no protection against testing by additional nations which might acquire nuclear weapons.

Citing opposition to further tests

from many lands, he pointed out the moral question of waging war in a way to inflict harm on neutral countries, insisting that "to use the wide seas of the world for non-peaceful purposes is against international law and international morality."

He proposed that as a token step, the two great powers in possession of the H-bomb should by mutual agreement dismantle a limited number—even one, two, or three—and pass on the fissionable material in them for peaceful uses.

He said his government welcomed the unilateral reduction by the Soviet Union of its armed forces, which had also been the position of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their recent London meeting. He proposed that every member nation submit figures on its military expenditures to the United Nations, so that the world would know who was spending most on armament, and expressed the hope that there would be no trade in these weapons, no transfer of them from one country to another.

Finally, he urged the desirability of direct negotiations for the ending of tests between the two main parties in disarmament, the United States and the Soviet Union, on whom the world places the main responsibility in this issue. He asserted: "If they were to deal with this face to face, there would be some progress in these matters."

The United States, supported by Britain, Australia and Canada, rejected the Indian proposal to end nuclear tests as "impractical." The USSR expressed its approval, as being in line with its own proposals. Yugoslavia also proposed the ending of tests in its own resolution offered to the committee.

The UN Disarmament Committee

ended its session with a ten to one vote for a resolution introduced by Peru, instructing the sub-committee to consider proposals made during the session and calling for a new effort for reconciliation of viewpoints. Gromyko voted against the resolution on the ground that it gave specific mention only to proposals mentioned by the West. Yugoslavia abstained.

At a news conference on July 13, Harold Stassen declared that Soviet acceptance of Western levels for armed forces would not advance the interests of either side or of peace unless coupled with acceptance of the aerial survey plan. He did, however, state that all United States proposals were "under constant and intensive review." A subsequent statement by President Eisenhower, in his annual report to Congress on United States participation in the United Nations, seemed to leave the door open to further negotiations. He said the Western nations should continue to seek agreement with the Soviet Union on his aerial inspection plan, "or some other equally effective plan."

In view of the continued stalemate among the great powers in the matter of disarmament and nuclear weapons ban, it seems clear that the proposal to end tests, supported by so many of the world's governments and peoples, as well as by numerous groups in our own country, should be the main focus of concern of all peace forces, as the most immediate practical and realizable step toward the elimination of nuclear warfare altogether.

World Pressures for Peace

WITH Administration supporters and U.S. allies calling increasingly for some peace initiative from our government to match the intense

activity of the Soviet Union in the diplomatic field, the ending of tests would seem to be a good place to start.

The Alsop Brothers wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*, July 11, that the United States has not responded to what they call "the new, adventurous, dangerously flexible Soviet policy," partly because of the President's illness and partly because this is an election year, and that despite the urgings for a "bold, new approach" from one group within the government, "it has gone on acting as though everything is as it was before," and is "stalled at dead center."

All around the world, from Iceland to the Philippines, from Germany to Japan, in the Middle East and Western Europe, protests are rising against the United States military pacts and arms policy, and the presence of U.S. troops.

The main reason for the Socialist-Communist advance in the recent Japanese elections was aversion to Japanese rearmament and to the U.S. increased arms program, and support for improvement of Japan's peaceful and trade relations with the Soviet Union and China. There is trouble over the U.S. base in Okinawa. New Soviet-Japanese peace treaty talks are about to be resumed in Moscow.

Withdrawal of U.S. troops was the main issue in recent Iceland elections, which have brought a Communist to the post of Minister of Fisheries and Trade in the new cabinet.

U.S. policies in the Middle East are losing us friends on both sides by the refusal to sell arms to Israel, and the Baghdad Pact policies on the one hand, and now the annulment of the offer of aid to Egypt in building the

Aswan dam. Meantime the Soviet Union has made an agreement with Israel to triple its oil shipments, of vital importance to Israeli armed forces, and made clear its readiness to aid in Egypt's industrial development. There are uncertainties about U.S. bases in North Africa and in other places.

Mounting sentiment in Western Germany against rearmament is intensified by increasing incidents involving U.S. troops, especially in Bavaria. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Munich July 25, "Popular West German newspapers give vivid accounts of rapes, homicides and assaults allegedly committed by United States servicemen against civilians."

U.S. News and World Report for July 20 describes resistance met by teams recruiting for Germany's new army, and says that the new draft law may be repealed before the first young German is drafted because of the great opposition to it.

The recent convention of the German Social Democrats, largest opposition Party, adopted a foreign policy platform whereby they hope to defeat Chancellor Adenauer in next year's elections. It provides for the withdrawal of Western Germany from the Atlantic Alliance and Eastern Germany from the Warsaw Pact, and a neutral unified Germany guaranteed by the great powers. While taking the position that this must be accomplished through four-power negotiations as against the position of the Soviet Union that unification must come about through negotiations between the West and East German governments, the Social Democrats call for increasing contacts between the two parts of Germany.

Meantime, Anthony Eden has

joined the French and Italian foreign ministers in calling for a friendlier attitude toward the Soviet Union. Speaking of recent changes in the Soviet Union, he said: "We in the West would make a mistake if we did not accept this and understand it." And, in a friendly reference to the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to London: "the Soviet leaders accepted, as we accepted, the final destructive effect of nuclear power." While holding to his position regarding the limitation rather than the ending of nuclear tests, he held the door open by saying "we are quite ready to discuss that matter separately from the disarmament convention," thus departing from the U.S. position. The Labor Party agreed with Eden's view on the need for a more flexible policy.

All these are more than straws in the great wind blowing through the world that in the end must compel our country to bend to the will of the peoples everywhere for peace. How greatly United States prestige would rise if it would act now!

A NOTE TO OUR READERS

Many of our readers, possibly without access to as full coverage of world news as is found in the New York press, are writing to us questioning the authenticity of the "secret" Khrushchev report as released by the U.S. State Department and published in the *New York Times* June 5, while others are understandably reluctant to accept its contents as true.

We believe that the best proof that the report must be accepted as in the main authentic, is to be found in the statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, summarized in the following pages. This resolution, in

answering statements made by Communist Parties of other countries and their leaders containing questions and criticisms based on details in the Khrushchev report and the manner of its publication, in effect confirms its authenticity. Subsequent statements of various parties in other countries expressed satisfaction with the explanations given by the Central Committee as to how it was possible for the evils of the Stalin regime revealed in the Khrushchev report to have arisen in a socialist society.

Our own feeling is that much still remains to be reported and explained, and we continue to hope that the Soviet leaders will publish their own official account and more complete explanations of the tragic events set forth by Khrushchev. At the same time, we must recognize that the process of thoroughly examining and correcting aspects of Soviet history now revealed to have been falsified, cannot be completed within a brief period of time.

Especially urgent, it seems to us, is a statement regarding the fate of Jewish cultural leaders and institu-

tions. That this question is under examination is evident from reports that the Soviet press has recently "rehabilitated" posthumously two of the famous Yiddish writers. On July 19, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published six poems by Peretz Markish, and in a preface Itzik Feffer was cited as a leading poet. Other well known names are reappearing. But it is deeply disturbing that reports of the fate of these and other Jewish leaders have so far been made available only through the Polish press.

To those of our readers who want us to explain the events in Poznan, Poland, we can only say that while stress has been laid in some reports on the activities of subversive agents from outside, Polish leaders have themselves emphasized shortcomings in trade union and Party leadership, and the government's failure to meet justified demands of the workers, as equally if not mainly responsible. But we prefer not to speculate on the basis of incomplete and contradictory press reports, and will not attempt to review this matter until we have fuller information than is now available.

On Overcoming the Stalin Cult

On July 3, the New York Times carried the text of the resolution by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences," which had been published in Pravda the previous day. As a service to readers without access to the text, we publish a summary of the resolution below.

THE resolution starts with the declaration that the decisions of the Twentieth Congress had evoked

a new upsurge of creative initiative among the people of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and wide support among working people throughout the world, and that its emphasis on peaceful coexistence, the possibility of preventing wars during the present era and on various forms of transition to socialism had already been reflected in the lessening of international tensions. At the same time, the resolution continued, reactionary circles in capitalist countries were utilizing the condemnation

of the Stalin "personality cult" to undermine confidence in the USSR and making every effort to conceal the fact "that the question at issue is a past stage in the life of the Soviet Union." It also noted "that some of our friends abroad are still not quite clear on the cult of the individual and its consequences, and at times incorrectly interpret some points connected with it."

It was because this cult contradicted the nature of socialism and became an obstacle in the development of Soviet democracy, the Central Committee affirmed, that it had been considered necessary to speak out about its grave consequences during the latter period of Stalin's life. In doing so, it continued:

... the Central Committee realized that the frank admission of errors would give rise to certain negative features and excesses which might be exploited by enemies. The bold and ruthless self-criticism in matters arising from the personality cult was fresh and ample evidence of the strength and vitality of our Party and of the Soviet Socialist system. It can be said with confidence that none of the ruling parties in capitalist countries would ever have ventured anything like this.

The Soviet Communist Party, however, "told the whole truth, however bitter," convinced that whatever the temporary difficulties resulting, "it would be of enormous value in the long run from the point of view of the basic interests and ultimate goals of the working class," and would create firm guarantees against the recurrence of such negative phenomena.

The resolution goes on to say that the publicizing of the violations of Socialist legality and other errors naturally had caused feelings of bit-

terness and profound regret, but that the Soviet people understood that the condemnation of the cult was necessary, and have already seen the practical measures aimed at removing its consequences in all spheres of Soviet life.

Part II of the resolution deals with the question of how the personality cult with all its negative consequences could have arisen under the Soviet socialist regime. It says that the concrete historical conditions under which socialism was built in the USSR, as well as some subjective factors arising from Stalin's personal qualities must be borne in mind:

For more than a quarter of a century the Soviet land was the only country which blazed the path to socialism for mankind. It was like a besieged fortress in capitalist encirclement. After the failure of the 14-power intervention in 1918-22, the enemies of the Soviet Union, both in the West and East, continued plotting new "crusades" against the USSR.

It should be recalled, continues the Central Committee, that spies and wreckers were sent in in large numbers to undermine the world's first socialist state; that the threat of new imperialist aggression intensified after German fascism came to power, with the proclaimed aim of destroying the USSR, and after the formation of the anti-Comintern pact and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, supported by all the forces of international reaction; that when its proposals for the curbing of fascism and collective security were rejected by the Western powers, the Soviet Union was compelled to strain every nerve to strengthen its defenses, and "the Party had to train the whole people in a spirit of constant vigi-

ance and readiness in the face of foreign enemies."

The resolution notes that international hostility was all the more dangerous in the light of the bitter class struggle going on within the country:

After the death of Lenin, hostile trends became active in the Party, Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists who opposed Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, which would in fact have led to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. The Party launched a ruthless struggle against these enemies of Leninism.

The tasks of building a socialist society in a single country—socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution—required the overcoming of unimaginable difficulties and obstacles, the resolution says:

Our country had to overcome its age-old backwardness and reshape the entire national economy on new socialist foundations within the shortest period of time, and without any economic assistance whatever from outside. This complicated national and international situation demanded iron discipline, evergrowing vigilance and a most strict centralization of leadership, which inevitably had an adverse effect on the development of certain democratic forms.

In the bitter struggle against the whole world of imperialism, our country had to accept certain limitations of democracy, which were justified logically by our people's struggle for socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. But these restrictions were even at that time regarded by the Party and the people as temporary, subject to removal as the Soviet state grew stronger and the

forces of democracy and socialism developed throughout the world. The people deliberately made these temporary sacrifices, seeing the Soviet social system make progress day by day.

As a result of "intense and heroic efforts by the people and the Party" the Central Committee stated, during the first Five-Year Plan "our economically backward country made a gigantic leap in its economic and cultural development," science and technology advanced, living standards of the workers were raised and unemployment liquidated.

The resolution points out that for a long period Stalin, as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, struggled actively, with other leaders, to fulfill Lenin's behests:

He was faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theorist and organizer of high caliber he led the Party's fight against the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists and against the intrigues of capitalists from outside.

In this political and ideological struggle Stalin acquired great authority and popularity. However, all our great victories began to be incorrectly connected with his name. The successes attained by the Communist Party and the Soviet country and the adulation of Stalin went to his head. In this atmosphere the cult of Stalin's personality began gradually to take shape.

Asserting that certain negative traits of Stalin contributed to the cult, the resolution quotes a letter sent by Lenin to the Party congress at the end of 1922, and a subsequent postscript, in which he said:

Comrade Stalin, after taking the post of General Secretary, accumu-

lated vast power in his hands. I am not certain whether he will always be able to use this power with the required care. . . .

Stalin is excessively rude, and this defect, which can be freely tolerable in our midst and in contacts among us, Communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in the post of General Secretary. I therefore propose to the comrades to consider a method of removing Stalin from this post and to select another person for it, who above all would differ from Stalin in only one respect, namely, in greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater politeness and a more considerate attitude toward comrades, a less capricious temper, etc.

Delegates to the 13th Party Congress soon after Lenin's death decided to retain Stalin at his post on condition that he take Lenin's criticism into consideration. This, continues the resolution, he did for the period immediately following, but then began to over-rate his own merits excessively, and to consider himself infallible and beyond criticism. Plenary sessions of the Central Committee and Congresses of the Party were held more and more irregularly, and later not convened for many years. It points to the great harm done by Stalin's formula that as the Soviet Union advanced toward socialism, the class struggle would grow ever sharper:

This formula, which is only correct for certain stages of the transition period . . . was put forward in 1937, at a moment when socialism had already triumphed in our country, and the exploiting classes and their economic base had been liquidated. In practice, this erroneous theoretical formula was the basis for the grossest violations of Socialist law and mass repressions.

In this situation, the resolution explains, the state security organs, which had formerly won trust by their services in defense of the gains of the revolution, began to represent a danger, and control over them by the Party and the government "was gradually replaced by the personal control of Stalin and the normal administration of justice was often superseded by his personal decisions."

The resolution charges that the situation became more aggravated and "serious violations of Soviet law and mass repressions occurred" when "the criminal band of the agent of international imperialism, Beria, was put at the head of state security organs" and many "honest Communists and non-Party people were slandered and suffered innocently."

It denies, however, that there was no counter-action against these negative manifestations, declaring that "within the Central Committee of the Party a Leninist core of leaders" had come into being, who "correctly understood pressing requirements in both internal and external policy." As examples, it cites instances of sharp restrictions on Stalin's individual acts, especially during the war years "when the negative consequences of lawlessness and arbitrariness were sharply diminished," and members of the Central Committee and outstanding commanders took control of certain sectors of front and rear activities, made independent decisions, and "together with local Party and Soviet organizations" secured the victory of the Soviet people in the war.

While this group undertook to correct the grave consequences of the cult of the individual immediately after Stalin's death, the resolution

explains that previously conditions had made it impossible for them to take an open stand against Stalin and remove him from leadership:

The facts unquestionably show that Stalin was guilty of many unlawful acts, particularly in the later period of his life. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a man who always acted in defense of the USSR against enemy intrigues and worked for the cause of socialism. In this work at times he applied unworthy methods and violated the Leninist principles and standards of Party life. Therein lay the tragedy of Stalin.

But all this made the struggles against the lawless deeds committed at the time more difficult, since the successes in socialist construction and the strengthening of the USSR were attributed to Stalin. Any action against him in these circumstances would not have been understood by the people, and it is not at all a matter of lack of personal courage.

It is obvious that anyone who had acted against Stalin under those conditions would not have had the support of the people. Moreover such opposition would have been regarded in those circumstances as being against the cause of building socialism, and as an extremely dangerous threat against the unity of the Party and the whole state, in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

In addition, it is pointed out, the Soviet people had great pride in the successes achieved, which seemed to them more important than mistakes and shortcomings. And finally, many of Stalin's misdeeds and especially the violations of Soviet law, became known only after his death, "mainly in connection with the exposure of the Beria gang." All of the foregoing, concludes the resolution, "explains, but in no way justifies, the Stalin cult and its consequences."

The third section of the resolution affirms that while the personality cult did grave harm, it would be a serious mistake to draw conclusions from its existence in the past, about changes in the social order of the USSR or to see the source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social system, and that no cult of personality, not even such an outstanding individual as Stalin, could change the nature of the Soviet system, "based on social ownership of the means of production, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and friendship among the peoples."

Soviet society, it continues, was not diverted from "the correct road toward communism" by serious mistakes of the leadership in both internal and foreign policy, including serious mistakes countenanced by Stalin "in the direction of agriculture, in organizing the country's preparedness to repel the fascist invaders, in the gross arbitrariness which led to the conflict with Yugoslavia" and in other aspects of Soviet development.

Describing the nature and achievement of Soviet society, the organizational and educational work of the Government and Party and above all the creative labors of the whole people, the resolution states:

The entire internal and foreign policy of the Soviet State proclaims the fact that our regime is a truly democratic popular regime. The highest aim of the Soviet State is to raise the population's living standards in every respect and secure a peaceful existence for its people.

Noting the constitutional guarantees for democratic rights and freedoms, the resolution cites as testimony to the further development of Soviet democracy:

... the measures which are being put through by the Party and Government for extending the rights and competence of Union Republics, strict adherence to law, and reorganization of the system of planning with the aim of fostering local initiative, activating work in local Soviets and developing criticism and self-criticism.

The resolution then comments on the approval given by Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries for the measures against the personality cult, quoting statements by the Chinese and French Parties, Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, and Italian Communist leader Togliatti. Noting at the same time that "correct interpretations" had not always been given of the reasons for the rise of the personality cult, exception is taken to Togliatti's query as to whether Soviet society had not reached "certain forms of degeneration." There could be no foundation for such a question, the resolution continues, in view of the fact that the regime had never lost the support of the people, which enabled it to create a powerful Soviet industry, collectivize agriculture and gain victory in World War II.

In the final section, the Central Committee expresses its belief that the work of eliminating the personality cult and its consequences has already given positive results. It urges all Party organizations to adhere to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on "the people as creators of all material transformation of society" and on collective leadership; to reestablish fully "the principles of Soviet Socialist democracy expressed in the Constitution" and correct to the end violations of socialist law; to mobilize the struggle for the practical im-

plementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, "developing for this purpose the creative initiative and energies of the masses—the true creators of history."

Recalling the 20th Party Congress position that "the most important feature of our era is the conversion of socialism into a world system," the resolution stresses the new prospects before the international workers movement for achieving peace, ending all forms of colonialism, and the "triumph of the cause of socialism." While such international organizations as the Comintern and Cominform have lost their significance under the new historic conditions, the Central Committee states, and while various forms of transition to socialism are developing, international contacts, cooperation and solidarity among Communist and Workers' Parties remain necessary. The resolution warns that this is all the more important in the light of "aggressive unions and blocs."

The resolution declares that while the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are doing everything to ease international tensions, cold war adherents are again seeking to stir them up. Referring to sums appropriated by the U.S. Congress "for the purpose of subversive activities in the countries of the people's democracy and the Soviet Union," it charges that "the anti-people's demonstrations in Poznan were paid for from this source." Warning against a careless attitude toward "the new machinations of imperialist agents," the resolution affirms that all such provocations will continue to fail as they have in the past, and concludes: "No malicious, slanderous outburst of our enemies can stop the invincible historical march of mankind towards Communism."

THE FOUR YEAR OLD MAN

A short story by YURI NAGIBIN

WHENEVER the floating clouds obscured the sun, the water in the gulf turned from pale blue to leaden gray. The big rock, polished by water to a shining smoothness, which jutted out, some fifteen feet from the bank, also became darker and cast a velvety black shadow upon the water.

"Komarov, stop it! Don't you hear what I'm saying?"

This wasn't the first time I had heard the scratchy female voice behind me, calling "Komarov" to order.

"A troublesome man, this Komarov must be," I thought. "What mischief is he up to now?"

"Komarov, for the last time, leave Ryzhik alone!" the voice snapped. "Get up, Komarov!"

"But I'm not doing anything!" said a rather gruff child's voice in a tone of complaint.

I turned around and my glance rested upon a belly-button, looking just like a penny in the sand.

Standing before me was a four-year old man, completely naked—if you can ignore the white hat pulled down swaggingly over one ear.

Two round bottle-green eyes looked at me gravely and with an expression of surprise. Komarov had a pug nose, on a most roguish looking freckled face.

A tall, hefty woman in a green silk

dress was bending over him. At her slightest movement the silk crackled like electric sparks.

Lying on the sand behind the teacher I counted some score of children of Komarov's age, their backs bared to the sun.

"Why were you putting your foot upon Ryzhik?" cried the kindergarten teacher in anger, her silk crackling in tune with her voice.

"Why does he lie like a corpse?" returned Komarov.

"What do you mean by throwing sand into the eyes of your comrades?"

"Who did? I was just *sifting* it! The wind blew it!"

"A difficult child," said the teacher helplessly.

"I'm not difficult," objected Komarov, patting his stomach. "I'm heavy after dinner."

A young woman in a white smock, with a nurse's band on her sleeve, came up and silently lifted her wrist-watch.

"Time to get up! Get up!" cried the teacher, waving her sleeves like the flapping wings of a hen.

"Get your clothes on, and line up!"

Colorful cotton print flashed in the air as the children pulled on their shorts. Sandals were turned upside down to empty them of the sand, and the first pairs were lining up, with an air of importance.

Only Komarov remained bare, frowning. He did not even touch his clothes.

"But what about a bathe?" he muttered.

"Not you, at any rate!" snapped the teacher. Realizing apparently that it would not be so simple to dispose of Komarov, she added: "The doctor has

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forbidden bathing, the water is too chilly."

"The children may catch cold?" asked Komarov gravely.

"That's enough, get dressed!"

With a quick gesture Komarov seized his shorts, but did not hurry to pull them on; first he took his place in the line and then twisting the shorts into a ring pushed his legs into it.

"Let's go!"

The teacher clapped her hands, the column began to move and stopped at once in confusion, with squeaks and cries of excitement.

What was the matter? Komarov tripped and sent the boy in front tumbling down. He, of course, pushed the next boy, and so on.

The teacher restored order. But no sooner did they begin to move when they began to tumble again.

"What's happened to you, children?"

"Komarov keeps falling over. . . ."

"Komarov, come here!"

Komarov tried conscientiously to carry out the command, but he limped strangely and toppled on to the sand.

"What's wrong with you, Komarov?"

"I'm in a bad way," said Komarov getting up, and falling down again at the first step.

"What's wrong with him?" There was despair in the teacher's voice as she said: "Sunstroke, perhaps?"

Komarov's comrades are mightily pleased. They burst into ringing laughter, and then one of them says:

"Nina Pavlovna, he's put both his legs into one trouser."

The teacher, I think, had never had any children of her own. She looked helplessly at Komarov, and then bent down and clumsily extricated the superfluous leg.

"Why did you do that?" she asked, straightening her back.

"It's more interesting like this," explained Komarov calmly and benevolently. Then, a new idea occurring to him suddenly, he asked: "Nina Pavlovna, what is a man?"

"I don't know," said the teacher in

annoyance, quite unexpectedly blurring out the truth.

The group moved on and soon vanished beyond the pines.

A few days later I met Komarov again. I was returning from the sea by way of a steeply rising sandy lane.

As I came past the kindergarten fence, one of its planks suddenly moved aside and a small sandal-shod foot and leg came through the opening.

The leg was followed by a little white hat resembling a chef's cap, a dirty sun-tanned arm, and finally by the rest of the boy whose acquaintance I had made on the beach.

He crept out, glanced around him, moved the plank back into its place and burst into peals of triumphant laughter.

There was no doubt: Komarov had escaped.

I plead guilty to not having taken Komarov by the hand and led him back to the teacher. Traffic was banned from the lane, so there was no danger to Komarov. Moreover, I was there.

True, it would mean a few unpleasant moments for the teacher—but if you ask me, it served her right.

I passed the kindergarten several times a day, and I could clearly see that its mistress was not at peace with nature. She didn't trust the young prickly pines, the brushwood with its cool shade, the faraway corners of the orchard, overgrown with wild raspberry and blackberry bushes.

The only part of the vast orchard left to her charges was the small, level croquet ground.

And the moment any of the children dared to cross the prohibited line in the chase after an insect, or simply out of curiosity, the fugitive was immediately recalled with a cry of anguish.

Of course, it was far more convenient to watch the children when they were all packed together, but it seemed to me that she was just making her own work easier.

"Let Komarov be at large for a

while." I decided and granted him that freedom. "Let's see what he'll do?"

Down below, I could hear car horns, motorcycles and motor buses moving along the seaside promenade. But Komarov, a city child, paid no attention to the familiar noise of heavy traffic.

What lured him was the world of nature and he began to climb the low hill. Surprise awaited him at every step.

In one place he stepped upon a little board. Snap! And a green pine cone leaped out from beneath it.

It was a whole strong little pine cone. Komarov had never seen one like it, because green cones usually sit fast on the pines and can't be seen for the needles.

And, moreover, this one had leaped! On tiptoe, Komarov stole his way toward the cone, and brought his palm right down on it.

Komarov tightened his grip on the cone, and at the same moment noticed two more under a bush.

He bent down to them, then pulled his hand back with a cry of pain; he had touched some nettles.

Komarov rubbed his hand, licked it with his tongue then stretched it out toward the bush again, gingerly touching the leaves to see from where the sting had come.

He touched a flower, moved aside a soft, wrinkled leaf—and then the prickly guard stung him again. . . .

But this time Komarov merely scowled. He crept under the bush, moved away the nettle cautiously and boldly tore it out of the ground.

The stings were crumpled and could no longer attack him.

That was a real discovery! Now Komarov could easily take possession of the cones. But his fist was too small for all the three, so he carefully cached one cone under a leaf.

Waving the nettle, he walked on up the lane. Somewhere above came the sound of a calf, bellowing desperately. Komarov stopped still, and then, working his way up with his hands and feet, he rushed forward.

About half way up the slope, a little lawn jutted out into the pine grove. On the lawn was a little bullock, tied to a stump.

Although Komarov's age in years was equal to the calf's in months, they could, he thought, be playmates.

The little bullock looked at the boy with a gentle but indifferent glance, while Komarov's glance was filled with wonder which could at any moment develop into ardent love.

"Who are you?" asked Komarov.

The bullock said nothing, he moved his soft lips and kept on chewing. So Komarov himself supplied the answer: "You are a big dog."

He stretched out his hand to caress the "big dog," but the bullock did not want to be petted. He drew back, pulling on its rope, and then leaped aside.

"Why behave like that?" asked Komarov reproachfully, and again stepped toward the bullock.

But the calf was fed up with retreating. Lowering his bull-head, he stretched his neck and advanced menacingly toward Komarov.

A glance of distress passed over the boy's face. He didn't want to quarrel. But there was something in the character of this little man that did not allow him to retreat before danger.

He also stretched forward his head, with two light bulges on a clear high forehead, squinted, and then, before I could intervene, rushed forward bringing his forehead against the bullock's.

The bullock did not accept battle. Rocking on its straight but spindly legs, he moved back and then turned away. With a cry of victory, Komarov took up the pursuit.

The rope allowed the bullock to run only in a circle. He moved much faster than Komarov, so, making his second round, he suddenly found himself right behind his pursuer.

Komarov was defenseless at that moment, but instead of taking advantage of its position, the bullock lost heart altogether.

He refused to fight an adversary who

could pursue him at the same time in the front and rear.

He stopped, sighed sadly and, plucking at a long blade of grass, resigned himself to his fate.

Komarov had to leap round the whole circle before he discovered that his enemy had been brought to heel.

Boldly approaching the bullock, he petted him on his moist flank, caressed his rock-hard forehead, his eyes under their taut, trembling lashes, his soft nose which felt like rubber.

Sighing, the bullock put up with all those tender caresses of the victor.

"Are you afraid?" asked Komarov, and that was the end of his vengeance. He even tried to console and instruct the bullock:

"I, too, was afraid of you," he said, "but I'm not now." Winking slyly, he added: "And you're *not* a big dog. No-o! You're a little cow!"

"Moo-oo!" agreed the bullock sadly, assuring Komarov that he would never again pretend to be quarrelsome.

"Goodbye," said Komarov. He returned to the road and suddenly stopped still, shrinking back as if from an invisible obstacle.

I understood at once what had thrown Komarov into this confusion.

Looking down the slope to the line of foaming surf, the green corridor of the lane seemed to be flying into the sea like an arrow.

It gave you a thrilling sense of dizzy height, great space and flight.

The boy waved his arms, leaped and began to shout some unintelligible words and then to sing without words.

Suddenly the song stopped: helpless to express the full power of his feeling, Komarov turned and walked quickly on his way.

A frog which crossed his path

brought Komarov back to his accustomed reality.

He ran after the frog and caught it at the roadside. When the boy's shadow passed over it, the frog stopped still, curling up its back.

Komarov caught it, turned it upside down over his forehead, but he did not notice that, absorbed in the new riddle of life.

"Alive!" he cried and laughed, and then proposed with a triumphant expression: "Let's be friends, eh? I'll let you go later. . . ."

Komarov could now look at the world with the eye of an experienced trail blazer.

On an elevation where the earth had blown away from the pine roots the thin root hair swayed in the wind, raising whiffs of sand. Komarov had to stop of course and see whether they were alive, or were just making believe that they lived and played.

He took a step toward the tree, but he was not destined to complete this last investigation.

The pursuers were coming in on every side, closing their iron ring around the fugitive. With the teacher in the lead, all her assistants, nurses, dishwashers with white pinafores, the nurse with a red cross on her sleeve and the old watchman in felt boots, following.

"There he is!" And with this cry Komarov's freedom was ended.

Komarov could not understand why the people around him were making so much noise, why they were complaining so pitifully.

He felt strong and rich, and he wanted everybody to feel good. So when the teacher came closer to him, he offered—with a broad, magnanimous gesture—his spoils. The nettle stem. Two green cones. And a live frog.

AMERICAN WINS POLISH PRIZE

THE MICKIEWICZ Centenary Committee of the Polish People's Republic recently announced that the first prize for the best translation into English verse of selections from the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz's masterpiece, "Pan Tadeusz," had been won by Commander Richard F. Armknecht, U.S. Navy, retired.

"NEUTRALISM" IN ASIA

NATIONALISM & COMMUNISM IN EAST ASIA, by W. Macmahon Ball, Melbourne Press, under the auspices of *The Institute of Pacific Relations*, second edition revised, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956. \$5.50.

MR. DULLES has recently described the position of neutrality taken by a number of nations throughout the world as "immoral." This characteristic expression of piety does not seem to have strengthened our relations with these countries who have decided not to align themselves with any greater power but rather to join with other similarly disposed nations in agreements on general principles such as those drawn up at the Afro-Asian Conference held last year in Bandung.

Professor Ball, an Australian and member during the war and afterwards of a number of important international commissions, has written a book that is especially helpful in explaining not only the "neutralism" some of these countries have chosen but other aspects of their foreign relations as well. First published in 1952, this second edition has been extensively rewritten.

No friend of the present government in China nor of the Communist movement generally, Professor Ball nevertheless looks realistically at the actual conditions in the countries of Eastern Asia and arrives at conclusions that throw much greater light than do the dispatches in our newspapers or the official pronouncements of the State Department.

Professor Ball sees the resolution in East Asia as resulting from three main forces: 1) a revolt against imperialism, 2) a revolt against poverty and misery, 3) and a revolt of the East against the West—the emergence of a sense of Asian unity. He goes on to clarify further this last point: "It is loose and inaccurate to describe this as racialism, since Asia's population is made up of many races. Yet it is, in

part, a revolt of colored peoples against having their destinies controlled by white peoples. It is a rejection of the pretension, which many Westerners have displayed, that the pigmentation of a people's skin is an index of their moral and mental stature. Asians want freedom from foreign domination, freedom from economic exploitation, and freedom from the white man's contempt."

In the opening section of his book, Professor Ball states, "The nations of East Asia do not want to import prefabricated economic and political systems from the West, unsuited to their soil and climate. They want technicians and materials from the West to enable them to rebuild their own societies in their own way." The concise studies of each country that follow clearly demonstrate this basic point.

"Neutralism" seen thus is not a matter of "immoral" judgment, but is rather the determination on the part of the countries involved to find their own way, as we did in the decades following our own revolution in the 18th Century.

This is a useful book and a reading of it will give a much clearer grasp of the complex and rapidly changing developments in Eastern Asia.

—MURRAY YOUNG

LIFE IN CHINA

LETTERS FROM CHINA, Far East Reporter. New York. 63 pp., 35 cents.

THESE are letters written during the past two years from China. They are from a Chinese returning after twenty-five years to his native land, his American wife, and their seventeen year old daughter. There are as well letters from other non-Chinese who are at present living in China.

An absorbing picture of the new China is reflected in these letters. An ancient civilization in the throes of rebirth that touches every phase of its traditional pattern of life is seen in

the details described by the various letter writers—from the viewpoint of a girl trained in American schools suddenly a part of the new Chinese system of education, a returned Chinese active in cultural work, a housewife making a new home for her family.

These letters make the new China alive, personal, understandable.

THE DREYFUS CASE

CAPTAIN DREYFUS, *by Nicholas Halasz, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1955 274 pp. \$3.50.*

THIS IS an important book for Americans to read today although it deals with events that took place in France over 60 years ago. The book is subtitled, "The Story of a Mass Hysteria," and we who are just waking from such a dark period will find much that is instructive in this brilliant retelling of the famous Dreyfus Case.

To most Americans the story of Captain Dreyfus is hardly known but the frightening name "Devil's Island" is synonymous with all that is horrible in penal history. The conviction in 1894 of Dreyfus, a young officer in the French Army, and his life sentence to Devil's Island on charges of treason which later were proved completely unfounded, came close to wrecking the French Republic in the following years.

When Emile Zola took up the fight for the rehabilitation of Dreyfus and wrote his famous "J'Accuse," he said: "... the charges were drawn up as in some tale of the fifteenth century, in an atmosphere of mystery, brutal tricks, expedients, all based on a single, inane accusation. . . ." The author of the present book summarizes the situation: "The General Staff, having committed a fateful blunder, had attempted to cover it up and had sunk into a morass of fraud and forgery."

Voices of protest sounded from all over the world. In America men like Mark Twain and William James came out publicly in the defense of Dreyfus.

France, in the end, was forced by public pressure to acknowledge the innocence of Dreyfus but it was not until 1906 that he was finally rehabilitated and reestablished to full status and rights.

With the trial and execution of the Rosenbergs and the incarceration of Morton Sobell for thirty years in Alcatraz marking the climax of our mass hysteria, this absorbing account of an earlier period of hysteria is well worth our consideration.

— A. A. HELLER

SOVIET EDUCATION

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION, *by Elizabeth Moos. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New York, 1906. 32 pp. 25c.*

THE REMARKABLE achievement of the Soviet Union in the field of higher education is today a constant source of stories and articles in newspapers and magazines. Undisputed is the number of graduates each year and the high level of their training. Indeed the standard set by the Soviet universities and institutes of special studies is beginning to be held up to us as a model.

Elizabeth Moos in her pamphlet (an earlier pamphlet by her which deals with the Soviet education system as a whole is still available) gives a concise account of the organization of the higher institutes of education, the qualifications necessary, the curriculum studied, the social life enjoyed, the quality of work expected of the students, the types of examinations given, the kinds of degrees offered, and the subsequent employment of the graduates in Soviet academic, industrial and agricultural life.

This brief objective description is invaluable for anybody interested in higher education, either as a perplexing problem for us in this country, or as one of the great accomplishments of socialism.

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